

THE RATIEP ART FORM OF SOUTH AFRICAN MUSLIMS

by

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ABSTRACT

The ratiep is a peculiarly South African trance-linked art form characterised by stabbings with sharp objects to the arms and other bodily parts, the piercing of the ear-lobes, the cheeks and the tongue by alwaan (skewers), the performance of certain standard dhikr to the accompaniment of the rebanna and dhol, and a highly stylized movement.

The ratiep art form is rooted in Sufi Muslim traditions. Similar trance-linked art forms, called the dabos and Sufi Ceremonies, exist in Sumatra and Syria respectively. These are all linked to Abdul Kader al-Jilani, founder of the Qadiriyyah Sufi fraternity. The South African variant of the art form also characterised by unusual self-mutilating acts, has been practised for more than 200 years, and started amongst the Cape Muslims. The literature provides historical evidence of the controversy regarding its "Islamic" nature, which has existed since the latter half of the previous century amongst South African Muslims. It has become dissociated from Islamic practices generally, and is regarded as bidat (innovatory).

The South African Indian ratiep performance relates to its

Cape Muslim counterpart. Both subgenres show a special relationship to the different genres and styles of music constituting South African Islamic and 'Cape Malay' music which are unique outflows of the cultural heritage, the social milieu and the enslaved, deprived and indentured work circumstances of early South African Muslims. In its vocal style the khalifa performance relates to qiraat and the secular nederlandslied; the latter is a transitional form between the sacred orthodox qiraat and the secular homophonic oulied.

A voorwerk and giyerwee sharif precede respectively the Cape Muslim performance and its Indian counterpart. Like the ratiep, they have well-defined textual and musical forms.

Ratiep musical instruments, the characteristic movement, the praboes (sharp instruments) and the bank with its decorations of flags add to the totality of the ratiep performance.

Metaphysical and medical considerations are important in understanding the nature and purpose of the ratiep performance and the absence of bleeding; the results achieved thus far are still inconclusive. Ratiep acts are often seen as skilful swordplay and exhibitionism, rather than a physical testimony of faith.

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I wish to state that the work is an outflow of my own original research. All shortcomings that remain in the work, notwithstanding the proofreading, comments and contributions by others, are attributable to my own limitations.

PREFATORY NOTE

Many of the inhabitants of the Cape and elsewhere in South Africa, have learnt of, read of, or witnessed the performance of the extraordinary khalifah or ratiep art form. However, the fact that the ratiep has been widely publicized and is an important and well-known aspect of the South African cultural scene, must not be confused with its unpopularity amongst an even greater number. It has been practised by a small minority of members of the South African community, and is essentially restricted to a few closely linked families. Even within the confines of the Muslim community, it is severely frowned upon by many, except by the active ratiep participants and other interested members.

During its past approximately two hundred years of existence in South Africa, the frequency of ratiep performances has reached its highs and lows. Presently Islam is undergoing fundamental changes, particularly in the Middle East. In South Africa political, economic and social changes are gaining momentum. Amidst these volatile Islamic religious and South African political scenes, the subject of the ratiep remains controversial.

While a direct link between the ratiep performance and Islam

per se, as conveyed in the title of this work, may be contentious for some, certain parameters within the structure of the ratiep art form point to its Islamic connection. The Arabic linguistic base, as well as the particular relationship the ratiep has with the different genres and styles of music within the broader repertory of South African Islamic music, provided supportive evidence for such a conjectured connection.

Qiraat, or Qur'anic recital, is related in style to the khalifah recital during a ratiep performance. Of particular importance in relation to ratiep performances are the Cape Muslim forms of haddad and samman. The latter form shares with the ratiep its trance-linked characteristic. The Indian Muslim giyerwee sharif and qawwali performances also relate directly to the Indian Muslim ratiep performance. The salawaat is perhaps the main example of a dhikr (or "hymn") which is found in haddad, moulood, giyerwee sharif and ratiep performances. The relationship of the ratiep with other South African Muslim performances is discussed in Chapter 4.

The ratiep was, and still is, well-known amongst many writers, academics and researchers of this art form and related subjects. This occurred not only because of the uniqueness and unusualness of the ratiep, but also because it

has been a topic of investigation over a long period by prominent South Africans and others. Persons such as the well-known Jewish jurist and writer of the early nineteenth century, Joseph Suasso de Lima who was of Dutch ancestry, tried to unravel the history, nature and purpose of the ratiep.<sup>1</sup>

I witnessed my first ratiep performance in Malmesbury near Cape Town in the early 1960's as a young boy of 10 or 11 years. In December 1981 I made my first audio-cassette tape-recording for research purposes. During 1985 I read a paper, entitled "The Ratiep Display", on the subject at the Ninth Musicological Conference held in Melbourne, Australia.

Over this long period I have witnessed three fundamental stages relating to ratiep performances:

1960 - 1981 : A general disapproval thereof, but a high frequency of ratiep performances.

1981 - 1990 : A renewed interest amongst certain writers, academics and researchers in the art form, and an attempt to publicize the ratiep from an academic perspective.

1990 - to present: The engulfment of the ratiep art form



within a broader emerging common South African culture amidst social, political and economic turmoil. During a period of "reconstruction" of a post-apartheid South African society, hitherto separate subcultures, such as Cape Muslim and South African Indian Muslim subcultures, are increasingly being steered towards oneness, which the majority of negotiating politicians seem to hope, will form part of a multicultural, but unified, common national "super"-culture. The premise of this work is that two separate, but not mutually exclusive subcultures called Cape Muslim and South African Indian Muslim culture, exist. For example, qawwali music is practised by Indian Muslims, and never by Cape Muslims. Viewed differently, the different sub-genres of these subcultures, may be grouped under one common South African Muslim cultural umbrella. In order to investigate the topic of ratiep art form, it becomes necessary to acknowledge the unique contributions with respect to Islamic music of the early Cape Muslims, and parallel them with the contributions of the South African Indian Muslims in regard to the ratiep art form.

Traditional Islam in South Africa is characterised by such customs as tomb visits, dhikr performances, the belief in the spiritual or supernatural, and azeemats (formulae which reputedly have special medicinal and other power). Emerging

in the Islamic world, including South Africa, is a greater emphasis on qiraat (Qur'anic recital). It could be safely argued that differences between Cape Muslim and South African Indian Muslim ratiep performances specifically, and Islamic culture generally, may disappear in time; common fundamental Muslim practice such as qiraat may characterise South African Islam more dominantly. Customary religious practices such as haddad, moulood and giyerwee sharif, which served their religious functions in South Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, may play a less central role in future.<sup>2</sup> It must however be remembered that religiously based activities tend to be more stable than secular practices, and also less susceptible to change. Sufi-based practices have found a resurgence in the Western world.<sup>3</sup> Since the future of South Africa is critically balanced presently, it may still be possible that Islamic fundamentalism may be less felt in South Africa than elsewhere in Africa. Sufi-based practices such as the ratiep performance, may perhaps still survive or even grow. This is highly unlikely if the present tendency in South Africa towards cultural, political and geographical unity continues. This work attempts to lay bare the origin of the ratiep performance, which is firmly embedded in Sufism. Therefore, in the light of the above general discussion on the future of the ratiep performance, the necessity of preservation and conservation which was the main thrust of my paper read in Australia in 1985, is contributed to through this study.

The past troubled political history of South Africa suggests reasons as to why the ratiep performance, as well as certain other traditional Cape Muslim and (South African) Indian Muslim religious customs may have survived in a fairly hostile South African environment, and not elsewhere in the world:

(a) Colonial and post-World War II South Africa had a political ideology based on separation of communities in terms of race, colour and creed discrimination. Since 1948 until 1991 when statutory discrimination enforced by the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act, was removed, the ruling National Party government instituted the apartheid system which divided South Africans into communities based on race, creed and skin colour.<sup>4</sup> Racially classified "Malay" and "Indian" groups resulted from a race classification system which was legally enforced and abolished only in 1991.

(b) There was an active encouragement by the ruling political leaders and some writers such as Du Plessis, of ethnic or group identity, rights and culture. The Bo-Kaap which was declared a traditional "Malay" or Cape Muslim enclave in 1952 where only racially classified "Malays" could live, while

"Kanaldorp" or District Six, where the residents were more cosmopolitan or "mixed", was completely destroyed, serve as an example .<sup>5</sup>

(c) Due to factors such as distance and the unacceptable South African Nationalist policy of apartheid, separation of the South African Muslims from mainstream Islam in areas such as Pakistan and the Middle East resulted through the "creation" and recognition of a "Malay Muslim" identity; the "Malay" was portrayed as well-mannered, docile, tolerant and of a better social standing than other early slaves and "non-Europeans" by writers and in reports of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There have existed, however, other political factors working against the survival, establishment and growth of South African subcultures:

(a) Dominant ruling forces have actively encouraged the Western norms and values of a minority (white) group within South Africa, using available political tools. Examples include the constitutionally enshrined Christian National Education and language policies.<sup>6</sup>

(b) A "divide and rule" policy which resulted in an

antagonism towards subcultures due to a perception by "disenfranchised" people that a discredited minority government actively encourages "ethnicity" and minority group rights. This lead to the commonly held viewpoint by the disenfranchised "masses" that "Malay culture", amongst other "ethnic" cultures, entrenches ethnicity which supports racist policies.

A major factor in the preservation of any cultural identity, is the will of the community and its cultural leaders. Muslims have shown evidence that their cultural activities have by and large prospered through their own efforts to preserve their Muslim identity. A "free, fair and equitable" political dispensation is envisaged for South Africa.<sup>7</sup> The will of South African Muslim to perpetuate a unique cultural identity, even as a minority, will be tested in the immediate future in a "free" political environment.

The future of minority groups, and their subcultures, depends on the political future of South Africa. Presently attempts are being made to settle this matter through negotiations of representative political parties and organisations. The future of the ratiep performance thus ultimately depends upon the political outcome of these critical negotiations.

Further discussion on political aspects relating to the ratiep performance will hardly feature in this work; the main objectives in this treatise are discription, analysis and documentation of relevant historical, musicological and other data. The latter includes metaphysical, medical and psychological considerations which, it is hoped, will be further explored. Since the ratiep performance is an outflow of religious belief, metaphysical considerations are both implied and necessary for a full understanding of this art form. Results from medical and psychological research related to the ratiep performance are still inconclusive, and the work of Prof. Lynn Gillis which is discussed in Chapter 5 in the medical and psychological field needs to continue.

A major result in medical, religious or musicological fields has not been achieved. Further research into the possible origin of world religions may supply a relationship between for example Christianity and Hinduism, which could help finding possible pre-Islamic roots in the ratiep performance. Another area of interest is a possible link between modes in the ratiep performance and for example, five-note modes of Indonesian music. While these aspects have been treated appropriately in this work, no conclusive results have been achieved. The ratiep display must be viewed as indigenous Afro-culture, its characteristic nature having profound possibilities in a mosaic of Southern African culture.

### Endnotes

1. de Lima was not a practising Jew, and taught Christianity amongst the early nineteenth century slaves. Louis Hermann, A History of the Jews in South Africa (Cape Town: South African Jewish Board of Deputies, 1935), p.96. He was well-known amongst the early Malays. His work on the ratiep dispute of the mid-nineteenth century is treated in Chapter 1, p.10.
2. See Desmond Desai, Islamic Music in South Africa: An Investigation into Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim Musical Practices, both past and present (Unpublished Thesis, Cape Town, 1986), p.5.
3. London Weekend Television. The Dervish Way. Copy of a video cassette-recording in: Islamic Library, Gatesville, Cape.
4. South African Communication Service. South African Profile. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1992, p.1.
5. District Six later became a notorious slum area in Cape Town. In 1966 legislation was passed by the ruling white National Party declaring it a white group area. Mass and forced removal to outlying areas, such as Mannenberg, resulted. Communities with their associated cultural activities such as the "ratieb" were destroyed. This became one of the factors which resulted in the failure of the apartheid ideology. See Cloete Breytenbach & Brian Barrows, The Spirit of District Six (Cape Town: Purnell, 1972), pp.19-20.  
  
In "Die Burger" an article suggests that "Malay" culture is promoted by "Bo-Kaap Productions" (my underlining and emphasis). Ina Randall, "Vrolike Klopse Galop oor Fees-gehore", Die Burger, 10 July 1993, p.4.
6. English and Afrikaans are (the only) "official" languages presently.
7. Several important political leaders, such as Nelson Mandela (President of the African National Congress) and F.W.de Klerk (Leader of the ruling National Party government) have mentioned this envisaged "free and fair" democracy in South Africa in their political speeches.

PREFACE

This work is divided into six chapters. A Prefatory Note precedes Chapter 1. The Appendices contain a Glossary of Terms, Plates not in the Main Body, Translations, Interviews, Daily Independent articles, Ratiep Textual Aspects, Musical Examples not in the Main Body, a Khalifa Certificate, a Commentary on Pigeaud's work and a short discussion on Snouck Hurgronje's work.

Lists of Figures, Maps, Tables, Musical Examples, Plates in Main Body and Taped Musical Examples have been given. A video-recording of the Baxter ratiep display (1985) and an Indian Muslim sandal procession (1989) accompany this work.

The sections on Text (3.6), Flags (3.7) and Movement (3.8) are included in Chapter 3. It was thought that the section on ratiep sharp instruments (4.6), praboes (4.7) and the bank (4.8) belong together with ratiep music in Chapter 4.

All plates have been taken by myself, except those indicated otherwise in the text. The whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.



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## CHAPTER 1

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The term "ratiep" was first cursorily noted by Dr Izak Dawid Du Plessis who without exception preferred the alternative term "khalifa", which is better known to non-Muslim South Africans.<sup>1</sup> Cape Muslims actually use this term to denote the leader of a ratiep jamaah (group). Although in common usage by Cape Muslims, "ratiep" has been consistently used only later by Achmat Davids, Robert Shell and in my own works.<sup>2</sup> Alternative terms denoting this art form are: display, show, performance, ceremony, folk art, art form, rite and ritual.<sup>3</sup> In the present work, the term "ratiep" is used to denote either the Cape Muslim subform (commonly called "ratiep" by Cape Muslims), or its South African Indian Muslim counterpart (commonly called "ratib" by Indian Muslims).<sup>4</sup> The term may be regarded as South African. The term "ratiep" derives from "ratib"; in the former term, South African linguistic influences are apparent in its pronunciation and spelling. Ethnographically, its usage is restricted to Cape Muslims only, who form a cultural subgroup within the South African cultural mosaic. These are the main reasons for its transliteration from the Arabic "رتب", and its use to denote both the "ratiep" and "ratib" subforms.

In all the works on the ratiep art form, the form is characterised as one which may last for several hours and which is performed by Cape Muslims. This art form is characterised by stabbings to and the piercing and cutting of parts of the performers' bodies by means of sharp objects, called tamboesters (daggers), saals (swords) and alwaan (skewers). During the performance, dhikr ("hymns" or vocal performances to the accompaniment of rebanna (tambourines) and dhol (a barrelshaped drum), based on "remembrance" of the Names of Allah, and other Qur'anic phrases, are rendered, which together with the ratiep movement, form an integral part of the art form. Dhikr (colloquially "djieker" in the Cape and "zikr" in Durban) are generally performed at all types of local Sufi Muslim performances such as haddad (prayer meetings held on the 7th, 40th or 100th day after the death of a Muslim), moulood (birthday celebrations of the Prophet) and samman (an art form which similar to ratiep is linked to trance, but performed without the use of sharp objects). The performance of dhikr takes place in accordance with the primary objective of love towards and union with Allah and "remembrances of Allah".<sup>5</sup> Special ratiep dhikr exist, which are rendered to the intense and rigid rhythmic structure of an accompaniment by the mentioned



rebanna frame drum and the dhol, both of which are used locally in ratiep performances.<sup>6</sup>

In summary, ratiep performances are characterised by: the performance of dhikr with its associated musical structure of styles and forms, both vocal and instrumental; the performances of various acts of self-mutilation with sharp objects to show religious fervour, with associated behavioural patterns and religious or metaphysical considerations; and the performance of a dance movement, which together with other aspects contribute towards the state of trance experienced by the performers to a varying degree during the performance.

### 1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is a large body of literature on Islamic mysticism, mostly in the English, German, French and Urdu languages.<sup>7</sup> The literature includes academic treatises, articles in periodicals, books and newspapers. Representing English contributions are The Muslim Digest, Arberry, Burckhardt, Qasem, Gilsonan, Nicholson, Shah, Khan, Trimmingham and Schimmel.<sup>8</sup> Idris Khan and Nawab Ali Khan have published in Urdu, while Touma and Reinhard have published in German.<sup>9</sup> French publications are represented by those of Jaraizbhoy

and Dermingham<sup>10</sup>.

Information regarding specifically the Rifa'iyah Sufi sect on the other hand, is relatively scarce, as is that on music and other aspects of ratiep performances. Christian Poche represents an important contribution towards musicological investigation of the Syrian ratiep-related zikh (dhikr) ceremony;<sup>11</sup> Rouget's book on "Music and Trance" focuses on similar aspects of dhikr.<sup>12</sup> The work of Shelm Friedlander on the Whirling Dervishes in Turkey discusses the background to this Sufi practice and treats certain musicological aspects in some detail.

The following information sources arranged chronologically (in Table 1) have been plotted on graphs showing relationships between frequency of publication on Cape Muslim culture which include a section on the ratiep art form, with respect to 20-year intervals (See Figure 1). The same is done for the Indian Muslim ratib performances (See Figure 2).

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SOURCE/AUTHOR</u>
1813	Government Archives: Cape Town
1842	Thomas Baines Watercolour (Africana Museum)
1856	J.S. De Lima
1856	<u>Cape Monthly Magazine</u>
1861	Duff Gordon
1868	Gustav Frisch (Africana Museum)
1884	An Unknown Newspaper (Africana Museum)
1888	<u>London News</u> (Africana Museum)
1890	<u>Daily Independent</u> (Kimberley)
1943	I.D. Du Plessis
1950	<u>The London Times</u> (Africana Museum)
1950	Lawrence Green
1950	H.J. De Graaf
1952	<u>The Cape Times</u>
1960	Folkways Recordings
1967	<u>The Cape Herald</u>
1969	Fatima Meer
1970	Lynn Gillis
1974	Robert Shell
1975	Hans Kähler

1977	C.G. Oosthuizen
1980	Achmat Davids
1983/85	Desmond Desai
1984	Henning
1985/86	Others:
	"The Cape Times"
	"The Argus"
	"Die Burger"
	"The South-Easter"

Table 1

The graphs in the Figure 1 and Figure 2 below both convey the deduction that, in comparison to previous years, the largest concentration of writings on the Cape Muslim ratiep and the Indian Muslim ratib respectively occurred from the year 1950 onwards.

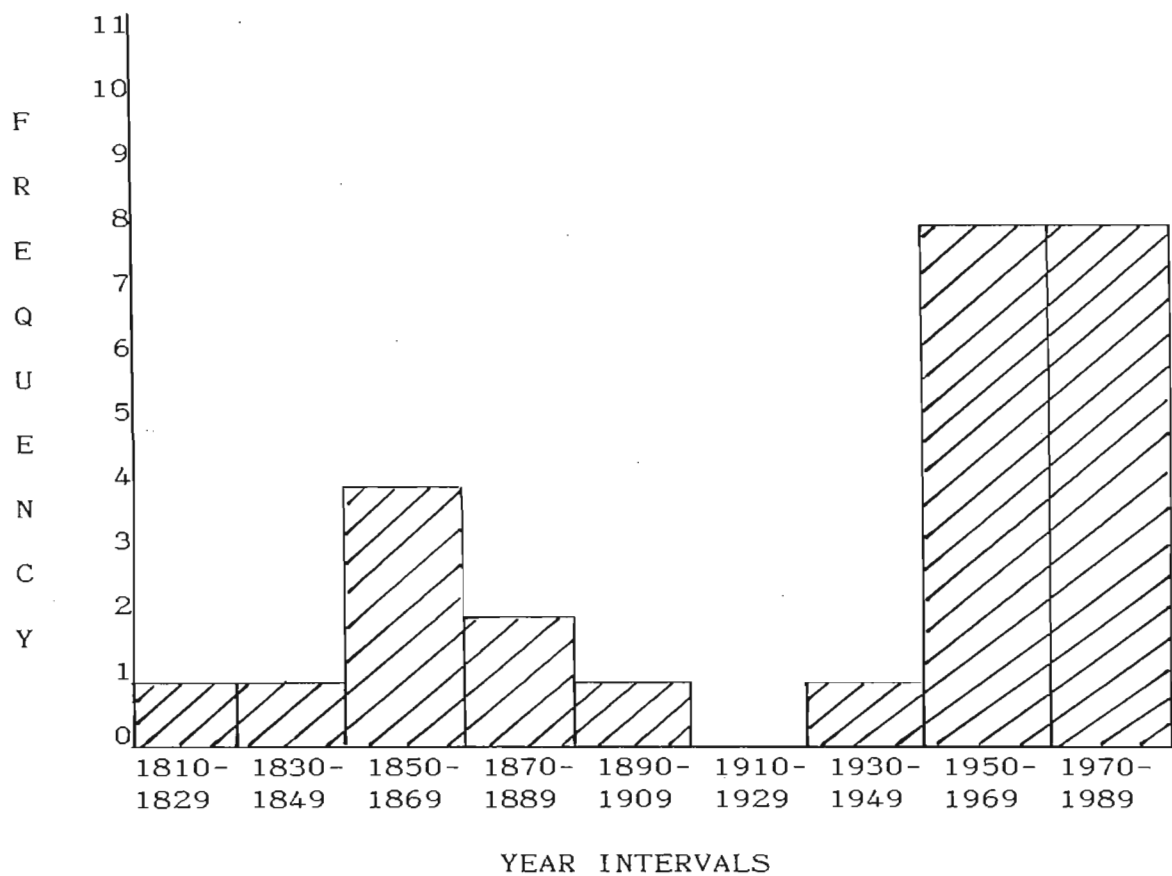


Figure 1: Cape Muslims

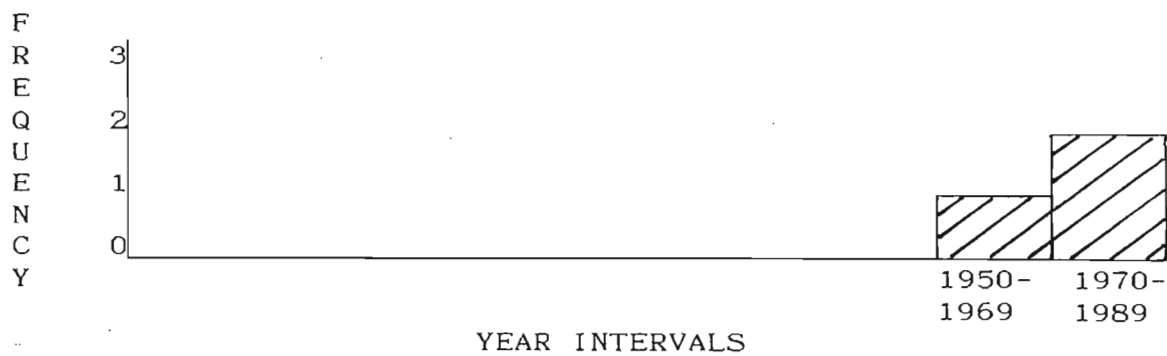


Figure 2: Indian Muslims

The shapes of the graphs are also indicative of recent renewed and increased interest in research into and writings on the ratiep art form. While writings on the Cape Muslim ratiep performance go back one hundred and eighty years, those writings on the South African Indian Muslim ratib performance date back only about thirty years.

1.1.1 Government Records: Cape Archives: CJ 895, Folio 827-830

Shell mentions this important document in the Cape Archives as the earliest written reference to a ratiep performance in his discourse on Cape Muslim "rites".<sup>13</sup> The actual record indicates that the ratiep was held at about midnight at Diepe River at the home of a Freeman "Hammat" from Maccasar.<sup>14</sup> The Free Blacks Griep, Taasie, Edrias, Chivires, Raphiek and Awaldyn took part in a "play" in which "sabres, daggers, and other murderous weapons" were used by them to "chop at, cut and stab one another". During an act which involved pushing a point of a sword into the stomach of Abdul Taasie by Griep, a Free Black from Mosambique, the

entrails of said Abdul Taasie projected through his belly, whereupon the prisoner (Griep) sewed up the wound, continually repeating his prayers, but notwithstanding said Abdul Taasie died about an hour later. <sup>15</sup>

For his "crime" Griep was

condemned to be confined in irons to labour without wages on the public works at Robben Island or elsewhere for the next ensuing three years... <sup>16</sup>

The description given in this important record by the secretary of the Court in 1813, van Blokland, is not only clear and detailed, but also resembles the ratiep shows witnessed by myself from 1981 to 1991 remarkably closely, as all of those I witnessed incorporated acts of cutting and stabbing, and striking of the arms and chest with swords, tamboesters (daggers) and piercing the cheeks and ears with alwaan (skewers) (See Plates 1,2 and 3). The act described by van Blokland given above was witnessed by myself in May 1985 during a show I helped organise at the Baxter Theatre in

Rondebosch, Cape.<sup>17</sup> The Yusufia Rifi'a jamaah who performed at the time, included in their performance an act of pressing a sword against a performer's stomach. Christian Poche also shows a picture involving this commonly performed ratiep act (See Plate 4).<sup>18</sup>

#### 1.1.2 Joseph De Lima

J.S. De Lima, by request of the "Mohammedans" (that is, the Cape Muslims) and in connection with the much publicised "Khalifa Dispute" of 1855, published those documents used in his investigation into the dispute, as well as personal comment and research details.<sup>19</sup> In his preface he notes the following concerning the origin of the ratiep:

...the only information that I can collect is that the Califa has reference to the birth-day festival of SEIDA ABUBEKER, successor of MOCHAMAT, - a festival annually celebrated on the 11th day of the month of Rabil Achier; when on that occasion, the Malays spent the day in dinner parties and dancing according to Arabian customs, music, beating on tambourines, stabbing with swords, &c., which, however, has nothing to do with the religion of MAHOMET, and is not to be found in NIEBUHR, the best authority on the Arabs and their customs.<sup>20</sup>





Plate 1: A ratiep performance with tamboes at a private show in Athlone, April 1985



Plate II: A bleeding ratiep performer who cut himself with a saal, April 1985



Plate III: A bare-chested performer, April 1985



Plate IV: Picture showing a Syrian Zikr performance of an act which presumably is similar to the one of 1813 in which Griep died.  
(Photo: C. Poche)

The dispute around the ratiep arose because of its frequency of performance, and the fact that it was a nuisance to neighbours. More specifically, the issues addressed in the investigation in the "Khalifa Affair" are:

- (a) Is the ratiep part of the religion of Islam?
- (b) Did the Government's Justice of Peace in Cape Town act fairly when the ratiep was banned?
- (c) Has the ratiep been a nuisance, and has it been frequently performed?
- (d) Has the Government itself acted fairly on the issue?
- (e) What is its nature and origin, and when should it be performed?

There appears to be general agreement amongst the majority of religious leaders questioned by De Lima that the ratiep was not an Islamic practice and that it had acquired a nuisance element to others which the Government at the time handled with tact and fairness. The result of the investigation was that the ratiep was only allowed at certain times during the year, on condition that certain requirements were met.

These decisions may well have been influenced by the fact that several of the imams (Muslim priests) were educated in Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, a centre still promoting Wahḥabi Muslim fundamentalist/revivalist ideals, as it did at that time more than 100 years ago; Wahḥabi influences were well established in 1855 in Mecca, which was the place of training of many Cape Muslim imams of 1855, and even today. One imam, Abdol Waab, thought that the ratiep was not compulsory, and that Muslims do not sin in not participating in it; he stated nothing to condemn it as irrelevant to Islam. However, twenty-seven Muslims signed a petition to have the ratiep allowed, which according to them had been part of their traditions for many years.

De Lima's work seems to have influenced later writers' viewpoints regarding the ratiep. Both Davids and Du Plessis refer to De Lima's work on the "Khalifa Dispute".<sup>21</sup>

### 1.1.3 The Cape Monthly Magazine

One of the most important and earliest records which contains a description of a Cape Muslim ratiep performance is found in "The Cape Monthly Magazine" of 1861, which states:

(The ratiep is) most characteristic of their customs...In Oriental countries, the "Khalifa" may be celebrated with greater pomp and magnificance. <sup>22</sup>

Reporting a performance attended by fifty 'Malay' and four imams (priests) in a building in Church Square in Cape Town, the magazine states that after an old priest had recited a few verses from the Qur'an, two or three boys distributed the "tambourines" (rebannas). The performance thereon reached a climax with the performers raising the rebannas aloft and striking them once, followed by complete silence. Then a "hymn" (dhikr) was performed in "measure rhythm" to the accompaniment of the rebannas, which became more intense, but adhered to a regular tempo. <sup>23</sup>

This report is of interest not only because it resembles many other later ratiep performances, but also because it indicates an important technique of bringing a dhikr performance to a close:

The tambourine was raised and waved aloft, and... he suddenly struck it with his right hand. At the same instant each performer struck the one held, and there was again profound stillness. <sup>24</sup>

The closing dance section of the ratiep called the ashrakal, is described in the report as a "circling dance" which the writer considered to be more "gracious" than the "horrible" and "disgusting" main part of the ratiep performance which preceded it.

#### 1.1.4. Duff Gordon

The early letters of Lady Duff Gordon written during the nineteenth century (1861/62) are particularly important as they give an account of a Cape Muslim dhikr performance. <sup>25</sup> In a later edition of her work (1927), a watercolour by Thomas Baines painted in 1842 is reprinted, which is one of the earliest sketches of a Cape Muslim ratiep performance. A number of rebanna players are depicted, who provide the rhythmic and vocal background, termed "the sound of music" by Duff Gordon:

At Cape Town, old Jamaalee told me that English Christians (my underlining) were getting more like Malays, and had begun to hold "Khalifas" at Simon's Bay. These are festivals in which Mussulman fanatics run knives into their flesh, go into convulsions, etc. to the sound of music. <sup>26</sup>



It is not clear whether Duff Gordon was implying with her statement of "English Christians were getting more like Malays" that Christians were trying, as Muslims did, to show the power of the Christian religion, or whether they were being converted to Islam. It might be inferred from the different Christian doctrines that exist, that Christianity, rather than Islam, was "appropriating rites from other religions" in the words of Shell which he used to indicate the influence of other religions in Islam.<sup>27</sup>

#### 1.1.5 Mayson

Noting the historical background of the early 'Cape Malays', Mayson also described a ratiep performance from the middle part of the nineteenth century. Of particular importance is his observation about the use of red-hot iron chains, which were stroked with the bare hands.<sup>28</sup> While this act no longer forms part of Cape Muslim ratiep performances, Indian Muslim ratib performances still incorporate it.

#### 1.1. Du Plessis

Although writers such as Ismail Jeppie and Achmat Davids have criticised the role and viewpoints of I.D. Du Plessis severely, he may rightfully be regarded as one who not only

placed 'Cape Malay' culture on an academic footing, but who also researched 'Cape Malay' secular music, although to a limited and one-sided extent.<sup>29</sup>

He refers to the ratiep in his works, all of which deal with the broader Cape Muslim culture.<sup>30</sup> He carefully describes older performances mentioned by the "Cape Monthly Magazine" (1860) and Mayson (1861). In connection with the now non-existent act of stroking red-hot chains, he notes:

Old Malays state that the manipulation of red-hot chains was included in the performance in their young days. Nowadays this is never done.<sup>31</sup>

Du Plessis also opens interesting avenues for investigation and speculation regarding metaphysical aspects relating to Cape Muslim culture, contributing to what Davids might call an investigation into "the quaintness of a group of people".<sup>32</sup> Certain of these speculations Du Plessis himself might have regarded as "fanciful theories".<sup>33</sup> These include aspects relating to "goëlery" (trickery) and "toordery" (magic).<sup>34</sup> Du Plessis however admits that magic is found in the culture of people all over the world, and not exclusively amongst the Malays, who have been identified with it by Europeans.<sup>35</sup> Transcendental considerations in the ratiep-

related dabus performance in Southeast Asia have been a topic of discussion by Pigeaud, and it has a bearing on the South African ratiep which will be discussed later.<sup>36</sup>

Du Plessis also speculates about medical aspects pertaining to the ratiep and appeared well-informed about Cape Muslim terminology such as "ratiep" and "rebanna".<sup>37</sup> However, nowhere in his writings does he mention the ratiep terms: tamboester, inry, dhol, bakaaier, trapsaal, alwaan and "met swaarde speel" (Afrikaans for: "to play with swords").

#### 1.1 Green

Lawrence Green includes a section on the 'Cape Malays' in his "Tavern of the Seas".<sup>38</sup> In his "A Taste of South-Easter" he discusses the culture and history of the Cape Muslims more extensively. He often does this with unsubstantiated comment and remarks. Still, his work is valuable in that it preserves many oral traditions such as:

Social legends are as old as Sheik Joseph,  
the priest who made sea water drinkable.<sup>39</sup>

He mentions Mayson, De Lima and Cole who deal with the Cape Muslims and thus becomes a valuable source of reference. Both

Green and Colvin give an account of Sheikh Yusuf, a nobleman from Southeast Asia, who was banished to the Cape in 1694 because of resistance against Dutch settlement, and who settled at Macassar, where one of the "magic-circle-of-Muslim-Saints'" tombs has been erected.<sup>40</sup>

Of present-day ratiep performances he writes:

Modern displays which I witnessed were similar to those of the last century, but much time was occupied by men who sliced their arms with swords without drawing blood. In some performances the eyelids were pierced and men rushed on to sword blades. Devotees had one explanation only - faith in Allah. <sup>41</sup>

Of considerable importance is the following about a dukun (locally doekoem; 'Malay' "witch" doctor) since it refers to the use of drugs which enable the performance of the incredible ratiep acts:

There was once a dukun in Cape Town who put on a revolting show in which he was able to move one eye far out of the socket and replace it without damage. It is also possible that

stupefying drugs are used in some tricks <sup>42</sup>

#### 1.1.8 De Graaf

H.J. De Graaf regards the practice of "dikir" (dhikr) as the specific objective of the "well-known" Muslim Sufi brotherhoods.<sup>43</sup> He contends that in certain cases this practice is "overdone", which results in the primary objective of exhibiting the performers' invulnerability to self-mutilation, and insensitivity to pain, based on religious belief.<sup>44</sup>

He attempts to trace the origin of the Cape Muslim "Chalifa" or ratiep and states the following:

The remarkable traces of it (that is, the ratiep) are found in Bantam (See Map 1), the capital of the earlier Empire by that name. There, at the tiana, the place of worship, which had formerly been built by the Dutch renegade Cardeel, the visitors are shown terrifying instruments, which are heavier and larger than those in Cape Town, with which the members of the brotherhood try to wound themselves, and thus show their invulnerability. In fact, they do not do it

themselves, but allow their fellow comrades to do it, which is clearly depicted in an article by C.P.Groenhof....:

The instruments of torture are of threefold kind:

The first shows a wooden handle, and has a chain of four to five links, which rattle mysteriously when wildly used, and through which runs a long metal spike with a sharp point. One places the sharp point on the chest.

The second is a smaller replica, and is placed to the eye.

The third, and last, instrument, is kept against the head.

In all these cases, a fellow performer yields a slap on it, without causing any injury.

This is the "gedeboes" (dabus), (which is deduced from the Arabic dabboes = iron spikes) and takes place under the guidance of two chalifas, on the 12th day of Moeloed (Bada Moeloed = Rabilakhier?).

It is common for members of the brotherhood to take part in the play (my translation).<sup>45</sup>

De Graaf further argues that Sheikh Joesoep (Yusuf), who hailed from Bantam, and whose group had accompanied him as political exile to the Cape in 1682, was the leader of a group of Muslims who became the nucleus of the early Cape Muslims. He is generally accepted as the founder of Islam in South Africa.

Although De Graaf does not consider the text, music, movement, or other important aspects of ratiep, he concludes that the Cape Muslim ratiep is "Gedeboes"(dabus).<sup>46</sup> The dabus performance, like the ratiep is characterised by stabbings and cuttings to the body of entranced subjects, without the flow of blood or with self-inflicted wounds healing rapidly.

### 1.1.9 Gillis

In his unpublished working paper, Prof.L.S.Gillis tries to trace the origins of the ratiep with reference to De Lima and Du Plessis.<sup>47</sup>

While he does not mention vernacular terms such as tamboester, alwaan, saal and bank, he does mention the Arabic writing on the bank which he contends ratiep performers cannot read.<sup>48</sup> Well-known Islamic phrases such as "La illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah) occur on the bank, which are known to most Muslims because of their early madressa (Muslim school) education.

He describes the music as "throbbing,...rather monotonous chanting", a description which may be considered as a biased perspective of a non-Western musical practice.<sup>49</sup>

His main, and unique, contribution to research into the Cape Muslim ratiep concerns its medical and psychological aspects. A medical analysis is given of the swordplay, which he concludes "is nicely judged".<sup>50</sup> By this he probably tries to indicate that the areas where the sword strikes the body is carefully pre-selected so that the possibility of injury is minimized. The movement of the arm so as to "ride" the blow by the sword may also have been a possible reason for Gillis' assertion. According to him, the lack of bleeding is undoubtedly facilitated by the intense concentration of a trance state. About the alwaan he states:



The lack of bleeding is probably due to the steady pressure maintained by the instruments on the tissues while it is "in situ", and in addition there is the intense local reflex vasoconstriction which prevents immediate bleeding and gives clots time to form. There is also probably a psychophysiological element which will be discussed later. <sup>51</sup>

Later he states:

The rhythm is undoubtedly the key factor for it creates the essential condition for the development of trance - monotony from a regular beat, fixation of attention by its compelling nature, and a constriction of the field of awareness, so that external stimuli are not needed. <sup>52</sup>

Notwithstanding his in-depth medical and psychological analyses, he finally concludes:

We remain with the problem of explaining the control of bleeding. <sup>53</sup>

He speculates about the effects of alpha activity brought about in the brain by sound, and he conjectures that the heart beat and blood flow should be experimentally checked.

### 1.1 Hans Kähler

Hans Kähler, under the direction of Du Plessis, made a valuable contribution to research into Cape Muslim culture. In particular his investigation into the ratiep evidences his expert knowledge of Sufi tūrūq (sing. tariqah) or mystical orders, and their link with Cape Muslim ratiep.

The following translation from his original article in German also shows his close interaction with ratiep performers and his knowledge of indigenous terminology:

Islamic mysticism in its popular form is found here also. A sheikh could be the leader of such a tariqa (brotherhood), who teaches his followers (murid) the words and meaning. There are tariqa-Sheikhs at the Cape, who allegedly studied mysticism in Mecca or Cairo, but never appear publicly. Regular meetings are lead by their representatives, the chalifas, who are "Friends of Mysticism" rather than true mystics. After having received instruction from the Sheikh, he gets his "pass" as a chalifa. The Rifa'iya, Sammaniya, Qadiriya and Naqsabandiya are known

in the Cape. They also know the ratibs of Ism Latif, Sahibu l'Attas and al-Haddad. At the ratibs of the Rifa'iya, which take place frequently in halls in public, and are known as "chalifa" to the Europeans, tambourines (rebana) and drums (dol) are beaten upon. The performers, who reach ecstasy through dhikr beat their bodies with sharp steel swords (sal) or walk upon the swords with bare feet and pierce their cheeks, ears and eyelids with thick and long spikes and skewers, while the chalifa, who is seated behind a bank, performs his pudjies. The close takes place in a dance form by rebana players who face one another. The initiation which occurs after about six years, is conducted by a present chalifa who gives evidence at the grave or tomb of a holy person or saint (my translation).<sup>54</sup>

His is the only reference in the available literature to such Cape Muslim terms as dhol, rebanna, ratib, pudjie, saal and bank.<sup>55</sup>

A further two aspects appear interesting. Firstly, the fact that Sheikhs who are specially trained in Islamic mysticism direct the ratiep performance. Secondly, Kähler also mentions

a initiation ceremony which is held at the grave of a holy person or saint "after about six years".<sup>56</sup> Presumably one or more new khalifas are initiated during such occasion.

#### 1.1.11 Other

References have been made to Cape Muslim ratiep performances in several newspapers and popular magazines, including both recent and older ones. These include "The Argus", "The Cape Times", "Die Burger", "You", "The South-Easter" and "The Daily Independent".<sup>57</sup> Of particular importance is the last-mentioned publication which discusses Cape Muslim performances in the early days of Kimberley's existence whereas the other mentioned publications refer to more recent performances. (See Appendix H )

The first ratiep display in Kimberley was held at the Eclectic grounds at Kimberley sometime between 1885 - the year in which the grounds were opened - and the first reported performance in the "Daily Independent" which was held on the 15th of August 1887. Judging from the detailed newspaper description given of the ratiep acts at the time, many of the acts performed are identical to those performed

in recent ratiep performances I have witnessed and studied. For example, the three-hour ratiep performance held on the 18th of March 1887, opened with six subjects performing with daggers (tamboesters) . This tamboester performance was similarly performed in the ratiep performance held on the 13th of May 1985 at the Baxter Theatre in Rondebosch. The second act of the performance of 1887 consisted of "cutting of throats", an act which is also still performed today.<sup>58</sup> The act of inserting skewers (alwaan) into the tongue and cheek, and thereafter exhibiting them to the audience also invariably still forms part of modern performances (cf. p. 564 ). The 1891 performance was concluded with rebanna drumming and dancing, which is probably equivalent to the final ashrakal section of the ratiep performance of today. Vernacular terms such as ratiep, tamboester, alwaan and even "Muslim" were not used in the report. "Khalifa" (a term which actually refers to the leader, cf. p.514), "dagger" and "skewer" are respectively used instead.

My own works, which include a dissertation submitted at the University of Cape Town, and a paper read in Australia have focused primarily on musicological aspects, hitherto ignored.<sup>59</sup> Textual and movement aspects were noted and attempts were made to demarcate the various ratiep acts.

As far as can be ascertained, the works by Meer and Oosthuizen contain the only published descriptions of the ratib sandal procession in Durban by Indian Muslims. The Indian ratib (or raathie, which means "spear") procession is accounted as follows by Oosthuizen:<sup>60</sup>

Then there is also a procession through the city. Different movements were executed, and strong steel objects (raathies) are thrust into the stomachs and other parts of the body. Coloured Muslims (sic) are well acquainted with this (type of performance) (my translation).

Meer also, but more broadly, describes a particular Indian ratib procession:

Women gather in a flat close to the shop and prepare offerings of flowers, sweetmeats and sandalwood paste. These are placed in trays, thalas, and carried by the main devotees who have fasted for the sacred task. The tomb cover, gilaf, green and embroidered with Quranic verses in gold is hoisted canopy-fashion on four poles over them. The niyaz bearers are led by a party of musicians and qawwals (singers), and these in turn are preceded by three or four groups of raathie (spear) players, Zanzibaris, Malays and Muslims,

all followers, mureeds of the Nagpur saint, Shah Hamidullah. Slim men and little boys pull up their shirts and knot them almost neck-high, bare their stomachs, and then plunge the raathies (long lengths of steel with sharply pronged ends) into their bared stomachs. The assault develops into a graceful dance. Heads are thrown back, and flung forward, for a moment the raathies remain tense and poised in mid-air, as if drawing strength, then torsos curve in, knees spring together and the points dig into flesh. The movement continues up and over and in, in matador-like rhythm to the beat of cymbals and large tambourines tautly stretched with skins and edged with bells. And all the while others in the procession intone in rich voices, verses from the Quran. Within a short time, the exposed parts of the body are covered in red pinpoint scars. The procession move(s) slowly, the raathie players pausing in between for breath. After an hour or more, they reach the site of the tomb and move through the gate to its inner precincts. The offerings are laid at the base of the tomb. The tomb is bathed with attar of roses and annointed with sandalwood paste and draped with a gilaf and adorned with flowers. Then the devotees step back and the fateha is recited, and individual devotees crowd around to make their special prayers. Outside the tomb, the qawwalis sing from a high pavilion temporarily erected for the occasion. <sup>61</sup>

Meer's detailed description gives clear insight into the nature of the procession and highlights the ratib performance, recitals from the Quran, the various rituals and the qawwali singing. She notes relevant terminology: raathie (spear); sandal; thala (tray); gilaf (cover); qawwal (singer); mureed (followers); niyaz and fateha. All the terms except fateha (the opening Chapter of the Qur'an) are explained, which are used in their contextual meanings as commonly used by the South African Indian Muslim community.

While Meer does not intend making an analytical study of the sandal procession, the passage reveals the following shortcomings and errors: It suggests that "Malays" and "Muslims" are not synonymous. Perhaps she means "Malays and other Muslims". "Zanzibaris" are also a group of Muslims. The ratib dhikr are not necessarily "from", but "based on" the Qur'an, a serious error. Meer regards the "assault" as developing into the "graceful dance". The dance and "assault" are always complementary to each other. These statements are incorrect, and great caution needs to be exercised if conclusions regarding the ratib are to be drawn.

Related art forms have been discussed by Kartomi, Poche, Gilsenan, Rouget and Pigeaud.<sup>62</sup> These will be treated later in this work where analytical comparisons with ratiep art forms are made.

The article on "Islamic Religious Music" in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians contains an important discussion on the dervishes, and provides the reader with a useful bibliography on the subject.<sup>63</sup>

Both Shelms Friedlander and the London Weekend Television in a documentary entitled "The Dervish Way" emphasize the importance of the performance of dhikr in the Sufi's path towards loosening himself from his own ego and unification



with Allah. The accompanying dance, called "turning" is described as an important technique of escaping from the self. Music, as in the ratiep, is also essential and consists of the performance of na'at sharif which constitutes one section of the dervish performance.<sup>64</sup>

#### 1.1.11 Summary: Overview of the Literature

The information contained in the above-mentioned sources is extremely valuable, although by and large descriptive-- mostly in general terms. Particularly those sources describing the Cape Muslim ratiep of the nineteenth century give the researcher a good idea of the nature of the performance then. Of cardinal importance is the Government Record of 1813, and De Lima's work of 1855. Vague, but important, references to music are found in the works of Du Plessis, De Lima and Gillis. Only De Graaf attempts to support his hypothesis regarding the Bantam origin of the ratiep with historical and descriptive evidence.

A detailed analytical study has not been made by any of the writers discussed above. Although the related work on the Whirling Dervishes by Friedlander is more detailed in terms of texts, general musical matters such as types of instruments and musical forms, as well as the history of the Dervishes, no detailed musical transcriptions or analyses have been made.

Davids and De Lima focus strongly upon conflict and controversy surrounding the performance of ratiep, the former more specifically from a religious viewpoint.

Much information on Cape Muslim ratiep is scattered in various sources of literature and generally centres on broader subjects such as "Islamic Mosques" (Davids), "Cape Malay" culture (Du Plessis) or psychological aspects (Gillis). Although acknowledged to form an inextricable part of 'Cape Malay' culture, the ratiep is treated as a separate entity with Du Plessis and Davids emphasising that they regard the ratiep as not linked to Islam. Ratiep-related information in Pigeaud, Poche and Kartomi focus strongly on the art form discussed. A holistic approach, that is one which incorporates anthropological, analytical and musicological methods, is not followed in the case of dabus and Syrian dhikr performances.<sup>65</sup>

Oosthuizen's description, and particularly the detailed account by Meer, of the South African Indian Muslim ratib provide a valuable starting point for further investigation and documentation.

Shell's contribution notes the death of the Free Black Griep.<sup>66</sup> He unconvincingly asserts that Muslims "appropriate rites from other religions". This assertion does not receive sufficient support from Bird.<sup>67</sup> Surprisingly Du Plessis's link of Cape Muslim ratiep with the Balinese Barong dance drama, is used by Shell to support his viewpoints, but both writers do not attempt to support this hypothesis with evidence.<sup>68</sup> It may with equal ease be argued that orthodox Islam guards over the pureness in the religion, and that pre-Islamic cultures may, at best, be tolerated in order to gain momentum; once achieved, the primary objective of purity in Islam remains. Also, there should be evidence of greater interrelationships between Islamic, Hindu, and Christian cultures in South Africa than had hitherto been shown. Steve Kahn states in the Cape Observer that the repetition of the name of God through abdominal breathing occurs in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism.<sup>69</sup> In the latter religion, this practice is called "mantra meditation". The act of swallowing of coals during religious ceremonies is commonly practiced in both Hinduism and in ratiep performances. Primarily, Islam kept its doors for cultural exchange open, while Christianity perhaps tended to

close it at the time.<sup>70</sup>

The main issue of Du Plessis, Shell and Davids is the "origin" of the ratiep performance, about which no conclusive evidence can be found.

Many of the secondary source materials seem to have drawn from one another. While the Government Record of 1813, De Lima's work, Duff Gordon's letters and the account of a ratiep performance in "The Cape Monthly Magazine" contain independent material, others have used them as source material. Du Plessis, Shell and Davids, are not only interrelated, but have drawn from earlier sources. Gillis, Kähler and De Graaf appear to be independent in the sense that each sought supporting evidence for their unique research on the ratiep. The works of Green and Du Plessis are contemporary and both reveal a descriptive and narrative character.

The ratiep is an extremely complex art form, which needs to be investigated from various perspectives. Previous research into the ratiep have generally fallen short in one or more

respects. Those which appear to focus by and large on historical aspects seem to yield results that are either inconclusive or far too general. This is true of the works of Graaf, Du Plessis, Shell, Davis and myself. Description of the ratiep have either been incomplete, ommiting essential components thereof, or lacking what Qureshi would call the "culture's own conceptualization about music".<sup>71</sup> Aspects such as terminology and language usage, music and physical and behavioral patterns involving movement have mostly been ignored. Research into the South African Indian Muslim ratib is even less satisfying. Gillis pioneered a new, but as yet incomplete and unpublished investigation into the medical and psychological aspects relating exclusively to the Cape Muslim ratiep.<sup>72</sup> It may be argued that previous investigation mostly bore the mark of curiosity about a "foreign" and ancient art form existing imidst the diversities of South African cultures; more objectively, the general aims of scientific investigation have not been achieved, except in the case of Gillis and to a lesser extent Kähler and De Graaf. Any (musical) phenomenon may be investigated in terms of: The phenomenon itself (including musicological, linguistic, behavioural and movement aspects); the historical

past, and possibly an investigation into the raison d'etre for the phenomenon, resulting in one focusing on metaphysical, religious and other considerations.

A broad, comprehensive, analytical study encompassing the complete range of relevant aspects pertaining to ratiep has not been made by any of the writers in the mentioned sources. The present work relies on both secondary and primary source materials in an attempt to be as exhaustive as possible.

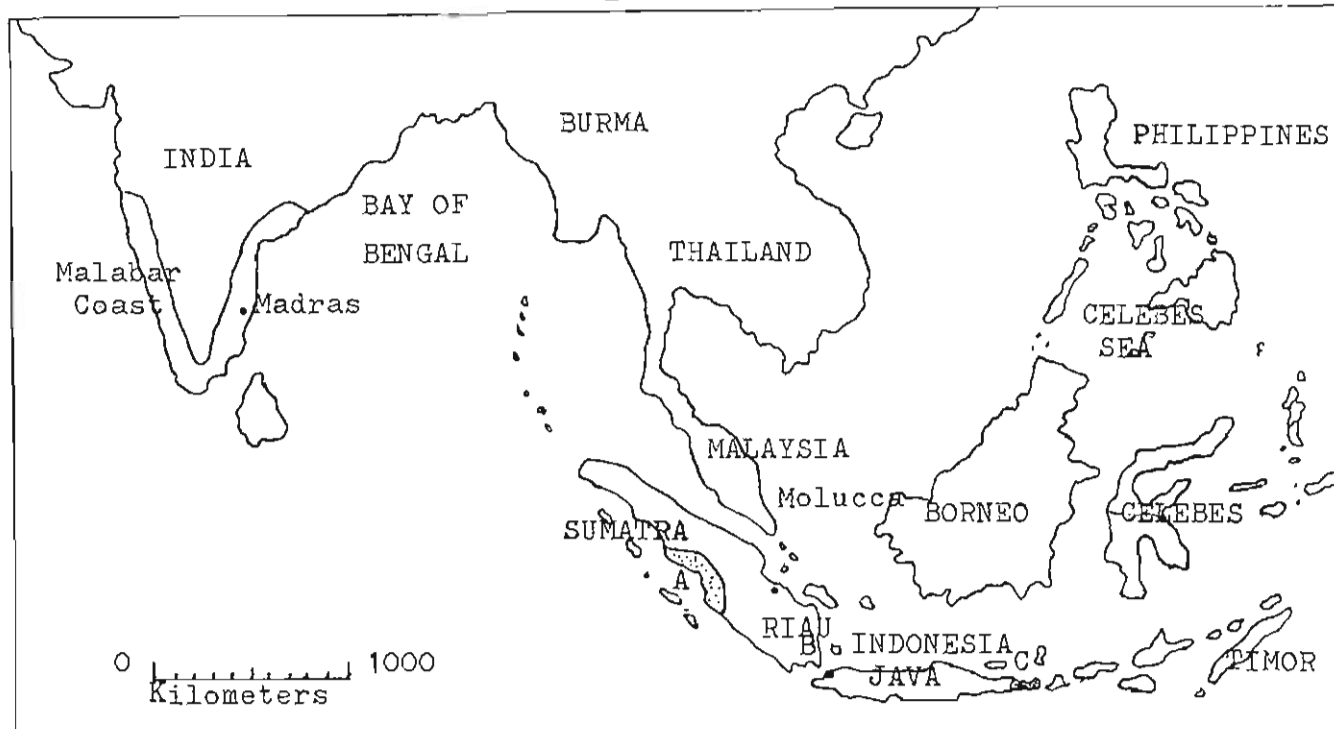
## 1.2 ORIGINS

In searching for origins for the term "ratiep", one comes across the Arabic term "ratib" (in Arabic script: رتب ) which means: "to be arranged, organized, to set up".<sup>73</sup> According to al-Attas, the term refers to "a non-obligatory form of worship performed and valued for its mystical significance". In general then, ratib refers to an arrangement by a particular order of Sufi performance, which is by and large determined by the associated founders and leaders of the relevant (Sufi) order. Thus "ratib-ul-Rifa'i" refers to a particular arrangement for performance by the founder Ahmad al'Rifa'i and other leaders of the Rifa'iyya Sufi sect.

Linked by researchers and performers alike to the anniversary of the death of its reputed founder, Sayed Abdul Kader Jilani, the art form is meant to be performed on the 11th day of the Islamic month of Rabil Akhir (Rabi-al-Akhir), which is locally termed "Amantua Ablas".<sup>74</sup> Its Sufi link will be stressed throughout, as well as its link to the Rifa'iyah Sufi brotherhood which was founded by the important Sufi mystic Al-Rifa'i (d.1175); the actual founder of the ratiep art form remains a matter for speculation, as do the origins of the art form generally.

While the life and work of Sayed Abdul Kader Jilani had been documented with great detail, various writers have speculated about origins of the Cape Muslim ratiep. While Robert Shell and Davids link it to a Hindu past, Du Plessis finds it similar to the Barong dance in Bali(C), De Graaf to a similar art form from the former Javanese city Bantam (B, See Figure 3) and some even to the Sumatran "dabus"(A)<sup>75</sup>. The areas of origin for the forebears of South African 'Cape Malays' the Malabar Coast, Java, Sumatra, Malaysia and Celebes (see Figure 3). The first Muslims immigrated from West Sumatra, Aceh and Bantam in 1667, 1658 and 1692 respectively.<sup>76</sup> Art forms related to ratiep include the dabus of West Sumatra; the gedeboes of Bantam; and the ketjak and Barong of Bali.<sup>77</sup>

The works of Shell, Davids and Du Plessis lack in-depth investigation; their conclusions are unsubstantiated and often seem to be based on pure speculation. The Hindu-link may seem feasible given the history of the Islamization of Hindu India during the 15th



KEY:

- ☐ : Areas from which many early 'Cape Malay' slaves came
- A : West Sumatra: Place of dabus activity
- B : Bantam, former capital of Java: Centre of gedeboes
- C : Bali: Centre for Kétjak and Barong

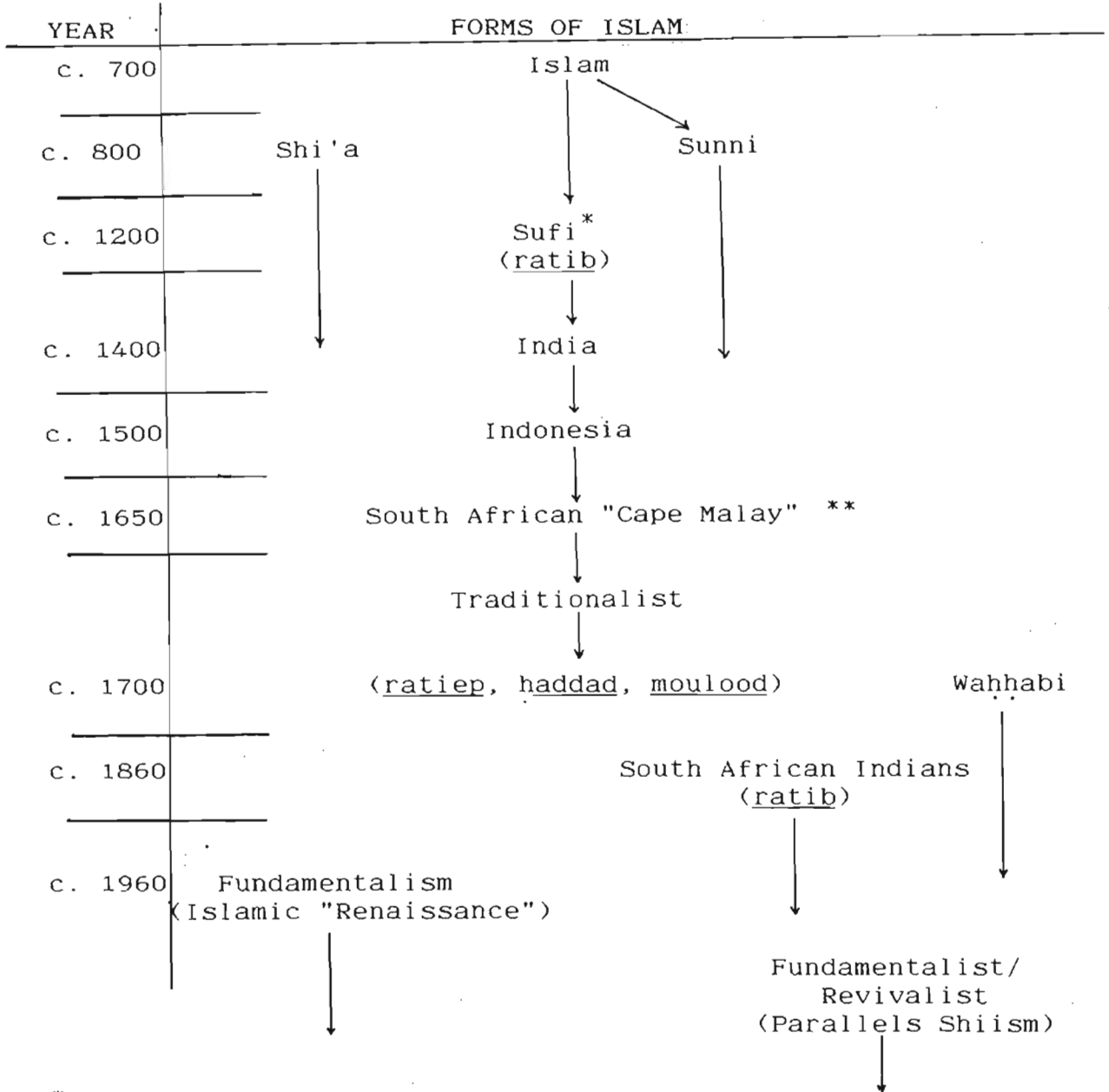
Note: The first Cape Muslims from West Sumatra arrived in 1667.

The first Cape Muslims who came from Aceh were the Mardyckers.

Sheik Yusuf and his party were the first Cape Muslims from Bantam and arrived in 1692.

Figure 3: Map of the Far East, indicating places of origin of early Cape Muslims and areas of performance of ratiep-linked art forms





\* Ratib is an outflow of Sufism.

\*\* "Cape Malay" religious traditions include haddad, moulood and ratiep.

Figure 4.: Forms of Islam in South Africa: Chronology of ratib and ratiep.

century, and the fact that a large percentage of early Cape Muslims originated from the Malabar Coast of India.<sup>78</sup> The association with the Barong seems acceptable, given the nature and purpose of this art form: it is also trance-linked and self-mutilation occurs when the keris (dagger) dance is performed.<sup>79</sup> De Graaf has conducted a fairly detailed investigation of this topic which has been treated below under the heading "Overview of the Literature".<sup>80</sup> His conclusions are based mainly on historical evidence, while the present work aims at investigating the ratiep art form from a musicological, linguistic, as well as from a historical point of view.

The ratiep appears to be related to Southeast Asian, Hindu and Islamic art forms, although nothing conclusive can be said about its origins, given the evidence at hand.<sup>81</sup> A comparative musicological and linguistic study reveals common aspects between ratiep and other similar forms. For example, the kalima or profession of faith (la illaha illal lah - There is no God but Allah) is common to the dabus and the ratiep, but it is also found in the Cape Muslim moulood which appears to be connected to a similar Southeast Asian performance. Though not directly related to the ratiep, there are musical interrelationships between these art forms; the same djiekers may be used, and the ashrakal (salutation of the Prophet Muhammed), occur in both. Linguistically it is evident that the ratiep drew from Arabic mainly; Afrikaans, one of the two official South African languages which is spoken by approximately 50% of South African Muslims, is also represented.<sup>82</sup>

Superficially it appears as if there are many similarities between the dabuih of the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra and the ratiep of South African Muslims. These similarities consist of the trance-like state of the participants, the self-mutilating nature of the acts that are performed, the arrangement of the performers in a rough semi-circle, the name of the leader (kalifah and kalipah in the case of the ratiep and dabuih respectively), the use of frame drums to accompany dhikr as well as the link of both ceremonies to the Rifa'iyah Sufi brotherhood.

Close examination of the article of Kartomi on the dabuih suggests that the following need further careful research:<sup>81</sup>

. The ratiep art form actually starts with the voorwerk or giverwee sharif. Does the dabuih actually commence before the starting point indicated by Kartomi? What is its form? Does the dabuih proper begin with the "Al Fatihah"?

. The rebanna, dhol, bank, flags and sharp instruments (alwaan, tamboesters and saals) are essential in the ratiep performance. Of these, only the rebanna(indang), tamboesters (dabbus or awls) are present in the dabuih. Also, the indang may perform as solo instruments, whereas the rebanna accompany ratiep dhikr only.

. What exactly is meant by "Muslim and Pre-Muslim Ceremony and Style"? Kartomi points out that the high emotion and intensity and rhythmically free passages rendered by the syaik in the dabuih resemble the style of the pre-Muslim ratok.<sup>82</sup> However, such a style is also found in orthodox Islamic music, as, for example in qiraat.

. What is the precise nature of the self-mutilating acts in the dabuih from medical and psychological perspectives?

. what is the precise nature of the movements used in the dabuih?

. what is the reason for and function of the role of women as kalipah in the dabuih? In the ratiep only men act as khalifahs.

Kartomi nevertheless seems to find sufficient supporting evidence in her investigation to draw the conclusion that the dabuih is a synthesis of Muslim and Pre-Muslim ceremonies and music styles. She bases her conclusion upon the trance-like nature and musicological elements of the ceremony, of which only the latter is discussed in detail by her. The South African ratiep shows a similar link with certain elements in Eastern, African and Western musical traditions. Notwithstanding the links, there appears to be sufficient supporting evidence that the ratiep must be viewed as a peculiarly South African art form which, while linked to the Islamic Sufi Rifa'iyah brotherhood, is a complex art form revealing a number of strata of influence and relationships.

Kartomi argues her case with respect to two mutually exclusive religious strata, namely Muslim and pre-Muslim. In the case of the ratiep performance, religious strata may also be identified. However, given the unique history of South Africa, together with the fact that the early inhabitants of the Cape have disappeared completely possibly with their cultural heritage, geographical strata appear to be the most convenient aspects of focus for the purposes of the present work. Even if it were possible to investigate Muslim and pre-Muslim strata with respect to the ratiep in South Africa, and even if the conclusion were to be drawn that the ratiep performance is a synthesis of Muslim and pre-Muslim musical styles, the result would not invalidate conclusions related to geographical strata, since religious strata are not disjoint from geographical strata. Muslim cultural elements may exist in Eastern, Western and African musical traditions and certain African musical elements may be found in Eastern music too.

Mention must be made of Hindu processions and fire-walking, which take place in Durban and other centres throughout the world with large Indian populations.<sup>85</sup> In these procession and festivals, selfmutilation also occurs as in the ratiep. It shares the characteristic state of trance; and the singing of religious verses accompany the various acts of fire-walking and other acts such as the piercing of body parts by means of sharp hooks.

Based on the assumption of gradual change and transformation due to isolation and other factors, the prototype of the South African ratiep gradually evolved into its present variations, which still reveal their origin within Sufi mystical practices. More clearly defined in terms of nature and form, is the South African Indian ratib which gains its continued impetus from the mother countries of origin of South African Indians, namely India and Pakistan. Therefore, for the purposes of this work, a distinction will be made between the two forms, while at the same time accepting the dual meaning of the "ratiep" which has been built into the title of this work. The Indian ratib in South Africa has also been influenced to some extent by the Cape Muslim ratiep.

The difference between the Indian Muslim and Cape Muslim forms of the ratiep accords with the division of the entire repertory of Islamic music in South Africa, which consists of two distinct but not mutually exclusive musical categories, namely Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim music.<sup>86</sup> Each of these consists of several subcategories which may or may not be common to both (See Figure 4). These include the adhdhaan or call to prayer, giraat or recitals of the Qur'an, moulood or the birthday celebration of the Prophet and samman, an art form similar to ratiep linked to trance.

	<u>CAPE MUSLIM ONLY</u>	<u>INDIAN MUSLIM ONLY</u>	<u>BOTH</u>
<u>SACRED</u>			
<u>Sufi</u>	<u>moulood</u> <u>gaddad</u> <u>samman</u> <u>ratiep</u>	<u>na'at</u> <u>ghazal</u> <u>qawwali</u> <u>giyerwee sharif</u> <u>ratib</u>	<u>adhdhaan</u> <u>giraat</u> <u>takbir</u>
<u>Non-Sufi</u>	<u>kasedah*</u>		
<u>SECULAR</u>	<u>oulied</u> <u>moppie</u> <u>ghommaliédjie</u> <u>nederlandslied**</u>		

\* This may be influenced by Wahhabi. Kasedah enjoys the support of approximately 10% of South African Muslims. It is interesting to note that kasedah performances have been held after a ratiep performance as was the case during the Baxter Theatre Show of the 13th of May, 1985. Both groups may also perform the same djieker or "hymn".

\*\* Nederlandsliedere include the following subforms:  
bruidsliedere (wedding songs)  
seevaartliedere (sea shanties)  
minatliedere (love songs)

Figure 5: South African Islamic Music: A Classification

### 1.3 CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS CONCERNING THE RATIEP

Many a Muslim may object to the association of the ratiep ceremony with South African Muslim practices in the title of this work. Objections can be found in the unequivocally expressed viewpoints of some academics, religious and cultural leaders who have cited a wide range of political, social, historical and other reasons for their opposition to the ratiep performance. Generally Muslims tend to question the legitimacy of "music" based on arguments from the Qur'an and Hadith.<sup>87</sup>

Given the fact that there are at least five ratiep jamaahs (groups) in Cape Town, and at least one each in Johannesburg and Durban, together with the fact that these have been in considerable demand over my period of research, resulting in performances attended by up to three thousand devotees and spectators, reasons for the negativity of antagonists need to be examined.<sup>88</sup> Performers themselves have no doubt as to the religiosity of ratiep. An Indian Muslim informant put it this way: "Why would they then do it, if it weren't (religious)?"<sup>89</sup> Many performers have been reared in the tradition since childhood, which may have been a family tradition for one or more preceding generation, but this cannot be cited as the sole reasons for people's commitment to the practice of ratiep.

There are several political religious, cultural, social, historical and even economic factors which may have contributed to the situation of conflicting viewpoints regarding ratiep within Islamic religious practice.

Firstly, one has to examine the many divisions within South African Islam (See Figure 4): The Shi'a and Sunni form the two major divisions within Islam and the Sufi a smaller division. The Shi'a has a large concentration in Iran, Iraq and North India. Another smaller division, the Wahhabi, which is an outgrowth of the Sunni and of the traditional Sufi, became established in Saudi Arabia by the year 1800. South African Muslim are predominantly Sunni.<sup>90</sup> But even amongst Shi'a followers one may find evidence of adherence to Sufi mystical practices. Out of Sufism, ratibs or art forms such as the ratiep were born, of which presumably the South African variants are found. Reasons for the observance of Sufi practices include Islam's ability to adapt to the cultures of those drawn into its fold, and its use to promote Islam and its practices. Many South African Muslims have visited Saudi Arabia for their religious education over the years, and these visits have resulted in a number of "traditionalist" South African Muslims sharing the more puristic Wahhabi religious philosophy, which categorically denounces saint worship.<sup>91</sup> Saint worship, alongside the performance of dhikr or songs of praise, constitutes another characteristic of Sufism.



Just as Saudi-based Wahhabi frown upon the Shi'a religious practices of saint worship and visits to burial shrines in very much the same way do some local Muslims emphatically deny any link between Islam and the ratiep.<sup>92</sup> A viewpoint expounded by Najaar more than twenty years ago in his capacity as President of the powerful Muslim Judicial council, from which he resigned in 1986, is still adhered to by many local Muslims:

...the Khalifa displays in the Cape and elsewhere (my underlining) have no religious significance whatsoever.<sup>93</sup>

The "Cape Herald" of the time further contends that Najaar asserted that:

...Islam strictly forbids a Muslim from making a spectacle of himself and that it is against the principles of Islam to expose yourself half-naked in front of your family or public generally...

Khalifa displays are totally irreligious, have nothing to do with Islam and are in fact contrary to its teachings.<sup>94</sup>

However, it cannot be argued that Najaar's statement can be

justified on purely religious grounds. Counterarguments were reported in the same article in the "Cape Herald":

Khalifa is a physical visual expression of Islamic faith that dates back to the beginnings of Islam and which is based on Islamic mysticism. <sup>95</sup>

In this, and other works of writers on the subject such as Du Plessis and Davids, supporting evidence can be found for the latter viewpoint; Najaar, on the other hand, cites "financial gain" as well as "public nakedness" and "making a spectacle of yourself" as a reason for the ratiep's irreligiosity.

Counter to the viewpoint of Najaar, it may be argued that "public nakedness" is not a prerequisite for performing ratiep (See Plate 3) and the performance need not be "public". Many acts are performed with the participants fully clothed; only in certain instances do some remove shirts partially or wholly in order to avoid obvious damage to their clothes. Furthermore, "nakedness" on South African beaches does not seem to pose any problem to antagonists of ratiep. Only in mosques, where ratiep is not performed, can all South African Muslims safely argue that it is necessary for suitable attire, which requires the covering of the whole body, except the face and hands and which makes compulsory the wearing of a headcover.

However, during my research period which started in 1981, I have found evidence that certain performances are aimed at financial gain, if only for the jamaah or group. Sometimes an amount of money, called "donations", may be negotiated beforehand, while on other occasions this may be dropped into a rebanna by members of the audience (See Plate 55 ).<sup>96</sup>

The ratiep art form appears highly dramatic to the Western observer, possibly because of the combined effect of the music, movement, and nature of the acts performed.<sup>97</sup> The performance itself may be described as "hypnotic", "spectacular" or "emotional".<sup>98</sup> The ratiep performance incorporates several unusual acts demonstrating the subjects' extraordinary abilities brought about through "faith" and religious belief.<sup>99</sup>

It is therefore debatable whether the subjects "make a spectacle of themselves", without examining the nature of a particular performance. On the other hand, Gillis found, as I did, that some acts cannot be totally devoid of skilful swordplay.<sup>100</sup> This may account for some of the negative criticisms levelled against the ratiep.

Perhaps the real "spectacle" stems from the nature of some acts which to the outside observer appears neither convincing nor true at times. Even when true, the observer may be tempted afterwards to doubt its authenticity.<sup>101</sup> In this work metaphysical aspects relating to the ratiep will be examined which may place it in a more balanced perspective.

Even some Muslims find some of the acts incredible.<sup>102</sup> Davids argued that the ratiep served as a means of attracting slaves to Islam, which could be one of several factors which contributed to the spread of Islam at the Cape.<sup>103</sup> While ostensibly an objectionable method, it may not be viewed unfavourably by some Muslims if the objective of Islamization is achieved. This results in a contradiction: the method used for conversion (to Islam) may be condoned, but not the act.

Ratiep performances seem to be also heavily criticized by Muslims and non-Muslims because of the loudness of the sound. This was the main reason for the "Khalifa Dispute" at the

Cape during the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>104</sup> This resulted in the ratiep performances being allowed only under certain conditions, and at specified times.

Najaar's negative assertions regarding ratiep are common to many South African Muslims, and in order to be properly evaluated, they must be seen against the socio-political and religious situation in South Africa. During May 1985, a public ratiep performance was held at the Baxter Theatre under the auspices of the University of Cape Town, which evoked little or no criticism from within the Muslim community. This may have been due to the circumspect planning of the event, as well as the fact that several leading academics attended the show. A year later a similar show was criticised by at least one reporter who objected to the research methods used during the performance held at the College of Music, University of Cape Town.<sup>105</sup> In general however, I have found no antagonism from objectors, provided the ratiep is displayed within acceptable parameters.

In the Islamic world there appears, on the surface at least, a general non-acceptance of Sufi practices. Yet, in private, most South African Muslims appear to be guided by Sufi-based religious doctrine, which in any event was one of the bases of earlier Islam in the Cape, and still is in Indonesia, the reputed place of origin of the Cape Muslim ratiep (cf. Figure 3, Supra p. 42). A knowledge of such religious and historical factors, together with an understanding of religious, cultural, social and political aspirations of the Muslims in South African appear to lie at the root of finding an acceptable means of displaying ratiep.

The South African variant of Cape Muslim ratiep goes back about 200 years when the first performances were held by early Cape slaves.<sup>106</sup> At that time, many Cape Muslims were either slaves, or former slaves; some free Cape Muslims were also born from slave ancestors. Cape Town was clearly divided into the White dominant group and the non-White population of Eastern, African, and Western backgrounds. Many of the "Black" population groups were seriously deprived

educationally, socially and economically as a result of a number of factors, such as understandably deep-seated racial prejudices, different value, lack of mutual appreciation for another's differing cultures and poor diplomacy generally amongst the various population groups with varying cultural and religious backgrounds.<sup>107</sup> Other factors which influenced racial attitudes were the history of immigration, forced settlement, trekking (the migration of Afrikaner farmers), slavery and miscegenation. It was customary in the past for certain White administrators and others, particularly in government circles, to host ratiep shows, together with secular "Cape Malay" choir performances for visiting dignitaries.<sup>108</sup> Although there is sufficient evidence pointing to the existence of organized secular "Malay" choirs in the previous century, one of three rival "Cape Malay" choir boards for the promotion of secular "Malay" music was established through the deliberate intervention of a noted poet and academic expert on "Malay" culture, namely I.D. du Plessis (d.1981).<sup>109</sup> Often these choirs appeared to be exploited for political and financial gain. In Du Plessis' mind and work, the "Cape Malay" or Cape Muslims had to be regarded as a separate cultural or ethnic group, a categorisation which ran counter to the religious and political aspirations of the "Cape Malay"<sup>110</sup>. In a similar

way the "khalifa" was performed at Greenpoint Stadium as part of the Van Riebeeck festival of 1952. This resulted in a split in the old "Cape Malay" Choir Board which was established in 1939.<sup>111</sup> Another choir "Board" was established in 1952 called the "Suid-Afrikaanse Koorraad". Thus, the ratiep was used as a tool for political gain by the ruling "White" Afrikaner regime.

Any focus on the ratiep from a religious perspective, will yield conflicting viewpoints: One the one hand religious viewpoints from within may conflict with those viewpoints from outside, while conflict may also result from within religious groupings themselves on the other hand. The ratiep must also be seen in its South African context, against the background of the influence and spread of Islam in the world. My own point of departure in this work, is that it should be regarded as a practice which had its nature and form determined partly by the social and cultural milieu of the early Cape Muslims, and of their ancestors in the Indonesian Archipelago. This implies that the rendition of dhikr, the nature of the acts within the performance and the style of the movements, have all been partly influenced by the situations unique to the performers' ancestry and history. Common ratiep terms may serve to illustrate my point: The wooden structure used in the ratiep is called a "bank", an



Afrikaans term for "bench". The term "djieker" for dhikr, shows orthographic indebtedness to Indonesian and/or English influence. The "j" sound in "John" is similar to the Arabic, Urdu and Malay "ج".<sup>112</sup> "Inry" is another Afrikaans term which means "to run skewers into (the flesh)".

In particular, the Yusufia Rifi'a ratiep show of 24 April 1984 reveals a "loosely connected" form, which may have resulted in an impression of a volatile remnant of previously much more well-defined or "authentic" prototype. This is also a common perspective of "Malayism", a politically inspired and partially derogatory term having a negative bearing on "Cape Malay" culture in South Africa.<sup>113</sup> "Malayism" was formerly remarkably strong in South Africa, and may possibly be one of several factors accounting for the religious conflict between orthodox and traditional Muslims in South Africa.

South African Muslims adhere strongly to traditions such as the sighting of the moon on Eid-ul-Fitre (end of the fast month of Ramadaan), an aspect which cannot be directly linked to "Malayism". A highly likely speculation concerning Islamic division may be gleaned from Figure 4. Therein a

clear departure is evident from traditional Sunni Islam to fundamentalist Islamic thought, with the Wahhābi stream having its historical origins in Saudi Arabia.<sup>114</sup> Wahhābi philosophy also receives a measure of intellectual impetus and support from the Western world.<sup>115</sup> It must then be accepted that Wahhābi philosophy could have helped to shape somewhat onesided viewpoints regarding ratiep, with other political, social and economic factors having their place in the arguments surrounding the religiosity of ratiep.

It is my opinion that religious acceptability finally depends upon substantiation from the Qur'an, the Hadith (Sayings of the prophet Muhammad) and personal religious conviction. There can be no question of objectivity, given the split between orthodoxy and traditionalists on the same issue. The question of legitimacy seems a subjective one; the aim of this investigation is objectivity and consistency.

My assumption throughout this work will be that the ratiep is to be regarded as a peculiarly Muslim performance, for the following reasons: Firstly, all participants of ratiep performances are Muslims. These subjects will not allow any non-Muslim into their ranks. A prerequisite therefore for membership of ratiep jamaah (groups) is that the subject should be initiated in their religion and code of conduct. Secondly, all performers are generally expected to know the silsila (chain) of their Sufi order, which links them directly to Islam's prophet Muhammad. Thirdly, all ratiep

performances, are special dhikr performances, which link them to Islamic mysticism. Fourthly, they all believe in tauhid, an Islamic concept involving the "oneness" of God. Lastly, all antagonists of ratiep seem to link it to Hinduism.<sup>116</sup> There is no supporting evidence that either all ratiep performers can be linked to Hinduism in terms of their ancestry or cultural heritage, or that they think that ratiep has a similarity or link with Hindu practices. What is important to realize is that Islam serves as one of the "channels for cultural exchange".<sup>117</sup> Given the long history of Islam in India, it is not surprising to speculate about possible Hindu cultural traces in Islam.

#### 1.4 METHODOLOGY

##### 1.4.1 Appropriate ethnomusicological research methods for studying the ratiep

Ethnomusicological methods of research and analysis are culture-specific, which is similar to Behague's notion on cultural change.<sup>118</sup> In his discourse Behague accepts Blacking's viewpoint that both process and product of change are important to the researcher.<sup>119</sup> While he contends that Blacking and others do not indicate any methodology for study of musical change, he bases his research on

culture-specific analyses and discussions. A particular cultural complex will uniquely determine the methods used for research and analysis. Processes of cultural change presuppose an investigation into socio-political factors affecting the culture. In South Africa, given its history of socio-political upheaval, this premise is generally sound, and needs to be incorporated in a research into the ratiep art form specifically.

The "product" of cultural change needs to be investigated from a "holistic" point of view.<sup>120</sup> This requires that anthropological, "structural" and musical aspects need to be taken into consideration.<sup>121</sup> In ratiep, it was found necessary to develop methods which would take cognisance of Behague's considerations, and result in a "holistic" investigation which could adequately reveal the nature, place and purpose of the art form. Thus an allied, but more specific hypothesis concerning the repertory of Islamic music is that the specific cultural complex of the applicable subjects and their domain, determines uniquely the relevant ethnomusicological methods for investigation. As al Faruqi and Sakata have clearly pointed out, there are many difficulties specific to research into "Islamic music".<sup>122</sup>

First of all there may be conflicting viewpoints between Muslims and non-Muslims. Secondly, it is also essential that those viewpoints of both Muslims and non-Muslim informants, researchers and writers be considered. Aspects such as terminology, language, moral codes of behaviour, as well as rules governing the performance, may have to be taken into account. There are questions pertaining to the acceptability of "music" in Islamic culture as well as questions concerning the nature and purpose or aim of the phenomenon. Such research must view the phenomenon also esoterically, and consider and note viewpoints of performers, and other Muslims and non-Muslims.

Just as Qureshi found it necessary to investigate the "sound, its structure and sequencing" in gawwali, these aspects need to be examined for the complete order of the ratiep.<sup>123</sup> The vocal and instrumental elements of the art form, the various acts in ratiep (cutting, piercing and stabbing) which are not to be found in a gawwali performance, the nature of the different instruments and their use (<tamboesters or daggers, saals or swords and the alwaan or skewers) as well as the flags and the bank to which they are attached, become relevant. The self-induced trance-like state needs to be examined in terms of its nature, cause and the role and function of the music in bringing about and maintaining this

state. The important ratiep movement and the purpose and religious intention of the performance of the ratiep need to be looked at.

This work proposes an investigation into a unique South African musical genre. While the methodology is culture-specific, it also gleans appropriate methodology from existing relevant works, such as Du Plessis, De Graaf and Poche which may be Western-based in intent and purpose. These works range from related South African musical genres, through treatises on Southeast Asian musics by Kartomi, to those on purely Islamic musical phenomena such as Nelson and Qureshi.<sup>124</sup> From the initial stages of the research, suitable methodology had to be developed. For example, while Du Plessis and van Warmelo transcribed secular 'Cape Malay' music with fixed time signatures, the temporal element of ratiep music in, for example, the khalifa's performance, necessitates informative, accurate, but also methods which are convenient to use. Interviewing techniques require a good knowledge of Cape Muslim traditions and Islamic culture. I found that it was difficult to obtain the required information if my sincerity was not obvious to the performers, and the purpose of the investigation was not made

known. This resulted in my becoming totally involved in ratiep performances to the extent that I became a patron of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah in 1985. This enabled me to obtain the information needed. Close contact with the Yusufia came about through my patronship in 1985 of the Suid-Afrikaanse Koorraad who arrange annual Malay Choir competitions in Cape Town. In May 1985 a ratiep show was arranged to find this choir organization, which not only provided me with recordings and other information, but brought me into direct and close contact with the Yusufia Jamaah.

The musicological methods used are not entirely unique: Those suggested by Lomax and Qureshi have been incorporated in order to describe the ratiep music in the case of the former, and to investigate the total ratiep performance in the case of the latter, more fully.<sup>125</sup> Qureshi uses as her starting point an extensive gawwali repertoire, which is then examined in terms of the total context of the performances.<sup>126</sup> Likewise, ratiep has been investigated in terms of this total context model of Qureshi. Only through familiarity with the total context and the total musical repertory, the observer is able to analyse the art form systematically which will reflect its true characteristics.

For example, the behavioural patterns of performers, and the musical progression were noted for the total ratiep performance at various fixed time intervals. In this way a total picture is obtained, and behavioural patterns of performers and other elements which are normally overlooked but form an intergral and important element of the ratiep, may be investigated.

Hitherto movement in ratiep and related art forms has not been adequately described. In this work, the notation was gleaned from Kurath, Katzenellenbogen and others.<sup>127</sup> These authors have carefully described dance movements by describing suitable symbols. In order to obtain clarity and accuracy, I adapted a system of notation based on the methods of Kurath and Katzenellenbogen suitable to transcription of ratiep movement.

In order to render the pronunciation of ratiep-linked terminology more accessible, linguistic methods which may vary from the standard ones have been used. A key to various phonetic symbols used has been developed, suitable for relevant ratiep terminology (See Section 1.6).



While Qureshi concentrates on one main locus or place of research,<sup>128</sup> my main focus was on two main loci: The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah and the Chatsworth Rifi'a Jamaah in Durban in accord with the two subforms of the ratiep. Like with Qureshi, many other performances are then compared; I investigated eight ratiep performances of three Cape Muslim ratiep jamaahs, and about six performances of two Indian Muslim jamaahs or groups, not counting those described in the relevant literature: one in Cape Town, and another in Durban. Past performances recorded in photographic, audiophonic and audio-visual forms have also been considered, mostly for historiological investigation.

This research was made possible because of the following factors:

Firstly, the "Eastern" physical characteristics of my Indian ancestry have meant that I am often mistaken for a Muslim by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. As I gained knowledge of vernacular terms and customs of Muslims, this became increasingly common, and thus, although I am not a Muslim, I gained access to gatherings of ratiep performances relatively easily. Secondly, in a country troubled politically because

of social and economic injustices perpetuated in an unfair political dispensation, it was relatively easy for ratiep performers to allow me into their midst for research purposes as one of the disadvantaged and "oppressed" members of a segmented South African society. Thirdly, my position as lecturer in Mathematics at a central College for Education in Athlone placed me in a favourable position to obtain assistance from my students and other Muslim community members in greater Cape Town. These students consisted of approximately 7% of Cape Muslims. Not directly being involved with the teaching of music, placed me in an advantageous position over other musicologists in this sensitive area of research. I could for example easily convince Cape Muslims of the non-profit and private nature of my academic research. Furthermore, my job as mathematics lecturer could often be used as proof of my dissociation from musical activities which many Muslims frown upon as ḥarām (unlawful). Fourthly, my interest in Islam in South Africa has been favourably and sympathetically viewed as genuine and contributing to the hopes and aims of Muslims in South Africa. My interest may have been seen by Muslims as an opportunity for broadening the frontiers of Islam. Lastly, my role as patron of a large secular 'Malay' choir

organization in Cape Town and former unofficial "patron" of ratiep and kaseda groups, as well as my role as adjudicator since 1981 of 'Cape Malay' choir competitions in Cape Town opened doors which in the past have probably concealed information to outsiders.

Most of the fieldwork was carried out in the Cape from 1981 until 1989. A recording of Cape Muslim ratiep on disc in 1959 is utilized.<sup>129</sup> Three main contemporary ratiep jamaahs (groups) were used: Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah in 1985, 1986 and 1987; Mouweejas in 1981 and 1985; Bridgetown: 1985. Several video recordings were made at the following venues: Baxter Theatre on 13 May 1985; Thom Theatre on 23 November 1985; College of Music, University of Cape Town: April 1986; Surrey Estate: November 1987. Several audio cassette recordings of Cape Muslim ratiep performances were made. The Indian ratib was recorded on audio and video cassette on three occasions during September and December 1989. A video cassette tape made privately by local Muslims of a Cape Town ratib held in Rylands in 1985 is also utilized for research in this work. Several audio cassette recordings of giverwee sharif were made.

With respect to the organology of South African Muslim ratiep instruments, a broad classification is found in Figure 6. The classification is partly based on the methodology found in Musical Instruments of the World.<sup>130</sup> Since South African Islamic music is a relatively new area of research, I had to establish and categorise both well-known and relatively unknown instruments into the the following groups:

Aerophones, Idiophones, Membranophones, Chordophones and Electrical/Mechanical Instruments. In accordance with the purpose of the present work, this is done in terms of geographical area: For example, a for Africa and b for America. For example C<sub>2</sub>a(8) means a secular 'Cape Malay' musical instrument of which similar types (of instruments) are found in Africa. The figure "8" refers to a page reference in "Musical Instruments of the World". The semi-colon after certain references serves to separate different geographic regions from one another.

Key: C<sub>1</sub> = Sacred Cape Muslim      C = Cape Muslim  
C<sub>2</sub> = Secular 'Cape Malay'      I = Indian Muslim

a = Africa

b = America  
c = Europe  
d<sup>1</sup> = Middle East  
d<sup>2</sup> = India  
e = Far East  
f = Indonesia

Classification:

Aerophones: C<sub>2</sub> : horn a(8); b(11); c(11); c(7); d<sup>2</sup>(7); e(6)  
C<sub>1</sub> : bagpipe c(9); d<sup>1</sup>(6); d<sup>2</sup>(6)  
C<sub>2</sub> : brass a(10)

Idiophones: Clappers: C<sub>2</sub> : Sticks; bones  
C<sub>1</sub> : Rattles

Membranophones:

C<sub>1</sub> : cylindrical drum: ghomma C<sub>1</sub> : e(15)  
cylindrical drum: dhol C<sub>2</sub> : d<sup>2</sup>  
frame drum: rebanna C<sub>1</sub> : d<sup>1</sup>  
frame drum: tamarien C<sub>1</sub> : d<sup>1</sup>

I : frame drum: dyra d<sup>2</sup>(21)

tabla :  $d^2(15)$

Chordophones:

$C_2$  : banjo b(33); b(31); c(37)

$C_1$  &  $C_2$  { guitar  
mandoline

$C_2$  double bass

folk lute: ra'king a(41); c(27)

Electrical/Mechanical:

I : peti-baja (harmonium)

Figure 6.: Classification of Instruments

It is found that certain ratiep instruments, namely rebanna, dhol and dyra may now be linked to India and the Far East only, which is significant for shedding light on the problem of origin of the ratiep. The following Figure 7 is

an attempt to indicate possible areas of origin of Cape  
Muslim instruments:

Types of Instruments	a	b	c	d <sup>1</sup>	d <sup>2</sup>	e	f
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Aerophones:

horn	x	x	x		x	x	
bagpipe			x	x	x		
trumpet		x	x				
saxophone	x	x	x				

Idiophones:

clappers:sticks(bones) x					x		x
rattles							

Chordophone:

banjo		x					
guitar		x					
mandoline		x					
double bass				x			
<u>ra'king</u>							

Types of Instruments	a	b	c	d <sup>1</sup>	d <sup>2</sup>	e	f
Membranophone:							
<u>ghomma</u>				x	x		
<u>dhol</u>					x		
<u>rebanna</u>				x			
<u>tamarien</u>				x			
<u>dyra</u>					x		
<u>tabla</u>					x		

Figure 7: Concentration of Instruments

Supporting evidence is to be sought for the following hypotheses concerning the ratiep art form from primary and secondary material. These relate to the origin of the ratiep, its nature, the interrelationships with other dhikr performances of both Cape Muslims and Indian Muslims in South Africa, as well as the dance movement thereof.

The first is that the ratiep follows a particular order, which is more or less fixed in form and length, and which contains certain standard dhikr formulae; however, depending on the purpose, nature and length of the performances, the order may be slightly varied, modified or even shortened by the particular jamaah.



The second is that there exist individual differences with respect to bank, dhikr, attire, and other aspects relating to ratiep for different jamaahs.

The third postulate concerns the fact that generally the same dhikr are used in different Sufi-based performances since all Sufi performances of dhikr have the purpose of union with Allah and remembrances of the Almighty (See p. 181).

The fourth postulate concerns the fact that text-music relationship and rhythmic accompaniment in ratiep are related to tajwid (the science of Quranic recital) which governs specific rules of pronunciation.

The fifth is that the nature and origin of the ratiep is Sufi-based (See p. 175 ).

The sixth postulate concerns the fact that there is pressure for the cessation of ratiep performances from orthodox Muslims, both in South Africa and internationally. This pressure has resulted in a diminution of the popularity of ratiep and the frequency of their performance.

The seventh postulate relates that movement is an integral part of the ratiep performance and that it is highly stylized and purposeful for the religious expression and attainment of union with Allah.

The eighth postulate concerns the fact that there appears to be sufficient evidence that the stylized ratiep movement contributes to the technique of bodily self-mutilation, as Gillis has argued (See p.459).

The ninth postulate concerns the fact that the descriptions of the ratiep art form often are biased due to prejudices and lack of understanding on the part of Western observers.

The tenth and last postulate is that the metaphysical nature of ratiep is such that for the adept the release of spiritual anwaar (light) and rehmar (benefits or mercy) may explain the absence of bleeding.<sup>131</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Transliteration of Terms

Just as the music of the ratiep shows a confluence of different musical styles and forms, the terminology used by the subjects in general reflects the different cultural heritages which have contributed to the tradition of ratiep. Because of the settlement of Europeans (notably Dutch), Easterners (Indians, Javanese and other Southeast Asians) and Africans at the Cape, languages such as Malay, Javanese, Arabic, Afrikaans, Sanskrit, Urdu and even Nguni languages have been identified (See p.509 ).<sup>132</sup> This fact strengthens the premise of this work that ratiep must be regarded as peculiarly South African having been shaped into its present (musical and other) styles and forms through factors prevalent at the Cape in its more than 200 years of existence in the same area.

There is a complete lack of standardisation of spelling for Cape Muslim terms derived from Arabic, Malay and Afrikaans as well as for locally created terms. No concerted effort as yet has been made by Muslims and/or linguists in this direction; this lack may be due to lack of interest as well as a lack of cohesion amongst those who are interested in

standardization. The situation with Indian Muslim terminology is not really better; the term Indian Muslim term ratib instead of ratiep is the only term which is properly transliterated from the Arabic. The Indian ratib seems to have borrowed terms from the older Cape Muslim art form, as relatively fewer exclusively Indian Muslim ratib terms are noted (See Appendix A).

Authors such as Du Plessis probably relied on personal preference and existing writings at the time to determine the spelling and orthography of Cape Muslim terminology.<sup>133</sup>

I have attempted to align myself with international tendencies and to consider ease of spelling, and local tendencies amongst Cape Muslim and other writers. Personal preference is exercised in respect of those terms which have not been recorded before, such as alwaan, tamboester and djieker, a term derived from the Arabic dhikr which has the same meaning as the Indonesian and Indian term zikr. Cape Muslim terminology appears to have close ties with Afrikaans, hence in certain cases a slightly different method of transliteration from the standard international methods have been used: For example, alwaan is used rather than alwān. A

key to pronunciation is given in Appendix which is based on phonetic symbols. A set of guidelines towards standardization have been determined ( See Appendix A ).

The following is a system of orthography adapted for my use, which is generally followed in the text:

Example of orthography: رتب = r+a+t+i+b = ratib

ا	a
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th or t
ج	g or dj or j as in <u>djieker</u> or <u>jamaah</u>
ح	h
خ	h
د	d
ذ	d or d
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh or s
ص	s

ذ	dh
ط	t as in <u>tariqah</u>
ظ	z
ع	' or ' ,
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
م	m
ل	l
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y

Vowels:

Short vowels:

- a for ا
- i for ي or "ie" as in ratiep or djieker
- u for و or "oo" as in moulood

or "oe" as in mouloed

Long vowels:

a for ا or "aa" as in jamaah

i for ي or "ee" as in deen

u for و or "oo"

#### 1.4.3 Music Transcriptions

The main emphasis in the ratiep performance is on the text, which is designed to effect "remembrance" of Allah. This can have value only when the dhikr are accompanied by a niya, that is, a prayer in which the adept subjects himself to the will of God.<sup>134</sup> An important characteristic of ratiep transcriptions is the essentially monodic nature of its music. The music of the South African ratiep, as does all South African Muslim music, both sacred and secular, shows an indebtedness to a wide and varied range of genres of musics, from both East, West and Africa.<sup>135</sup> This conclusion may be drawn from the secular and sacred music of the Cape Muslims in particular from their secular moppies, ghommalledjies and

ouliedere. This cultural diffusion within the music of the ratiep cannot be clearly identified, or represented using standard Western European notational systems and techniques of analysis. The vocal techniques and musical styles within the musical repertory require the use of certain non-standard notational forms. Qureshi's performance model which facilitates the notation of the total art form, has been adapted to notate such performance elements as reaction of audience, movements and actions before, during and after musical renditions.

There are three main categories of methods used:

A special method is devised to notate metrically free and melismatic passages - both extensive and scanty. These may be applied to such recitals from the Qur'an called qira'at or locally badja-ing. The point of departure will be the text, which conveys the meaning and occupies the major place in performance. The approximate pitch at which the text is rendered is noted. With each major change of pitch, upward or downward, the corresponding text is given in the relevant text. Furthermore, the notation to be used between such major pitch changes, will entail a curve, which may be so



shaped as to represent the melodic contour, consisting of as many "bumps" as may be needed to represent the variations on pitch in the largo (melody). In addition, a symbol representing the natural breathing or resting place is indicated by a comma ",", or "l". An example of a transcription using this method is given below. An upward slope of a curve represents pitches of notes of increasing frequency or a higher note, whilst a downward slope represents a lower note.

As an example, the following is given:



Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim

(In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.)

instead of:



Bis-mil-lah ar-Rah- man ar- Rah- im

The second method adapts standard musicological methods of representing pitch and rhythm in Western European musical tradition, and will be used in ratiep transcription of dhikr by the jamaah or group. The following abbreviations, conventions and auxiliary symbols are used in the transcriptions wherever deemed necessary:



means an octave lower than written



means an octave higher than written



means that the tone f-sharp is consistently used in the piece

(+)

means that the tone below the sign is slightly higher than written

(-)

means that the tone below the sign is slightly lower than written



means an ornament consisting of rapid alternation of pitch of close proximity such as a tremelo

- ∖ indicates a glide in the direction of the slope
- x means a note of indefinite pitch, which may be more spoken than sung
- △ means a vocalized sound produced through inhalation which differs from normal singing in style and tone quality
- ▲ means vocalized sound produced through exhalation which also differs from normal singing in style and tone quality
- ◌ means the note is slightly longer than written
- ) means a pause of unnotatable length and which cannot be notated using Western-European musical notation

> means that the note is accented

— between the same two notes means a tie



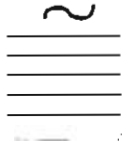
means a division between phrases, as opposed to barlines which indicate divisions into metric units.

M.M. means Maelzel's Metronome

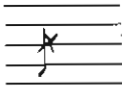
O.P. means "observed pitch"; the transcription may for example read:

O.P. C is transposed to D, which means that the observed pitch of C corresponds with the transcribed D. Most pieces have been transcribed as close as possible to O.P. Transcriptions are preferably done in an easy-to-read system.

mins (4) means time duration in minutes  
(08) secs and seconds



means a "turn" as in "Western" notation



means a "grace" note; acciacatura



means pathos; a vocal technique where a sound is emitted immediately after which a breath is taken



means interlocking phrases in polyphonic singing in ratiep dhikr



means legato, sustained singing technique or style



means stress; a vocal technique

means "slur"; a vocal technique

A third method, which is adapted from Qureshi, facilitates the recording of non-musical aspects of the ratiep performance. This consists of a grid. On the horizontal axis the time



Common to all are transcription methods which I term the micro-analysis technique and the macro-analysis technique. The micro-analysis technique identifies the various voice-parts as voice-part I, voice part II, etc. and it distinguishes amongst women, men, jamaah (chorus), solo (as with khalifa) and duet ; describes the melodic contour as smooth, as rapidly alternating, as including a rapid succession of notes, or as being wide or narrow interval width, ; describes vocal style as high-pitched, deep, guttural, coarse, pierce, thin, embellished or emotional; characterises typical rhythmic patterns, and identifies rhythmic structures; describes the language (Arabic, Malay, Urdu, etc.), form, meaning and important elements of the text; and lists the various types of instruments, their nature, and the manner in which they are performed upon.

The macro-analysis technique gives clarification to the place and purpose of the micro-aspects; the roles of individuals in the jamaah; and the total performance structure and its climaxes.

Time	-30 mins	0	5	10
Subjects:				
<u>Khalifa</u>	smoking	<u>Dhikr</u>		
Others behind	lighting incense	<u>"Ma Salim"</u>		
<u>bank</u>				
K1				
K2				
In front of				
<u>bank</u>				
J1 (Leader)			<u>rebanna</u>	
J2	warming <u>rebanna</u>	<u>Dhikr</u>	<u>dhol</u>	
J3	warming <u>dhol</u>			
J4	setting up <u>praboes</u>			
J5				
J6				
etc.				

Figure 8. Global Performance Macro Analysis Model for the Ratiep: An Example



#### 1.4.4 Ratiep Movement Notation

The ratiep dance, which accompanies the ratiep performance, is characterised by acts of cutting and piercing of, and stabbing to, parts of the adepts' bodies, by means of alwaan (skewers), saal or panga (swords) and tamboesters (daggers).

In South Africa, there are not only variations between Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim performances, but also within each of the cultural subgroups. Thus the ratiep movement may vary from jamaah (group) to jamaah, particularly amongst the Indian Muslims. Even within a single performance, each individual performer may exhibit his own personalised style of movement, but always fitting within the musical framework of the rebanna and dhol accompaniment, and always reflecting a similarity of style of movement with other performers.

Dancers may perform in pairs or in groups of three or more, but mostly they dance singly in individual acts. In the present work demarcation of acts is done in terms of the type of instruments used and the accompanying dhikr performance. Thus individual acts consist of alwaan, cutting with swords, hammer (mallet) and tamboester, tamboester only

and saals. The ashrakal, which is regarded as the final and concluding act, involves movement in an anti-clockwise fashion. It does not incorporate self-mutilating acts, and only vocal dhikr are performed to the accompaniment to rebanna and dhol.


The movement in the ratiep thus forms an integral and important part of the performance, as it does in any Sufi-based performance which incorporates movement.<sup>136</sup> The applicable notation used here was adapted from Kurath, Lidster and Katzenellenbogen.<sup>137</sup>

Symbols used indicate the following:

- ☞ ← singer with rebanna
- ☞ ← man with tamboester (dagger)
- ☞ ← man with saal (sword)
- ☞ ← man with alwaan (skewer)

Symbols used for positions of the right and left feet are as follows:

- right foot forward
- ∨ slightly bent right knee
- ∨ deep right knee bend
- left foot forward
- ∧ slightly bent left knee
- ∧ deep left knee bent
- ↘ right arm across chest
- ↙ left arm across chest

The symbol  indicates a reversal of the movement.

In addition, the timing, text, number of beats, type of accompaniment and a terse description of the movement and musical accompaniment is given, so as to describe the movements in terms of the musical progression, as in Katzenellenbogen's work.

left foot

4 left knee

man with alwaan

4 right knee

left foot

A

B

C

A Left foot forward; Body bent to left;  
Right foot forward; reverse process;  
Bar 1: Four beats;  
Dhikr Text: "Salaam" (Peace);  
Accompaniment: Dhol and rebanna;  
Eyes fixed to the flags; staring; slight smile.  
Hands together; daggers pointed downwards;  
Movement in circles;  
Jerky, rigid movement.

B Left foot forward; Body bent to left;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process;  
Bar 2: Four beats;  
Dhikr Text: "Salaam" (Peace);  
Accompaniment: Dhol and rebanna;

Eyes fixed to flags; staring; slight smile;  
Hands together; daggers pointed downwards;  
Movement in circles;  
Jerky, rigid movement.

C Left foot forward; Body forward only;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process;  
Bar 3: Four beats;  
Dhikr Text: "Aleikum"(of God);  
Accompaniment: Dhol and rebanna;  
Eyes fixed to flags; staring; smiling;  
Hands together; daggers brought from shoulder  
height down to body;  
Movement in circles.

Figure 9 : Example of the Notation of Movement

ENDNOTES

1. Izak D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1944). Du Plessis's Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Kultuur (The Contribution of the Cape Malays to the Afrikaans Culture - my translation; Cape Town: Balkema, 1935) was the first academic work on the culture of the 'Cape Malays', a homogenous Muslim group which constitutes a subsection of the South African community classified "Coloured" according to the ruling Nationalist Government's racial classification system. These people are usually referred to as "Cape Muslims" in this work.

The term "khalifa", which literally means "leader" or "successor", has many different spellings in the literature: "chalifah" in Du Plessis, Cape Malays and De Graaf, "De Herkomst van de Kaapse 'Chalifa'", (Tydskrif van Wetenskap en Kuns, April 1950), "califa" in S. De Lima, The Califa Question (Cape Town, 1957), "chalifa" in Hans Kahler, "Der Islam bei der Kap-Malaien" (Der handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden: Brill, 1975), "khalifa" in Lynn S. Gillis, "The Khalifa: Medical and Psychological Aspects of a Self-mutilating Ceremonial Dance" (unpublished Paper, University of Cape Town, 1970) and Lawrence Green, A Taste of South Easter (Cape Town: Timmins, 1950) and "kalifa" in London News, 1888 and Gustav Frisch, Drei Jahre in Sud-Afrika (Breslau, 1868). The spelling "khalifa" is most often used in this work, which is a result of the system of transliteration adopted.

2. Achmat Davids, Mosques of Bo-Kaap (Athlone: SAI AIR, 1980) and Desmond Desai, "An Investigation into the influence of the 'Cape Malay' child's cultural heritage upon his taste in music" (unpublished M.Mus. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1983); Desmond Desai, "The Ratiep Display" (unpublished paper, University of Monash, 1985); Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music in South Africa: An investigation into Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim Musical Practices, both Past and Present", (unpublished work, Cape Town, 1986); and Desmond Desai, "Die 'Kaapse Maleier': Religieuse of Etniese Groep?" (Die Kultuurhistorikus, IV, Stellenbosch, 1989).
3. These terms are all locally applied by Cape Muslims, except for the terms: "folk art", "art form", "ritual", "ceremony" and "rite", which have been applied in academic works for the ratiep and related art forms. "Art form" and "performance" are most often used in this work. "Display" and "show" are reserved generally for public performances.

4. The first Cape Muslim arrived in the Cape in 1652 (Desmond Desai, "An Investigation", p.6), whereas the first Indian Muslims arrived in Natal only about 200 years later in 1860 (Desmond Desai, Islamic Music, p.196).
5. Michael Gilson, Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 156.
6. Margaret J. Kartomi, "Muslim Music in West Sumatran Culture" (The World of Music, vol.28, 1986, p.26), contains examples of Sumatran musical genres which incorporate the rebano or frame drum.
7. Literature in Arabic and Persian has not been included here.
8. A.J.Arberry, Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam (London: Allen and Unwin, 1950); T.Burckhardt, An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine (Lahore: Ashraf, 1968); M.A.Quasem, The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'an: Al-Ghazali's Theory (London: Kegan Paul, 1982); M.Gilson; R.A.Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism (Cambridge, 1921); and A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975).
9. N.A.Khan, Ma'arif-ul-Naghat (Lucknow: Siddiq, 1925); I.Kahn, The Mysticism of Sound (Netherlands Katwijk, 1979); and H.H.Touma, "Die Koranrezitation eine Form der religiösen Musik der Araber" (Boessler-Archive, vol.23, 1975); K.Reinhard, Grundlagen und Ergebnisse der Erforschung Türkischer Music (1972).
10. N.Jairazbhoy, L'Islam en Inde et au Pakistan, in Encyclopedie des musiques sacrees (Paris: Labergerie, 1968); and E.Dermingham, Le culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrebin (Paris, 1954).
11. Christian Poche, "Zikr and Musicology" (The World of Music, Vol.20, no.1, 1978).
12. G.Rouget, Music and Trance (Paris: University of Chicago, 1985).
13. Robert Shell, "Islamic Conversions at the Cape" (Unpublished Paper, University of Cape Town, 1983).
14. South Africa. Government Records, Cape Archives, CJ 805, Folio 827-830. His name was probably "Hammat", a shortened form of Muhammad or Mugammad. A Freeman was a person either born "free" from slave ancestors, or a former slave who received his freedom. Free Blacks were brought from Africa, notably Mosambique. Since Southeast Asians and other Muslim slaves have been in South Africa since 1652, and the first record indicates an established practice of ratiep, it may

also be safely assumed that ratiep was performed long before 1813. The practice of the dabus in Bantam dates back to 1680.

15. Ibid., Folio 827.

16. Ibid., Folio 829.

17. This show was arranged with the express purpose of my visit to Australia, by invitation of Margaret Kartomi, then President of the Musicological Society of Australia, later that year in order to read a paper on the ratiep. It gave me the first opportunity of recording and studying the ratiep art form and performance closely. Before then, a preliminary study of the ratiep was done in December 1981.

18. Chrstian Poche, p.59.

19. Joseph S. De Lima, p.iii.

20. Ibid.

21. A. Davids, p.110; and I. D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, p.39.

22. The Cape Monthly Magazine (Cape Town, 1861), p.356.

23. I. D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays.

24. Ibid., p.38.

25. L. Duff Gordon, Letters from the Cape (1861-62) (Cape Town: Maskew Mille, 1857), p.75.

26. Ibid.

27. R. Shell, Islamic Conversions, p.5.

28. J. S. Mayson, The Malays of Cape Town (Cape Town; Africana Connoisseur Press, 1963), p.20.

29. I. D. Du Plessis, Die Bydrae; and I. D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays.

30. I. D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, pp.37-41.

31. Ibid., p.40.

32. A. Davids, The Mosques, p.8.



33. Interview, Cape Town, October 1981.
34. I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, pp.41-43.
35. Ibid.
36. T. Pigeaud, Javaansche Volksvertoningen (Nijhoff: 's-Gravenhage: Batavia, 1938); and G.P. Groenhof, "Enkele Geschiedkundige Plaatsen in Bantam" (Jaarverslag van den Topographischen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië. 15de Jaargang, Deel A. Batavia, 1920).
37. Ibid., p.90.
38. L. Green, Tavern of the Seas (Cape Town: Timmins, 1971 ).
39. L. Green, p.145.
40. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation", p.9.
41. L. Green, p.145.
42. Ibid., p.146. It was mentioned by one of my informants that ratiep performers "drink something before the show" (Interview, Cape Town, August 1985). One of an Indian ratib performer's wives told me confidentially that her husband "smokes" (probably referring to the use of drugs).
43. H.J. De Graaf, p.112.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p.114.
46. The dabus is a self-mutilating art form found in West Sumatra, in which intranced subjects stab themselves with daggers (Kartomi, M. "Muslim Music"). Other forms to which Cape Muslim ratiep have been linked, include the Balinese Barong (I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, p.37).
47. L.S. Gillis; L.S. De Lima; and I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays
48. L.S. Gillis, p.2.
49. Ibid., p.3.
50. Ibid., p.5.

51. Ibid., p.7.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. H.Kähler, "Der Islam", pp.134-135.
55. See Glossary of Terms, p.509.
56. It may be that the imams he spoke to gave this information; it is my opinion that Wahhabi are anti-ratiep. I am also aware of a special training process to become a khalifa, an initiation process for joining the jamaah (group), and a special kramat (tomb) ratiep where a new khalifa may be "passed out". The training of a khalifa was discussed with khalifa Sulaiman Lamara. However, I am unaware of a special six-year period.
57. The Argus, May 1985, April 1986; The Cape Times, 4 April 1952, May 1985, April 1986; Die Burger, May 1985; You, 26 January 1989; The South Easter, June 1986; and The Daily Independent, 1891,1892.
58. D.J.Potgieter, Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, vol. 7 (Cape Town: Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery, 1972), p.147.
59. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation"; R.Shell, p.9; and Desmond Desai, The Ratiep Display.
60. Fatima Meer, Portrait of Indian South Africans (Durban: Aron House, 1969), p.204; and G.C.Oosthuizen, p.338.
61. F.Meer, pp.204-205.
62. M.J.Kartomi, Muslim Music; C.Poche; M.Gilsenan: A.Pigeaud; Gilbert Rouget, Music and Trance, p.274. Rouget gives an account of a trance-linked performance as described by Ibn Batutah in the fourteenth century. The "skewer-ordeal", the trance state and the relationship of this transcendental state to music are discussed in depth.
63. "Islamic Religious Music", (New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians. London: Macmillan, 1980).
64. London Weekend Television. The Dervish Way. Video Cassette in Islamic Library, Gatesville.
65. The World of Music.
66. R.Shell.
67. W.Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 (Cape Town, 1966).

68. I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays. The Barong dance drama is trance-linked and the kris (dagger) dance occurs therein. Islamic elements have been noted in the Ma'yong dance drama (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol 27 (Chicago: Britannica, 1986), p. 877). While it may be possible, there is no reason to believe that the Barong is Hindu-linked.
69. Steve Khan, "Universal Meditation", Cape Observer, 26 August - 9 September 1993, p.11.
70. R.A.Bravmann. Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
71. Regula Qureshi, Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
72. L.S.Gillis.
73. Hans Wehr, Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Wiesbaden Otto, Harassowitz, 1971), p. 324.
- S.N. al-Attas Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised Among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), p. 68.
74. Abdul Kader Jailani was responsible for the establishment of the Qadiriyyah brotherhood in Bagdad. ar-Rifa'i established the Rifa'iyyah brotherhood in Basra, Iraq. (See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, vol.X. Chicago: Britannica, 1986,p65) and Achmat Davids, The Mosques. The term "Amantua" is derived from "Dua belas" which apparently means "twelve" according to a well-informed Muslim informant.
75. Robert Shell "Islamic Conversion at the Cape in the 19th Century" (unpublished paper, University of Cape Town Workshop, June 1983); Achmat Davids, The Mosques, p.33; I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays ,p.37. (The Barong being a trance-like dance drama in which the Barong, a lion figure, defeats Rangda, an evil witch); H.J. De Graaf, "De Herkomst", p. 112 ; and Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music in South Africa", p. 65 .
76. Achmat Davids, The Mosques, pp.37, 35 and 37 respectively.
77. Margaret Kartomi, Muslim Music,p. 25 ;H.J.de Graaf, "De Herkomst",p.112; I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays and M.J.Kartomi, Music and Trance in Central Java (Ethnomusicology,Vol.17,1973),p.124 .
78. Desmond Desai, " An Investigation", p.11.

79. M. Sheppard, "Ma'yong - The Malay Dance Drama", (World of Music, vol. 15, 1973). S. Karnow, South-East Asia (The Hague: Time-Life, 1964), p. 96.
80. H. J. De Graaf, "De Herkomst".
81. These influences will be noted in this work. See Chapter 2, p. 107.
82. About 90% of Cape Muslims are Afrikaans-speaking, while very few Indian Muslims have Afrikaans as their mother tongue. Using the figures supplied in the 1980 South African census:
- |  |   |                    |
|--|---|--------------------|
| 90% of 166 440 Cape Muslims                      | = | 149 790            |
| Therefore, % Afrikaans-speaking Muslims in South |   |                    |
|  |   |                    |
| Africa   |   | 149 790 multiplied |
|  |   | = ----- by one     |
|  |   | 320 740 hundred    |
|  |   | = 46,7%            |
- (There are about 154 300 South African Indian Muslims.)  
Department of Foreign Affairs, Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, 11th Ed (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1985), pp. 84, 85, 799.
83. Kartomi, Margaret J. "Dabuih in West Sumatra: A Synthesis of Muslim and Pre-Muslim Ceremony and Music Style". Archipel, Vol. 41, 1991. Kartomi characterised orthodox Muslim music as chant, a viewpoint which is too simplistic in my opinion.
84. Ibid., p. 47.
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85. Joyce Wrinch-Schulz, Durban (Cape Town: Purnell, 1973), p. 15 and Die Huisgenoot, 26 January 1986.
86. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music", p. 1.
87. The groups of people who regard ratiep as un-Islamic have all been noted by Shell, Davis and Du Plessis. The present work could simply have been entitled: "The ratiep art form in South Africa" in order to avoid this link. However, the Islamic associations of the art form warrant extensive treatment in this work, hence its title. Ratiep is performed by members of a Sufi brotherhood and the conflict regarding the religiosity of ratiep is due to Wahhabi-based revivalist attitudes to Sufism.

88. Many Cape Muslim ratiep performances have been held since 1981 when my investigation into this art form began. During 1985 I personally witnessed five different performances, both private and public. It would seem that during 1989 there were fewer performances, but this cannot be supported with accurate details.
- Three thousand spectators attended the Indian Muslim ratib sandal procession in Durban on the 7th of October 1989.
89. Mrs Aneesa Farook, Interview, Durban, 25 September 1989.
90. I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, p.1.
91. The Argus, 21 July 1989.
92. Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia, vols 10,12 (Chicago: Britannica, 1975). Both the Qadiriyyah and Rifa'iyah Sufi orders became established in Iraq. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Micropaedia, vol 10. (Chicago: Britannica, 1986), p.65; The Argus, 21 July 1989; Achmat Davids The Mosques, p.33. The Cape Herald, 21 January 1967. S.H.H.Nadvi, Interview, Durban, June 1989.
93. The Cape Herald, 21 January 1967.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. This I witnessed with the Yusufia Rifi'a Cape Muslim ratiep jamaah in 1985 on several occasions, and with the Indian Muslim ratib jamaah of Chatsworth, Durban, during December 1989.
97. The Argus, April 1986.
98. Rifi'a Ceremony, Folkways, 1959.
99. Programme Notes, Baxter Theatre, 13 May 1985.
100. L.S.Gillis., p.5. and D.Desai, "Islamic Music", p.63.
101. Prof. L.S. Gillis mentioned to me that the tongue consists of myriads of blood vessels, and that it should, when pierced with a sharp object, bleed. However, I have found that there is no bleeding on several occasions when witnessing this particular ratiep act, when observing carefully and having

been allowed to inspect the "wound". This has led to the speculation that the performer's tongue had a hole in it already, which I cannot certify as substantiated.

102. One Cape Muslim ratiep jamaah member remarked: "Dis onmoontlik" (It's impossible), when viewing a video recording of an Indian ratib in Cape Town, in which a subject apparently pushed a long thin sword through his neck.
103. It has been argued that the spread of Islam in South Africa was made possible partly because of the fact that Christianized slaves received their freedom. G.C.Oosthuizen, Godsdienste van die Wereld (Pretoria: N.G.Kerkboekhandel, 1977), p. 330.
104. Achmat Davids, Mosques, p.110.
105. The Argus, April 1986.
106. Achmat Davids, Mosques, p.33 and L.S.Gillis, p.1.
107. In 1948 the present Nationalist Government came to power in South Africa and legislated such contentious acts as "The Group Areas Act" which forced people out of their areas of settlement, and relocated them in separate racially-based communities, namely "White", "Coloured", "Indian" and "Black".
108. The Cape Herald, 21 January 1967;
109. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music", p.26 and Achmat Davids, "From Complacency to Activism" (Unpublished paper, University of Cape Town, 1987), p.9.
110. Interview, Cape Town, October 1981.
111. The Cape Times, 4 April 1952.
112. 'Cape Malay' terms such as "blatjang" (chutney) and "achaar" (pickled fruit) incorporate this sound as well.
113. For a detailed discussion on 'Malay' culture, refer to my work: D.Desai, "An investigation", pp.1-19.
114. There seems much obscurity about the South African divisions in Islam; South African Muslims only in private admit that they are "Sufi" or "Wahhabi". However, they also pointed out to me the "minor" differences between Sunnis and Hanafees,

and do not regard the division as pointed as in the past. I also attended a University of Cape Town Summer School course on the 26th of January 1990, and when a knowledgeable Cape Muslim was questioned on the country of origin of the well-known Sufi Tuan Guru (an early Cape Muslim political exile of the 18th century), he apparently did not know the exact answer, and was perhaps deliberately vague about it: He thought that Tuan Guru came from the "East" a vast geographical area, and a rather loose term. It is well-known that Southeast Asia has a strong tradition of Sufism.

115. This seems to be evident from "The Muslim Digest", a Durban publication which appears anti-Saudi Arabian.
116. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music", p.63.
117. R.A. Bravmann, Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
118. Gerard Behague, "Musical Change: A Case Study from South America" (The World of Music, vol.28, no.1, 1986), pp.20,25.
119. Gerhard Behague, "Musical Change", p.17. See also: John Blacking, "Identifying Processes of Musical Change" (The World of Music, vol.28, no.1, 1986).
120. Frank Alvarez-Pereyre and Simha Arom, "The Holistic Approach to Ethnomusicological Studies" (The World of Music, vol.28, no.2, 1986), pp.4 and 8.
121. Frank Alvarez-Pereyre and Simha Arom, "The Holistic Approach", pp.4 and 5.
122. L.al Faruqi, "The Mawlid" (World of Music, vol. 28, 1986; and H.L.Sakata, "The Complementary Opposition of Music and Religion in Afghanistan", (World of Music, vol. 27, 1986).
123. H.J. De Graaf;
124. Regula Qureshi; and Kristina Nelson, The Art of Reciting The Quran. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984.
125. A.Lomax, Folk Song Style and Culture (Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968).
126. R.B. Qureshi.

127. G.P. Kurath, Dance and Song Rituals of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968); M.D. Lidster & D.H. Tamburini, Folk Dance Progressions (California: Wadsworth, 1965); Edith Katzenellenbogen, South African Dances in Folk Idiom (Pretoria: HAUM Publishers, 1984).
128. R. Qureshi.
129. Rifi'a Ceremony.
130. Musical Instruments of the World: An Illustrated Encyclopedia by the Diagram Group (London: Paddington Press, 1976).
131. M.A. al-Qaderi, Urs . Notes found at the Sufi Saheb Mazar, Riverside, Durban ( undated).
132. A table has been drawn up on page        showing the number of words representing each language.
133. See I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays . In particular his Notes on Sources contain standard Cape Muslim terminology, pp89-90.
134. M.A. al-Qaderi.
135. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music".
136. Kurath, Lidster and Katzenellenbogen.
137. Edith Katzenellenbogen, South African Dances in Folk Idiom (Pretoria: HAUM Educational Publishers, 1984).



CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND TO ISLAM

Islam literally means "surrender"; its followers are called "Muslims" which means "ones who surrender to the will of God".<sup>1</sup> It is one of the universal religions, having its place alongside Buddhism and Christianity; the large and important world religions of Hinduism and Judaism are linked to Islam.<sup>2</sup> Over a quarter of the world's population are Muslims, with the largest concentration in North Africa, the Middle East and Asia.<sup>3</sup>

A popular misconception is that Islam is regarded as the religion of Muhammad (b.570 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> A proper understanding of the origin of Islam may be had by viewing it as having, together with Christianity and Judaism, a common beginning in Abraham (Ebrahim to Muslims), a Prophet of God.<sup>5</sup> These religions acknowledge their roots in this religious personage, in accordance with divine promise.<sup>6</sup> According to Muslims, Islam has sprung from the lineage of Ishmael,

the eldest son of Abraham and Hagar. This was brought about by the fact that Sarah, Abraham's wife had initially been unable to bear him any children. Hagar, a former Egyptian slave, became Abraham's wife and mother to their child Ishmael.<sup>7</sup> Later a son, called Isaac, was borne to Sarah and Abraham.<sup>8</sup> Ishmael had to flee from Sarah, but was promised by God to be father to a great nation.<sup>9</sup> According to Biblical sources both Isaac and Ishmael were destined to become founders of great nations. From Ishmael the Arab nation sprung, and thus Muhammed was the end of a long line of prophethood beginning with Ishmael. Legend has it that Abraham and Ishmael built the Ka'aba (literally "cube") in Mecca to which millions of Muslims go every year (See ff. 16 ).<sup>10</sup>

The Arabian Peninsula is essentially a barren country, bounded on the west by the Red Sea, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the mountains of Asia Minor and on the east by the Persian Gulf. The origin of the term Arab is uncertain, but could mean "wanderer", "desert"<sup>11</sup> or "nomad".<sup>12</sup> The Christian Bible mentions the term "Arab".<sup>13</sup> Christianity made headway in the Arabian peninsula during the 4th and 5th centuries, with the decline of the Roman Empire, while Judaism was also present in this region during

this pre-Islamic period.

The gasida, a poetic form of Muslims around the globe, and particularly of South African Muslims, was developed during the 6th century. While the poetic form of gasida has an Arabic origin, the poetic form of ghazal was practised by the Persians, and possibly by the Arabs before them.<sup>14</sup>

Nadvi is of the opinion that pre-Islamic cultures were paganistic and idolatory.<sup>15</sup> Islam directly opposes such viewpoints and accepts as its basis the unchangeable nature of oneness of God.<sup>16</sup> This is contained in the shahadah (profession of faith): "La illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah). At the same time Islam accepts the revealed books of Christians, Jews, Hindus and Buddhists.<sup>17</sup> It has five pillars, including the shahadah.<sup>18</sup>

Muhammad was born in Mecca about 570 A.D. His father Abd Allah died before his birth and his mother passed away when Muhammad reached the age of six years. He then was reared by his grandfather who died a pagan. Thereafter Muhammad was cared for by his uncle, Abu Talib. He married Khadija at the age of 25 years, who was 15 years his senior. According to sources he was about 40 years old when he received his divine calling to mould a new religion.

The Arabic stratum of the broader Islamic culture developed in the 4000 years before the birth of Muhammad. The style of cantillation of the Qur'an probably evolved out of the poetic recitative forms associated with the poetic language developed by the Arabs in the desert.<sup>19</sup> This style characterises the non-Sufic practices of adhdhaan (call to prayer) and talhin (recital of the Qur'an).

#### 2.1.1 The Spread of Islam

The political cause of Islam was in the hands of the Caliphs from the time of Muhammad's death in 632 until 661 A.D.: Abu Bakr (632 to 634), 'Umar(634 to 644), "Uthman(644 to 656) and 'Ali(656 to 661). Thereafter the Umayyads ruled until 750 A.D., followed by the Abbasids until 861 and the Buyids until 945.<sup>20</sup>

The Arabs ruled Spain from 711 until 1492 and left a lasting cultural impression. Islam spread to India in 711, and remained powerful until about 1857.<sup>21</sup> During this period the Indo-Aryan Urdu language, the lingua franca of Indian Muslims developed. Structurally and historically it is similar to

Hindi.<sup>22</sup> Between the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries the Mughal Empire became established and encompassed the largest part of India.<sup>23</sup> About a third of the world's Muslim population lives in the Indian subcontinent, where a quarter of its total population are Muslims.<sup>24</sup> Islam rooted itself in China in 642 A.D.<sup>25</sup>

From India, Islam spread to Southeast Asia, and this new religion reached Indonesia in 674 A.D. In 878 a more substantial settlement of about 120 000 to 200 000 Arabic and Persian Muslim traders occurred in this region.<sup>26</sup> Islam reached Northern Sumatra in 1112.<sup>27</sup> Another peak in Islamic conversion occurred in the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Soedarsono asserts that the type of Islam that reached Indonesia from the thirteenth century onwards, was made more tolerant because it apparently passed through North India, where Hindu elements transculturated Islamic ones.<sup>29</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Divisions within Islam

A careful analysis of the sources on Islam shows two apparently opposing viewpoints: On the one hand there is an all encompassing orthodoxy and adherence to the Sunnah (the guidance found in the Qur'an);<sup>30</sup> on the other hand there appears to be major divisions within Islam, notably the Shi'a

and Sunni split. This dichotomy may be understood if the religion is viewed as one which facilitates group differences stemming from historical and political factors and which at the same time it maintains the identifying features and pillars within its practice.

Past and presentday Islam essentially aims at orthodoxy. Within this bases of fundamentalism, differences of opinion and interpretation, and practice of religion are still evident. Such divisions may be based on ascetism which led to the development of Sufism,<sup>31</sup> or major religio-political differences as evident by the Shi'a split. According to Ali "most of the divisions in the Church of Muhammad owe their origin primarily to political and dynastic causes, - to old tribal quarrels, and the strong feeling of jealousy..."<sup>32</sup> The earliest differences centred around the Caliphs and political strife.<sup>33</sup> Thus divisions started to exist within Islam, as opposed to the formation of religious off-shoots by moulding together fundamentally different religious ideologies.

#### 2.1.2.1 The Shi'a

The fourth Caliph, 'Ali, who married Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad, was murdered by a member of the rival Kharidjites.<sup>34</sup> At that time, 'Ali was only in control of Iraq and Persia. After his murder, Mu'awiya, a family member of 'Ali, added these geographical areas of Iraq and Persia to his control, and became the next Caliph. The supporters of 'Ali formed the Shi'a ( from Shi'at which means "party") who believed in the imam principle. Accordingly Shi'a believe that only descendents of 'Ali are entitled to religious leadership, which was divinely vested in 'Ali.<sup>35</sup> Within Shi'aism, there exists a movement which accepts only twelve imams, with 'Ali as the first and Muhammad Adu'l-Kasim as the last.<sup>36</sup> Later in 680 A.D. Hussain, the son of 'Ali, was murdered by the Kharidjites at Kerbala, which lead its annual commemoration on the 10th day of Muharram (See Plate IX).

There are 80 million Shi'a followers in the world,<sup>37</sup> to whom most Persians (Iranians) belong.<sup>38</sup> Since the revolution of the mullahs in Iran in 1979 the Shi'a group has exercised tremendous influence worldwide due to its global movement for the unification of all movements.<sup>39</sup>

#### 2.1.2.2 Sunni

More than 80% of the Muslims in South Africa, as is the case in the world, adhere to the Sunni division in Islam. Like the Shi'as, they accept the first four Caliphs. Sunnis, unlike Shi'as, accept the Qur'an and Sunnah as the basis for religious practice. While both accept the life and customs of Muhammad as the model for religious laws and customs, the Shi'as accept divine leadership of an imam who is related to the prophet Muhammad. For Shi'as Friday prayers in a mosque are not compulsory, as they are for Sunnis.<sup>41</sup>

It must be pointed out that certain Shi'a and Sunni Muslims adhere to unorthodox practices. Sunnis, for example, may practice Sufism; the commemoration of Hussain's death at Kerbala in 680 A.D. has been enjoined by South African Muslims of all walks of life since the previous century, which emphasises the point that Islamic divisions are difficult to discern in South Africa.<sup>42</sup> Similarly it is difficult to point out individuals adhering to the Ahmadiya sect.<sup>43</sup> The Ahmadiya sect has caused much bitterness in the South African Muslim community.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, there has not only been a call for Islamic unity from Shi'a Iran,<sup>45</sup> but



also recognition for the unification strategy of fundamentalist revolutionary movements.<sup>46</sup>

### 2.1.2.3 Wahḥabi

The Wahhabiyah (Wahḥabi in short) religious group was founded by Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahḥab during the eighteenth century. It was adopted in 1744 by the Saudi family and has been allied to them until the present.<sup>47</sup> It is characterised as puritanical and has made a clear stand against all innovations (bidat) in Islam.<sup>48</sup> Wahḥabis condemn all acts of visiting tombs and venerating saints.<sup>49</sup> Parrinder states that they regard themselves as "true Muslims" and that they destroyed many tombs and places of saint-worship. They demand "simplicity in dress, and forbid gold ornaments, music, alcohol, tobacco, gambling, and even chess."<sup>50</sup>

The most far-reaching accusation against Wahḥabi philosophy is indicated by Ali:

...the Wahhabis designate all other Muslims as unbelievers, and permit their despoilment and enslavement.<sup>51</sup>

He likens them to the Azarika who were "most fanatical, exclusive, and narrow",<sup>52</sup> and concludes that the Azarika doctrines found expression nine centuries later in the wahhabis.<sup>53</sup>

The extremes to which Wahhabis go are described thus by the South African publication "The Muslim Digest":

...and it is a historical fact that the Saudis under the inspiration of Al Wahhab, after killing thousands of Muslims when they came to power, even wanted to destroy the tomb of the holy Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) were it not for the intervention of the Ottoman Caliphate.<sup>54</sup>

More relevant to South African Islam, is the following account on the disruption of a traditional moulood (birthday) celebration:

The other...is the unbelievable reaction by the Deobandi/Tablighi/Wahhabi group against the Bareilly group, in Azaadville, near Johannesburg.. (It) even led to the brutal killing of one of the

Muslims...

"It is alleged that while the small group of Muslims were reciting Zikr Allah after Esha prayers in the Azaadville Civic Hall, they were set upon by hundreds of opponents of Moulood with all manner of instruments, etc. that eventually led to the killing of one of those in the hall..."<sup>55</sup>

Notwithstanding or because of the marriage between religion and the sword" by Wahhabis,<sup>56</sup> this movement spread as far afield as Nigeria and Sumatra.<sup>57</sup>

My alleged Wahhabi opposition to ratiep performances paints a similar picture of negativity towards non-puritanical Islamic practices.

### 2.1.3 Islam in South Africa

Two distinct Islamic cultural subgroups, namely the Cape Muslims (formerly called "Malays") of the Western, and the Indian Muslims of the Eastern areas, have established themselves in South Africa. The former is a relatively homogeneous group of people, whose traditional home is the Bo-Kaap, a small section of Cape Town, situated on the slopes of Signal Hill, where a distinct South African subculture has developed over a period of 200 years.<sup>58</sup> This community has

cultural links with other Cape Muslims in broader Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Strand, Maccasar, Paarl and other outlying Cape areas. Even in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth there exist Cape Muslim communities, which have resulted due to a natural process of migration throughout South Africa.

Cape Muslims, who number only about 150 000, adhere to a distinctive cultural life, which is increasingly being pressurised through various religious, political and economic factors. Customs such as moulood (the birthday celebration of the Prophet), haddad (prayer meetings) and annual secular choir competitions form an important part of their cultural life. However, celebrations such as Eid-ul-Fitr (marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadaan) and Eid-ul-Adha (commemorating Abraham's sacrifice of his son) occur worldwide, and are important Muslim cultural events in South Africa.

The vast repertory of Cape Muslim sacred activity also includes the adhdhaan (call to prayer), badja-ing (recital of the Qur'an), djiekers ("hymns"), pudjies (also a type of "hymn") and kasedas (religious songs).<sup>59</sup> Thus Islam in South Africa shows a cultural diffusion which makes its

practitioners a distinct and important cultural group.

During moulood celebrations, men and women gather in madressas or mosques to perform djiekers, which are polyphonic vocal performances to Arabic texts. In these, two "rival" jamaahs (groups) may perform in a characteristic toekang (statement) and djawap (answer) style: One group starts a particular djieker statement, which is replied (djawap-ed) to by another. This process is repeated for a time, of say, 30 minutes. The order of toekang and djawap is then reversed.

Characteristic of moulood celebrations is a rampie-sny (cutting of orange leaves) ceremony performed by women on the day prior to the birthday of the Prophet, which occurs on the twelveth day of the Muslim month Rabi-ul-Auwal. These cuttings are sprinkled with rose water, placed into rampies (sachets) which then are handed to the men who attend the mosques the next day.

Haddad performances are found when commemorating the death of a Muslim, a birthday celebration or any general prayer meeting. These are characterised by the performance of

djiekers, as well as such items as the asmanaal husna (the ninety nine Names of Allah) and the ashrakal. I have recorded numerous such occasions since 1981 in Cape Town, Strand and as far afield as Durban.

These traditions have come under pressure from more orthodox Muslims who regard some of them as un-Islamic, an accusation which is "not without foundation".<sup>60</sup> The colourful rampie-sny ceremony is regarded as of Indonesian origin and practised by early slaves at the Cape.<sup>61</sup> Haddad again is treated with greater tolerance, probably because of greater religious significance. Furthermore, political factors have resulted in resettlement of many established Muslim communities. Constantia, Claremont and District Six in the Cape are examples.

As practitioners of folk music, the Cape Muslims is thought to have "no equal in South Africa", although there are many other South African subcultures with an equally well-established folk music tradition.<sup>62</sup> Their substantial contribution to Afrikaans folk music has been in the secular styles of moppies (comic songs), ghommaliédjies (humorous songs akin to moppies), Dutch songs and nederlandsliedere (songs in

distorted Dutch, characterised by call and response between a voorsinger and choir, in which the melody is ornamented with karienkels or melismas in "Eastern" fashion).

The Cape Muslim community speak Afrikaans predominantly, a South African language derived from Dutch, which is spoken by most non-Black South Africans. They are well-known for their traditional food, such as babotie, pienang-kerrie and koeksisters. A distinctive dress is also discernable amongst the older members, although this custom is disappearing fast.

Indian Muslim, who number about 150 000, have settled in Natal since 1860. About 85% of Indian Muslims reside in Durban.<sup>63</sup> Another important concentration is found in Rylands and Gatesville in the Cape. They constitute a minority within the "Indian" minority, a subsection of the heterogenous South African community. They mostly speak English and Urdu, although a significant number speak Gujarati.

They adhere to such customs as sandal processions, naat and ghazal (love songs) recitals, giyerwee sharif (prayer meetings similar to the Cape Muslim haddad but during which

recitals in Urdu occur besides Arabic) and gawwali performances.

A strong tradition amongst Indian Muslims is the Muharram festival held during the Islamic month of Muharram in commemoration of Husain's death at Kerbala more than a 1 000 years ago. On that occasion Muslims carry a replica of a dome-shaped "tomb", called the thaziya, through the streets.

Both Muslim groups perform the self-mutilating ratiep art form. The sensitive nature of the performance and its doubtful origins forbid a direct linkage with South African Muslims.

Islam in South Africa has assimilated a wide range of traditions flowing from a vast area of cultural heritage which range from the West, through Africa, to the East. While Muslims apparently resemble a religious and cultural unity, they remain divided on traditions not practised by all Muslims.

Many of the younger Muslims in South Africa dissociate themselves from the customs of their ancestors, mostly on



religious and political grounds. This makes the preservation and conservation thereof a particular cause for concern. However, there have emerged newer perspectives; for example, older customs do not necessarily imply an entrenchment or tacid support of unacceptable racial separatist policies, characteristic of the Nationalist Government in South Africa since 1948.<sup>64</sup>

## 2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO CAPE MUSLIMS

Hornell mentions that Javanese sailors arrived at the Cape in 1594.<sup>65</sup> This opens up interesting avenues for speculation regarding the time of settlement of the first Cape Muslims. However, it is generally agreed that 1652 marks the beginning of the transplantation of Islam to South Africa. Both Mayson and Du Plessis concur on the date of 1652 for the arrival of the first Cape Muslims.<sup>66</sup> Kahler also mentions 1652 as the date when the first Indonesians were brought to the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East Company.<sup>67</sup> Maurice agrees with the nineteenth century historian, Theal, on this date.<sup>68</sup>

The relevant literature contains controversy relating to the term "Cape Malay", a synonym for "Cape Muslim". It is argued that the early Cape Muslims sprang from political exiles, slaves and others who settled at the Cape. During

the period 1658 to 1700 political exiles, slaves and convicts came to the Cape from Madagascar, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China and Japan.<sup>69</sup> Thus the term "Cape Malay" is regarded as misleading and erroneous. "Cape Muslim" is preferred since it "cuts across artificial racial barriers and more accurately describes the origin of their culture, and their religion".<sup>70</sup>

#### 2.2.1 Southeast Asia

Muslim scholars argue, not without contradiction, that the first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were the Mardyckers of the Southern Molucca Islands.<sup>71</sup> They reputedly arrived in 1658, and were allowed to practice their religion in private. An important Muslim political exile arrived in 1694 and was settled at Macassar near Cape Town, where a kramat (tomb) has been erected. This political leader of royal birth, Sheikh Yusuf, was regarded by many as the founder of Islam in South Africa. Muslim writers also accept the importance of Tuan Guru, prince from the Ternate Islands, who arrived in 1780, and was incarcerated on Robben Island.<sup>72</sup> At the time of his death he "exerted a considerable influence on the Cape Muslim community".<sup>73</sup>

After 1700 there were several slaves who came from Southeast Asia.<sup>74</sup> While there may be arguments in support of larger numbers of Indian Muslims, it cannot be denied that the cultural influence from the Malay Archipelago formed one of the foundation stones of 'Cape Malay' culture, as can be seen from the number of reputed Indonesian relics and customs. Malayu was until the early 1930's still spoken in Cape mosques and Cape Muslim households.

#### 2.2.2 India

Boeseken has shown that during the period 1658 to 1700 over 50% of slaves came from India, especially Bangal, Coromandel and the Malabar Coast.<sup>75</sup> Davids assumes that the majority of these slaves were Muslims in order to argue that Cape Muslims are predominantly of Indian Muslim ancestry.<sup>76</sup> He argues that India had long been Islamized at the time of slave importation from the mentioned areas.<sup>77</sup> Theal notes that in 1753 there were more slaves than Whites at the Cape, "some from Batavia, East Africa and a lot from India".<sup>78</sup>

While his arguments may be challenged by other facts such

as that slaves from Madagascar had been exposed to Southeast Asian cultures, it is nevertheless true that a significant number of early Cape Muslims originated from India.<sup>79</sup> During the nineteenth century a significant number of Indian Muslims settled in the Cape.<sup>80</sup> Due to these settlers being Hanafee, as opposed to the majority Shafee Cape Muslim population, as well as their Indian cultural heritage, the Quawatul mosque in Loop Street in Cape Town was established. Apparently these Muslims wanted to retain the language and culture.<sup>81</sup>

### 2.2.3 Madagascar

Dauids refers to the fact that a number of slaves were either from Madagascar or Mozambique.<sup>82</sup> Marais argues in this connection that Mozambique slaves must have been "Bantu-speaking", and states that some "Coloured" South African are referred to as "Masbiekers", a derogatory term no longer used.<sup>83</sup> He further contends that the majority of African slaves were of Madagascan origin, who had a strong "infiltration of Indonesian blood and spoke an Indonesian language (Malagasy) with remnants of a few Bantu words."<sup>84</sup>

The African component of early Cape Muslims therefore was strongly founded on a Southeast Asian cultural heritage.

## 2.3 'ZANZIBARI' MUSLIMS

### 2.3.1 Historical Background

'Zanzibari' Muslims have their ancestral origins in East African Zanzibar and Mozambique, notably in the Makua tribe of Mozambique. South African 'Zanzibaris' have sprung from the approximately 800 'free slaves' who were brought to Durban in South Africa between 1873 and 1880.<sup>85</sup> The early 'Zanzibaris' were reportedly slaves freed through the British naval blockades, and brought to South Africa in slave dhows. These slaves are distinct from the earlier Mozambican slaves who intermingled with 'Malay' slaves at the Cape in the early nineteenth century.<sup>86</sup>

Islam was firmly established in East Africa by Arab traders as from the eleventh century. It became the religion of the majority of East Africans centuries before the first East Africans migrated to South Africa. Islam also guaranteed the continued existence of 'Zanzibaris' as a separate cultural group in South Africa since through Islam their cultural identity was assured while Christian 'Zanzibaris' lost theirs and became "westernised".<sup>87</sup> It may also be argued that legislating the 'Zanzibaris' as a subgroup as

"Other Asians" under the "Coloured" group according to the Nationalist Government's racial classification system must have contributed positively to their continued existence as a distinct community. They were also, due to the Group Areas Act ( 41 of 1950, and 77 of 1957, as ammended), relocated in the Indian area of Chatsworth near Durban since 1962.<sup>88</sup>

Different reasons are responsible for the spread of 'Zanzibaris' to such centres as Cape Town and Johannesburg. Seedat mentions economic and marriage factors.<sup>89</sup> The original 'Zanzibari' Jamal family have some offsprings in Cape Town. However, these Capetonians could not be traced, possibly due to a complete assimilation in Cape cultural subgroups who know little or nothing of the 'Zanzibaris' of Durban.

Earlier, Mozambican slaves who arrived at the Cape during the first half of the nineteenth century, settled in outlying areas of Simonstown.<sup>90</sup> While the 'Zanzibaris' are treated as a distinct group from the early "Prize Negroes" of Mozambique, their cultural link with Natal 'Zanzibaris' is twofold: They share the Islamic faith; and both adhere to such traditional religious ceremonies such as moulood, haddad and ratiep.

## 2.3.2 Customs

### 2.3.2.1 Paganistic

It is significant that Shaikh refers to paganistic influences in Islamic religious practices, but regards the 'Zanzibari' ratib as a "religious" practice.<sup>91</sup> Certain writers noted paganistic influences in "Islamic" traditions in Southeast Asia where art forms similar to ratib are found. Shaikh does note that 'Zanzibari' ratib is unacceptable from an orthodox Islamic point of view.<sup>92</sup> He maintains that these practices are a result of Islam's tolerance with foreign non-Islamic cultures; Seedat also notes that "Islam preserves cultural identity".<sup>93</sup> Shaikh also argues that some of the practices of the 'Zanzibaris' appear similar to those practices of certain South African Muslims "who were originally from the Indo-Pak subcontinent".<sup>94</sup>

Medicine men play an important role in 'Zanzibari' pagan practices. When a person does not recover from illness, he is thought to possess an evil spirit, called a pepo. A medicine man is then consulted to perform a ritual healing ceremony.<sup>95</sup> Shaikh stresses that "rituals and beliefs associated with the

pepo have no connection with Islam".<sup>96</sup>

The "epepah" custom apparently is practised by 'Zanzibaris' for different reasons: when a person is unable to recover; when a child is unable to start walking or talking; or "when other difficulties are experienced".<sup>97</sup> Allah and ancestral spirits are consulted during the ceremony, which normally takes place in the afternoon.<sup>98</sup>

The Zanzibaris also practice initiation ceremonies for both boys and girls.

#### 2.3.2.2 Religious

The practice of dhikr occurs in various religious ceremonies and occasions, namely in moulood (or maulidi according to Shaikh), haddad (prayer meetings in commemoration of the dead) and ratib.<sup>99</sup> These dhikr consist of repetitions of the faith formula, and the names and attributes of Allah.<sup>100</sup>

It is generally agreed that haddad occurs on the 7th, 40th and 100th day after death.<sup>101</sup> 'Zanzibaris' hold similar ceremonies on the 3rd, 7th, 10th and 40th day after death.<sup>102</sup> Moulood celebrations follow the same form of Cape Muslim



mouloud in which various dhikr are rendered, and readings occur from the poems of Brazanzi.<sup>103</sup>

The origin of the 'Zanzibari' ratib is obscure: it is thought by some to have originated amongst the Makua tribe in Mozambique, while others maintain that a person by the name of Sheikh Ja'far brought it from the "East".<sup>104</sup> If the latter is true, then the 'Zanzibari' ratib may directly be linked to the Cape Muslim ratiep since Cape Muslims acknowledge the contribution of Sheikh Ja'far to the transplantation of Cape Muslim ratiep. Furthermore, Meer notes that 'Cape Malay' and 'Zanzibari' men and children formed part of the rathie procession held annually in Durban, although this no longer appears to be the case. It is possible that through contact the art form was transmitted via Cape Muslim to 'Zanzibaris'.<sup>105</sup> Oosthuizen specifically notes that some 'Zanzibaris' "believe the Malays brought it here".<sup>106</sup> Another important factor is that Muslim brigades, which have sprung up since 1950 amongst both Cape Muslims and Indian Muslims, have been making contact with 'Zanzibaris'.<sup>107</sup> Then also, Seedat notes that Indians intermarried with 'Zanzibaris' since the latter part of the nineteenth century, which opens possibilities that Indian Muslim ratib has

influenced the 'Zanzibari' ratib.

Certain ratib terms mentioned by Shaikh commonly used by 'Zanzibaris' point to possible Cape Muslim influence: "tabushe" for tamboesters (daggers) is a typical Cape Muslim terms; "boorje" for alwaan (skewers) may possibly derive from the Afrikaans term "boortjie" which means "little drill". However, the terms 'ijazat (please), silsilah(chain), khalifa (leader), ratib, daf (drum) and dairah (rebanna or frame drum) which are mentioned by Shaikh, are commonly used by Indian Muslims and point to an Indian Muslim influence. It may be safe to argue that while the possibility remains slim that the ratib was a unique Mozambican practice, influences from both Indian Muslim and Cape Muslim side in the 'Zanzibari' ratiep performance, must be accepted.

Seedat notes that the 'Zanzibari' rathieb (ratib) is similar to the Cape Muslim ratiep.<sup>108</sup> She states that repetitions of "the name of Mohammed and certain Quaranic(sic) verses to the compelling beat of drums" cause the performers to reach a state of ecstasy, during which state men perform acts of selfmutilation without "feeling any pain".<sup>109</sup> Shaikh notes the highly stylized and organised form of the 'Zanzibari' ratib.<sup>110</sup> He also mentions the use of dairah (rebanna or frame drums) to accompany dhikr.<sup>111</sup>

The khalifa (leader) leads and controls the whole performance, as is the case in Cape Muslim ratiep. Shaikh does not clearly distinguish between the precise functions of "thabushe" and "boorje", which probably are the 'Zanzibari' equivalents of Cape Muslim tamboesters (daggers) and alwaan (skewers) respectively. These instruments are used in 'Zanzibari' ratib to pierce the ears, tongue and cheeks.<sup>112</sup> Swords and pangas are also used to chop at the body, apparently without loss of blood; when "boorje" are used to pierce parts of the body, the resulting wounds heal quickly, as is the case in Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep.

Oosthuizen describes the form and style of a particular Zanzibari ratib performance in greater detail than any other writer on the 'Zanzibari' ratib, and in particular Shaikh. He limits the number of participants to 15 people. Other important points he mentions are: that there are six drummers; that the performers dance in pairs; that women are not allowed to participate in the ratib performance; and that the audience echoes the singing of the performers.<sup>113</sup>

The Zanzibari ratib, according to Oosthuizen, is started by the khalifa. Preliminaries of the performance consist of

prayers, songs and the repetition of the shahada forty times. At a climactic moment during the performance, the khalifa pierces his ears, tongue and cheeks using "booriji". Oosthuizen argues that this enables the performer to perform the acts of cutting and stabbing of body parts, without the loss of blood, using thabushe and pangas.<sup>114</sup>

#### 2.4 EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

The forebears of Cape Muslims are of Southeast Asian, Indian and African origin.<sup>115</sup> Intermarriage with Europeans and the cultural influence thereof are often forgotten. Presentday Cape Muslims constitute a religious rather than an ethnic community.<sup>116</sup> More than anything else it has always been their religion which bound them together as a homogenous group. Notwithstanding the fact that Islam had played a major role in their lives, their important contribution to the secular Afrikaans folk song and other components of South African culture has been acknowledged.<sup>117</sup>

The basis for this can best be seen from the fact that ever since the first Muslims set foot at the Cape, a process of acculturation took place amongst the various racial groups. This took on differing forms: in language, customs, folklore,

food, clothes and music. An important factor is the continuing miscegenation which has occurred; it is still not uncommon for Whites of European descent to intermarry with South African Muslims of colour, as surnames such as Paulse, Diederichs and Stanley suggest.<sup>118</sup>

It is also well documented that many early Cape Muslims were slaves whose cultural heritage was subjected to severe pressure from the more dominant European culture. Factors such as the use of slaves as musicians in the household of their owners must have resulted in a process of cultural assimilation in which Western influence are clearly identifiable.<sup>119</sup> As early as 1707 a certain Biron was punished for singing ditties "half in Malay, half in Dutch".<sup>120</sup> Lichtenstein described a musical evening during which slaves played upon bassoons, French horns and clarinets.<sup>121</sup> Duff Gordon describes an occasion which occurred in 1860 when a "Malay" demonstrated to an inept "Dutch" how to perform on a concertina, the main instrument in Afrikaner boeremusiek (that is, "farmers' music" of White Afrikaans speaking South Africans).<sup>122</sup> Instruments of European origin still in use by Cape Muslims are the guitar, mandoline, double bass, bagpipes and tambourines.

In the repertory of Cape Muslim music, both sacred and secular, such influences are clearly discernible. In djiekers the drawnout, ponderous, legato style of singing has been likened to Christian hymn singing by van Warmelo.<sup>123</sup> van Rijn noted the same style of singing, and thought that it was due to Dutch influence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>124</sup> Kunst noticed a similar style of Javanese vocal music, which is further substantiation to a theory of Western influence in dhikr or "hymns".<sup>125</sup> However, it has been shown by Lomax that this style of singing is not coincidental in Polynesia and indicates missionary four-part song influence.<sup>126</sup> Kornhauser has shown that while considerable Western European (such as Dutch and Portuguese) linguistic elements are discernible in Indonesian krontjong, a style similar to secular Cape Muslim ghommaliédjies,<sup>127</sup> it is nevertheless an important genre.<sup>128</sup> Likewise kasedas, a sacred style of Cape Muslim music, shows an indebtedness to Western music, may be seen from such examples as "Koomi" (Peace) with its homophonic musical structures.<sup>129</sup>

But it is in secular music that Western European influence is most clearly observable. In Cape Muslim moppies the text is Afrikaans, with musical styles clearly founded upon the

Western European idiom.<sup>130</sup> Similarly the ghommaliédjies and Dutch songs are founded upon Western European musical traditions. Only in the nederlandslied are Eastern elements discernible, and then only in terms of the karienkels or melismas which appear to be based on religious influences such as the recital of the Qur'an.<sup>131</sup>

In the ratiep the European influence is not only noticeable in the style of djiekers, but also in the fairly extensive ratiep terminology. For example the ratiep term "bank" and "saal" are Afrikaans terms; Afrikaans is an indigenous language derived from the Dutch. Similarly words such as saal, inry, insny, melk and hammer indicate Western European influences.

## 2.5 INDIAN MUSLIMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 2.5.1 General Background

According to Henning, very little research has been conducted into the historical background of Indians in South Africa.<sup>132</sup>

An allied problem concerns the shortage of similar material on South African Muslims generally, and Indian Music specifically.<sup>133</sup> Important works in this field are those of Nadvi, Beyers and Jackson.<sup>134</sup> Then also, certain contributing

factors need to be considered: Firstly, the Indian Muslim is a fairly recent immigrant to South Africa (since 1860). Secondly, given the socio-political situation of South African Indians since 1860, it is not surprising that little was written about the thousands of sugar plantation workers, and other South African Indians. Thirdly, since 1948 the human rights of this minority group in South Africa have been affected severely through the political circumstances created by the still ruling Nationalist government; South African Whites were legislated a privileged group through a host of "apartheid" laws and government structures. This must have severely damaged ethnological research which, if not politically "correct", have been subjected to political attacks.<sup>135</sup> It is not denied that certain works pertaining to Indians have been published, notwithstanding said circumstances. Fourthly, a large percentage (approximately 10%) of South African Indians are Muslims, who have received little attention from researchers generally, due a host of varying factors. Fifthly, South African Indians are not only separated by a vast distance from their mother country, India, but have also been practically isolated culturally and academically by India and the international community by and large. This has affected not only the South African Indian community's cultural activity, but also research into



this subculture. Lastly, the South African Indian is reputedly the largest single Indian community outside India who, in South Africa, only constitute about 3% percent of the South African population.<sup>136</sup> They always had limited political thrust, which must account as one of the many factors for lack of research into Indian culture.<sup>137</sup>

In this thesis the background of South African Indian Muslims will only be superficially examined herein, since this work does not propose an indepth historical examination. The main objective of the work is the ratiep art form of South African Muslims.

There is a thin dividing line between Indian Muslim and Cape Muslims, since it was shown that many early Cape Muslims came from India. However, the majority of Natal Indian Muslims who arrived here due to economic consideration, form a homogenous group and politically seem to express themselves differently from Cape Muslims. However, since Islam binds the groups together, they cannot be separated easily on religious grounds.

According to Henning, the first Indians arrived aboard the S.S. Truro on the 16th of November 1861 in Durban. Later

during the same month a further group arrived on the Belvedere.<sup>138</sup> Wilson suggests that 6 000 indentured sugar plantation workers arrived in Natal from Madras and 300 from Calcutta between 1860 and 1866.<sup>139</sup> He contends that 12% were Muslims.<sup>140</sup> In 1861 the five ships that contained 1 360 Indians from Madras and Calcutta had about 25% women.<sup>141</sup> It has been noted that the early Indians were from a diversity of backgrounds: some were poor and some were ambitious; they had differing language and cultural backgrounds. Whether through deliberate or coincidental circumstances, this must have made them easily controllable and probably weakened their resistance against a harsh government. Many Indians from India, Mauritius and East Africa, who were merchants or "passenger" Indians, were Muslims. These immigrants were from the Northern and Western parts of India, and spoke Gujerati and Urdu. Contract workers were mainly Tamil and Hundi-speaking.<sup>142</sup>

After serving a contract period of three years (which was extended to five years) many Indians chose to remain in South Africa and became farmers or workers in the private sector.<sup>143</sup> By 1891 there were 35 763 Indians in Natal, by comparison to the 46 788 Whites. The Indians remained temporary residents in South Africa until 1961, when they

were accepted as a permanent part of South Africa's population.<sup>144</sup>

### 2.3.2 Customs

Some South African Indian Muslims adhere strongly to unorthodox religious practices most of which mostly involve saint worship.<sup>145</sup> Urs (death anniversary of a saint) and the Muharram festival (the specific death anniversary of the martyrdom Hussain at Kerbala in 680 A.D.) may both be linked to saint worship, whereas giyerwee sharif (a type of prayer meeting) occasionally involves saint veneration. (See List of Plates in Appendix B.)

Saint worship occurs invariably in the practices of Sufi brotherhoods, of which there are about 160 different orders.<sup>146</sup> Its importance is stressed in the following words:

According to Shah Waldullah, special Rehmat (mercy) and Anwar (Light of Allah) descend at the time the souls of saintly personages depart. During Urs the same Rahmat and Anwar is anticipated and which has been established as occurring through mystical experiences(sic).<sup>147</sup>

In South Africa the Indian Muslim saint Badsha Pir (d.1894) who was an adherent of the Sufi Qadiriyyah Order, is venerated by many Muslims. His interesting mazaar (tomb) is found at the Brooke Street cemetery in central Durban (See Plate V ). His death is celebrated annually and termed the "Badsha Pir Urs". For these celebrations, a sandal procession occurs through the streets of the city of Durban. During this important occasion ratib is performed in which bodily self-mutilation occurs; a qawwali procession follows this ratib performance (See Plate XXXI).

Another Sufi mystic, Soofie Saheb (d.1910), who belonged to the related Chisti Order, is also highly regarded as a saint by South African Muslims. His tomb is found near the Empangeni river, in Riverside, and many Sandal processions have been held since the turn of the twentieth century. A photograph showing an early Sandal procession held in 1912 is kept at the mazaar (See Plate VIII). However, the first Badsha Pir Urs was reputedly held in 1895 by Soofie Saheb.<sup>147</sup>

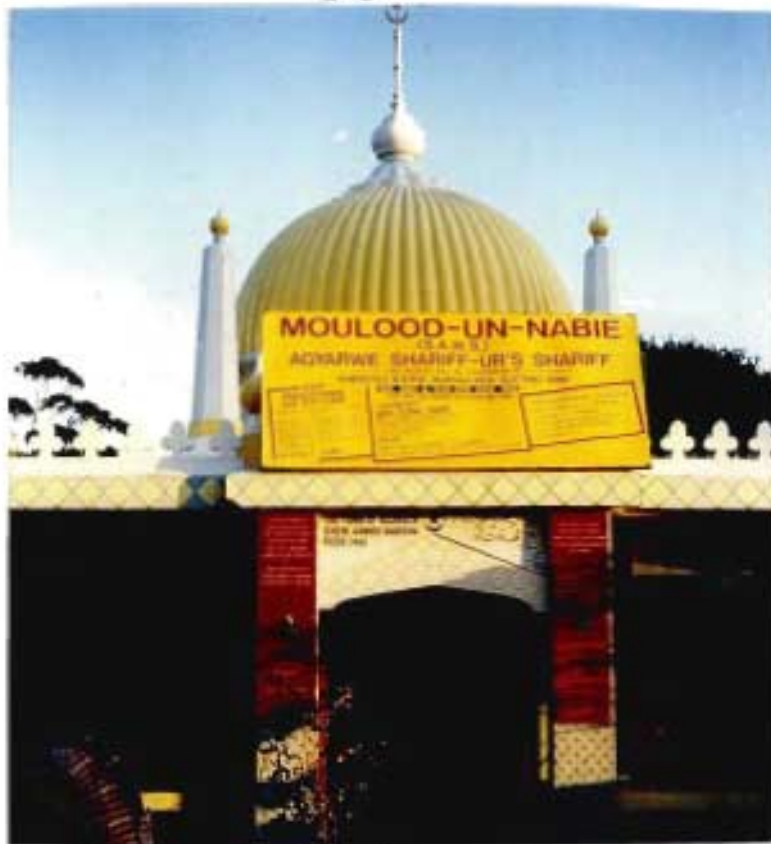


Plate V: The Badsha Pir Mazaar in Durban



Plate VI: A ratib performance with a panga



Plate VII: Dyra players moving in a circle



Plate VIII: An urs sharif celebration at the Soofie Saheb Dargah in Riverside, Durban in 1912 (left), and the Badsha Pir sandal procession in Grey Street, Durban, in 1947 (right).

The Muharram festival, which commemorates the death of Imam Hussain, grandson of the prophet Muhammed, is another important event for South African Muslims. The procession, during which dhikr are recited, is characterised by men carrying a domb-shaped structure, called a thaziya, which represents the tomb of Hussain through the streets (See Plate IX ). The place of the Muharram festival amongst South African cultures goes back many years. Difficulties relating to its performance have been experienced, as a petition drafted in 1908 by South African Indians indicates:

We...appeal to you in a matter which deeply concerns our religion, our religious festivals and the rites and ceremonies which have been observed by the Indians from time immemorial.

...In reply to our application the Town Council has granted us night passes for the occasion, but has refused to allow us the use of the drum.

...For the past thirty-two years in Maritzburg we have been permitted the free right to





Plate IX : A view of the thaziya, with the large dome surrounded by four smaller ones. At this point in the procession the men had started rendering dhikr in Urdu.

celebrate the Muharram festival with its accompanying rites and ceremonies and we know of no reason why the Town Council of the City Corporation should deny us the use of the drum on this occasion. <sup>149</sup>

This occurred at a time when relationships between Whites and Indians settlers in Natal were at a low level. In 1907 Gandhi started his passive resistance campaign, a factor which together with other political attitudes point to a changing political climate prevalent in the above Muharram issue of 1908 (See next section for a discussion of political factors affecting South African Indians).<sup>150</sup>

Giyerwee sharif is a type of prayer meeting also characterised by the recital of dhikr and is commonly held to celebrate birthdays, the occasion of moving into a new home, and death celebrations at tombs of saints. (See Plate VII for a giyerwee sharif in Rylands, Cape, in 1985.)

## 2.6 SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN ISLAM

Governmental influence is found in the cultural, social, economic and religious affairs of both Cape Muslims and Indian Muslims in South Africa. These influences involve aspects of racial classification, residential legislation, religious rights, education and festivities.

The term 'Cape Malay' is regarded as unacceptable, erroneous, misleading and derogatory by Muslims and academics alike.<sup>151</sup> The term is nevertheless accepted in recent government and other publications.<sup>152</sup> According to these sources a 'Cape Malay' is grouped amongst the mixed 'Coloured' population.<sup>153</sup> This appears to suit an ideologically biased perspective that Cape Muslims prefer to be segregated, contrary to their social history of assimilation, intermarriage and miscegenation in South Africa.

The Islamic culture and religion of Cape Muslims seem to have been under political pressure since the early days of White settlement at the Cape. In 1657 a placat was re-issued by Governor Maetsuyker, prohibiting Muslims from practising their religion in public.<sup>154</sup> Also, slaves received their freedom once Christianised. This freedom placed political pressure on a religious minority, although the granting of religious freedom must have been the result thereof as well. In 1857 the government placed certain restrictions on the performance of the ratiep.<sup>155</sup> It has also been inferred that the ratiep has been used for political gain, for example during the van Riebeeck Festival in 1952.

Political factors seem to have affected Indians, and therefore by implication Indian Muslims, shortly after their arrival on the shores of Natal in 1860. This seems surprising, given the fact that Simon van der Stel, governor of the Cape since 1679 a native of Mauritius, had an Indian mother Monica; he has been described as "dark, cheerful and of medium height" and an ardent Dutch patriot.<sup>156</sup>

The literature clearly shows that while South African Indian Muslims and Cape Muslims formed the smallest of the various population groups in South Africa, forming about 0,5% of the total population, they managed to retain much of their religion and culture, which have been lost by co-religionists elsewhere.<sup>157</sup> This may have been due to a host of factors such as isolation, a long religious history and even historical factors pertaining to reasons of labour which brought their ancestors to this southern tip of Africa. At the same time, they were treated as second-grade citizens, politically. In 1897, for example, it was made a criminal offence for a White person to marry an Indian.<sup>158</sup> Their political rights were severely restricted. Their franchise was restricted in 1939.<sup>159</sup> They were once entitled to parliamentary and municipal franchises.<sup>160</sup> The Asiatic Bill of 1939 effectively

stopped Transvaal Indians from trading under illegal licences.<sup>161</sup> In 1891 already trading licences were withheld from those who failed to keep their books in English.<sup>162</sup> They have only recently been admitted to the open University of Natal in Durban.<sup>163</sup>

The Indian government exercised tremendous pressure on the South African as well as the British governments, in order to secure better political rights for their citizens. The South African Government policy remained the repatriation of Indians, who were regarded for more than 100 years as temporary settlers in Natal and elsewhere in South Africa, until Dr H.F.Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister and architect of "apartheid", accepted them as permanent South African residents on the 3rd of August 1961.<sup>164</sup> However, at the same time he created a separate government department to cater for "Indian Affairs". The University College of Westville (which later became an autonomous university) for Indians was established by the government in 1961, and which caters for cultural and religious studies as well as the Muslim languages of Urdu and Arabic.<sup>165</sup> While only constituting about 2,5% of the South African population, with the Muslims portion being only 20% of that figure, they have contributed

tremendously to the economy of the country. Their cultural contributions have only recently been investigated, which could show a significant contribution in language, religion and cultural matters.

Many of their political leaders have been detained. Yusuf Dadoo, a prominent Transvaal Indian Congress leader, regarded as unacceptable Smuts' "spurious offer of a sham franchise" and a "diabolical attempt to strangulate Indians economically and degrade them socially".<sup>166</sup>

Indian Muslims were drawn from the Gujarati and Urdu-speaking immigrants. These people did not work as ordinary sugar plantation contract workers, but as traders. Later, Gandhi used the Transvaal problem regarding these Indian traders as political cause for his passive resistance campaign in 1907.<sup>167</sup>

Cape Muslims and Indians have an "enslaved" past, having been treated as second rate citizens in the land of their birth. Notwithstanding this, and probably due to isolation, they have managed to retain cultural practices which have disappeared in the countries of origin. It must be stressed

that natural cultural assimilation has taken place over the years.

This did not always occur without problems, as has been shown in the case of the "Chalifa Dispute" of 1855, and the Muharram festival. These instances have shown that the adept tried to balance their desire of wholehearted participation in their customs, with stringent requirements of governments and society to which they belonged as the working class. If this had not been possible, then age-old customs would certainly have been in danger of annihilation.

Political influences in Islam may also be seen from activities of religious organizations. The strong revivalist or fundamentalist influences have been pointed out, which have been felt in South African politics. For example, Saudi Arabian government financial support was given to further Islamic ideals Muslim movements in South Africa.<sup>168</sup> The Muslim Judicial Council has taken a political stance against the present Nationalist government.

## ENDNOTES

-154-

1. Fazlur Rahman. "Islam". Encyclopaedia Britannica. Micropaedia, vol.9. p.912.
2. E.G.Parrinder, What World Religions teach (London: Harrap, 1963, p.206).
3. There are about 1 000 million Muslims worldwide, and this number increases at a rate of 30 million per year. Living, February 1989. See Also Guellouz, Ezzedine, Mecca, The Muslim Pilgrimage (New York: Paddington Press, 1979), p.7.
4. He is regarded as the "founder" of Islam. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 12. ,p.502.
5. The Christian Bible, the Muslim Qur'an and the Jewish Torah bear witness to this.
6. Genesis 16:12.
7. Genesis 21:9.
8. Surah 14:39; Genesis 21:3. Isaac is known as Ishaq to the Muslims ands Yitzhak to Jews. Ali,A.Y. The Holy Qur'an. Qatar: Al-Rauaf, 1946.
9. Genesis 16:12.
- 10.E.G.Parrinder, What World Religions Teach, p.121; Surah 2:121.
- 11.K.Gragg, The House of Islam (Encino: Dickenson, 1975). The name appears on an inscription on stone relating to the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III dated approximately 850 B.C. A.Guillaume, Islam (New York: Penguin, 1972), p.1.
- 12.A.Guillaume, Islam, p.2.
- 13.References appear in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Chronicles II and Nehemia 2:19, which were written shortly after the Assyrian period at approximately 850 B.C.
- 14.See Desmond Desai, "An Investigation" and Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music".
- 15.S.H.H.Nadvi Dimensions of Islam through fourteen centuries (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1979), p.47.



16. Ibid.
17. Fazlur Rahman. "Islam".
18. The others are:
  - . Pilgrimage to Mecca;
  - . Five daily prayers;
  - . Fasting during the month of Ramadaan; and
  - . Zakat or tax offering.
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20. Ibid., p.1.
21. Ibid.
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23. Regula B. Qureshi, "Islamic Music in an Indian Environment: The Shi'a Majlis" (Ethnomusicology, January 1981), p.42.
24. Ibid.
25. A.M. Kheir, "On Chinese Muslim Customs" (Hemisphere, Vol. 28, no.5., March/April 1984), p.273. He notes that the Xian Mosque in China was built in 742 A.D.
26. H. Fuchs. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p.1218.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Soedarsono, Dances in Indonesia (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1974), p.28.
30. Oosthuizen, p.93.
31. Ibid.
32. A. Ali, The Spirit of Islam (London: Chatts & Windus, 1974), p.293.
33. Oosthuizen, p.93.
34. Ibid.

35. Qureshi, p.43.
36. Oosthuizen, p.94.
37. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, vol 20. (Chicago: Britannica, 1986), p.734.
38. Oosthuizen, p.94.
39. A.Taheri, "The Spreading veil of Islam" (Living, February, 1989), p.14.
40. E.G.Parrinder, p.138.
41. A.Ali, p.125.
42. Oosthuizen, p.94.
43. Oosthuizen, p.341.
44. See "The Muslim Digest". Durban during the period 1988/89 for several articles dealing with the Ahmadiya issue.
45. The Muslim Digest (Vol. 40, nos 3 & 4. October/ November 1989), p.2.
46. Living (February 1989).
47. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, Vol. 10 (Chicago: Britannica, 1975), p.511.
48. Parrinder, p.143.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. A.Ali The Spirit, p.357.
52. Ibid., p.356.
53. Ibid.
54. The Muslim Digest (Vol. 35, no. 12 & vol. 36, no. 1, July / August 1985), p.23.
55. The Muslim Digest (Vol. 37, nos 4 to 7, November 1986 to February 1987), p.3.
56. P.K.Hitti, History of the Arabs, 10th Edition (London: Macmillan, 1977), p.740.
57. Ibid., p.741.

58. Achmat Davids, Mosques, p.1.
59. D.Desai, "'Cape Malay' Music" (Papers presented at the Fifth Symposium on Ethnomusicology, University of Cape Town, 1984. International Library of African Music, 1985), p.39.
60. Achmat Davids, p.95.
61. Ibid., pp.24,34. It is not clear from this source whether this practice is from slave origin or from Indonesian origin. No substantiation is given.
62. I.D.Du Plessis The Cape Malays.
63. Department of Foreign Affairs. Handbook of South Africa, p.83.
64. This became evident when I listened to a lecture by Carelse, M. on "Islamic Mysticism" during the February 1990 University of Cape Town Summer School. Furthermore, my research in 1988 showed a negative conclusion regarding the view of South African Muslim youth on preservation of traditional culture. D.Desai, "Die Kaapse Maleier".
65. J.Hornell, "Indonesian Influence of East Africa Culture" (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain in Ireland)
66. J.S.Mayson, p.11.; I.D. Du Plessis, Die Bydrae, p.7.
67. H.Kahler, p.227.
68. E.Maurice, "The History and Administration of the Coloured Peoples of the Cape - 1652-1910, Volume 1" (Unpublished B.Ed. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1946), p.7. G.Theal, p.68.
69. A.Davids, p.31.
70. Ibid., p.8.
71. Ibid., p.35.; S.H.H.Nadvi. This seems contradictory, in view of my observations under Section 2.2.
72. A.Davids, p.44.
73. Ibid., p.45.

- 74.D.Desai, "An Investigation", p.13.
- 75.A.Davids, p.31.
- 76.Ibid.
- 77.Ibid.
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- 79.D.Desai, "An Investigation", p.15.
- 80.A.Davids, p.185.
- 81.Ibid., p.186.
- 82.Ibid., p.31.
- 83.J.S.Marais, The Cape Coloured People (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand, 1962), p.1.
- 84.Ibid.
- 85.Ebrahim H. Shaikh, "The 'Zanzibari' Muslims in South Africa" (B.A.Honours Dissertation, University of Durban-Westville, 1986), pp.11-13.
- 86.Michael G. Whisson, The Fairest Cape: An Account of the Coloured People in the District of Simonstown (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972), p.12.
- 87.Ebrahim H. Shaikh, pp.22,23.
- 88.Ibid., p.30.
- 89.Zubeda Kassim Seedat, "A Social Anthropological Study of the Muslim Descendants of the African Freed Slaves Living in the Indian Area of Chatsworth" (M.A. dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1973), p.164.
- 90.Michael G. Whisson, p.12.
- 91.Shaikh, p.57.
- 92.Ibid., p.61.
- 93.Shaikh, p.23 and Seedat, p.289.
- 94.Shaikh, pp.42,43.

95. Ibid., p.35.
96. Ibid., p.39.
97. Ibid., p.41.
98. Ibid., p.42.
99. Ibid., p.57.
100. Ibid., p.58.
101. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music in South Africa", p123; and D. Lewis, "Religion of the Cape Malays" (Hellman (ed.), Handbook of Race Relations. Cape Town: Oxford, 1949), p.596.
102. Shaikh, p.45.
103. Ibid., p.58.
104. Ibid., p.60.
105. Meer, p. .
106. Oosthuizen, p.40.
107. Desmond Desai "Islamic Music", p.229.
108. Seedat, p.78.
109. Ibid.
110. Shaikh, p.60.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Oosthuizen, p.41.
114. Ibid., p.42.

- 115.D.Desai, "An Investigation", p.22.
- 116.D.Desai, "Die Kaapse Maleier - Etniese of Religieuse Groep?" (Die Kultuurhistorikus, June 1989, University of Stellenbosch), p. 60.
- 117.Ibid., p.64.
- 118.I.D.Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, p.     & I.D.Du Plessis, Die Bydrae, p.     .
- 119.D.Desai, An Investigation, p.23.
- 120.Ibid., p.25.
- 121.Ibid., p.23.
- 122.Ibid.
- 123.W.van Warmelo, Afrikaanse Liederwysies (Cape Town: Unievolkspers, 1948).
- 124.C.J.van Rijn, "Ons Land" (I.D.Du Plessis, Die Bydrae, p.39.
- 125.J.Kunst, Music in Java (The Hague; Nijhoff, 1949).
- 126.A.Lomax, Folk Song, p.88.
- 127.B.Kornhauser, "In Defence of Kroncong" (Studies in Indonesia Music. Monash: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978), p. 128.
- 128.See D.Desai, Islamic music, p.162.
- 129.D.Desai, An Investigation.
- 130.I.D.Du Plessis, Kaapse Moppies (Johannesburg: Perskor, 1977).
- 131.There appears to be a connection between tajwid (the science of Qur'anic recital) and karienkeli-singing. This investigation has neither been completed, nor is it an integral aspect of this work.

132. C.G. Henning, "Indian Musical Instruments" ( Papers presented at the Fifth symposium on Ethnomusicology, Grahamstown. International Libray of African Music, 1985). He cites racial and ethnic legislation by the South African Government as one of the reasons for this state of affairs. His other reasons, namely that Indians were regarded as temporary settlers in South Africa until as recently as 1961, may be of considerable importance. I am of the opinion that Indian music, like Cape Muslim music, has remained uninvestigated for reasons mentioned in the main text.

133. D. Desai, "Islamic Music", p.196.

134. See for example Melveen Jackson "An Introduction to the History of Music amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1860-1948: towards a political-cultural understanding" (Unpublished M. Mus thesis. University of Natal, 1988). She states: "The roles and contributions of leading Indian South African personalities in the fields of Indian and Western music are largely unknown in the academic arena... Scholarly literature specifically addressing this topic are rare." M. Jackson, p.13.

135. Ibid.

136. South Africa (Department of Foreign Affairs, 1985).

137. According to figures supplied by the relevant Department, the number of Members of Parliament in the "Coloured" and "Indian" Houses of Parliament are as follows:

House of Representative: 6 out of a total of 85

House of Delegates: 16 out of a total of 45.

Furthermore there are about 7% Muslims amongst "Coloureds", and 20% amongst Indian muslims.

138. C.G. Henning, p.62.

139. M. Wilson, A History of South Africa (Cape Town: Phillip, 1982), pp.388-389.

140. Ibid., p.389.

141. Die Indier-Suid-Afrikaner (Department of Information. Pretoria, 1975), p.3.

142. Ibid., p.4.

143. Ibid.
144. Ibid., p.9.
145. Oosthuizen, p.338.
146. Ibid.
147. A.K.Al-Qaderi, Urs (Notes at the Sufi Saheb mazaar, Riverside, Durban, noted December 1989).
148. A.A.Soofie, Soofie Saheb Badsha Peer (Durban (n.d.)), p.11.
149. Government Archives (Pietermaritzburg, Number 656, 1908).  
Letter of N.K.Naidoo and K.M.Naidoo to the Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, pp.1-2.
150. D.J.Potgieter, Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, Vol.6 (Cape Town: Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery, 1972), p.67.
151. This has been pointed out repeatedly to me by Muslims and non-Muslims during my period of research. See also A.Davids, Mosques, p.12.
152. Department of Information. South Africa.. See also Du Plessis's works, for example I.D.Du Plessis, The Cape Malays & Potgieter.
153. Ibid., p.
154. A.Davids, Mosques, p.35.
155. J.S.De Lima.
156. E.A.Walker, History of South Africa (London: Walker, 1972), p. 48.
157. Department of Information. South Africa. Potgieter states that Indians, and therefore Indian Muslims, "retained forms of worship, festivals and other customs almost in tact." Potgieter, p.65.



158.Walker, p. 523.

159.Ibid.

160.Ibid., p.522.

161.Ibid., p.650.

162.Ibid., p.523.

163.Ibid., p.750.

164.Potgieter, p.61.

165.Ibid., p.71.

166.Walker, p.760.

167.Potgieter.

168.Oosthuizen, p.341.

CHAPTER 3

3. THE RATIEP ART FORM IN RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE  
AND AS ART FORM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Background to Sufism

Sufism refers to a school of thought in Islam, which is also alternatively termed "mysticism".<sup>1</sup> There appear to be two different explanations for the etymology of the term "Sufi". The first, and generally accepted explanation, is that the term derives from the Arabic word "Suf" meaning "coarse undyed wool".<sup>2</sup> It refers to the woollen garment worn by the first ascetics.<sup>3</sup> It is thought that the white colour of the wool signifies "purity" which conveys the true meaning of Sufism, rather than the outward superficial appearance of the actual garment itself.<sup>4</sup> The second meaning relates to the Greek term "Sophia" which signifies "wisdom".<sup>5</sup> This notion is refuted on the basis that the word "Sufi" had been in use long before the infiltration of Greek terms in Arabic, though without substantiation.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore it is argued

that the Greek letter "σ" (sigma) was transliterated into the Arabic "س" (sin), which is different from the "ص" (sod) used in the term "Sufi".<sup>7</sup>

Most writers agree that the origin of Sufism remains unclear, and subject to speculation.<sup>8</sup> There are those, such as Nicholson, who think that its origin lies in Christian philosophy.<sup>9</sup> Some suggest that it sprang from a "Primaeval religion of the Aryan race."<sup>10</sup> Others have tried to link it with Hindu mysticism.<sup>11</sup> Generally, the viewpoint that Sufism may be linked directly to the Qur'an and Islam itself is accepted. Islamic scholars Schimmel, al-Attas and Ahmad all argue that the point of departure is Islam itself, and find substantiation for their arguments.<sup>12</sup> Kandhalvi cites fifty four references from the Qur'an supporting Qur'anic justification for dhikr.<sup>13</sup> He states the following about the first forty four verses he cites:

In these verses, though the emphasis obviously is on the blessings occurring from 'Ruku', 'Sajud' and 'Salaat' ... there is also an indication about the blessings associated with the second part of the Kalimah viz ... Muhammad-ur-Rasulallah.<sup>14</sup>

This does not imply that there is no opposition to its Islamic link amongst Muslims themselves, but only that some prominent academics and practitioners of Sufism find its raison d'etre from the belief that it "was born of Islam".<sup>15</sup> Muslims support this argument with references from the Qur'an.<sup>16</sup> The nature of opposition to Sufism will be discussed later and it may be recalled that previously negative influences regarding the ratiep art form were highlighted. Notwithstanding this controversy, protagonists argue that ratiep is an Islamic practice which has its roots in Sufism.

Sufism grew out of an earlier ascetic movement around the twelfth century.<sup>17</sup> This movement was a reaction to the materialistic and superficial practices of religion prevalent amongst Muslims of the time. Later it developed into its unique philosophy which has as central theme the unity of God; thus it is linked to pantheism.<sup>18</sup>

Sufism consists of a variety of mystical tariqahs (correct form of pl. = turuq) or paths. A primary aspect involves dhikr which entails the recital of Qur'anic phrases and the names of Allah.<sup>19</sup> Within Sufism, the terms wird, tariqa

(pl.turuq), dhikr, ratib and sisila are fundamentally important. The term wird has a threefold meaning: Firstly it refers to the tariqa or path of spiritual perfection; secondly it entails the performances of dhikr, which means formulae of praises; and thirdly it incorporates a ratib, which signifies the fixed form of the Sufi office. All of these refer to important aspects of a Sufi performance. The last suggests the origin of the term "ratiep", which is a South African term denoting a particular ratib.

A number of Sufi orders have developed subsequently. The oldest is the Qadiriyyah Order, founded in 1166 by the Abdul Qadir Jailani (d. Bagdad 1166) who is related to the founder of ratiep, Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d.1183). Thirteen other basic early orders exist; the Rifa'iyah and Chistiyyah were formed in 1175 and 1236 respectively.<sup>20</sup> The Rifa'iyah is found chiefly in Iraq, Syria and Egypt.<sup>21</sup> Later, related orders developed; today there are over 160 different orders. The heyday of Sufi brotherhoods occurred from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries.

Famous Sufis include the founders of the respective orders, such as Abdul Qadir Jailani.<sup>22</sup> Abdul Qadir Jailani

(alternatively Ghaus Pak), the founder of the Qadiris, is related to the founder of the famous Chishtiyyah order, Khawaja Gharib Nawaz (Muinuddin Chishti; b. 530 A.H./1100 A.D).<sup>23</sup> This relationship is almost as important as the fact that these founders may be linked genealogically to the Prophet Muhammad; which constitutes the silsila of the particular Order. The Qadiris identify themselves with the colour green, while the Chishtis have yellow as the distinguishing colour of their order.

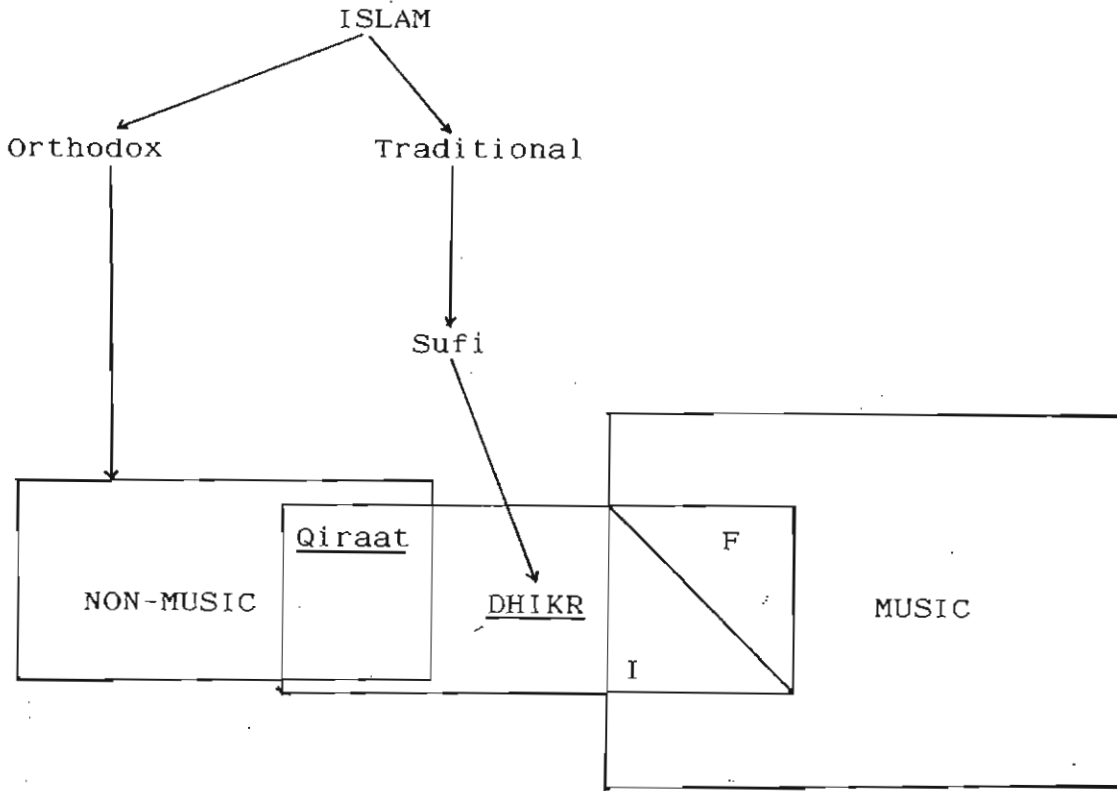
Khawaja Gharib Nawaz, and therefore by implication, the Chishtiyyah Order became closely associated with the performance of music. Nawaz is said to have been "very fond of music", and was enjoined by the "Ulama and saints".<sup>24</sup> The contention of Sharib that "no one ever objected to his music concerts", is significant bearing in mind the opposition to the practice of music within Islam.<sup>25</sup>

The famous Persian Sufi Mystic Jalalud-Din Rumi (born 1207 at Balkh) established the Maulavi Sufi order in which singing and dancing is allowed.<sup>26</sup> A state of ecstasy is reached through a dancing ritual, accompanied by music.<sup>27</sup> In common with the rafiq ceremony, the whirling dervishes as the members of Rumi's order are commonly known, condone dance movement and music. The total performance facilitates the attainment of a trance-state which provides a channel for seeking closer union with the adept's creator.

### 3.1.2 Sufism and Music

The central purpose of and last stages in the tariqah (path) of Sufism are: gnosis or spiritual knowledge, the attainment of unification with Allah and the annihilation of the earthly bondage of the physical being of the adept in this process. His soul is constantly in search of a relationship of love with his creator. The heart, regarded as the nucleus of the soul, becomes the principal focus on the Sufi's path toward unification with God.

Dhikr, the characteristic "hymns" in Sufi practices, is directed at the heart and soul or inner being of the adept. It primarily consists of repetitions of koranic and other religious verses. It may be viewed as a technique or means whereby the goal of unification is achieved. While the practice of dhikr is common within Sufism, and as such seems perfectly acceptable to orthodox Islam, music per se is generally severely frowned upon. While sacred music may be acceptable, and secular not, orthodox Islam permits only such forms as adhhaan (call to prayer) and qiraat (cantillation of the Qur'an) (Examples 11 & 12). When melodic material and instruments are added, the music may become unacceptable.<sup>28</sup>



**F: Forms** djiekers - ratiep - rebanna dhol **Instruments: I**  
zikr - dabus - rapa'i dabus  
naat & taqsim - Dervishes - ney, rebab & drums  
ghazals - Chisti

Figure 10



Figure 10 shows how qiraat, as an example of non-music which is acceptable to orthodox Muslims, is different from Sufi-related dhikr. Islamic Sufi music consists of such forms as djiekers (in Cape Muslim terminology), zikr (dhikr of Indonesian music), naat and ghazals. In the performances of ratiep, dabus, those by the Dervishes and by the Chisti Brotherhoods, the musical instruments rebanna, dhol, rapa'i dabus, ney and rebab are found.

The use of instruments such as the rebanna, dhol and ney is unacceptable within orthodox Islam.

Dhikr in some Sufi-based performances have melodies composed to them, and instrumentation added. In Cape Muslim non-orthodox tradition of moulood and ratiep, these compositions are termed "djiekers". Djiekers have well-developed melodic contours and polyphonic vocal-layers wherein two or more more vocal-parts are often found. The style of djieker performances is striking and unusual. The addition of rebanna is peculiar to the Rifa'iyah and Mevlevi Sufi brotherhoods. The extent, nature and function of music varies from order to order, and within a specific order from group to group. The ney, drum and rebab are associated with

the Mevlevi Sufi Order.

Music thus is the "language of lovers" in Sufism. It has also been termed "holy music" or "concentration music".<sup>29</sup> Words form the basis of dhikr which essentially are vibrations caused by "breath".<sup>30</sup> These vibrations enable the performer to perform such feats as walking on coals and piercing of the tongue without the loss of blood. When music is added, attraction to it is caused by the "natural effect of sound". Music does what words cannot achieve.<sup>31</sup> Dhikr is regarded as the "science of words".<sup>32</sup> Underlying dhikr are strong repetitive rhythmic patterns and clearly ordered melodic motives (See Example 7 ). In the given example the aim is the "heart" and the accompanying movement is designed to purposefully direct the performance thereto. Head movements symbolize the meaning of the text, and the essence of Islam generally. Music is also viewed as "balm" of the heart.<sup>33</sup> (See Figure 11). The attainment of unity, love and the associated physical feats therefore become functions of music, words and the specific intent of the adept.

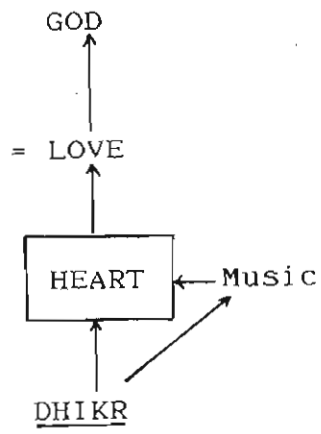


Figure 11: Relationship of Love in Dhikr

Non-Muslims in general find it confusing why certain Muslim music, to the orthodox Muslim, may be non-music (see Figure 11). Non-music includes qiraat or the recital of the Qur'an. On the other hand, what may be disorganised sound to the uninformed, may be perfectly intelligible to Muslims. Cape Muslim mouloud djiekers which consist of several voice-parts are examples of this perspective.

In order to understand these divergent cultural perspectives, it must be remembered that it is generally accepted outside Islam that organised sound can be regarded as music, with or without the use of instruments. The category of Muslim music became demarcated amongst Western European musicological lines and focuses mainly on traditional music. Within dhikr, qiraat or elements of qiraat are found (See Figure 10). Dhikr has therefore been grouped under both non-music and music in Figure 10.

There is a stylistic link between the recital of the khalifa and qiraat. Taqsim and naat form two of the subforms within the Whirling Dervishes performance.<sup>34</sup> Qawwali, a musical performance with instruments, is legitimized by the Chisti Sufi order.

Sama', or mystical dance, together with music, is an "elevating" power in achieving the goal of unity with and love towards God. Sama is the moving force of love, in a world where everything is in perpetual motion moving towards Allah, "the radiant sun of life".<sup>35</sup>

### 3.1.3 Ratiep and Sufism

The ratiep display is uniquely characterised by the performance of self-mutilating acts by means of sharp objects to a ratiep-dance or movement and the rendering of vocal "hymns" called dhikr. It is assumed to have originated out of the practices of the Rifa'iyah Sufi order, which was founded in 1175 by Ahmad al-Rifa'i. The Rifa'iyah Sufi order is characterised by such self-mutilating acts and a similar art form to the ratiep called the dabbus is discussed as follows by al-Attas:

The performance of ritual is known here in Malaya, particularly in Malacca where it is still performed from time to time by the members of the Rifa'iyah Order, as dabbus (the word in Arabic means an iron awl). The ceremony includes the infliction of wounds upon the body with the use of awls, knives or swords. Sometimes fire is also used in the ceremony. Such exhibitions as the dabbus ceremony are traditional amongst the Rifa'is, as Ahmad al-Rifa'i originated such performances during the ecstatic seizures he experienced.<sup>36</sup>

The term ratib actually signifies the special dhikr of the particular Sufi order, and not the performance itself; every Sufi performance may have a ratib. South African Indian Muslims appear to apply the term more correctly than Cape Muslims.<sup>37</sup>

Shimmel's warning that:

To analyze the mystical expression itself is next to impossible since words can never plumb the depths of this experience. Even the psychological analysis is limited; words remain on the shore as the Sufis would say. It would be easier to understand Sufism through an analysis of the given structures...<sup>38</sup>

is true since no-one ever tried to describe the metaphysical experience of ratiep performance. Khan seems to have come closest:

...a school of Sufis...called the Rafai...(have as their main objective) to increase the power of

spirit over matter. Experiments such as eating fire or cutting the body are made in order to get power and control over matter. The secret of the whole phenomenon is that by the power of words they try to tune their body to that pitch of vibration where no fire, no cut, nothing, can touch it. Because the vibrations of their body are equal to fire, therefore the fire has no effect.

Hughes, referred to in Gilseman, also links "self-wounding rituals" with the Rifa'iyya Order.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.2 SAINT WORSHIP

While the importance of veneration of saints in Sufism cannot be overstressed, it must immediately be pointed out that the adept do not view saints as gods or worship them as such. The practice should be seen as acceptable amongst the initiated, since it falls within the code of behaviour of Sufi followers. Parrinder, for example, accepts that many Sufis are highly regarded and praised by many for their "good sanctity and good works".<sup>41</sup> Saint worship occupies an equal place alongside the other characteristic of Sufism, namely the performance of dhikr or songs of "remembrances".

The literature dealing with this, may be divided into several categories: There are those that find religious substantiation for it.<sup>42</sup> Others choose to denigrate it, in the same way as it does Islamic Revivalism in Iran.<sup>43</sup> Then

there are the opposers of this custom amongst the ranks of Muslims.<sup>44</sup> There are those, mostly academics, who attempt to note and describe this practice from their particular perspectives.<sup>45</sup> Then there are those who simply ignore it.<sup>46</sup>

To those practising Sufism, contact with his khalifa or leader and deceased olea or saints is essential in reaching the required state of spiritual perfection. One follower of the Chistiyyah order indicated that "he had constant visions of his "Shaykh" or khalifa, and "felt as though he was being watched all the time."<sup>47</sup> Some Muslims in South Africa feel the same way about their khalifa or murshid.<sup>48</sup> During ratiep displays it is important that the khalifa establishes contact with deceased saints. Often ratiep displays are held at burial places of saints.<sup>49</sup>

In South Africa, the visible sign of saint veneration is found in the "magic circle of tombs" in the Cape Peninsula,<sup>50</sup> and the mazaar or tombs of Sufi saints in Durban. Early Cape Muslims were responsible for the erection of tombs at Faure (Sheikh Yusuf), Robben Island, Constantia, Rylands and Signal Hill. These are thought to form a rough circle. In Durban important Sufi shrines have been erected at Brooke Street



Cemetery in Central Durban (Badsha Pir) and at Riverside (Sufi Saheb).

### 3.3 BASIC RELIGIOUS TENETS OF RATIEP PERFORMERS

The tenets of those who participate in the South African ratiep include:

- (a) a basic monotheistic religious belief in Allah and his Prophet Muhammad;
- (b) an adherence to traditional religious customs and a code of conduct.
- (c) the belief in the value of performing of dhikr and in their importance in Islamic religious practice;
- (d) a firm belief in karamat or saint/tomb worship;
- (e) a belief in the supernatural, metaphysical or "magic";

These tenets are also prevalent in Malay Sufism, the ancestral foundation of 'Cape Malay' Sufism. The five shrines or kramats in the Western Cape play an important role in the lives of Cape Muslims generally and ratiep performers specifically. For example, in 1985 a haddad performance by

the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah held at about midnight at the tomb of Sheik Yusuf (See Plate 7,p. 540) preceded an important ratiep performance. The spirits of the deceased play a major role in all ratiep performances, when they are called up by the khalifa. Ratiep performers also firmly accept the spiritual value of azeemats or charms which carry power and are said to control events. These azeemats may consist of Qur'anic phrases or any other acceptable piece of item prepared by an acknowledged person who may possess the required powers. Also, magicians' performances are given by the members of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah. Ratiep performers are all practising Muslims of whom some have performed the pilgrimage or Hadj to Mecca. They thus all believe in the basic tenets of Islam. Dhikr or vocal compositions based on an Arabic text form the basis of the musical component within a ratiep performance, and will be discussed at length later. Each ratiep jamaah member has to operate within a strictly controlled code of conduct. A breach thereof may result in punishment, of which the performance of the piercing of a tamboes through the perpetrator's cheek is an example in the 1985 ratiep mentioned above.

While some of the five tenets mentioned above are evident

characteristics, other Cape Muslim practices such as moulood (birthday) celebrations and haddad do not display these five characteristics. In the case of moulood neither "magic" nor "karamat" need to be regarded as essential features, while in the case of haddad "karamat" is present but "magic" absent. This may indicate a cultural shift from Southeast Asian roots. Ratiep displays stronger links with a Southeast Asian past, and thus would appear to be of the most original and stable of all Cape Muslim practices which have survived for more than two centuries.

### 3.4 DHIKR

The practice of dhikr is the main distinguishing factor between those Muslims who emphasize mysticism and those who do not. Central to Sufi performances are vocal renditions which have the sole purpose of remembrance and praise of Allah and the unification of the performer with God. These vocal renditions may consist of Arabic formulae based on the Qur'an, such as "la illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah). Khandalvi argues that while Quranic justification for dhikr performances exist, it "is but natural that we should remember our Benefactor, perform his Zikr...and thank Him".<sup>51</sup> From the varied literature on the subject of dhikr,

it appears that there exists Quranic proof for the permissibility of dhikr performances, which include Surah 17:110 and Surah 13:28.<sup>52</sup> Three main types of dhikr may be distinguished, which also indicate the various stages of development, and which are also found in Malay Sufism.<sup>53</sup> These stages are: dhikr of the tongue, dhikr of the heart, and dhikr of the "inmost being".<sup>54</sup> Two types of dhikr occur viz. dhikr jali (loud dhikr, or "recollection with the tongue") and dhikr khafi (soft dhikr, or "recollection with the heart").<sup>55</sup> These dhikr also indicate the essence of love according to the founders and leaders of some of the various Sufi fraternities.<sup>56</sup>

Various terms exist which are synonymous with dhikr: "zikr" is used in works on Indo-Pakistan and Indonesian culture; "dikir" is often used for Indonesian dhikr performances. Another linguistic variant, "djieker", is commonly used among Cape Muslims. According to one of my Cape Muslim informants, the term "djieker" reveals the influence of the Malay language.<sup>57</sup>

Dhikr has shaped the various forms and style within Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim musical performances. These musical

performances include the Cape Muslim ratiep, haddad, moulood, samman and kaseda performances and Indian Muslim giyerwee sharif and ratib performances. It is also customary for Muslims to use the tasbeh or rosary to count the number of repetitions of dhikr formulae.

Essential characteristics of the style of Cape Muslim dhikr performances are "sound" and continuity. The former characteristic relates to the largoes or melodies which are set to Arabic texts. The largoes are composed by members of the various jamaahs themselves. "Continuity" refers to the deliberate intent of the performers to provide continuity of sound. This objective is achieved through the technique of filling the "gaps" ("gatte toemaak") in the melodies. The melodic phrases of the various voiceparts are designed to "dovetail" each other and "interlock". A broad legato singing style is thus achieved. Another characteristic is the high-pitched style of singing with falsetto voices by the men, who individually or in groups provide interesting polyphonic music patterns.

The various form and styles in dhikr performances of South African Muslims may be divided into three distinct subforms:

T1: Ga-yum

M.M. ♩ = 100 to 120

O.P.: No Transposition

Singer unknown

Ya- a ga- yum, ya ak- ka yum,  
ya- a ga yum, ya ak- ka yum

Example 1: Substyle A djieker

T2: Takbir

M.M. ♩ =

O.P.: No Transposition

Al- lah hu Ak-bar, Al- lah hu Ak- bar,  
Al lah hu Ak- bar, La il- la- ha il  
lal- lah- a- hu Ak- bar  
Al- lah hu Ak- bar hu il- lah gamd.

Example 2: Substyle B djieker N.B. Allahu Akbar 3X  
La illah 1X

2nd repeat with minor ornamentation

T3: Gakko lah

M.M. ♩ = 100

O.P.: No Transposition

Bo-Kaap Jamaah

The musical score consists of four staves of music in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first three staves are in 4/4 time, and the fourth staff is in 2/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Gak- ko lah il- lah ha il- lah- lah  
wa- gi- du- ka- ha- ha- a (Mo-) gam-mad- dur-ra-  
sul- lu- lah- .

Example 3 : Substyle C djieker

T4: Salaam

Salaam 1

M.M. ♩ = 52

Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985

Sa- laam ya sa- laam a-  
lei- kum sa- laam. Al-lah ya Ra- sul  
lah. Al- ma- di- na mi- nou wa- ra.

Salaam 2

M.M. ♩ = 52

Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985

Sa- laam, ya sa- laam,  
a- lei- kum sa- laam, Al-lah  
ya Ra- sul-lu- lah, Al Ma- di- na mi nou wa-  
ra.

Example 4 . Substyle C djieker



The first, Type A, consists of short melodic phrases, based on a single Arabic line of text or phrase as illustrated by transcription T1.<sup>58</sup> The second consists of a more elaborate Arabic text than Type A performed with melodic repetitions. The third, Type C, is a composition based on a verse or stanza, as the dhikr "Gakka lah" of transcription T3 illustrates. Type C may be categorised further according to the nature and purpose of the performance. Thus various kaseda, moulood and haddad dhikr of Type C exists. In kaseda, solo or duet dhikr performances are found, while the same dhikr may be performed by a jamaah or group during moulood or haddad performances. The dhikr "Salaam: in transcription T4 serves as an example.

### 3.5 Cape Muslim Religious Practices and their Relationship to the Ratiep

#### 3.5.1 Haddad

This ceremony may be performed in honour of the deceased, notably on the 7th, 40th, 100th day and one year from the date of passing away. Reputedly the Malay term "merang" was used formerly to denote this form of religious performance. Although merang might have been associated with occasions

such as birthday celebrations and other important occasions. Davids agrees that merang is similar to haddad, except that at the end of the ceremony many types of food, instead of cakes, are served to those who attended.<sup>59</sup> He contends that this celebration is still practised in the Bo-Kaap, the traditional Cape Muslim area.<sup>60</sup> From dictionary sources on the Malay language, there appears to be no direct link between merang, which is described as the "stroo" (Dutch) of rice and Islam.<sup>61</sup>

The Cape Muslim haddad religious prayer meeting in South Africa dates back to at least the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Davids and Nadvi contend that Cape Muslim traditions, such as haddad, were originally first practised at the Auwal Mosque in the Bo-Kaap.<sup>63</sup> As will be stressed in this work, there is not sufficient evidence to prove this and some other assumptions. In fact, when accounts of Cape Muslim traditions are referred to that precede the establishment of the oldest mosque in the Bo-Kaap, such as Lichtenstein's description of a Labarang (end of the fasting month of Ramadaan) festival, as well as the reputed performance of 1750, then it could be argued that Cape Muslim

traditions have existed well before the establishment of the oldest mosque and that these traditions were amongst those that shaped the Cape Muslims into an identifiable and distinct community.<sup>64</sup> The fact that repeated calls were made for the establishment of a mosque, as well as the fact that Islam was transplanted to the Cape as early as 1658, all point in the direction of an early establishment of Cape Muslim cultural traditions, although very little information on the subject is available.<sup>65</sup>

A possible early description of a haddad performance was given by Lady Duff Gordon, in which the djieker "La illaha illa-Allah (or illal lah)" occurred.<sup>66</sup> The full term used by the Cape Muslims to refer to haddad, is "Ratibul-Gaddad", which denotes the ratib of al-Ḥaddad, the latter being the name of a person. "Ratib" signifies a non-obligatory form of worship, which consists of various dhikr and is usually performed as a musical composition, as an example of dhikr jali (loud dhikr).<sup>67</sup>

From various local publications on haddad, it appears that two schools of practitioners have emerged:

- (a) Those who wish to render the dhikr intelligible with transliterations and translations into English;
- (b) Those who wish to keep the original ratib (order) and text in tact with an attempt to notate the texts in as intelligible manner as possible.<sup>68</sup>

From the degree of distortion of the text, it may be safely assumed that Cape Muslims have been performing the ratibul-haddad since the early days of Dutch settlement at the Cape. This aspect of the haddad dhikr falls outside the scope of this work, and will not be pursued here. In much the same way the distortion of the Dutch text in nederlandsliedere became of secondary importance in the work, as pointed out in my previous work on 'Cape Malay' sacred and secular music.<sup>69</sup>

Ratibul-haddad may be divided into four sections, viz. the voorwerk in which the Surah Fatigah (Fatihah) or opening chapter of the Qur'an is recited, the asmanaal husna or divine Names of Allah, the recital from Quranic Surahs such as "Yasien" and "Ihlaas", and the ratibul-haddad proper.

The haddad performance usually takes place in a Muslim home,

or a suitable place such as the kramat or holy burial place of a saint. In home performances, a room is usually emptied of furniture, and a carpet is laid on the ground over which sheets are spread. Pillows are placed before the khalifa or leader (who may be an imam or priest) on which a kitaab or book is placed.

At kramat performances, the performers group themselves around the tomb in a crouched position. In home performances, as well as kramat haddads, only men are allowed in the room to perform the ratib. Women are present in an adjacent room, or, at a kramat, separated from the men. A particular jamaah or group is in fact appointed to perform the ratibul-haddad, although other persons may be present as well. This jamaah could consist of as many as thirty members including boys and men of all ages.

Although no uniformity exists with regard to length of the various sections into which the haddad may be divided, it follows the following progression: the voorwerk, which includes the "Fatigah" or opening chapter, the Asmanaal husna or the ninety-nine Names of Allah, the djiekers and the

ashrakal.<sup>70</sup>

The voorwerk: This section consists of Quranic recitals, and, as is the case in badja-ing or giraat, this section is rhythmically free, with the melodic contour highly florid and variable.

O.P. No Transposition  
Jamaah: Yusufia

Werksloon: La Illah

La il-lah ha il-lal-lah ha,  
La il-lah ha il lah hu Al-lah

Example 5: Extract from a Voorwerk

The asmanaal husna: This section may be shortened, depending on the available time; at other Cape Muslim cultural events such as madressa concerts, children customarily perform this section of the haddad on its own.

Asmanaal Goesna

M.M. ♩ = 166

O.P. C is transposed to C  
Kirsten Jamaah, Durban, 1984

3secs

Al- rag- maan- u- ra-geem; al- ma-li-ku-fu- du-

Detailed description: A single staff of music in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The tempo is marked 'M.M. ♩ = 166'. The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes. A bracket above the staff indicates a duration of '3secs' for the first part of the line.

8 secs

u- su- sa- laam- ul- mu- min, etc.

Detailed description: A single staff of music in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The melody continues from the previous line. A bracket above the staff indicates a duration of '8 secs' for this line.

Translation: The Compassionate, most Merciful;  
the Sovereign, the Holy One who  
is free from all blemishes; the Giver  
of peace: One who is immune from distress;

Example 6: Asmanaal Goesna

Various dhikr such as the kalima and "Soebegaana" are rendered.

The ashrakal, the final section of the haddad, is performed whilst the group is in a standing position. The characteristic movement and text, are similar to that performed at other Cape Muslim religious performances, such as the moulood.

### 3.5.2 Moulood

The term "moulood" generally refers to the celebrations that take place worldwide annually in honour of the prophet Muhammad's birthday.<sup>71</sup> The celebrations vary from country to country, the only essential feature being a celebration of the Prophet's birthday. In South Africa, the celebrations by the Cape Muslims begin with the kumies moulood and are continued with various jamaah mouloods for a considerable period on Sundays following the kumies moulood.<sup>72</sup> Likewise, the moulood is celebrated with considerable pomp and ceremony in other countries, of which the week-long celebration of the prophet's birthday on the Lamu Islands is thought to be probably of the most significant.<sup>73</sup>



The origin of the moulood may be traced back to the ninth century, and the "Mawlid as the finest expression of reverence for Mohammed has found almost general recognition in Islam".<sup>74</sup>

Yet, there does not seem to be clarity regarding the meaning of the term moulood. H. Fuchs in the Encyclopaedia of Islam uses mawlid to denote the "time, place and celebration of the birthplace of anyone, in particular Prophet Mohammed".<sup>75</sup>

Both Du Plessis and Davids refer to the South African Cape Muslim context when they state that the term is used to denote celebrations held on the Prophet Muhammad's birthday only, and both describe it as one in which poems are recited in "melodious tone" by which the life of the Prophet is narrated.<sup>76</sup> Clearly thus two meanings emerge. Eckhard Neubauer in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians applies the term to an epic song, whilst the South African writers agree that the term refers to the totality of celebrations held in honour of the Prophet, which include such aspects as recital of praises, cutting of orange leaves and lectures.

The following aspects must be seen to form part of the

moulood celebrations by the Cape Muslims: The lecture given at the kuminies moulood or the first moulood; the "Ruwayats" recited in the mosques and elsewhere by both men and women; the "rampie-sny" (cutting of orange leaves) by the women on the day preceding the celebration; and the performance of djiekers by the moulood or djieker jamaahs, including the performance of the ashrakal.

The lecture referred to is rendered in Afrikaans or English by an imam or someone else specially invited for the purpose, with the imam usually providing Qur'anic quotes in Arabic.<sup>77</sup>

The "Ruwayats" refer to the poems by Brazanzi which are recited in the mosque in rhythmically free and melismatic fashion. The rampie-sny ceremony is possibly of Indonesian origin, during which djiekers are recited by the women and girls, dressed in colourful attire.<sup>78</sup> These women and girls cut the orange leaves by means of a special knife, the rampie-sny knife, on a special plank, the rampie-sny plank, and after the orange leaves have been soaked in rose-water, they are tied into little sachets, called rampies.<sup>79</sup>

The djiekers, which may be grouped into various sets such as the salawaat moulood, kop, djieker set and the ashrakal,

are performed by both men and women.

Not all Cape Muslims participate in mouloud celebrations. Some frown upon the rampie-sny as a practice which had its roots in the early slave milieu at the Cape, and probably originated as an pre-Islamic activity in the Indonesian Islands.<sup>80</sup> Davids feels that this practice originates with the establishment of the Auwal mosque at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first mosque in the Bo-Kaap.<sup>81</sup> This notion of his does not account for the fact that djiekers have been performed since at least the eighteenth century, and that the mere establishment of a building for religious devotion does not necessarily mark the beginning of religious practices.

The Cape Muslim derivative djieker refers to the music and text, and the actual singing is described as "djieker"-ing. Djiekers consist of repetitions of phrases such as the kalima (la illaha illaha lah), "allahu akbar", and the mouloud. djiekers have this characteristic of repetition, not only in text, but also musically.<sup>82</sup> The style of djiekers in South Africa varies greatly, from a well-defined and metric melodic contour, to one which is metrically free and which

is less varied melodically. In fact, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that djiekers must have had an early origin in South Africa, a fact borne out by many Muslim performers, although others tend to disagree and regard these, at least melodically, as an outflow of the 'Cape Malay' secular musical style of nederlandslied, which is a form and style characterised by call and response between a highly florid solo passage by a voorsinger, followed, and in part echoed, by the choir and which is set to a distorted Dutch text.<sup>83</sup> But the apparent contradiction really depends upon the perspective; if the text is considered, the argument would go in favour of the ones advocating that djiekers preceded Cape Malay nederlandsliedere. However, the music seems to suggest Western European influence, which points to an influence the other way around.

### 2.5.3 Kaseda Music

The ratiep art form has a special relationship with different genres and styles of South African Islamic music. These interrelationships will be investigated in Chapter 4, while a general overview of kaseda music is needed here.

Since the advent of kaseda music in South Africa in the 1940s, the Cape Muslim style of kaseda music has received substantial interest from the Cape Muslim community. The reason for this may possibly be found in the sosio-politico-religious circumstances of the Cape Muslims. Having become much more assertive primarily as Muslims, in particular those sympathising with more orthodox approaches to Islamic practices, Cape Muslims have shown a definite swing towards religious (musical) activities. This swing has hitherto received much Cape Muslim support. This tendency may be ascribable to several factors: Cape Muslims have shown pride in, and dependence on, their religion which serves as a basis for living and a driving force in their lives; there is presently a less favourable attitude towards the secular musical practices of some Cape Muslims due to political, economic, social and religious factors; Cape Muslims' improved material wealth and a higher level of their education have resulted in the severing of links with 'Malay' choirs and other traditional religious (such as the ratiep and moulood) and non-religious organisations. Cape Muslim musical traditions such as samman, haddad and kaseda music are interlinked. Kaseda music is an outflow of various orthodox and non-orthodox musical forms and styles. Kaseda

music receives its impetus in an increasing measure from Middle Eastern and North African Arab countries.

The Cape Muslim musical style of kaseda music is of considerable importance since it has probably contributed more than any other performance, to a greater appreciation amongst Cape Muslim in religious musical performances. The historical background needs to be highlighted, important proponents of this style identified and an analysis of the musical form and style need to be made. This will be done in terms of some transcriptions and recordings made of several recent performances in Cape Town and environs.


According to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians the Arabic term "gasida" refers to an ancient vocal form of music, in which text and music are inextricably linked.<sup>84</sup> Malm describes the gasida as part of the classical musical tradition heard both in cafes and in private concerts.<sup>85</sup> By comparison, the Cape Muslim kaseda musical style may be regarded as a popular type of religious music, sung at public concerts and on private occasions such as birthday parties. Textually, kasedas consist of a distorted Arabic text, sung by a soloist or pair of soloists, which are mostly accompanied

by instruments such as drums, mandolines, guitars and maracas. In the case of the Alweida Kaseda Band, these instruments provide a short introductory passage to most performances. Whilst the use of such instruments may be equated with the use of similar instruments in krontjong music of Indonesia, it may be argued that of considerable importance is the link with "European ancestry" Bose ascribes to the use of these instruments.<sup>87</sup> This Western European link is not surprising when considering that "Malays...have lost their original culture and language, and have adopted those of the Europeans of the sub-continent".<sup>88</sup> This belies the fact that Cape Muslims have a distinct (Islamic) culture, and that presumably kaseda music also shows an indebtedness to the music of the Arabic countries. Such influences, both in form and style, and derived from ratiep, samman and haddad, are highly significant when attempting to understand the place and nature of Cape Muslim musical traditions.


An important feature of kaseda music is its characteristic rhythmic accompaniments, provided by the percussion and melodic instruments. Although the actual rhythmic patterns may differ from group to group, it has been noted that a well-established group, the Alweida Kaseda Band, has made a

combination of divisive and additive rhythmic patterns a distinctive feature of their performances. Typical rhythmic patterns may be illustrated thus:


3 + 3 + 2  
8



Voice-part:  $\frac{4}{4}$



Drums:  $\frac{3+3+2}{8}$



(The voice-part has a distinctive divisive rhythmic pattern, which is expressible as a succession of equal beats; the drum-part has an additive rhythmic pattern, which is expressible as a succession of unequal beats.)

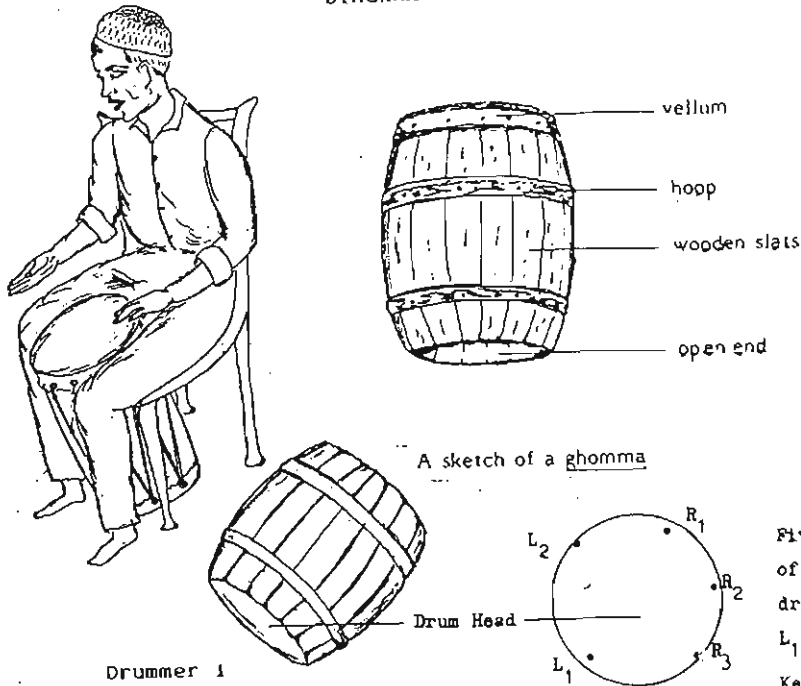
Percussion instruments, and in particular the dhol drum, contribute to the distinctive rhythmic style of kaseda music. Two main techniques of drumming have been observed: Firstly, the dhol is placed between the player's legs, while he is



seated on a chair (See Diagram A, Figure 12 ). Secondly, the dhol is positioned lengthwise on the ground or floor, with the player seated on its end (See Diagram B, Figure 12). In both cases the instruments are played upon with the bare hands, either with the forepart, or with the backpart of the palm. The head of the dhol is struck at different positions, which is either towards the centre, or on the side.

These kasedas suggest a strong Western European influence in terms of their harmonic structure (in for example "Salaam", p. 327). It resembles the krontjong secular musical style found in Indonesia.<sup>90</sup> Krontjong music, according to Kornhauser, undoubtedly has its harmonic and melodic roots mostly in the European and specifically Portuguese, musical traditions.<sup>91</sup> But it is in its melodic ornamentation of the vocalists, the Arabic text and the additive rhythmic pattern of some of the percussion instruments that some elements of non-Western traditions may be detected. Whilst on the one hand remaining aware of the fact that similar additive rhythmic patterns may be found in both Eastern and African musics, the characteristic text, melodic ornamentation and style of performance on the other indicate "Eastern" roots.<sup>92</sup>

DIAGRAM A



Five(5) places of striking the drum head: L<sub>1</sub>, L<sub>2</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>2</sub> and R<sub>3</sub>.

Key: L = L.H. (Left hand)  
R = R.H. (Right hand)

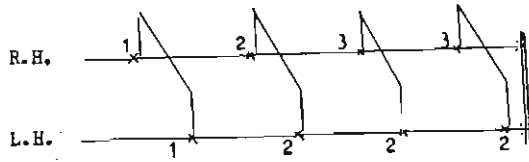


DIAGRAM B

Drummer 2



Drummer seated on a ghomma (dhol). Three (3) points of striking the drum head: L<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>1</sub> and R<sub>2</sub>

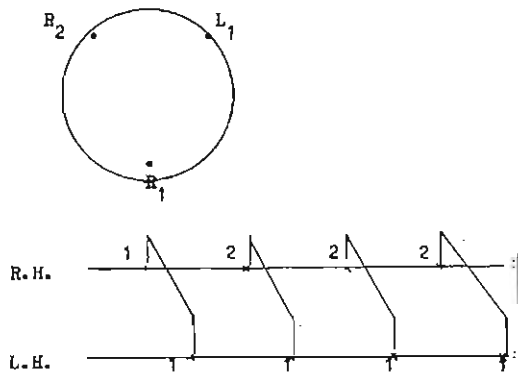


Figure 12: Example of Alwelda Kasada Band Drumming

Whilst kasedas may be thought of as a popular genre of religious music, with instrumental accompaniment, there exist djiekers of a more serious nature which are rendered at kaseda music performances. These djiekers are unaccompanied, or may have an unaccompanied recitative introduction.<sup>93</sup> Muslims themselves define kasedas as "short songs" or "Arabic sacred songs".<sup>94</sup>

The Arabic text, or its Cape Muslim variant, is not understood in its entirety by most performers and listeners. What is equally interesting is the fact that some kasedas have remnants of old Malay texts.<sup>95</sup> While this must not detract from the importance of the textual meaning, the melody (or lagu) and general interpretation are well-appreciated and known by almost all Cape Muslims. Kaseda music, as is the case with all Cape Muslim musical genres, is complex and a confluence of various musical cultures; it also shows an indebtedness to other Cape Muslim performances such as ratiep, samman and haddad.<sup>96</sup> Due to various prominent kaseda music exponents, such as the originator Osman Jacobs, Miraldia Kim and more recently, Rajab Devajee, the style of kaseda music gradually unfolded and established itself over more than 40 years as a

characteristically Cape Muslim musical practice.

### 3.6 TEXT

Without its important textual base, "Islamic music" would have no religious significance. Ratiep texts not only transmit the intent and purpose of the performance, but resulting altered states of consciousness of the performers which may occur to a varying degree, also indicate the primary importance of texts in ratiep performances.

Ratiep texts are repetitive, and often based on well-known words, phrases and sentences. There are certain dhikr which consist of distorted or unintelligible texts, which may indicate age on the one hand, and the oral nature of transmission of the texts from generation to generation on the other. These textual distortions may occur in both the polyphonic parts of the jamaah performance, and the monodic recitative passages of the khalifa. Often texts are combinations of disjointed phrases and words which in the context of the sentence or verse do not appear at first to make sense. As single or group of words, meaning may be derived. From these, meaning of the sentences may be inferred.

No kitaab or religious text book on ratiep is known to me; there are numerous kitaabs available on local religious ceremonies of haddad and moulood. Ratiep texts are taught through oral communication methods by the khalifa and senior members of the jamaah and other knowledgeable persons within South African Islamic cultural setting. "I learnt the art form from my father" is commonly remarked by many a performer.<sup>97</sup>

Very few audio and video cassette and other recordings on disc of ratiep performances exist, for which permission has to be obtained from the performing jamaah. I have, however, witnessed that recordings of ratiep performances have been made by members of the performing jamaah themselves. While it is possible that these recordings may be used to transfer the dhikr to those who do not know them, actual learning of dhikr almost invariably occurs during the performance itself, and not through any organised formal process (of teaching). On one occasion before the May 1985 Baxter ratiep show, the dhikr were "practised" during a meeting of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah. It is also important to realise that many performers have indicated that they had performed in ratiep since early childhood. This suggest that ratiep performers have been

reared in the tradition.

### 3.6.1 Arabic Text

The largest percentage of ratiep texts is in Arabic. Cape Muslims use almost invariably Arabic text; a few Malay words are found dispersed in ratiep dhikr. South African Indian Muslims also have several dhikr in Urdu. Well-known Islamic phrases such as "La illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah), "Ya Salaam" ( Oh, greetings) and "Ya Allah, ya Muhammad" (Oh Allah, Oh Muhammad) occur often throughout ratiep performances. The important Arabic base, is one of the major factors which link ratiep not only to the Middle East, but also specifically to Islam itself.

Tajwid, or the "Science of Qur'anic recital" indicate pronunciation of Arabic words. Tajwid also determines the length of certain vowels. In the case of the phrases "La illaha" nine dhikr were compared, and it was found that not only were the metres generally identical to each other for the phrase, but the derived metres of the sung dhikr also corresponded in metre to that of the spoken phrase itself (See Figure 13 ).

Ratiep phrase "La illaha"

A. Recited:

	<u>La</u>	<u>il</u>	<u>la</u>	<u>ha</u>	<u>il</u>	<u>lal</u>	<u>lah</u>
Metre	/	o	/	o	o	o	/
Length of <u>garaka</u>	5	1	2	1	1	1	5

B. Metre in Nine Dhikr

1. "Allahu Akbar"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	o.
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	/	o
2. "Illah lah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	—	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/		o	/
3. "Gakko lah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	o	/
4. "La illah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	o	/
5. "La Illah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	o
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	o	/
6. "La Illah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	o	/
7. "Allahu Akbar"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	—	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/		o	/
8. "La Illah"	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.
	Metre:	/	o	/	/	o	/
9. <u>Kalima</u> ( <u>Tagliel</u> )	Notes:	J.	J.	J.	J.	J.	o
	Metre:	/	o	/	o	o	/

% of Total in metre of recited phrase      100    100    100    85,7    38,8    77,7    100

Figure 13: The Phrase "La Illaha"

Examples in B above:

7

Allahu Akbar O.P. Bridgetown Mosque

Al- lah- bu Ak- bar Al- lah  
il- lah il- lah il- lah ha.

2

M.M. ♩ = 48 Illah Lah O.P. Bridgetown Mosque

Il- lah lah il- lah il- lah ha.

Il- lah lah il- lah il- lah ha.

3

M.M. ♩ = 100 O.P. No Transposition  
Jamaah: Bo-Kaap

Gak-ko lah il- lah ha il- lah-lah  
wa- gi- du- ka- ha- ha- a (Ho-) gam-mad-dur-ra-  
eul- lu- lah- as- sa di kuu wa'au mo-bi.

5

M.M. ♩ = 50 La Illah O.P.: No Transposition

La il- lah ha il- lah lab X 5 times

6

M.M. = La Illah O.P. No Transposition  
Jamaah: Yusufia

La il- lah ha il- la' Allah  
Mo-gam-mad Ra-sul-lu-lah

8

Werkseloon: La Illah O.P. No Transpos iti.  
Jamaah: Yusufia

La il- lah ha il- lah-lah ha,  
La il- lah ha il- lah hu Al- lah



O.P. No Transposition  
Singer: Rajab Devajee

1

Al- lah hu Ak-bar, Al- lah hu Ak- bar,  
 Al lah hu Ak- bar, La il- la- ha il  
 la- lah- a- hu Ak- bar  
 Al- lah hu Ak- bar hu il- lah yand.

M.B. Allahu Akoar 3X  
 La ilLah 1X  
 2nd repeat With minor  
 ornamentation

4

La il- lah ha il- lah lah.  
 La il- lah ha il- lah lah. Gak- ko  
 la il- lah ha il- lah lah;  
 lah il- lah ha il- lah lah. Gak- ko X 5 times

9

M.M. ♩ = 52 Kolima (Tasleel) O.P. Jandah: Yusufia

( Ga- ka- la ) La- il- lah ha il- lah  
 lah, la- il- lah ha il- lah lah,  
 la- il- lah ha il- lah lah,  
 il- hu- ham- mad sal- luh lah.

Ratib Texts

A. Ratib Sandal, Durban, 23 September 1989.

Haddad (Voorwerk or preamble to ratib)

1. Surah "Kulloo Allah"
2. Surah "Kul a'othubil robbil fallak"
3. Surah "Annaas"
4. Surah "Al Fatiqah"
5. Surah "Al Bakr"
6. Ayatul Kursi (From "Al Bakr")

Ratib Proper:

Ya Moulana, oh ya rabil alamin;

(O Friend, O Lord of the worlds)

Allahumma salim, wa sallam alayi;

(O Allah, put blessings and salutations upon him  
(the Prophet))

Salim wa salaam alay;

(Your salutations and blessings upon him (the Prophet))

La illaha illal lah

(There is no God but Allah)

Badroe jallala, jallali, Badroe jallala

(Shining Greatness, the Great One, Shining Greatness)

Muhammad Rasullulah

(The messenger Muhammad)

Alloo dio\* jallala Muhammad badroe jallala

Igaka\* la illah illal lah

Badroe

La illaha illaha Allahu sali Allah Rasullulah

Allah illaha.....sallo.....Allah....Allah ya  
.....Rasullulah

Alliya.....sayido Ideroos

.....Sarmadat.....

II. Allahumma salim, wa sallam alay;

Assalaatu assalaami alayha ya illahu

(Blessings and peace upon you, O God)

saydi Abdul Kadir Jailani

kutubul bihi waqithi

(His brother, and his protection)

Allahu ta'Allah ansa datina mobeen

(God, from his great saints)

Ya moulana, ya rabil allamin

III Allah salaam ya, ya salaam alaykum

(God, greetings, Oh greatness upon you)

Salaam Allah va Rasullulah

(upon you messenger of Allah)

Allah Madina minou wara.

(On the illuminous city of Madina)

B. Gakko Lah

Gakko lah, Gakka lah

(The truth)

Wagidul kahar

(The One and Only Subduer)

C. Samman, 1986

Ya gayum

(O living one)

Ya kayum\*

( O ..... )

D. Takbir

Allahu Akbar, wali lah il gamd

(Allah is great, and to Allah is all thanks and praise)

E. Ratiep, December 1981

Agmad Saydina

((Name of) Prophet, our Lordship (Name of) Prophet)

Baderoe Moulay

(Illuminous Protector)

Ya shafa'a

(O Intercessor, the Messenger)

Ya Muhammad, ya Moulana, ya imamo

(O Muhammad, O.....)

Allahu masali, Allahum saydina

(O Allah put blessings and salutations upon our Lordship)

Muhammad ebnee Abdillah

(Muhammad, the son of Abdullah)

F. Ratib Sandal, Durban 7 October 1989.

Dhikr: "Antal Haadi"

Antal haadi antal hak, laisal hadi illahu

(You are the guide, you are the truth;

There is no guide but you)

Dhikr signifying a "greeting" of the mazaar or tomb:

Allahu ya Yusuf karamatullah, ya waliyullah

(O Yusuf Allah's exalted, and friend)

(Note that \* refers to a word with unknown meaning.)

### 3.7 FLAGS

The word "flag" is thought to be of Germanic origin and denotes an identifying object made of material which is attached to poles.<sup>98</sup> Also known as standards, banners, colours or pendants, flags may be found in early forms amongst the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. During the Crusades, banners bearing the cross were carried.<sup>99</sup>

The origin of ratiep flags, like that of the bank, and to a lesser degree that of the ratiep art form itself, appears obscure. No particular reason(s) for the origin of the flags, or their use has been given by most performers. One ratiep khalifa put it this way: "We use them because our Javanese forefathers brought them here."<sup>100</sup> The same khalifa Gasant, who was one of my closest informants belonging to the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah mentioned three important aspects pertaining to the origin and use of flags in ratiep: He contended that they are based on the Qur'an (a point which is substantiated when examining the texts thereon); the red and black flags are associated with pain; and finally the flags are incorporated in the performance of tamboester (dagger)



acts by directing the performance first at the (right) red and black flags, then at the (left) white and green flags, which are followed by stabbings to the body.<sup>101</sup> A striking example of direct contact with flags in a performance occurred when Hadji Abubakar Abrahams, khalifa of the Heideveld Mouweejas Jamaah, during a ratiep performance in December 1985, stroked a sword with one of the hanging flags, after which he then performed with the sword (See Plate X ). It is also significant that in Cape Muslim religious traditions, flags identify individual jamaahs, and are associated with particular religious occasions, such as moulood or ratiep performances (See Plate XI ). Flags thus may be regarded as objects containing identifying features, which may serve precisely that purpose. In the case of Plate XV , the quotation is reputedly taken from a hadith (writings on the sayings of the Prophet), and not directly from the Qur'an.<sup>102</sup> Flags are also used in Islamic celebrations in other countries, such as Egypt (See Plate XII).



Plate X : Khalifa Abrahams stroking the sword blade with a flag, December 1985.

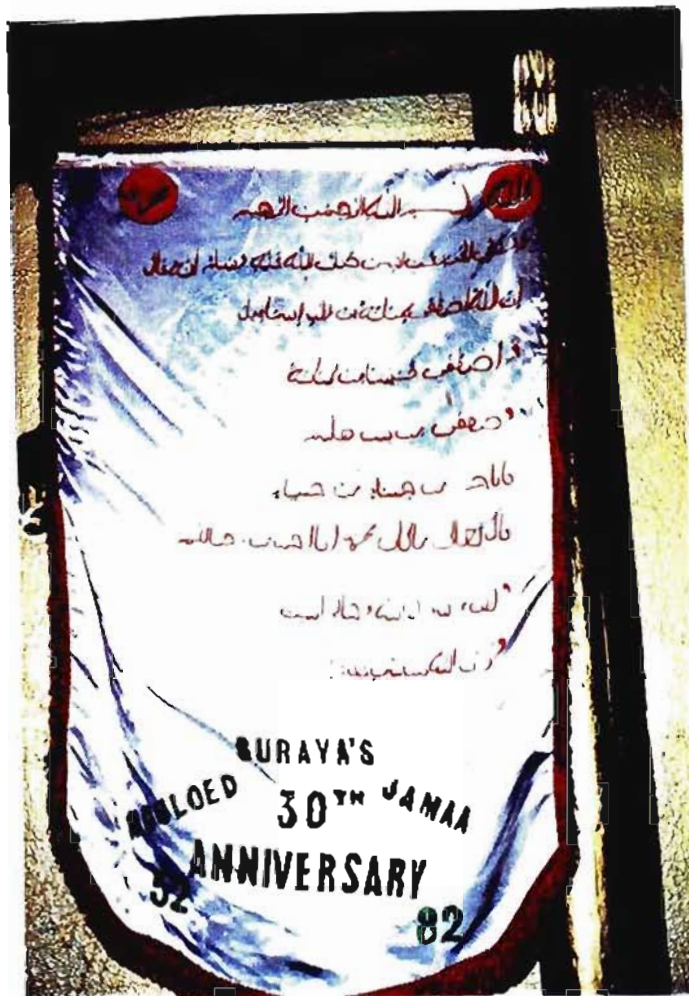


Plate XI: A flag used during a moulood celebration



Members of Rifa'iyya Order. Muslim New Year 1965

Plate XII: A Rifa'iyyah procession showing flags with Arabic writing thereon

For the spectator, flags occupy an important place in a ratiep performance. They appear decorative when the different colours of the flags and the Islamic calligraphy of the writing is considered. The writing on the flags also increases the religious tone of the performance, and links the performance to the Qur'anic foundation of Islam. In summary then, just as the bank provides the means to attach the flags and to arrange and display the ratiep instruments or praboes, in the same way the flags provide the space and material on which to write Qur'anic extracts and other relevant materials. Each colour apparently has a specific meaning. Yellow is associated with the Chisti Sufi order, and green with the Qadiriyyah order. However, the mystical connections of the other colours could not be determined through interviews, although as has been noted previously khalifa Gasant linked red and black to "pain".

When they are used, flags are affixed to a stander attached to each side of the medoura (kap) or top section of the bank. In the absence of a bank, they are still displayed as a backdrop to the performing subjects various acts.

The number of flags used in a ratiep performance, varies from

four to six. The Newtown jamaah has five: red, black, white, green and yellow. According to their khalifa, an orange flag should also be present. The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah used four different coloured flags: red, green, black and white. The writing (getoelies) thereon was carefully done in colourful paint in Arabic letters. Usually, gold and silver lettering is used, but black and red lettering is also found (See Plate XVII ).

Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah Flags (See Plates XIV to XVII )

Text on Flag	Translation
The writing on the four flags is exclusively from that part of the Qur'an which mostly deals with the creation of God.	Flag (a): Surah XVI:13-20 <sup>103</sup> "And the things on this earth which He has multiplied in varying colours (and qualities):

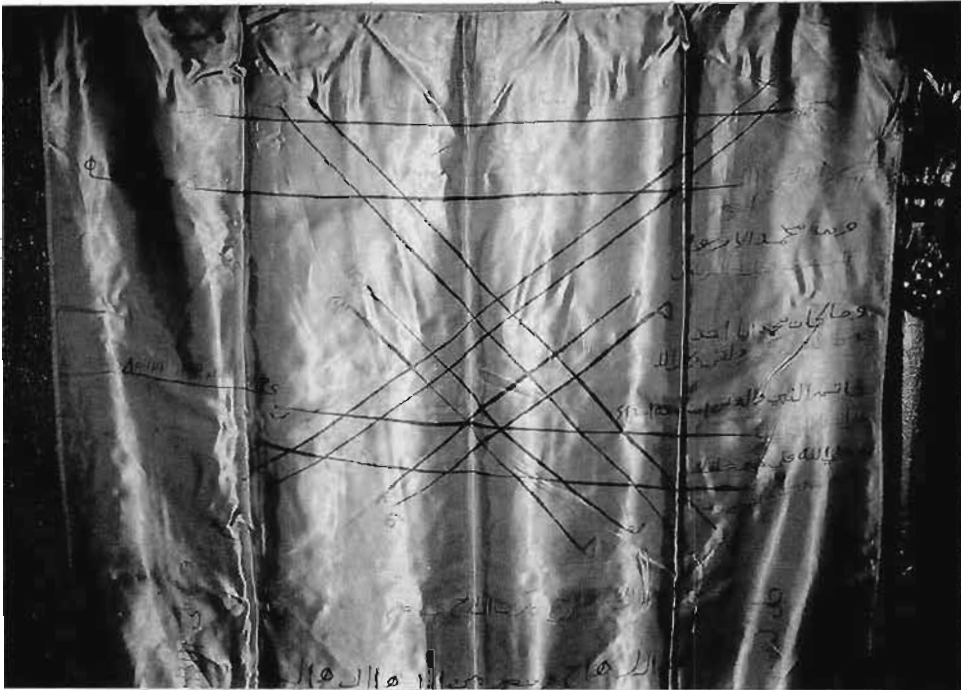


Plate XIII: A flag of the Newton jamaah of Khalifa  
Hendricks

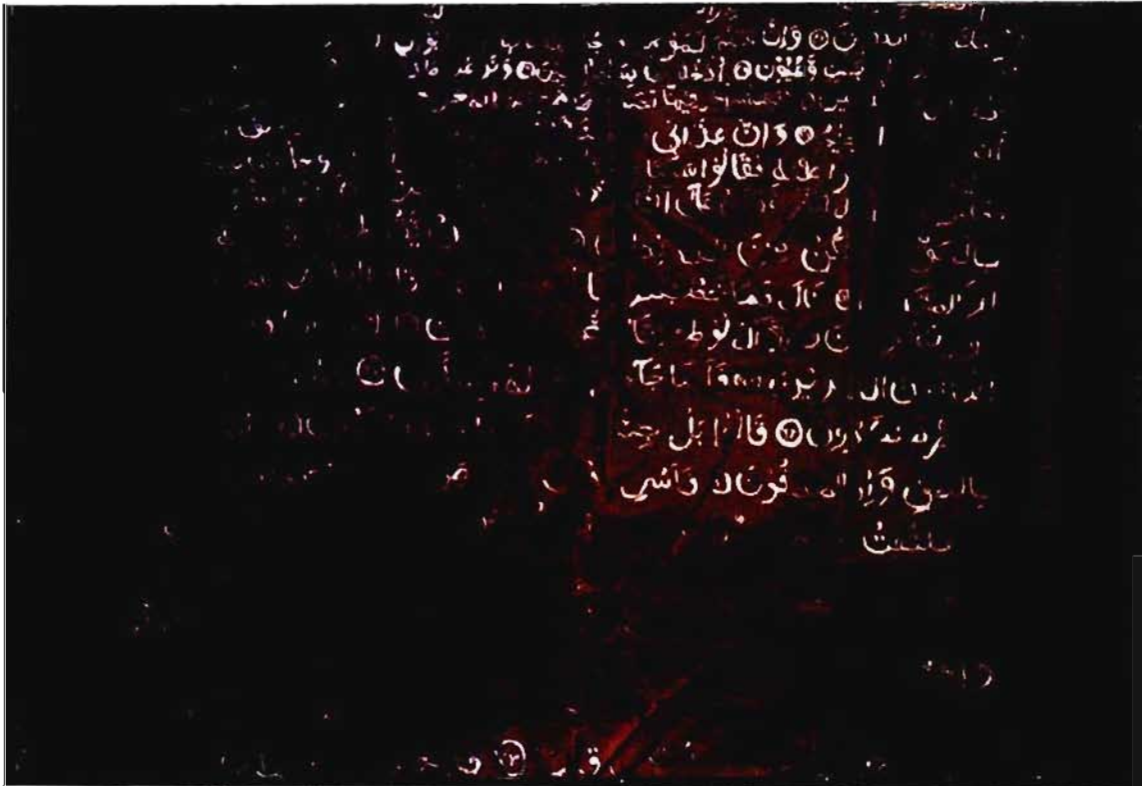


Plate XIV: A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah flag





Plate XV : A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah flag



Plate XVI: A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah flag



Plate XVII: A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah flag



Plate XVIII: Hanover Park ratiep performance, 1985.  
Notice Khalifa Wali's bank and riags.

Verily in this is a Sign  
for men who celebrate  
the praises of God (in  
gratitude)."

Flag (c): Surah XV: 5

Flag (d): Surah XV: 80

The Newtown ratiep jamaah possesses an important collection of flags, which have been designed by the khalifa and painted in material by an imam's ( priest's) son (See Plates XIX & XX). Whereas the Yusufia used extracts from the Qur'an, the Newtown Jamaah used Islamic calligraphy together with Qur'anic extracts and other phrases called azeemats. The khalifa appeared secretive about these, the apparent reason being that he feared copying of his flags by other jamaahs. In 1985 the jamaah of khalifa Wali also displayed flags depicting Islamic calligraphy (See Plate XXI). The same flags and bank appear to have been used in a ratiep display held in public in Hanover Park during 1985 (See Plate XVIII).

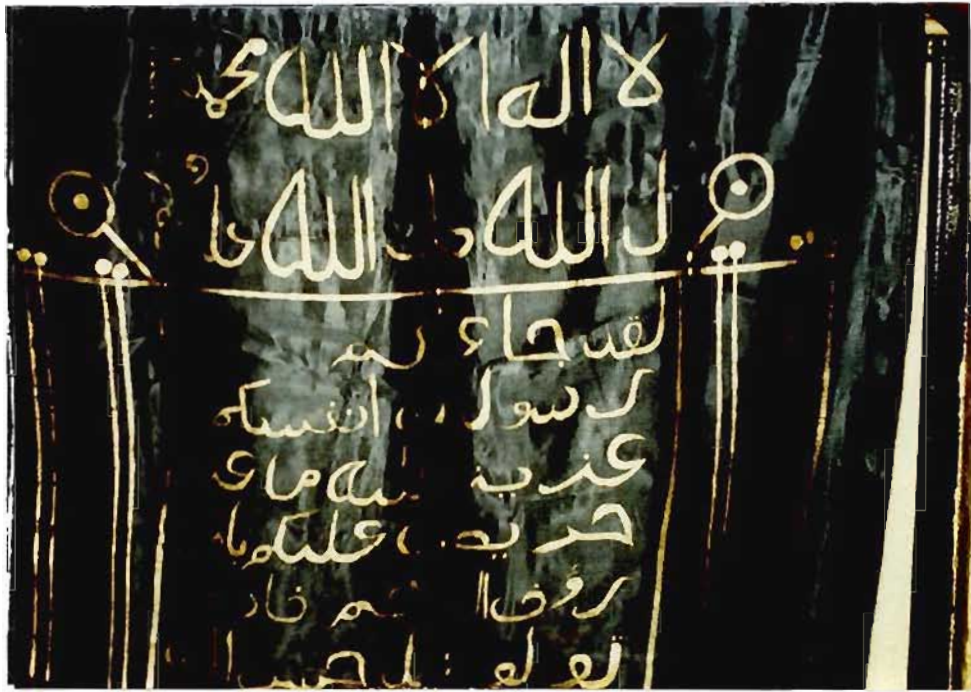


Plate XIX: A Newtown Jamaah Flag



Plate XX: Another Newtown Jamaah Flag



Plate XXI: Khalifa Wali's flags showing calligraphy

The Newtown ratiep jamaah also possesses a set of older flags, which the khalifa reputed to be more than one hundred years old (See Plate XXII). Because these flags are torn and the colours faded, they are not used in performances but are kept in a safe place.

Newtown Jamaah:

Text on Flag	Translation
Deals with extracts from the Qur'an, which concerns the Prophet.	White flag: Surah XXXIII: 40: "Muhammad is not The father of any Of your men, but (he is) The Apostle of God, And the seal of the Prophets"
Names such as Ali, Oesman, Allah, Muhammad feature often. An important feature is the use of <u>azeemats</u> or secret letters and words which is said to have magical or mystical powers (See Plate XXIII)	

Surah III: 144



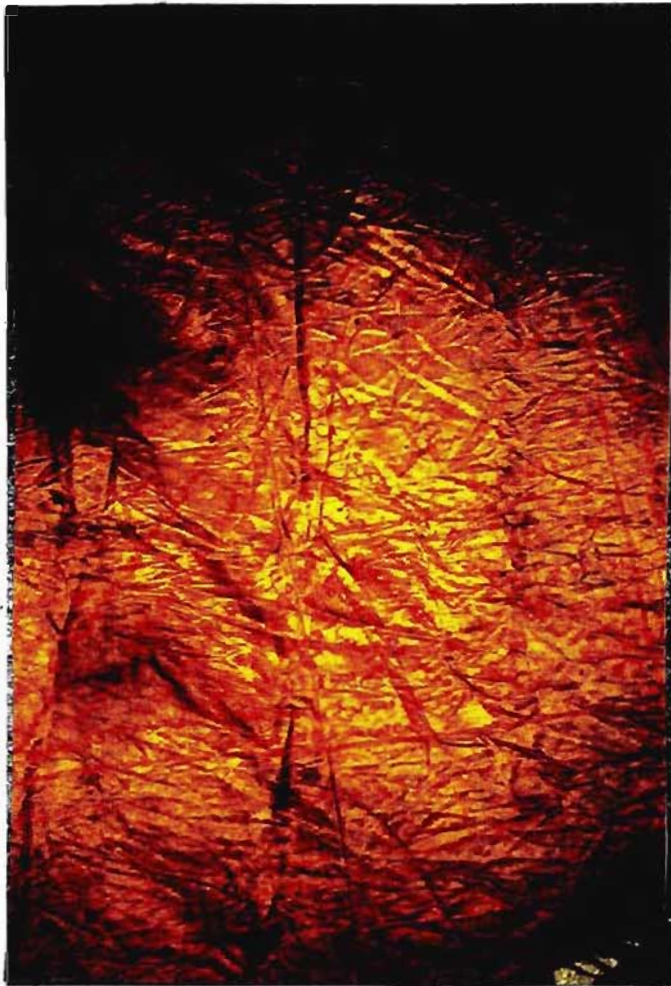


Plate XXII: A very old flag of the Newtown jamaah



Plate XXIII: Azeemats in the Home of Khalifa Hendricks

Surah IX: 5

Khalifa Wali:

Text on Flags

In part these are based on Islamic calligraphy which consist of names like "Allah", "Muhammad", and which contains azeemats as well.

The Table below contains the numbers and colours of flags used during ratiep shows witnessed since 1981. Six different jamaahs are considered. Only two jamaahs used identical flags and bank. Blue, red, yellow and white flags predominate. A fifth colour, green, was used by two while blue, the colour of a Yusufia Jamaah flag (Plate XXIV) was not used at all.



Plate XXIV: A blue flag of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah

YEAR	<u>JAMAAH</u>	LEFT (when <u>bank</u> is faced)	RIGHT
1981	Mouweeja	Green, White	Red, Black
1985	Mouweejas	Green, White	Red, Black
1985	Yusufia	Black, Red	Green, White
1985	Khalifa Wali	Yellow	White, Black, Yellow
1985	Hanover Park	White, Red, Yellow	Yellow, White
1988	Gabeebia	Black, Green	Red, White
1990	Newtown	White, Red, Yellow, Green, Black	

Table 2

The two performances of the Mouweejas Jamaah in 1981 and 1985 were respectively a public and a private home performance. The latter was on the occasion of the birthday celebration of a founder of the Qadirriyah Sufi Order, namely Abdul Kader Jailani, which is held on the 11th of the Islamic month of Rabi'l Akhir. The flags do not differ for the two types of performances. White flags were used in all performances.

Indian ratib does not incorporate the use of flags, although the ratib sandal procession does have flag carriers leading the procession (See Plate XXVI). The flags used during September 1989 were yellow (which signifies the Chistiyyah Order) and green. Both the Rylands ratib of 1984 and the Chatsworth ratib of December 1989 did not have flags attached to a bank. In the case of the Chatsworth ratib performance, flags were draped over a wooden bench (See Plate XXV).

### 3.8 MOVEMENT: THE RATIEP DANCE

The literature bears little information on Cape Muslim ratiep movement. This may be because it was either overlooked or regarded as coincidental to the performance. Du Plessis described the performance as a "sword dance" which resembles the Barong dance.<sup>104</sup> An early description mentions a "slow dance", "various attitudes", a "slow dance measure" and "the gesticulating form moving in weird dance in the centre."<sup>105</sup> Stylistic ratiep dancing in a circle is described as "dancing with the same slow movement round and round".<sup>106</sup> In another broad description of a type of ratiep movement by performers, Du Plessis and Penny Miller use the term "sway", which may refer to the almost incessant upper torso movement of seated ratiep performers.<sup>107</sup> The Indian ratib movement has also not been recorded or analysed, except in a few isolated cases when it has been mentioned only cursorily.<sup>108</sup>



Plate XXV : A Chatsworth ratib performance, December 1989. Note the flags draped over the wooden bench.



Plate XXVI: The Sandal Procession, 23 September 1989, Durban.



Plate XXVII: Sandal procession, Durban, September 1989. Note the yellow and red flags in the background.



Movement in a ratiep performance constitutes an integral and important part thereof of the performance. To the ratiep performer, the movement, "bringing" dhikr and performing various acts are regarded as interlinked: the one cannot exist without the other. Movement, for example, cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of the performance. While dance is reputed by some to have its origin in ritual, there can be no doubt that the dance "ritual" or movement in ratiep has its roots in Sufism.<sup>109</sup> Music provides to the Sufi an "elevating" effect, which is the essence of sama' or mystical dance.<sup>110</sup> This effect or trance-linked state is contributed to through the performance of dhikr.

In searching for the purpose of ratiep movement one comes across the Sufi term "samā" (Ar. سما) which according to Wehr, means to be on a "high" or "elevated". It therefore, according to him, does not relate specifically to a "mystical dance". However, in Sufism, sama' appears to have taken on the meaning of a mystical dance, whereby an elevated state of emotional being is attained. According to the Sufi Hazrat Inayat Khan, the Sufi dances to reach a stage of spiritual unity with his creator and to elevate his thought and spiritual life.<sup>111</sup> To the mystic, the basis of the whole

creation is movement, hence it becomes possible, according to him, for the Rifa'iyah school in their acts of religious faith and the power of words to "tune" their bodies to the "pitch of vibration where no fire, no cut, nothing can touch it." Khan states: "Because the vibration of their bodies are equal to fire, therefore the fire has no effect."

Likewise the Dervish dance (See Figure 14), which has been in existence for the past seven hundred years and still exists in Turkey and Southern Egypt, manifests "mystical ecstasy".<sup>9</sup> In this dance which is linked to the Mevlevi (or Mawlawi) Sufi brotherhood, the participants don tall canonical hats and black mantles, and perform their characteristic dance in a dhikr ceremony which takes place in a building called a tekke. This begins with a removal of their black cloaks after having greeted their shaykh or master. Thereafter they begin to revolve rhythmically with their heads thrown back, their right hand palms raised and their left arms dropped. The rhythm accelerates, and the tempo of revolving increases in an attempt to attain union with the Almighty.<sup>112</sup> This dance may last for several hours and the performers may even lose consciousness. In the Rylands ratib of 1985, two performers reached a state of semi-consciousness and fell to the ground.



Figure 14: The Dervish Dance

Comparing the movement of the South African ratiep with that of the Dervishes, using only the information I could gather from literature sources on the latter art form, I found areas of commonality and diversity: both are based on dhikr and utilize movement for the attainment of union with the Almighty. They differ in terms of style and form of movement, the nature of the acts, the attire of the performers, and probably the form and style of the dhikr. Both however, have their roots in Sufism. All Sufi brotherhoods perform dhikr, but movement serving to bring about heightened states of ecstasy only occur in the Rifa'iyah (ratiep), Mevlevi (Dervishes) and Sammaniyah (samman).

The dabus dance movement of Indonesia (See Figure 15) is described as follows:

The right foot moves to the fore, followed by the left foot moving diagonally to the back of the right foot. Then the right foot is lifted high so that the upper leg is horizontal. While maintaining this posture the dancers rotate 360°.



Figure 15: The Dabus Dance

Then the left foot moves to the front, followed by the right foot moving to the back of the left. Each dancer lifts his left foot until the left upper leg is horizontal. In this posture they rotate  $360^{\circ}$  once again. <sup>113</sup>

Here the description of the dabus dance is more detailed than that given for the Dervish dance, and compares favourably with portions of the basic ratiep movement occurring in the ashrakal (cf.p. 272). The dabus dance rotation by  $360^{\circ}$  does not occur in ratiep, but seems similar to the high speed rotation by Dervishes.

Christian Poche refers to "the swaying" of the body" of performers of the so-called "zikr" (a word derived from the Arabic "dhikr") ceremony in Syria. He characterises this ceremony as one in which union with God is attained through recitations, songs and instrumental music.<sup>114</sup> The above reference to movement in this Rifi'a Sufi Brotherhood by Poche is not sufficient to compare it in any way to the South Africa ratiep.

From the available literature only a vague picture may be

formed of the nature and purpose of Sufi movement generally and ratiep movement specifically. Schimmel notes from a historical viewpoint that sama has been known since the 9th century.<sup>115</sup> Islamic scholars on mysticism, like Ghazali, have described in detail when the practice of sama is acceptable. Sama has been regarded as the expression of the dynamicism of life.<sup>116</sup> Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep may be seen to express this dynamicism of life, an element which is captured in the term "spectacular" used by Du Plessis to describe the ratiep.<sup>117</sup>

The Cape Muslim performance with tamboesters and swords is synchronised with a skilful dance performance, which is characteristic and important. This is particularly so during the period before the tamboesters are plunged to their bodies, during which dhikr, movement and act all combine to constitute a well-balanced whole. The dance itself contributes to the varying state of trance also characteristic of the ratiep performance, states which become deeper as the performance continues.

The ratiep dance for both Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim subgroups consists of series of steps forwards and backwards executed in accordance with the rhythms provided by the

rebanna and the dhol. These steps may be characterised as "jumps" and "walks" with jerky leg and arm movements. At the instant before the daggers actually strike, the body is bent sharply backwards, with the daggers striking the body at an instant when the body is again bent in an opposite, that is, forward position (See Figure 16):

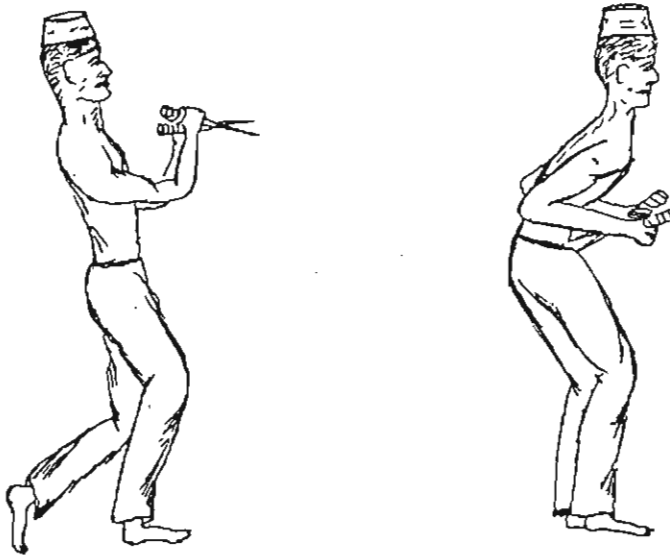


Figure 16: A Representation of the Ratiep Dance



The dance is performed either individually or in groups consisting of two or more men, boys or both (on very exceptional occasions women may take part, but then only within a closed family situation during private ratiep shows). During a single performance or act, stabbing to the body may occur several times, which seem on the one hand to relate to the degree of trance, but on the other to be an intergral part of the dance itself. Each time the body is struck, the body is deeply curved respectively backwards and forwards, in close association with the rhythmic accompaniment, as well as the textual meaning and implied rhythmic structure of the dhikr of the rest of the jamaah. Children, and sometimes adults, may be prohibited from "overdoing" the acts, or reaching an advanced state of tarik, by means of a tap on the shoulder by adult participants, which usually terminates the subject's act. There is at least one recorded case of a performer at Diep River who died in 1813 as a result of wounds inflicted by the dagger he used in a ratiep show.<sup>118</sup>

Cape Muslim performers, when dancing in a group, form a circle which rotates in a anti-clockwise manner and sometimes moving towards the centre and then immediately away

therefrom. This movement is illustrated below. A somewhat similar circular movement is found in samman, a related Cape Muslim trance-linked performance, as well as the secular kransdans (circle dance), the latter which was formerly performed at piekniek venues to the accompaniment of singing of ghommaliédjies (ghomma songs) and nederlandsliedere.

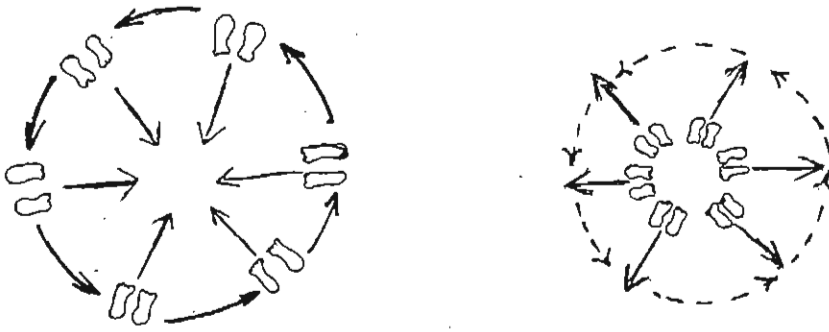


Figure 17: Movement in Group Dancing.

It has been mentioned before that the ratiep dance may contribute to the state of trance reached by the performers during the show. An excellent example of deep trance occurred during the Indian Muslim ratib performance in Rylands during 1986 when two performers after having reached an advanced state of "elevation" or trance, called "tarik" by Cape Muslims, fell to the ground. This took place during the performance of the ashrakal or final dance section. The main performer, said to be from Pakistan, attended to these

incapacitated members when they fell. However, the social relationship between the dancers must not be overlooked. Because of the unity of the groups, and the closeness of members, those who lack confidence may become sufficiently motivated when performing in a group. However, this remark applies mostly to young performers, as most members of ratiep groups have been performing the acts since childhood.<sup>119</sup>

This supports a notion that ratiep jamaahs mostly consist of family members. It is therefore more a family affair rather than a societal one: children seem to be reared in this tradition. Different jamaahs have different colours, movements, acts, dhikr and styles of performance on the percussion instruments.

Given below is the basic movement of a Cape Muslim ratiep performer. According to Cape Muslim informants, the basic movement adheres to a sequence of 10 beats or pulses, which may be divided thus:

First 4 beats: Dance steps to the left flag: these consist of left and right foot forward and backward or sideward movements, to rebanna, dhol and dhikr accompaniment.

Second 4. beats: Dance steps to the right flag: these also consist of left and right foot forward and backward or sideward movements, to rebanna dhol and dhikr accompaniment.

Last 2 beats: Dance steps coinciding with stabbing to the body. These may be jumps with feet totally in the air or may be performed with a deep knee bend (See Figure 17.1).

Thereafter each sequence of steps in the movement may be repeated or followed by an altered version of the above sequence. The sequence may, for example, be shortened to the first four or eight beats, each sequence terminating in stabbings or chopping to the body with sharp instruments. Often performance acts are terminated with repeated performance of the last 2 beats, that is only stabbings and chopping to the body.

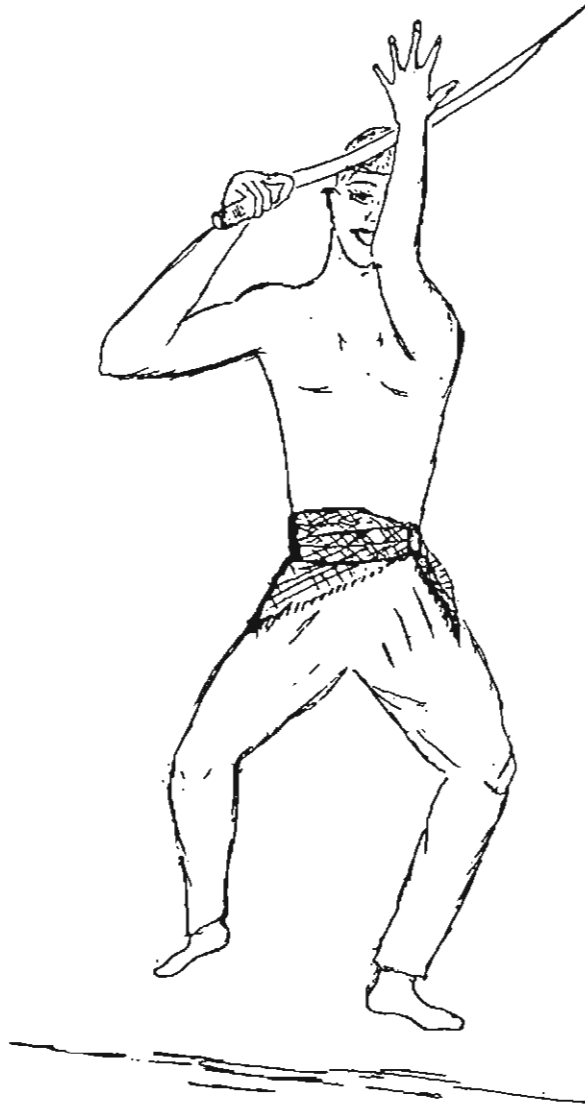
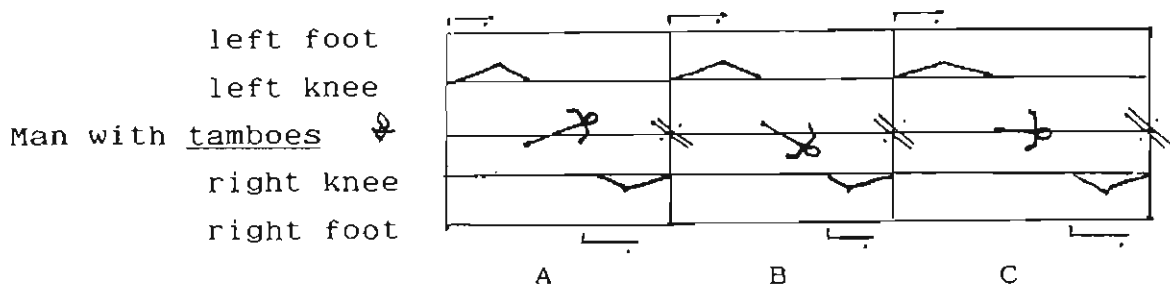


Figure 17.1: A Ratiep Performer Jumping into the Air

Beats:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<u>Tamboester</u> :									x	
Arms:	out	in	out	in	out	in	out	in	out	in
Feet:	f	b	f	b	f	b	f	b	f	b

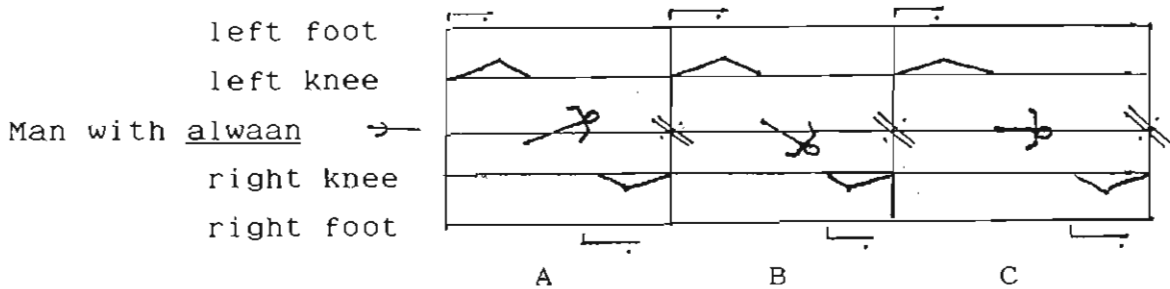
Key:     x     :     Point at which a strike occurs  
           out   :     Arms are stretched forwards  
           in    :     Arms are pulled back  
           f     :     One leg is forward  
           b     :     Both legs are together

Figure 18: The 10-pulse Basic Movement Pattern

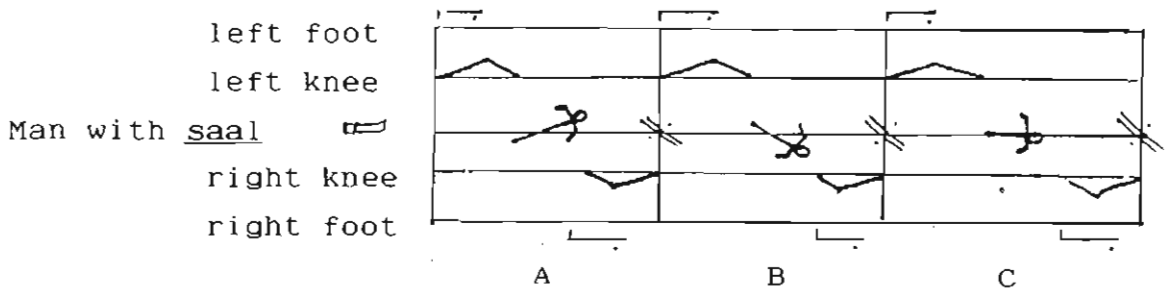


- A     Left foot forward; Body bent to left;  
       Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- B     Left foot forward; Body bent to right;  
       Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- C     Left foot forward; Body forward only;  
       Right foot forward; Reverse process.

Ratiep Dance



- A Left foot forward; Body bent to left;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- B Left foot forward; Body bent to right;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- C Left foot forward; Body forward only;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.



- A Left foot forward; Body bent to left;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- B Left foot forward; Body bent to right;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.
- C Left foot forward; Body forward only;  
Right foot forward; Reverse process.

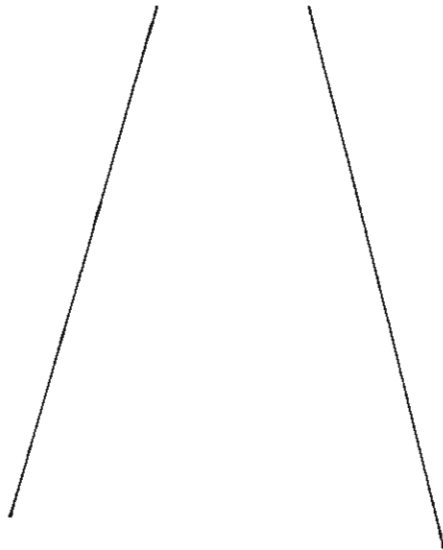
Figure 19: Diagrammatic Representations of the Ratiep Movement



In the Thom Theatre ratiep performance held on the 23rd of November 1985, the ashrakal concluded the ratiep display. The ashrakal essentially consists of the performance of the well-known dhikr called the "salawaat". The ashrakal which does not include acts of self-mutilation of the body with sharp instruments, consists of a series of movements which may be divided into a number of distinct parts. The Rylands show of 1986 also ended with a similar dance progression, as did the few Indian Muslim giyerwee sharifs and ratibs I witnessed and studied during my research period.

#### Ashrakal Form

Part I: The members of the ratiep jamaah stand in two rows, facing each other, with the members performing the djieker "Ya Rasullulah" (See Example 7 ). Herein the rebannas and dhol provide a quick accompaniment of M.M. ♩ = 132.



Ashrakal "Salawaat"

O.P.: No Transposition

Jamaah: Yusufia Rifi'a

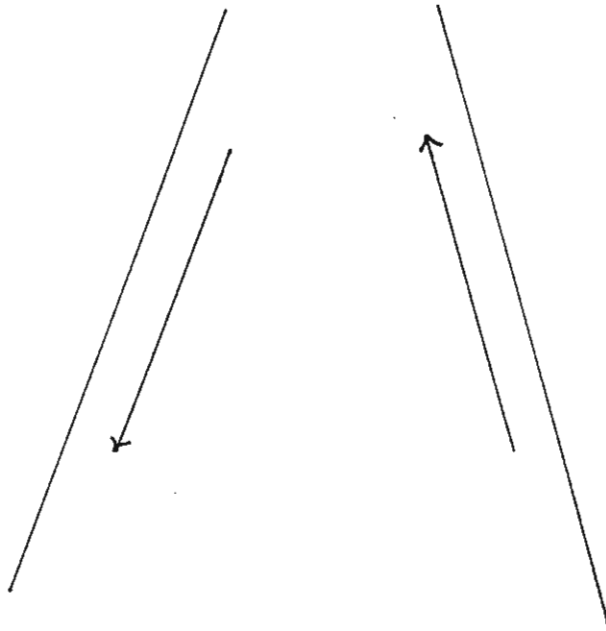
Thom Teatre: 23/11/85

M.M. ♩ = 66; 2nd Time M.M. ♩ = 112

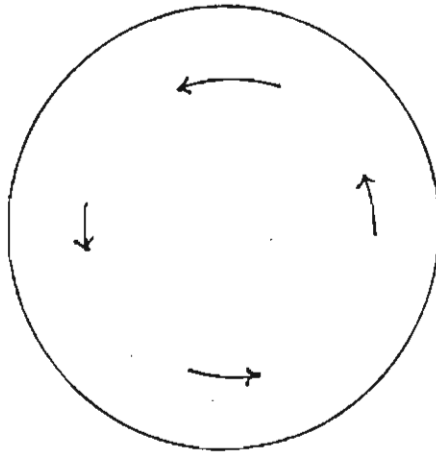
The musical score is written on six staves in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff begins with the lyrics "Ya Ra- sul-". The second staff has a "2nd Time: DRSI" marking above it and continues with "lu- lah,". The third staff continues with "ya Mo- gam- mad. Sal- la -". The fourth staff continues with "lah hu a- lay hi wa sa-". The fifth staff continues with "laan, Ya Ga- bee- bee ya,". The sixth staff continues with "ya Mo- gam- mad. Sal- la". The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 7: Ashrakal "Salawaat"

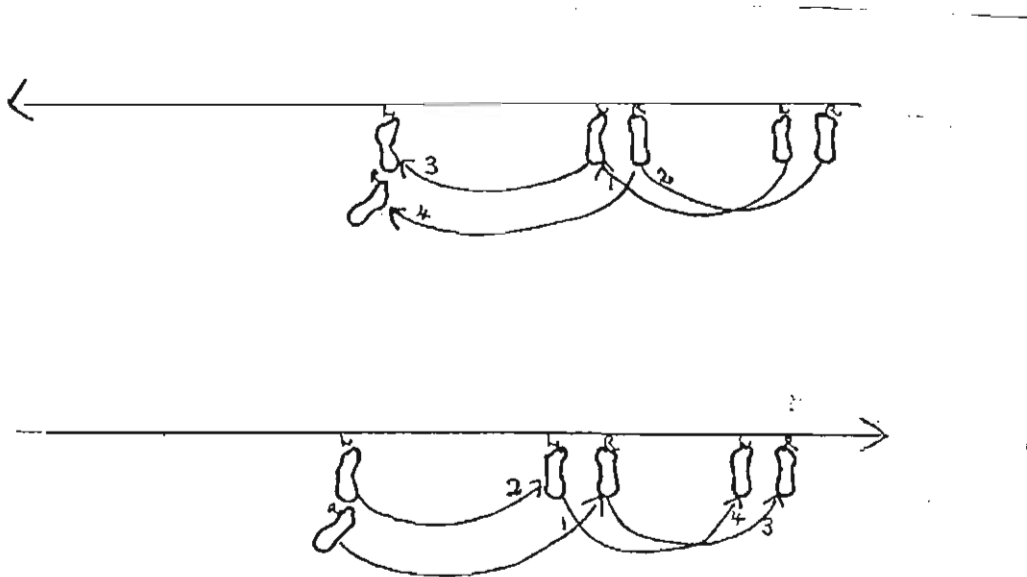
Part II: Here the members move in opposite direction: Row A moves away from the bank, whilst B moves towards the bank. This sequence is thereafter repeated in the opposite direction. Whilst this is being performed, the members would be performing a djieker. The tempo of the dhikr at the Thom Theatre performance was slow at M.M. ♩ = 63.



Part III: Now the members move around a circle, facing the bank at all times.



Throughout the final two parts, the fundamental foot movement is given thus:



Following are specific examples of ratiep movements. These have been discussed as follows: upper torso movement, movement by a single person; movement in pairs; movement in groups; ashrakal.

During a vocal rendition of dhikr, those seated in a cross-legged position on their knees on the floor, may sway the upper parts of their bodies rhythmically from side to side mostly, or sometimes forwards and backwards. This may be linked to the trance-like state which the performers are seeking in both Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep and other similar performances. The Balinese Kétchak or monkey dance is, like the ratiep characterised by a trance-linked state of performers, which is brought about through upper torso movement.<sup>120</sup> In the Cape Muslim haddad, moulood, samman and kaderia performances as well as in Indian Muslim Giyerwee Sharif performances this type of bodily movement also occurs. Only in the case of samman and kaderia does a heightened state of ecstasy result, while an increased emotional state in performers results in the other performances.

A single performer may perform an act with swords or daggers,

and may move in a circle, left and right or forwards and backwards, while performing a basic stepwise movement. The instruments used are tamboesters (daggers) or saals (swords). Solo performances are found in all South African ratiep performances.

Sometimes two performers may perform an act in pairs in synchronised motion. During the Baxter performance of May 1985, two performers performed with saals according to the basic 10-pulse time-line pattern initially, and then in variation according to the nature of the particular performance with the saals.

Then, again, three to four men or boys may perform with tamboesters moving in an anti-clockwise pattern again according to the 10-pulse time-line pattern.

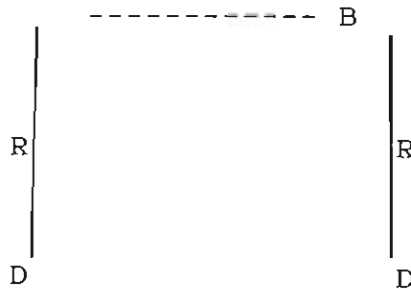
In the ashrakal a large number, which could include most of the members present, perform the dance movements described above (p. 259).

MOVEMENT OF A SINGLE PERFORMER

VIDEO: Baxter Theatre, Rondebosch, 13 May 1985.

PERFORMING GROUP: Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah


FORMATION: Khalifa Gasant seated behind bank(B). Mureed saboes sat on his right and hazrat saboes on his left. Two groups sat in parallel rows each consisting of seven men and boys facing each other. Each had a rebanna(R), except for two (one on each side) who sat astride a dhol(D):

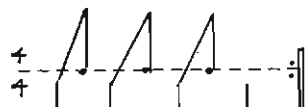
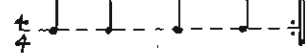


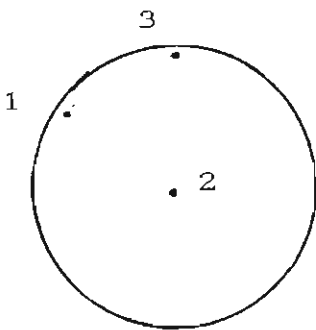
STEPS: Left and right or sideways, forwards and backwards.

Walks followed by jumps. Deep knee bend.

TEMPO: M.M. ♩ = 138

RHYTHM: Rebanna 

Dhol L.H.   
R.H. 



1: R.H. hit on top edge of drum

2: R.H. hit on centre of drum

3: L.H. hit on top edge of drum



DHIKR: "Salaam" (Greetings)

O.P.: No Transposition

Jamaah: Yusufia Rifi'a

Baxter Theatre:13/5/85

M.M. ♩ = 132

Assalaamu

As-sa laa- mu a- lay-kum wa a-  
 Rebarra  
 Dhol  
 lay- kum sa- laam Yu- su-  
 fi-a Ri- fi- Ja- maah a- lay- kum sa-

Translation: Peace be upon you and Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah

laam, Yu- su

Translation: Peace be upon you and Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
Peace be upon you.

Example 8: "Salaam"

BEATS

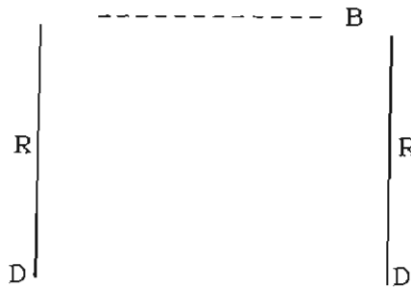
- 1-4 Right foot forward with deep knee bend,  
(Bar 1) followed by left foot forward with deep knee  
bend. Body pulled down and up. Arms, with  
tamboester in L.H. and hammer in R.H. outwards  
(to two beats) and inwards.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".
- 5-8 Repeat of above, arms raised above head on  
(Bar 2) last (eighth) beat.  
Jamaah renders "salaam"
- 9-10 Bring tamboester onto stomach on beat 9.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".
- 11-12 Start hammering tamboester with hammer. Seven  
"hammerings" on every other beat.  
Khalifa renders a repetition of "salaam".
- 13-22 Repeat above sequence. Thereafter repeat  
stabblings to the body three times.

TWO PERFORMERS

VIDEO: Baxter Theatre, Rondebosch, 13 May 1985.


PERFORMING GROUP: Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah

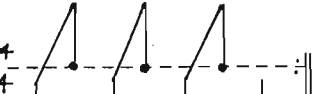
FORMATION: Khalifa Gasant seated behind bank(B). Mureed saboes sat on his right and hazrat saboes on his left. Two groups sat in parallel rows each consisting of seven men and boys facing each other. Each had a rebanna(R), except for two (one on each side) who sat astride a dhol(D):

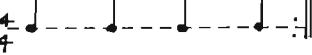


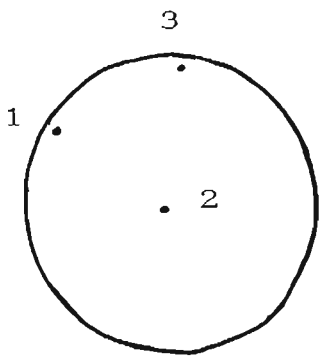
STEPS: Left and right or sideways, forwards and backwards.  
Walks and jumps. Deep knee bend.

TEMPO: M.M. ♩ = 138

RHYTHM: Rebanna 

Dhol L.H. 

R.H. 



1: R.H. hit on top edge of drum

2: R.H. hit on centre of drum

3: L.H. hit on top edge of drum

DHIKR: "Salaam" (Greetings)

BEATS

1-4 Right foot forward with deep knee bend,  
(Bar 1) followed by left foot forward with deep knee  
bend. Body pulled down and up. Arms, with  
a tamboester in each hand outwards  
(to two beats) and inwards. Repeat.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".

5-8 Repeat of above, arms raised above head on  
(Bar 2) last (eighth) beat.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".

9-10 Bring tamboesters onto stomach on beat 9.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".

11-12 Start preparing for next set of basic 10-pulse  
movement pattern.  
Jamaah renders "salaam".

13-22 Repeat above sequence. Thereafter repeat  
stabbings to body three times.

ASHRAKAL


PART 3:


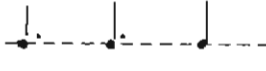
VIDEO: Thom Theatre, Stellenbosch, 23 November 1985



PERFORMING GROUP: Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah

FORMATION: Two rows of men and boys standing  
with rebannas, facing each other.  
Two dhol players sitting astride  
their instruments.

STEPS: Forwards/ backwards steps, walk

TEMPO: Slow, M.M.  = 63

RHYTHMS: Rebannas:  

Dhol:  

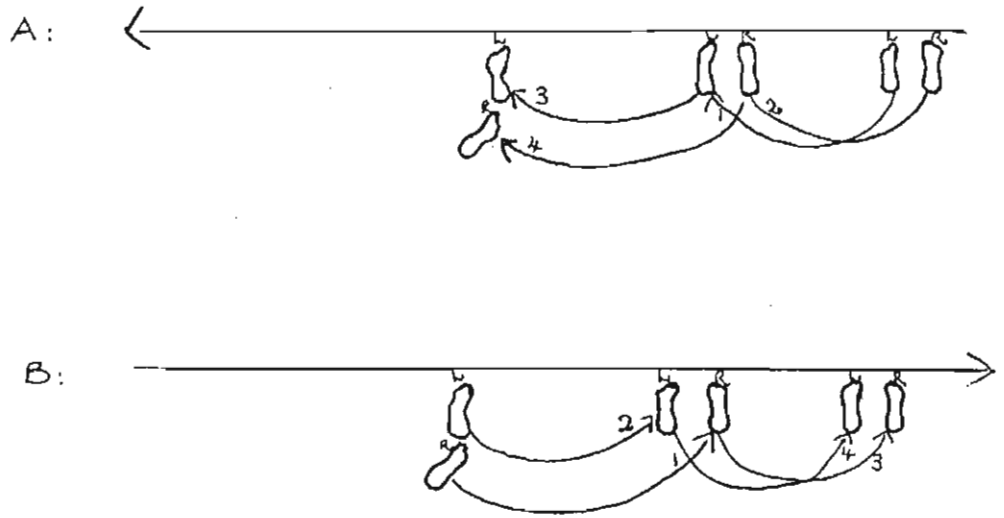
DHIKR: "Say-di-na"

O.P.: No Transposition

Jamaah: Yusufia Rifi'a

M.M. ♩ = 66

Thom Theatre: 23/11/85



Ashrakal Movement, Part 3

Beats:                      Movement                      Diagram

1-4 (Bar 1) Forward movement

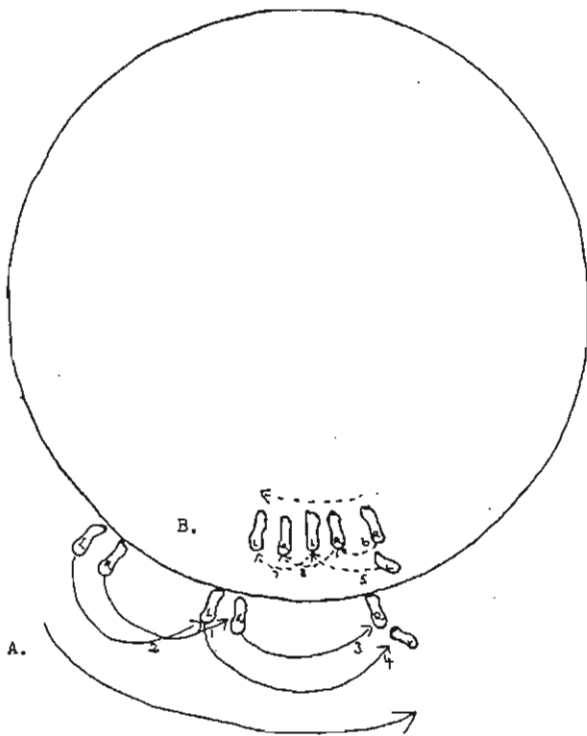
3-8 (Bar 2) Backwards movement

ASHRAKAL, Part 3:

STEPS:

Diagram

Explanation



A: Movement to Left.

L: Left foot to position 1,  
thereafter to position 3.

R: Right foot to position 2,  
then to position 4.

1,2,3 and 4 coincide with  
first four beats

Right foot at four takes  
place with deep knee bend  
of the right knee.

B: Movement to Right.

Repeat process.

Movement distance the  
same as for A.



ASHRAKAL


PART 4:


VIDEO: Thom Theatre, Stellenbosch, 23 November 1985

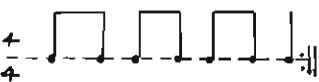
PERFORMING GROUP: Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah

FORMATION: Circular group of men and boys with rebannas,  
Two dhol players sitting astride their instruments

STEPS: Forwards/ Backwards steps, circular walk movement

TEMPO: Slow, M.M.  = 70

RHYTHMS: Rebannas: 

Dhol: 

DHIKR: Allahu Allah  
Allah Rifi'a Saydina

Beats:                    Movement

1-4 (Bar 1)    Longer Forward movement, circular movement

3-8 (Bar 2)    Shorter Backwards movement, circular movement

Diagram:

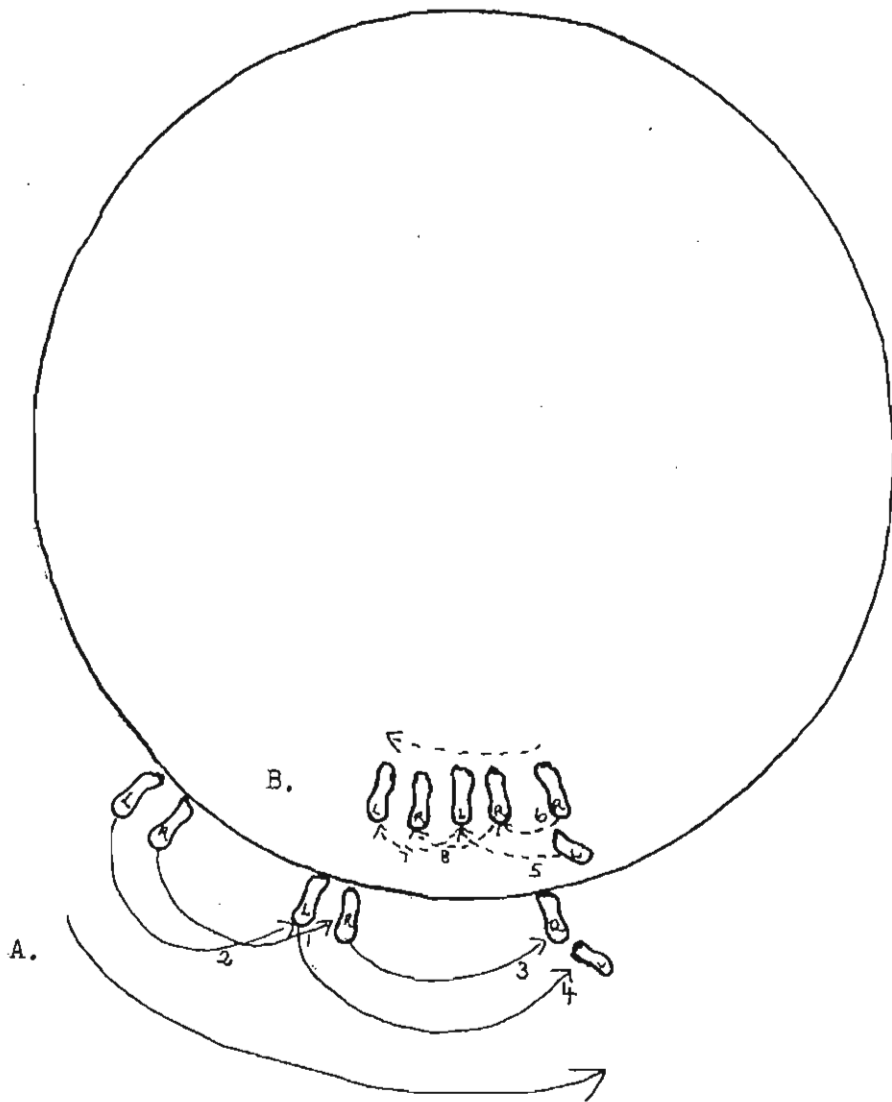
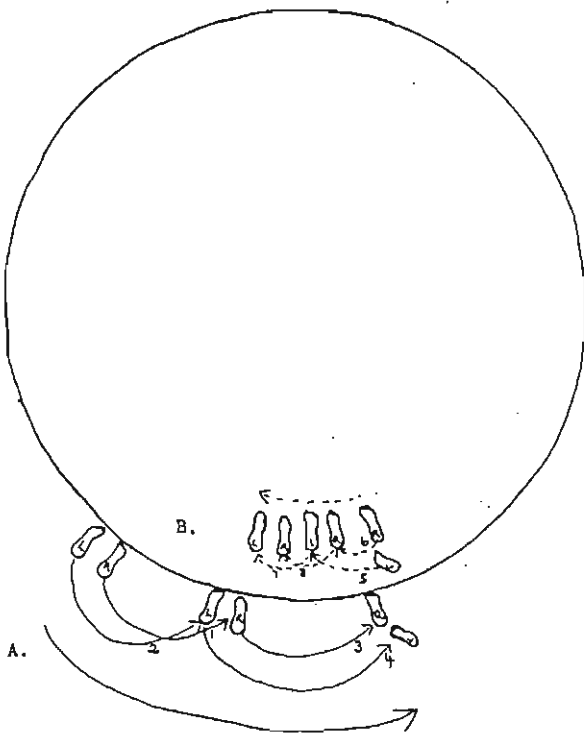


Figure 20 : Ashrakal Movement 4

ASHRAKAL, Part 4:

STEPS:      Diagram

Explanation



A: Movement to Right.

R: Right foot to position 1,  
thereafter to position 3.

L: Left foot to position 2,  
then to position 4.

1,2,3 and 4 coincide with  
first four beats

Left foot at four takes  
place with deep knee bend  
of the left knee.

B: Movement to Left.

Repeat process in reverse.

Movement distance of B

shorter than that of A.

Circular movement.

ENDNOTES

1. Fazlur Rahman, "Islam". Encyclopaedia Britannica. Macropaedia, Vol.9, p.
2. S.N.al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), p.1.
3. Ibid., p.2.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. See for example Al-Attas, Some Aspects, A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975); A.Ahmad, Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); & Oosthuizen.
9. al-Attas, p.3.
- 10.Schimmel, p.9.
- 11.Ahmad.
- 12.Schimmel; al-Attas & Ahmad.
- 13.M.Z.Khandalvi, Virtues of Zikr (Lahore: Kutab Khana Faizi (n.d.)), pp.13-25.
- 14.Ibid., p.22.
- 15.al-Attas, p.4.
- 16.See Khandalvi.
17. Fazlur Rahman, "Islam"
- 18.Ahmad, p.125.
- 19.Fazlur Rahman. "Islam".
- 20.Al-Attas, p.31.

21. Fazlur Rahman. "Islam".
22. Indian Muslims refer to him as such. Giarveen Sharif was originally the death anniversary of the most senior saint Abdul Qadir Jailani of Baghdad.
23. Z.H. Sharib, Khawaja Gharib Nawaz (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1974), p.6.
24. Ibid., p.97.
25. Ibid.
26. F. Hadland Davis. The Persian Mystics (Lahore: Ashraf, 1977), p.29.
27. "Islam" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.22), p.19.
28. For a detailed discussion on the acceptability of music in Islam see Desmond Desai, An Investigation into the 'Cape Malay' Child's Cultural Heritage upon his Taste in Music Education (Unpublished M.Mus thesis, University of Cape Town, 1983), pp.202,216-220. The requirement that the muadhdhin or the person who gives the call to prayer "should not call out the Azaan in a singing tone" is also indicative of Islam's strict rules concerning permissible music. The Ulama of the Association of Lenasia Madrasahs, Deeniyaat Class 6. (Lenasia: The South African Institute for Islamic Educational Research, n.d.), p.13.
29. Peerjee Muhammed Farooq, "If Music be the Food of Love Divine", (Ramadaan Annual of the Muslim Digest, Vol. 26, Nos 2 & 3, 1975).
30. Inayat Khan, Music, p.47.
31. Ibid., p.44.
32. Shems Friedlander, The Whirling Dervishes, p.130.
33. Peerjee Muhammed Farooq, "If Music be the Food of Love Divine", (Ramadaan Annual of the Muslim Digest, Vol.26, Nos 2 & 3, 1975), p.165.
34. Shems Friedlander, The Whirling Dervishes, p.130.
35. Annemarie Schimmel, "The Symbolic Language of Jala Al-Din Rumi" (Ramadaan Annual of the Muslim Digest, Vol. 35, nos 10 & 11, 1985), p. 119.

36. al-Attas, p.75.
37. This suggested one reason for distinguishing between two subforms of South African ratiep performances.
38. Schimmel, p.7.
39. I. Khan, The Mysticism of Sound (Geneva: International Headquarters Sufi Movement, 1979), p.108.
40. Gilsenan, p.119.
41. Parrinder, p.142.
42. See for example Habibiyah: Khankah, Masjid and Madressa (Cape Town: 1980).
43. The Argus, 27 July 1989.
44. These include the Wahhabis.
45. See A. Schimmel and S.N. al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism.
46. See I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays and L.S. Gillis, Medical Aspects.
47. S.N. al-Attas, Aspects, p.47.
48. A close Indian Muslim informant often expressed this opinion to me in 1985 and 1986. Several Cape Muslim ratiep performers of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah with whom I was closely associated, have also indicated this to me during the years 1985 to 1987.
49. Although I have witnessed only one such ratiep, I was told that ratiep performances were formerly often held at such burial places as at Macassar, where Sheikh Yusuf is buried. L.S. Gillis, Medical Aspects, also contains a photograph of such a performance.
50. D. Desai, "An Investigation".

51. Muhammad Zakariyya Khandhalvi, Virtues of Zikr (Lahore: Kutab Khana Faizi, n.d.), p.13.
52. A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions (North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 1975), p.167.
53. "Dhikr", (The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.II. Leiden: Brill, 1965), p.225.
54. Ibid.
55. Encyclopaedia Britannica
56. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation", p.46.
57. Letter from Achmat Davids, August 1982.
58. Desmond Desai, "Islamic Music in South Africa", p.49.
59. There appears to be confusion with regard to spelling of haddad. It has often been spelt "gaddad" or "gadat". The spelling "haddad" is preferred in this work because of the ceremony's connection with the Muslim saint al-Haddad. See Hans Kähler, p. . This inference is drawn from oral sources and Achmat Davids, The Mosques of Bo-Kaap (Cape Town: SAIAR, 1980), p.94.
60. Achmat Davids, The Mosques, p.95.
61. Ibid.
62. See for example: H.C.Klinkert, Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Zakwoordenboek (Leiden: N.V.Boekhandel, 1918); and Hollandsch-Maleisch en Maleisch-Hollandsch Zakwoordenboek (Batavia: Kolff,1932).
63. Achmat Davids, The Mosques, p.34.
64. G.Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, Vol.1 (London: 1795), pp.132-134. Thunberg mentions a Muslim playing on a violin to accompany religious items; and L.S.Gillis, "The Khalifa: Medical and Psychological Aspects of a Ceremonial Self-mutilating Dance" (Unpublished Paper, University of Cape Town, 1970), p.1.

65. Achmat Davids, Mosques. pp.100,35. He mentions that the Mardyckers, who arrived in 1658, were allowed to practise their religion in private. It is assumed that their religious practices must have included the basic form of qiraat or Quranic recitals. There is, however, no documented evidence for this.
66. Duff Gordon, Letters from the Cape.
67. Al-Hattas, Some Aspects of Sufism, p.68.
68. H. Hasheme, Ratiboel-Gadad (Cape Town: Al Asaas, 1979).
69. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation".
70. Firstly, some of the literature sources, such as the work of N. Ajouhaar, Ketaab Raatibul-Guddaad (Mimeographed, undated), may be grouped as traditional, that work adhering to common oral tradition. Secondly, there are those works which attempt to render to text more intelligible, and which reveal a departure from Cape Muslim oral traditions.
- Several local kitaabs or books on haddad have been located. This book contains an Afrikaans translation of the transliterated Arabic.
- A. Cloete, The Gaayah and Ratibul Gaddad (Cape Town, 1984).
- H. Hasheme: Ratiboel-Gaddad (Cape Town: Yasowoek Research Institute, 1984).
- H. Hasheme. Ratib Oel Gadad (Cape Town, 1979).
71. There various alternative spellings.
72. Also referred to as the "kuminies" moulood, a word reputedly derived from the Malay language, meaning "initial" or "first".
73. Ramadaan Annual, May/June 1985, p.263.
74. Eckhard Neubauer, "Islamic Religious Music" New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. 9, 1980, p.343; and H. Fuchs, "Mawlid" The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Vol. II (London: Brill, 1936).
75. Ibid., p.419.



76. I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays (Cape Town: Balkema, 1972), p.8. Du Plessis employs the spelling "moulud" and uses the fuller description: "Moulood d'nabi" (Birthday of the Prophet). Here again the confused state of affairs regarding spelling and terminology is evident; see also Achmat Davids, The Mosques , p.24.
77. Ibid.
78. At the kumies moulood of January 1986, the speaker at the mosque was a resident imam.
79. Achmat Davids, Mosques.
80. The term rampie is derived from the Malay term rampai and this aspect together with Shell and Davids' hypotheses is responsible for this probable statement, although no definite proof is available.
81. Achmat Davids, The Mosques , p.94.
82. Eckhard Neubauer. New Grove Dictionary of Music.
83. H.H. Jabaar, and the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah are of those who contend this.
84. Eckhard Neubauer. New Grove Dictionary of Music. (London: Macmillan), p.19.
85. W.P. Malm, p.66.
86. Attempts have been made by Cape Muslim kaseda performers to rearrange the texts of the kasedas in order to render them more intelligible to the few amongst the broad Muslim community who fully understand their meanings.
87. F. Bose, "Western Influences in Modern Asian Music" (Journal of the International Folk Music Council, Vol. 11, 1949), p.48.
88. P.R. Kirby, "The Use of European Musical Techniques by Non-European Peoples of Southern Africa" (Journal), p.39.
89. The Alweida Kasedah Band was established in the late sixties, and has made two LP-recordings and a cassette-recording under the leadership of vocalist Rajab Devajee.

90. This style may generally be assumed to include both kasedas and djiekers in terms of the definition of the performers. For the purposes of this work, however, kaseda music is assumed to refer to either kasedas or djiekers or both, unless specifically stated otherwise. See Desmond Desai, "An Investigation", p.184.
91. M.J.Kartomi (Ed), Studies in Indonesian Music (Melbourne: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978), p.109.
92. Combinations of divisive and additive rhythmic patterns commonly occur in Eastern and African traditions, including the Zulu, Xhosa and Tsonga musical traditions in Southern Africa.
93. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation", p.186. A djieker "Allie wa zou ziel Fatima" (Allie was married to Fatima) rendered by Yusuf Abrahams at the Thom Theatre Concert on the 23rd of November 1985 had such an unaccompanied introduction.
94. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation".
95. This became apparent from various recorded interviews with Miraldia Kim and Rajab Devajee during 1985. Miraldia cited the kaseda "Koomi" as an example.
96. There are textual and musical interrelationships amongst the various musical forms and styles of Cape Muslim religious music.
97. This was mentioned by one of my informants in Cape Town in particular, as well as in C.G.Oosthuizen, p. .
98. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, vol. IV (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1975), p.167.
99. The World University Encyclopaedia, vol. 4 (Washington: Publishers Company, 1966), p.1897.
100. Interview with khalifa Gasant (died October 1987) on the 12th of September 1985 at my home in Bellville.
101. Ibid.
102. Interview with Muttaqin Rakiep, 24th January 1991.
103. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur'an (Qatar, Khalif al Rawaf, 1946).

104. Izak Dawid Du Plessis, The Cape Malays (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1944), p.37.
105. "Islam at the Cape" (Cape Monthly Magazine, December 1861), pp. 356-360.
106. Izak Dawid Du Plessis, p.39.
107. Izak Dawid Du Plessis, "Malays" (D.J. Potgieter, Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, vol.7. Cape Town: Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery, 1972), p.147.
108. G.C. Oosthuizen, Godsdienste; and Fatima Meer, Portrait.
109. "Dance" (Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, 2nd Ed., London: Heinemann, 1979) and "The Art of Dance" (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, vol.16. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1986), p.986.
110. Annemarie Schimmel, "The Symbolic Language of Jala Al-Din" (Ramadan Annual of the Muslim Digest, vol.35, nos 10 & 11, May/June 1985), pp. 118-119.
111. Inayat Khan, The Mysticism of Sound (Katwijk: Servire, 1979), p. 108.
112. "Islamic Arts" (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, vol.22. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1986); and F. Quilici, Primitive Societies (London: Collins, 1975), p.91.
113. Translation supplied by an Australian informant, Ashley Turner. Translated from Encyclopedi di Musik dan Tari Daerah Riau (Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah Riau, 1978), pp.165-166. For a full translation cf. Ashley Turner translations, p. 616 in this work.
114. Annemarie Schimmel.
115. Ibid.
116. Christian Poche, "Zikr and Musicology" (World of Music, vol. 20, no. 1, 1978).
117. I.D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays; and G.C. Oosthuizen.

118. Robert Shell, Paper...op.cit., p.42. He was reportedly stabbed by a FreeBlack, named Griep of Mozambique. In ratiep shows, subjects stab themselves, except in the case when the khalifa or his mureed (pupil) "cuts" the performer or performs some act using the same subject. According to a questionnaire given to ratiep performers in July 1985, it was mentioned that other ratiep performers have died immediately after the show, possibly of a heart attack.
119. Information supplied by Hassiem Samuels, April 1986.
120. Arnold Haskell, The Story of Dance (London: Rathbone, 1960), p.47.

CHAPTER 4

4. RATIEP MUSIC: FORM AND STYLE, INSTRUMENTS,  
ACTS AND PRABOES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 Preamble: Three Private Ratiep Performances

Many private ratiep performances by the South African Muslim adept take place in relation to Amantua Ablas celebrations. As a prelude to this introduction, three such performances by different jamaahs will be broadly described.

Amantua Ablas is the term commonly used by some Cape Muslims to denote the commemoration of the death of the founder of the Qadiriyyah Sufi brotherhood, Abdul Kader Jailani.<sup>1</sup> The Qadiriyyah is linked to the Rifi'ayyah Sufi brotherhood, the latter from which the ratiep reputedly originated. Amantua Ablas is usually held on the 11th day of the Muslim month Rabi-ul-Akhir, which is the fourth of the twelve lunar months into which the Islamic year of 360 days is evenly divided.

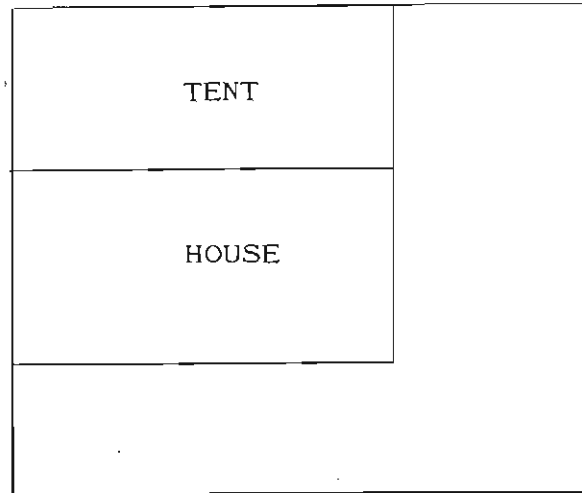
Amantua Ablas celebrations gave rise to the "Khalifa Dispute" of 1855. The first two of the three performances took place on 24/25 December 1985 and the third on 20 November 1988.

Amantua Ablas: 24/25 DECEMBER 1985

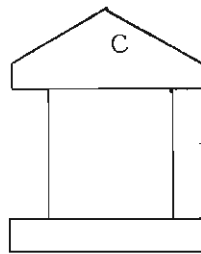
Two private ratiep shows were witnessed about fifteen hours apart, one performed by the Abrahams Jamaah in Heideveld, Cape, and another by the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah in Mannenberg, Cape, which is about five kilometers from Heideveld.

The Heideveld performance took place on the moonlit night of 24/25 December from approximately 23h00 to 02h00. Figure 21 shows the plan of the house and the position of the large, hand-made tent of about 10 metres by 8 metres, in which the ratiep performance took place.

The audience, which consisted of about twenty-five people, mostly women and children, was seated on benches in the tent structure. The performers, all of whom were men and boys, sat on a carpet in front of the bank. A number of them wore pull-overs in the distinctive colours of green and black.



PLAN OF HOUSE



BANK

Key: C = Medoura

Figure 21: Plan of House Showing Position of Tent

These colours were the official distinguishing colours of the Mouweejas Jamaah. Written on the bank was the name of the Mouweejas Jamaah. The names of Allah and Muhammad were written in Arabic script on the medoura (top or crown) which is represented by letter C in Figure 21. The kalima, also in Arabic script, appeared below it.

مُحَمَّدٌ

Muhammad

اللَّهُ

Allah

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

La illaha illal lah, Muhammadur Rasullulah

(Translation: There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his Messenger)

Figure 22: The writing on the medoura



Outside the tent , two younger jamaah members warmed the rebannas and the dhol over the flames of a small open fire made of pieces of wood. They chatted to each other about this ratiep performance and general everyday events. (See Plate XXVIII ).

Another group of four or five members carried a large wooden chest, which contained the praboes, to the bank. They began decorating the bank with different flags in the colours chosen by the jamaah: on the right, red and black flags were displayed, while green and white flags were displayed on the left.<sup>2</sup> Four older ones were hung loosely over the bank. The names of Allah and Muhammad were also written in Arabic script on the flags, and single Arabic letters such as and were also getoelies (written) thereon. Sharp instruments (saals, tamboesters and alwaan) were placed on the saalstand in predetermined positions on the bank. The rebanna and dhol, which had been previously warmed, were brought into the tent.

The khalifa, Hadji Abubakar Abrahams, a man about fifty years old, seated himself behind the bank. He lit the incense in a mieangtessie and oeker-ed the sharp instruments. Slowly the jamaah members gathered and started arranging themselves in two parallel rows in front of the bank.



Plate XXVIII: Two young ratiep jamaah members  
warming rebannas

The khalifa started with the rendition of his first moenayat. His characteristic vocal style and piercing high-pitched voice filled the entire tent clearly and incisively. The ratiep performance proper had commenced. In alternation, the jamaah members rendered their djawaps to the toekangs (statements) of the khalifa. This musical rendition lasted about five minutes. The audience, apparently used to attending ratiep performances and well-acquainted with its beginning, started concentrating on the performance, although some members, particularly the children, still moved around.

The introductory moenayats terminate with "Ma Salim" (See Example 9 ). The tagliel (Example 10) followed these moenayats. Then the first djat was rendered. The first few notes of the dhol provided the performers with a cue to start the performance of acts with sharp instruments. These acts took place to the accompaniment of loud, intense singing and drumming. In this instance, the khalifa started the acts of self-mutilation. The apparently miraculous acts in a ratiep performance demonstrate the firm religious conviction of the adept. The khalifa took a saal from the saalstand, and while djieker-ing, he wiped the blade of the saal with the flags. His eyes were fixed and glaring, his movements purposeful.

Ma Salim

O.P.No Transposition  
Abrahams Jamaah  
4 December 1981

kh.

Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim - wa sal- lam a- lay

J.

Al- la- hum- ma- sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

Kh.

Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

Example 9: "Ma Salim"

Kalima (Tagliel) O.P.  
Jamaah: Yusufia

M.M. ♩ = 52

( Ga- ka- la ) La- il- lah ha il- lah  
lah, la- il- lah ha il- lah lah,  
la- il- lah ha il- lah lah.  
il- Mu- ham- mad sul- luh lah.

Example 10: Tagliel

He had a smile on his face (See Plate XXIX).

He performed authoritatively with a saal, with characteristic feet and body movements, with cuts to his arms and body parts. He appeared to ride the blows with his characteristic body movements. The audience followed each movement closely. His act lasted about five minutes.

Thereafter several other acts with tamboesters, alwaan and saals followed. During these acts, different dhikr with rebanna and dhol accompaniment were performed. As the acts continued, a climactic point was reached in the music through a quickening of the tempo of the dhikr. The djat ended with a loud stroke on the percussion instruments, with the rebannas being kept aloft.

On a few occasions during the show, tempi which gradually quickened towards a climax, were suddenly followed by complete silence. The acts of performing with sharp instruments ended before these points were reached. During these abrupt moments of silence, which appeared characteristic to all ra-tiep performances, the audience continued with their activities: watching, moving around or even eating something.



Plate XXIX: Khalifa Abrahams grimacing as he performs  
with a saal

Thereafter, a departure from the normal accompanied dhikr followed: a characteristicly unaccompanied and purely vocal refrain "Ma Salim", was rendered. These contained glissandos and melismas characteristic of the khalifa performance, and contributed to the uniqueness of the performance. The jamaah responded with broad, legato and ponderous part-singing which incorporated melismatic melodic material.

The performance continued for several hours until the early hours of the morning. Every hour or so, the younger members would go outside to warm the skins of the drums over an open fire.

The members of the audience would intermittently chat or eat something. Although there was much movement among them during the performance of the acts, they appeared awe-inspired by the acts of self-mutilation throughout the performance. Remarks such as "Ya Allah" (O God) and gasps indicated their reaction to apparently miraculous acts. The performers appeared engrossed in their performance, and had no contact with the audience during the ratiep performance. The performers had taken abdus (ablution) before the

performance, and they were governed by strict code of conduct. They are forbidden to associate with unclean persons during a performance.

The next day, from about 15h00, the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah performed similar acts in one of the rooms of the mureed saboes, Hassiem Samuels. Their khalifa, a seventy-year-old man of small stature with striking Indonesian-like features, directed the whole performance which, while similar to the public performance this group held at the Baxter during May 1985, incorporated the unusual act of pinning a boy, Bienie de Vos, to the door with a tamboester pierced through his cheek. He remained pinned to the door for about an hour. During this period, Bienie remained completely still, and his eyes observed the happenings around him in a calm manner. The author was also asked during the performance if he would mind being "inry"-ed (skewered). This he declined. The room was tightly packed with jamaah members and those who performed. The sound of the music during the performance was deafening.

In an adjacent room, the women and children were listening to the performances. These people were the family members of the



men who performed. They regarded the ratiep performance as a social and religious event and part of their way of life. They were reared in this tradition, as they were in their other Islamic religious traditions. The ratiep had a special mystical dimension for them and they were proud to have their family members associated with it. They could not view the performance as the bank and members almost completely filled the small 3mx3m room where the ratiep performance took place. Some were packed in the door. Very little space was left for the performance of the acts. No eating or chatting took place in the room where the performance was to take place.

About two hours later, after the performance had been completed, food was served to the members and visitors. Those who took part in the performance as well as the others in the room (including myself ) ate foodstuffs in their right hands from plates placed on the carpeted floor while they were in a seated position.

There was order and silence while the curry, rice and salads were eaten with appreciation by young and old.

Amantua Ablas: 20 November 1988

The following ratiep performance took place at 6th Avenue, Belgravia Estate, Athlone in Cape Town. At 21h00, when the author arrived, the jamaah members were conducting prayers.

The position of the house and the room in which the ratiep was performed is indicated in the Figure 23 :

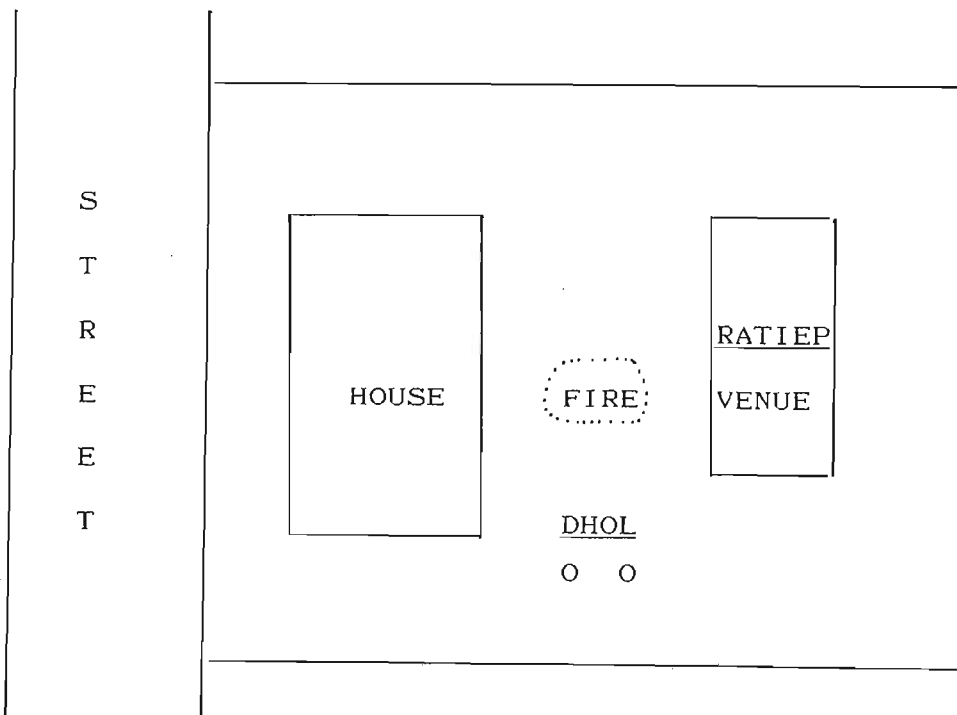


Figure 23: Position of House and Room

Three members were warming the rebannas and dhol over an open fire. There was intermittent conversation amongst these members. They used such sentences as : "Hulle gaan nou met Ideroos begin" ("They are going to start with Ideroos"), and "Hulle is nog nie klaar nie" ("They have not finished yet"). These sentences suggested that they would start with the performance of acts of cutting and stabbing.

There were ten rebannas, five tambourines and two dhol. Some men stroked the heads of the rebanna with circular movements, using handkerchiefs. This may have been a unique reflex behaviour triggered by trance. It may also be due to a deliberate ritualistic behavioural pattern. Another conjecture is that the rubbing movement may have been a distinguishing feature of the performing jamaah, in the same way as the colours of the bank and the type and style of dhikr are for different jamaahs.

The audience consisted of women and young boys and girls, who watched the performance through an open window and door. All the male Muslims present had woollen scarves around their necks. The women wore long dresses. The audience appeared to be in a festive mood, while the performers were in a serious

mood.

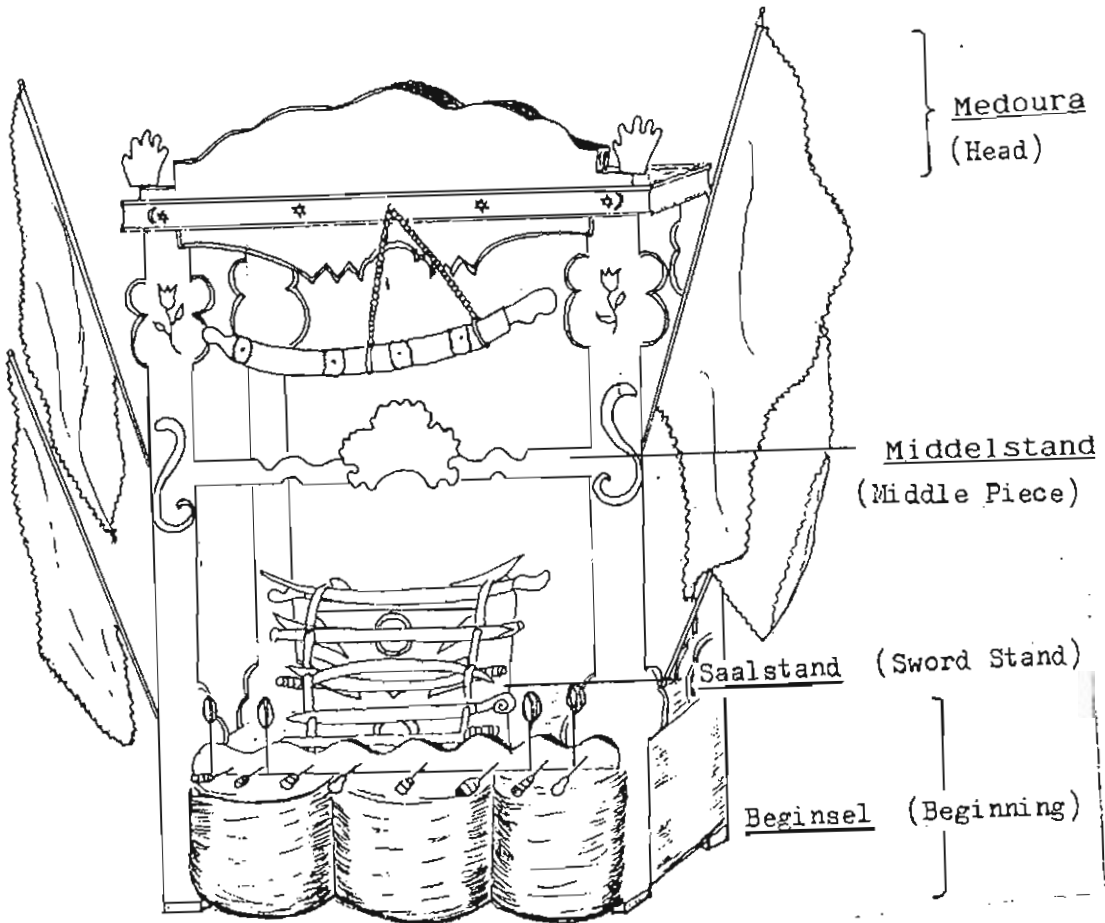
The ratiep performance started at 21h15 with the introduction by the khalifa Sedick Davids, a man of approximately forty-five years of age. He has not been properly initiated as a khalifa; such a person is called a zaas. He promised to give the author the written texts of the "moenayats". The performance took place at his home.

The ratiep performance consisted of dhikr "Sayedina Achmat Rifi'a", which appeared to be unique to this specific jamaah, the Gabeebia Rifi'a Jamaah.

The bank was a beautiful, large wooden structure painted in green, black and white. Two flags hung on either side: two black and red and two white ones (See p. 303 ). On the flags was writing which resembled the azeemats of the flags of khalifa Hendricks of Newtown.

The incense was lit by the khalifa and after he had put his hands on about nine saals and indicated the beginning of the drumming with hand signals, the stabbings started.

THE BANK (cf. p. 452)



The rebanna and dhhol played characteristic rhythms, which accompanied the singing:

The diagram illustrates the components and rhythms of a dhol and rebanna. On the left, a circle represents the drum, with a small circle in the center labeled 'centre' and a point on the right edge labeled 'edge'. To the right, three musical staves in 4/4 time show the rhythms for the dhol. The first staff has four vertical lines. The second staff has four square pulses. The third staff has a sequence of notes: a quarter note, a quarter note with a '7' above it, a quarter note, and a quarter note. Below these, two staves show the rebanna rhythms. The top staff is labeled 'Front fingers 2(a)' and shows notes with stems that rise and then fall. The bottom staff is labeled 'Back palm 1.' and shows a single note with a stem that rises and then falls. The time signature for all staves is 4/4.

Figure 25: Dhol and rebanna rhythms

Often the dhikr seemed to go out of tune, as members appeared to enter a state of trance. The arms of those who have been cut, did not bleed but they appeared to be very red.

A group of boys of about four years of age performed with tamboesters. Thereafter a group of five men and boys performed with tamboesters with the characteristic

anti-clockwise movement. The ratiep performance ended at approximately 02h00.

Indian Muslims also commemorate the death of Muslim saints such as Abdul Kader Jailani, who is directly linked to the ratiep. These occasions are referred to as "urs"; the urs of Abdul Kader Jailani is therefore similar to the Cape Muslim Amantua Ablas. The Indian Lockday jamaah and the Abrahams Jamaah held their 1988 Amantua Ablas performances at approximately the same time. The Abrahams Jamaah had theirs the next day, while the Indian Lockday jamaah had theirs on the eves of the 20th and 21st of November. While the two types of ratiep performances are broadly similar in their self-mutilating character, the singing and the drumming, there are several differences with respect to the bank, the type and style of dhikr, the flags, the style of performance of the instruments, the movement and the leadership of the khalifa. Therefore not only is the term "urs" used exclusively for the Indian Muslim ratiep by Indian Muslims, but differences in respect of the mentioned aspects between the two types of ratiep performances also divide them.

#### 4.1.2 General Considerations

The ratiep art form is complex and multi-faceted. On the one hand there are interrelationships amongst the music, the text, the movements, the acts and the flags which are difficult to unravel. On the other hand the broader form and subforms, the connection amongst these subforms within the formal structure of the ratiep musical performances, and their relationships with related Islamic musical performances must be considered in order to understand the nature and function of ratiep music. The ratiep performance style and context also need careful elucidation. The as yet embryonic state of research into the ratiep requires the careful description and analysis of instruments, forms, styles, movements and acts. Regula Qureshi, supported by the works of Manuel and Powers, has taken ethnomusicological research into text-music relationships of ghazals into new frontiers.<sup>3</sup> Qureshi has incisively discussed the role and function of music in ghazal music in general and in matters pertaining to textual structures relating to this Islamic music genre. Her investigation into particularly the matam, nauba and salam hymns have helped in shaping more incisive musicological contextual investigation into the



ratiep than would have been the case if previous works on the ratiep were followed.

Ratiep music falls into the sacred music category. As such it shares with ghazal music the cultural-religious tradition of textual supremacy, as well as the assumed Islamic acceptance of the Quranic foundation of socio-cultural activity.<sup>4</sup> But unlike ghazal music, it cannot be divided into a few distinct genres; rather it consists of a broad collection of hymn types which in general are styled on an antiphonal interplay between the khalifa (leader) and the jamaah (group). The resultant performance style of declamatory, rhythmically-free introductions or chants by the khalifa, followed by accompanied jamaah renditions, which may be in one or more voice-parts, characterises the ratiep performance. A context-based musicological study may be made of text-music relationships in order to identify significant musical "gesture" and extra-musical aspects pertaining to ghazal.<sup>5</sup> In ghazal music, the singer or singers occupy different roles and perform different functions in the context of this style of Indian music, as does the khalifa or jamaah in the ratiep. The composers of both ratiep texts and melodies do not occupy a prominent

role because of the fact that ratiep music belongs to the community.<sup>6</sup> Additions, variations and changes are effected within each ethnographic domain, and sanctioned by the community's own members in its own unique way. As such then when Edward Cone's notion of the "voice of the composer" is considered in terms of ratiep music, then the "voice" which speaks in ratiep music is a result of a jamaah or group effort. There is, however, a broad consistent pattern of taglil, salaam, other dhikr accompanying the acts and ashrakal sections. All of these, except the last one, incorporate underlying rebanna drumming. The acceptance of newly composed special dhikr may be by both consensus and approval by invited khalifas of other ratiep jamaahs to a particular performances.

Investigation of individual ratiep music dhikr reveals distinctive features which Qureshi terms musical gestures.<sup>7</sup> These gestures are revealed in the broad context of human activity which involves the culture's ideational framework and the "concrete realm" of the performance between performers and listener. Like the matam, salām and nauba hymn types in ghazal music, the singing of the khalifa induces an emotional spirit of intense concentration and

places the whole performance onto the required functional religious basis. Once achieved, emotional unity is followed by an urge amongst the performers to exhibit their willingness to subject themselves to acts of self-mutilation, which take place to the accompaniment of intense, repetitive drumming. Qureshi's model and modes of analysis for ghazal singing becomes useful in determining the role and function of music in the ratiep. What, for example, is the role of music in the case of the khalifa, the djiekers, the jamaah, the drumming or the acts? How does music contribute to the varying degree of trance which characterises the ratiep performance? As an initial answer to the latter question, it appears that the musical context of performance facilitates on the one level an attainment of unity of mind and purpose resulting in the performances of self-mutilating acts. On another level, the performers achieve that emotional state of readiness and activity through the rhythmical drumming patterns and singing.

Ratiep texts are composed of Arabic and koranic phrases mainly. In a few instances, Urdu and Malayu texts in sections of dhikr and mantra are used. The textual languages, together with the unique characteristics and

purpose of ratiep texts, place them on a different level like the Urdu-based ghazals studied by Qureshi. The important characteristics and purpose of text in the ratiep are twofold: Firstly, the text seems to occupy a more important role than the music in the case of the khalifa's unaccompanied introductory pujies. This is evidenced by the fact that these text are transmitted in a way which ensures secrecy and that only khalifas are conversant with them. Secondly, the relative textual importance in the various acts in the case of the djiekers of the jamaah, seems less than that of music because the text often becomes blurred and even meaningless (as text); the accompanying rebanna drumming is invariably loud and overwhelming and its rhythm repetitive amongst characteristic patterns; and the accompanying acts of stabbing, cutting and movements, result in a lesser degree of prominence of the text. In certain instances, the khalifa renders Arabic verses to melodies which are repeated. The text differs from verse to verse (See Example 23). The jamaah members repeat their version of the dhikr in reply a number of times. On other certain occasions, a group of jamaah members may vary the texts, while another section of the jamaah repeats a verse. It appears that within its micro-structure a characteristic and important interplay between

khalifa and jamaah occurs. There is also in the case of the Mouweejas, a refrain (djieker) to a statement or "toekang". Thus, there is a shift in textual dominance from the khalifa's part to group performance style sections, wherein religious fervour and solidarity occupy a central role. These group dhikr indicate support in and solidarity with the various physical acts of self-mutilation and movement, to the accompaniment of rebanna drumming and singing.

Certain ratiep texts appear to be remnants or variations of much older versions which have been mostly transmitted to following generations through oral communication. A few relatively recently handwritten kitaabs (books) in Arabic script written by mureed (pupils) of khalifas exist which are secretly kept.<sup>7</sup> The analysis of ratiep texts is complicated due to the fact that informants often appear apprehensive about providing texts as a direct reponse to a request. One informant states categorically that he forgot certain of the texts, due to lack of practice, and that ratiep performances occur less often than previously.<sup>8</sup> Cassette-recordings are often difficult to decipher textually because of unclear diction of the performers. It also appears that different jamaahs have their own style of performances, and their own

djiekers or various of standard dhikr. No uniformity exists with regard to the macro-form and texts for all ratiep dhikr. However, over a period of eleven years, it has been possible to transcribe the music and text of several ratiep dhikr by focussing on specific performances.

The interrelatedness of movement and music (cf. p.239) is not unique to ratiep. Music does not always accompany ratiep music. The music may stand on its own. The music (and text), without drumming, which occurs at certain intervals during a ratiep performance, has been described as "beautiful" by listeners who have expressed themselves on the musical nature of the dhikr. The focus is on text and music during the period before the acts of stabbing and cutting begin. Drumming never occurs on its own. The repetitiveness in the rebanna drum rhythms is reflected in the repetitious dance sequences. The sound of a hammer knocking onto steel has often been used to substitute for drumming. This unique technique takes the form of the drums remaining silent when the blade of a sword is hammered upon with a hammer. The sound of the hammering replaces the drumming for a number of beats.

The precise role and function of music needs further discussion. What is the function and role of music pertaining to "extra-musical" aspects, such as emotion in the ratiep performance? How, where and why do emotion and ecstasy occur in a ratiep performance? These are also relevant to an analysis of ratiep music. Qureshi has concluded that, for the ghazal, music acts as a link between music, text and context; this gives rise in a contextual study to extra-musical gesture or features. In the case of the ratiep music, this appears to be the case; however, the role of music in the tri-partite structure of text, music and movement needs careful attention.

#### 4.2 The Musical Context of the Ratiep Performance in relation to South African Islamic and 'Cape Malay' Music<sup>10</sup>

##### 4.2.1 Introduction: Cultural Perspectives

"Ratiep Music reflects broad South Africanism"

Historical and musicological evidence support the hypothesis that ratiep music developed out of the musical cultures of, and the diversity of forebears from, the Indonesian

archipelago, the Malabar Coast of India, East Africa, European settlers, Free Blacks, and to a lesser extent the indigenous people of South Africa, including the Quena (Hottentots or Khoi-Khoin) and other South African Blacks. 'Cape Malay' music as a whole portrays this diversity of musical heritage. 'Cape Malay' secular music genres, notably nederlandsliedere, moppies and ghommaliédjies reflect an indebtedness to Western European musical traditions. African musical elements may also be traced in both the secular and sacred music of Cape Muslims. The exact extent and nature thereof is complex, and a subject for further research. The origin of Cape Muslim musical instruments, and in particular the subject of the African link to the Cape Muslim ghomma, has hitherto only been touched upon by Percival Kirby in 1939.<sup>11</sup> Assimilation of modern popular South African township music traditions sometimes occurs in Cape Muslim secular genres, such as the moppie "Bantoebraai" of 1982, wherein township melodic and rhythmic motives are exploited (and not devoid of ethnic and racial overtones). Other influences include elements of Indian, Arabic, Southeast Asian and Islamic musical traditions which are found in



particular in South African Islamic music, including in the ratiep.

Ratiep music with its strong rhythmical element provided by the dhol and rebanna accompaniment, appears to have strong resemblance with African drumming traditions. Similarly the drumming in Cape Muslim kaseda music, and the secular styles of ghommaliere and moppies, show a relatedness to African drumming, which is a dominant and distinguishing component in certain musical forms and styles of Black African and Cape Muslim cultures.

#### 4.2.2 The Musical Context of Ratiep Performances

##### 4.2.2.1 'Cape Malay' Music and its Relationship with the Ratiep

"Ratiep music reflects 'Cape Malay' sacred and secular music."

In the 17th and 18th centuries South African slaves and the

indigenous Quena (Hottentots or Khoi-Khoin) were often used as musicians in the households of their owners. Accounts of the social background and musical activity of Cape Muslims since the early days of Dutch settlement may be found in the works of Lichtenstein, Thunberg, Mayson, Du Plessis, Duff Gordon, and Desai.<sup>12</sup> Over a period of more than three hundred years, a vast repertory of religious and secular musical forms and styles was established within the heterogeneity of the South African social and cultural scene. These styles may be grouped thus:

Sacred: adhdhaan (Call to prayer, a prayer in cantillated form)

badja-ing (or qiraat, recitals from the Qur'an)

djieker (or dhikr, a form and style found in the ratiep, moulood, and haddad; three substyles exist)

puddie (a line of Quranic verse recited by a leader, which is repeated several times thereafter by the jamaah)

kaseda (a popular genre of vocal religious music)

with instrumental accompaniment)

Secular: oulied (a polyphonic vocal composition with  
instrumental accompaniment)

ghommaliéd (a humorous piece with characteristic  
rhythmic dhol accompaniment. The verses  
may be non-related textwise. It  
includes the substyles of afklopliedjies  
and ditties)

moppie (a humorous piece with a topical, coherent  
text)

nederliedslied (which include the bruidslied and see-  
vaartlied)

Dutch song ( patriotic or another song with Afrikaans  
or Dutch text)

Of these sacred styles, adhdhaan (Example 11 ) and  
badja-ing (Example 12 ) are stylistically closely related.

Singer : Rajab Devajee  
Date : 23 June 1985

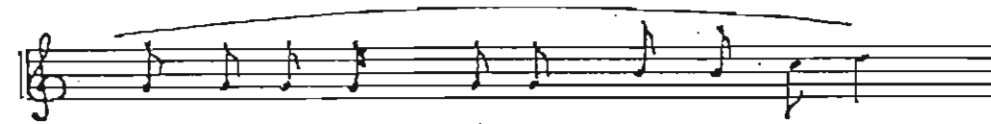
M.M. ♩ = 80



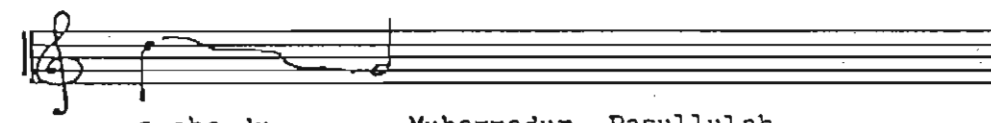
Al-lah hu ak-bar, Al-lah hu ak-bar,



Al-lah hu ak-bar, Al-lah hu ak-bar,



a-sha-du-la il-lah il-lah,



a-sha-du- Muhammadur Rasullulah,



gha-ya as-sa lah,

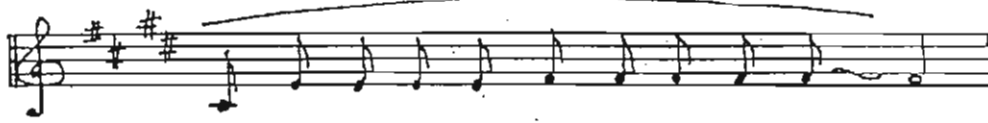


gha-ya as-sa lah.

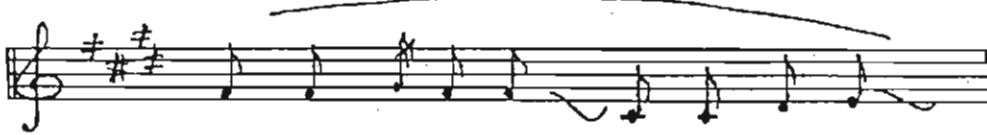
Translation : God is great, God is great,  
There is no God except Allah,  
and Muhammad is His Messenger,  
Come to prayer, come to prayer.



Bis-mil-lah- hi Rag-ma- nir ra-gim



Al-gam-dul-li- lah Ra- bil al-la min



Rag-ma- nir Ra- gim ma

Translation : All praise to Allah, the Lord of the worlds,  
The most gracious, Most Merciful

Example 12: Qiraat (Badja-ing): "Al Fatigah"

Both exhibit a strong Near Eastern element: they are monodic recitativo musical styles; have a non-developmental characteristic with periodic launches, are sung with a nasal vocal quality; generally, are based on Arabic texts and include melismatic and highly ornamental microtonal melodic passages (See Figure 26). They predate all the other Cape Muslim sacred and secular musical forms and styles, and were established in Islamic culture long before the first permanent settlement of Europeans in South African in 1652. Common to both Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim religious musical practices, they relate to the ratiep musical performance in that the vocal performance style of the khalifa has all of the mentioned musical characteristics. His performance also links ratiep music to its wider musical context through an enhancement of the melody, emphasis on the text, and contribution to the emotional content by technical devices such as slurs and microtonal melismatics passages.

	STYLE	RELATED TO	ORIGIN
<u>Khalifa</u>	monodic recitativo ornamental/florid melismatic non-developmental rhythmically free central-note motifs periodic launching (pausing) vocal style: nasal, narrow, often high pitched	<u>qiraat</u> <u>adhdhaan</u>	Islamic Islamic
<u>Djiekers</u> <u>(dhikr)</u>	homophonic (Cape) responsorial emotive melodic motifs	<u>pujies</u> <u>ouliedere</u> <u>nederlandsliedere</u> <u>moulood</u> <u>haddad</u> <u>samman</u> <u>giverwee sharif</u>	Eastern(?) Western Western Eastern(?) Eastern(?) Eastern(?) Indian/Pakistan(?)
Drumming	hands used mainly African/Eastern(?) speeding up characteristic patterns	<u>kasedas</u> <u>moppies</u> <u>ghommaliedjies</u>	mid-Eastern Western(?)
Trance	focused on purpose	<u>samman</u>	Eastern(?)
Movement	Eastern(?)	<u>samman</u>	Eastern(?)
Leader	<u>khalifa</u>	<u>moulood</u> <u>samman</u> <u>haddad</u> <u>kaderia</u> <u>giverwee sharif</u>	Eastern(?)

Key: ? indicates uncertainty, inconclusive evidence or lack of proper research

Islamic: Of Islamic (mid-Eastern) origin

Eastern: Pertaining to Southeast Asia

African: Pertaining to Eastern and Southern Africa

Figure 26: Style, Relationships and Origin

Pudjies are characterised by call and response between the voorsinger (leader, who may be an imam or priest) and jamaah (group). The voorsinger leads with a Qur'anic verse.

Thereafter the main melody and text are repeated a varying number of times (thrice, and so on ) by the jamaah.

Antiphonal pudjies are similar to adhdhaan and badja-ing because of the monodic recitativo style and the ornamental and microtonal nasal vocal part of the voorsinger. The response is provided by a group whose essentially homorhythmic singing may be in one or more voice-parts. This homophonic response in pudjies is regarded as equivalent to the homophonic and polyphonic singing of one of the three djieker substyles (Examples 1 to 4 ).

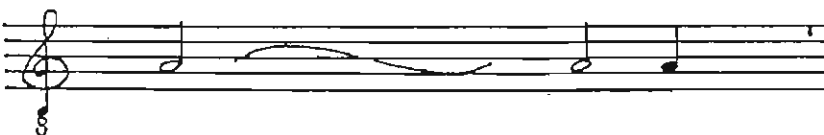
The dhikr performance style of the ratiep jamaah is similar to that of other pudjies or djiekers. The monorhythmic, legato part-singing may be linked to the secular Dutch songs and nederlandslied (Example 15 ) from which it may be argued that Western European influence occurs here.



Kh.  8 Al- la- hum-ma sa- lim- wa sal-lam a- lay.

J.  Al- la- hum-ma sa- lim- wa sal-lam a- lay.

Kh.  8 A-bu-ru- ja- Ab-dul Ra- sul- lah mi-na sa-lim A- jee- ma

 wa ku sul- la- kum A-dul- ra-gi- ma

Example 13: Example of a Pudjie

M.M. ♩ = 48

O.P. D is transposed to G  
Voorsinger: Rajab Devajee

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features a solo Imam part and three parts for the congregation (Jamaah I, II, III). The lyrics are in Indonesian and describe the Prophet Muhammad. The score includes various musical notations such as accents, slurs, and repeat signs.

**Inam**  
Ya Ra- su- lu

**Jamaah I**  
la ya Mu- ham- mad

**Jamaah II**

**Jamaah III**

**Jamaah**  
Sal- la- la hu a- lay hi wa

**Inam**  
sa- laam Al-lah ya ga- bee-

**Jamaah**  
bee o ya ya Mu- ham- mad

sal- la- la hu a- lay hi wa sa- laam

Example 14: Example of a Djieker

H.M.  $\text{♩} = 60$  Schoonste Minnaar Marines Singkoor  
30 January 1982

Schoon - - - - ste min- - - - - naar,

wy hoor my

doo-

Example 15: Example of a Nederlandslied

In all sacred styles, particularly in badja-ing, the use of microtonal melismas and ornaments, typical of eastern and Islamic music, links them again to the style of karienkel-singing characteristic of the secular nederlandslied. The nederlandslied, like pudjies, is a responsorial style between voorsinger (leader) and choir who render a narration based on a distorted Dutch text (See Example 16). It is thought that just as tajwid governs pronunciation and recitation of Qur'anic recitals, the art of karienkel-singing is developed through a schooling in badja-ing. For example in nederlandsliedere as "Rosa" and "Waterloo" the "a" sound is melismatically treated by the karienkel-singer (Example 16).

Kasedas (Example 17) have instrumental accompaniments by instruments such as mandolines, guitars and banjos also found in secular ghommas, moppies and nederlandsliedere. Solo or duet singing based on Arabic text occurs. These nasal vocal parts show a fair amount of microtonal and melismatics singing which resemble the the style of the karienkel-singer. Examples of drumming by the well-known Alweida kaseda Band are given in Figure 12 ( p. 204 ).

M.M. ♩ = 60\*

Rosa

Recording SACEM

Musical score for the song "Rosa". It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written on the treble staff, and the lyrics "Laas toen ek een mel-sie het be" are written below. A "w" (breath mark) is placed above the final note. The second system continues the melody with lyrics "min. Haar naam was Ro-sa Fern;". A "w" is placed above the final note. Below the second system, there is a bass clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 7/4 time signature, containing a few notes.

A continuation of the musical score for "Rosa". It features a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written on the treble staff, with lyrics "Ro-sa - a - Fern." below. A "w" (breath mark) is placed above the first note. The bass clef staff below contains accompaniment with notes marked with a piano dynamic (*p*).

Musical score for the song "Waterloo". It starts with the tempo marking "M.M. ♩ = 60". The score is written for a voice part, indicated by "Voor singe" on the left. The time signature is 4/4. The melody is on a treble clef staff, with lyrics "Die Wa- ..... ter- loo....." below. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a "3" above it. The bass clef staff below contains accompaniment.

A continuation of the musical score for "Waterloo". It features a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (Bb), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is on the treble staff, with lyrics "Die Wa- ..... ter- loo....." below. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a "3" above it. The bass clef staff below contains accompaniment, with the word "Chorus" written above the staff and Roman numerals "I" and "II" below it.

Example 16: "Rosa" and "Waterloo"

O.P. No Transposition

Duet { E. Adams  
Y. Abrahams

M.M. ♩ = 72

SALAAM

Mandolin line

Bass Guitar

Dhol

4 R.H.  
4 L.H.

Voice-part I  
Voice-part II

Sa- laam .....

.....ya sa- laam..... A- lay-..... kum, sa- laam,.....

(-m), ya Ra-su- (u). lu- ..... lah.

Example 17: Kaseda Instrumental Introduction

There is an important postulate concerning Cape Muslim dhikr or "djiekers": THERE IS A COMMON THREAD OF DHIKR PERFORMANCES RUNNING THROUGHOUT ALMOST ALL FORMS OF CAPE MUSLIM RELIGIOUS PERFORMANCES.<sup>13</sup> While Cape Muslim musical forms are complex and their nature confusing due to lack of evidence, documentation and adequate research, supporting evidence for the above postulate can be found by comparing ratiep, samman, moulood, haddad and kaseda dhikr. "Salaam" is found in all of these, except for moulood and haddad. There are, however, basic differences in the various performances. In the ratiep a rhythmic accompaniment is provided by the rebannas and dhol. In samman again vocal asperated sounds are added (Example 18).

A wide range of membranophones of various shapes and sizes (drums and frame drums) as well as plucked lutes of varying kind are used in sacred and secular music of Cape Muslims. In secular pieces, percussion instruments include the barrelshaped single-headed ghomma, the tamarien frame drum, and less commonly nowadays, sticks and bones (See Figure 27).

M.M. ♩=80

Bridgetown Mosque  
July 1986

Ya sa- laam, ya- sa laam

la- ha-il-lah ha il- lal-lah ha

The musical score consists of three staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of lyrics, 'Ya sa- laam, ya- sa laam'. Below the notes are piano markings: 'P P P P P P P P'. The second staff continues the melody for the second line of lyrics, 'la- ha-il-lah ha il- lal-lah ha'. The third staff shows the continuation of the melody.

Example 18: Samman dhikr



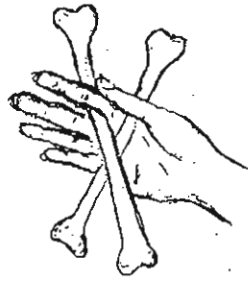


Figure 27: Playing with Bones

All Cape Muslim religious performances are purely vocal, except for the ratiep and the kaseda performances; the guitar, mandoline, dhol and maraccas are used in the case of kasedas. In ratiep music, the rebanna frame drum and the barrelshaped dhol or dholak are found. In secular performances stringed musical instruments such as guitar, mandoline and double bass are found. The ra'king was used formerly.<sup>14</sup>

The origin of Cape Muslim ratiep instruments is obscure. The barrel-shaped ghomma used extensively in Cape Muslim secular music, is similar in shape and size to the dhol. The name dhol however, refers to an Indian drum, while the origin of the term ghomma is ascribed to either an African dance or the sound of the instrument itself. The Indian Muslim dholak may be traced back to its Indo-Pakistani roots. Various frame drums similar to the rebanna are found in Southeast Asia, India and the Middle Eastern Muslim countries.

Ghommas are used in the performance of moppies and

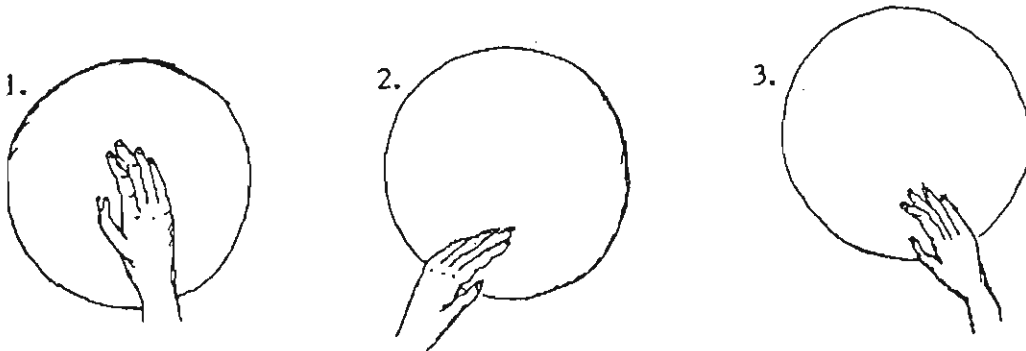
ghommaliédjies which are secular folk songs set to Afrikaans or English texts. Both secular Cape Muslim musical styles go back more than 200 years and their origin may be traced back to the days of slavery.<sup>15</sup> Moppies are characterised by its topical nature and its lively and humorous nature. In ghommaliédjies the text appears to be subservient to the music. A brisk tempo (M.M. ♩ = 130) is maintained throughout, as is the case in certain ratiep dhikr performances.

Typical ghomma rhythmic patterns are:



The second example above relates to those provided by the dhól accompaniment in ratiep performances.

Percival Kirby thought that the ghomma head was struck by the player as follows:

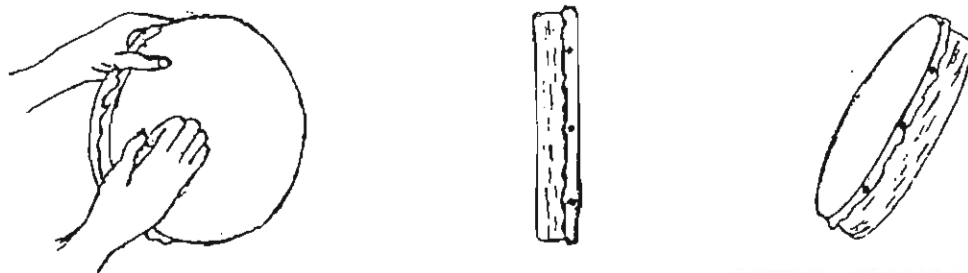


1. Right hand striking the drum head    2. Left hand striking the edge of the drum head    3. Right hand striking the edge of the drum head

Figure 28:1. Right hand striking the drum head. 2. Left hand striking the drum head. 3. Right hand striking the edge of the drum head.

My own observation of ghomma playing shows variations from Kirby's. Sometimes, particularly in street performances, the ghomma head is struck on the left and right sides only. The technique of playing on the ghomma drum as described by Kirby, however, is in general similar to the performance on the ratiep dhol.

The tamarien is a frame drum similar to, but smaller than, the rebanna and without jingles. It is used by coons (or Cape Minstrels over the traditional Cape New Year's festivities) to accompany lively moppies, ghommaliédjies and ditties. The tempo is very fast, and a characteristic syncopated rhythm is provided by striking the head with the knuckles of the one hand. The following song clearly illustrates this characteristic rhythmic accompaniment:



M.M. ♩ = 130

Voice

Tama-rien

Oe....., oe....., oe....., hier  
kom hul- le aan.

The musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the bottom staff. The tempo is marked as M.M. ♩ = 130.

Figure 29: The tamarien and a typical "coon" song

#### 4.2.2.2 Indian Muslim Musical Practices and their Relationship with the Ratib Performance

"The ratiep performance relates to Indian Muslim music"

It would be erroneous to think of South African Indian music as being peculiar only to the South African music scenario.

Indian Muslim religious musical practices have been well-established in India, Pakistan, and in Arabic countries well before the date of the arrival of the first Indian settlers in Durban in 1867. Adhdhaan (the call to prayer) and the cantillation of the Qur'an, which are commonly practised by all Muslims in general and by South African Indian Muslims in particular, have been well established for several centuries in Arabic and other Muslim countries. Religious musical performances of na'at and ghazals (religious love songs) and qawwali are musically linked. Qureshi contends that individual ghazal genres are identified with their occasion of performance.<sup>16</sup> Na't, qawwali and ghazal genres may be found in South African Indian Muslim music performances.<sup>17</sup> Na't, in its musical context, is a hymn of praise of the Prophet Muhammad, based on Urdu poetry and generally performed on milad (celebrations in honour of the Prophet's birthday) (Example T5). Qawwali refers to non-liturgical religious music, expressing mystical emotion, performed at a Sufi assembly to accompaniment of tabla (pair of drums played upon by the fingers of the right and left hands), peti-baja (harmonium) along with regular clapping). Qawwali melodies derive from Indian ragas.

In all these genres, as is the case for most South African Indian Muslim musical genres, the text is in Urdu. Qawwali is directly linked to Indian ratib performances. During the sandal procession held annually in Durban in honour of the Sufi Saint Badsha Pir, qawwali groups join in processions which incorporate ratib performances. However, there are two independent groups for each of the ratib and qawwali groups (See Plate XXX ).

Dhikr with Arabic and Urdu texts are performed in the Indian ratib performance and in the local annual practice of the Muharram festival.<sup>18</sup> While a replica of the tomb of Imam Hussein, who died in Kerbala in Iraq in 680 A.D., is carried shoulder-high around the mosque or at appropriate places, dhikr in Urdu and Arabic are rendered by the men (See Plate XXXII). While the rendition of dhikr is an important characteristic of ratib musical performances, the other Indian Muslim practices of giyerwee sharif and meelad (called moulood by the Cape Muslims) also share this characteristic of performing dhikr. In Muharram processions, the texts of the dhikr relate to the life and times of Imam Hussein, while in the ratib performance the text will convey a different meaning and have a different purpose.



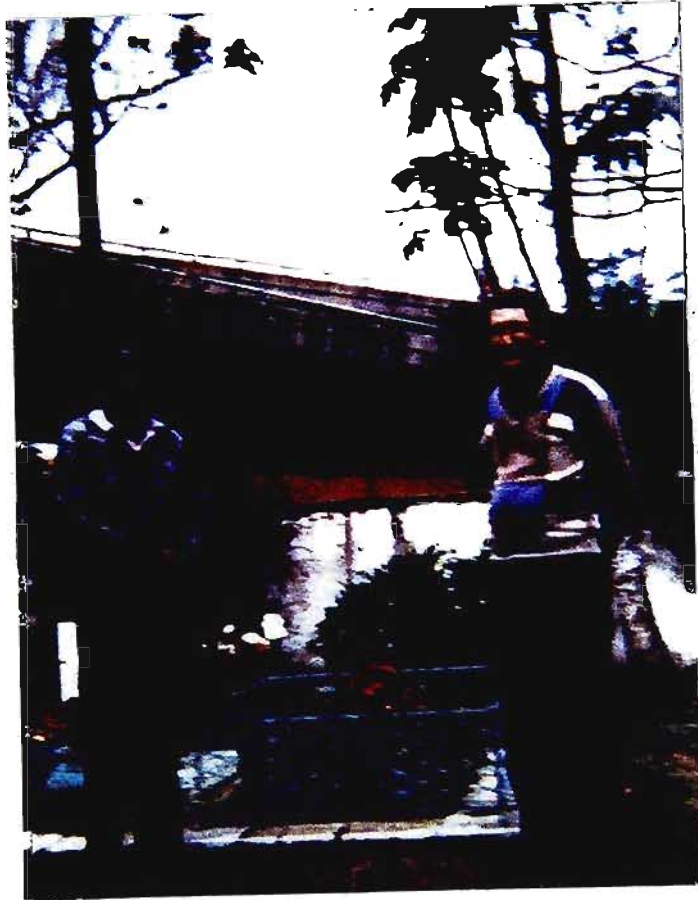


Plate XXX: On the left, Sarang, the son of the founder of of the rival sandal procession group, at the grave of his father near the Badsha Pir Mazaar.



PlateXXXI: Time about 14h15. A large crowd consisting of procession members and madressa children waiting for the start of the sandal procession in Cross Street, Durban.



PlateXXXII: The thaziya carried shoulder-high by men who circled the Habibia mosque seven times, with the setting sun seen over Table Mountain in the background, at approximately 17h50, just before the maghrieb prayers. Note the man, bottom left, rendering dhikr.

Ratib texts relate to Allah, his Prophet Muhammad and the founder and important saints related to the Rifa'iyah Sufi brotherhood. On the other hand, certain ratiep texts are repetitive as in Cape Muslim pujje style, a characteristic which again is shared in giyerwee sharif.

As is the case with Cape Muslim jamaahs, Indian Muslim ratib jamaahs perform on different religious occasions. The Cape Town-based Lockday jamaah performs in giyerwee sharif as well as ratib (see Figure 34.1 for an Urs Sharif invitation); the two religious performances are linked: giyerwee sharif acts as the preamble to ratib, in the same way as the voorwerk (literally "initial work") does in the Cape Muslim ratib. The voorwerk is part of the haddad which is the equivalent of the Indian Muslim giyerwee sharif. Thus Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim religious performances are related. Stylistically, Indian Muslim religious performances generally differ from that of Cape Muslims. These stylistic differences in musical performances are discussed fully in my present work wherein aspects relating to instrumentation, form, text and vocal style are discussed in specific detail.<sup>19</sup> Often the same texts are used.

For example the religious formula "la illah illal lah" occurs in giverwee sharif, and in both Indian Muslim and Cape Muslim ratiep. The melodies of the dhikr are not identical.

#### 4.2.3 Conclusion

South African culture represents a microcosm of world cultures. South African Islamic music reflects not only world Islamic music, but also a broad South Africanism (See Figure 30 ). Ratiep music relates to several forms and styles of Islamic and 'Cape Malay' music, which all have a place within the South African cultural mosaic.

Adhdhaan, Qiraat and Eid celebrations are commonly found all over the Islamic world (See Figure 30 ). Localized traditional performances such as haddad, moulood, samman, kaderia, giverwee sharif and ratiep all share the common feature of dhikr performances, and are on the one hand interlinked and Sufi-linked on the other.

The ratiep performance contains aspects relating to the leader(khalifa), dhikr, drumming, movement, trance and performance style which links it to other Islamic forms.

SOUTH AFRICAN ISLAMIC MUSIC

TYPE	PERFORMANCE/ OCCASION	STYLE & FORM	LEADER	INSTRUMENT/S	MOVE- MENT
CI	<u>Adhdhaan</u>	<u>adhdhaan</u>	<u>bilal/ muadhhdhin</u>	None	X
CI	<u>giraat</u>	<u>giraat</u>	<u>garl</u>	None	X
CI	Eid	<u>takbir</u>	<u>imam</u>	None	X
C	<u>haddad</u>	<u>giraat</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	None	X
C	<u>moulood</u>	<u>djiekers</u>	<u>shelkh/ khalifa</u>	None	Sway
C	<u>ratiep</u>	<u>pudjies, djiekers</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	<u>rebanna &amp; dhol</u>	✓
C	<u>kaderia</u>	<u>pudjies</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	None	sway
C	<u>samman</u>	<u>kasedas</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	None	✓
C	<u>kasedas</u>	<u>kasedas</u>	Captain	mandoline, guitar, drums	
C	<u>piekniek</u>	<u>moppies, ghommaliédjies</u>	<u>kaptein</u>	mandoline, banjo, guitar, <u>ghomma</u>	
C	New year	<u>moppies, ghommaliédjies, nederlandsliedere</u>	<u>kaptein</u>	as above & <u>tamarien</u>	walk
C	Choir Competitions	<u>ouliedere, moppies, ghommaliédjies, nederlandsliedere</u>	kaptein	as above except <u>tamarien</u>	
I	<u>qiyerwee sharif</u>	<u>dhikr</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	None	
I	<u>Sandal</u>	<u>dhikr, gawwali</u>	<u>gawwal</u>	<u>tabla, peti- baja</u>	
I	Indian <u>ratib</u>	<u>dhikr</u>	<u>khalifa</u>	<u>dhol, दौरا</u>	✓

KEY: CI: Found amongst all Muslims  
 C: Found amongst Cape Muslims only  
 I: Found amongst Indian Muslims only

Figure 30: South African Islamic Music

For example, khalifa as leader is found in ratiep, haddad, moulood, kaderia, samman and giverwee sharif performances. Dhikr again are found in moulood, ratiep, giverwee sharif and samman performances (See Figure 30 ). The dhol (or dholak) and rebanna (or daira) are unique to the ratiep performance. The characteristic features of movement and trance found in the ratiep are shared by samman. The brisk walking occurring in secular New Year's festivities are not trance-linked and differ in form and style. Its mid-Eastern and Southeast Asian link is also shared by samman, moulood, kaderia and haddad.

#### 4.3 SANDAL PROCESSIONS AND A CHATSWORTH RATIB PERFORMANCE

Indian Muslim sandal processions have been held in commemoration of the Durban-based Sufi saint, Badsha Pir, since the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> The literature describes such sandal processions in which the ratib performance features prominently.<sup>21</sup> Like all Cape Muslim ratiep performances, this particular Indian Muslim ratiep ( or ratib) performance is characterised by dhikr renditions, self-mutilating acts with sharp instruments without loss of blood by entranced subjects, accompanied by two types of drum, and the performance of a stylised movement. Sandal paste, flowers and sweatmeals are placed on a cushion, carried to the tomb of Badsha Pir, and then offered.

Ideroos

Yusufia  
May 1985

M.M. ♩ = 144

Musical score for 'Ideroos'. The score consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 144 bpm tempo. The lyrics are: Mu- ham-mad Ja-la- la Mu- Rebanna. The bottom staff is a dhol accompaniment line, also in treble clef, with the lyrics: ham- mad Ra- sul -lu- lah. A horizontal line is drawn below the dhol staff.

Translation: Muhammad Brightness,  
Muhammad Messenger



Two Indian ratib sandal processions and a ratib performance held during 1989 in Durban and environs will be discussed in order to document and describe the settings, social circumstances, the unique form and musical aspects relating thereto.

The two ratib sandal processions held on the 23rd of September and the 7th of October 1989 were advertised as being held in commemoration of the death of the Sufi saint, Badsha Pir. Two opposing organising bodies held the two processions, which are essentially similar, on dates two weeks apart.<sup>22</sup>

An introductory performance to the first sandal procession started at 14h00 from a doctor's surgery in Cross Road, Durban. Several respected Muslims, including M.S.Soofie, were present. A giyerwee sharif consisting of giraat and dhikr was performed by a group of men in a room. The other persons present were treated to cakes and other delicacies.

At approximately 14h45 the Chatsworth ratib jamaah under the leadership of khalifa Farook Razak started the procession moving with the dhikr "Ya Moulana" which was immediately

followed by "Baderoe Jallalla" (See Example 19). At first the drums were silent, but after a few alternations of verses between khalifa and jamaah, the rebanna and dhol joined in. Repetition of Arabic phrases and verses, of melodic motifs and of percussive rhythmic patterns, characterised the performance. A group of boys from a madressa followed the ratib jamaah, who in turn were followed by the qawwali group (See Figure 32 and PLATE XXV). The total number of men and boys in the procession was about one hundred. Several hundred more lined the streets as spectators. After starting from Cross Road, the procession moved into Victoria Road, and then underneath the bridge at the station towards the Badsha Pir Mazaar (tomb). (See Figure 32). Since it drizzled lightly, most of the acts with swords and daggers took place underneath the bridge. The acts included performances with saals (tilwaar or swords), alwaan (skewers) run into tongue and cheeks and tamboesters (daggers). Two types of drums were used: A double-headed dhol and a rebanna (or daira) frame drum. The skins of the rebanna were warmed on an open fire made by non-performers who were selling fruit near the Mazaar.



- Key:
1. Yellow Flag
  2. Green Flag
  3. Sandal on Cushion
  4. Ratib Jamaah
  5. Madressa Children
  6. Qawwali Group

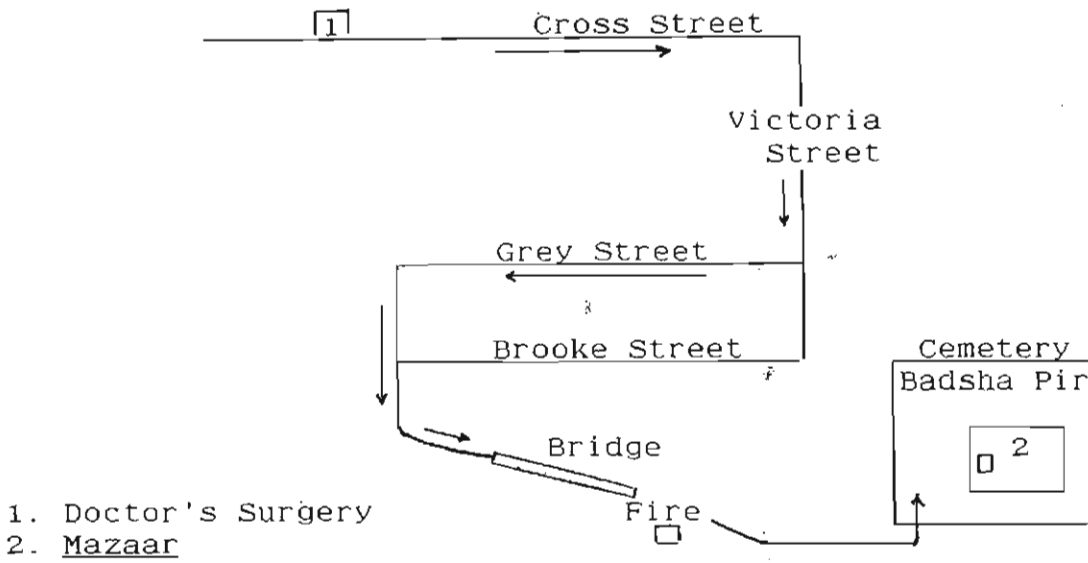


Figure 32: Formation of Ratiep Group and Madressa Boys (above) and Route of Sandal Procession (below)

Chatsworth Jamaah

Khalifa Razak

23 September 1989

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 60$

Baderoe Jalalla

Kh.   
La il-la- ha il il- lal lah, Bad-e-roe Ja- la-

  
la Ja- la- la Ba-de-roe Ja- la- la  
Dhol   
Rebanna 

Jamaah   
Rebanna   
Dhol

Example 19: "Baderoe Jallalla"

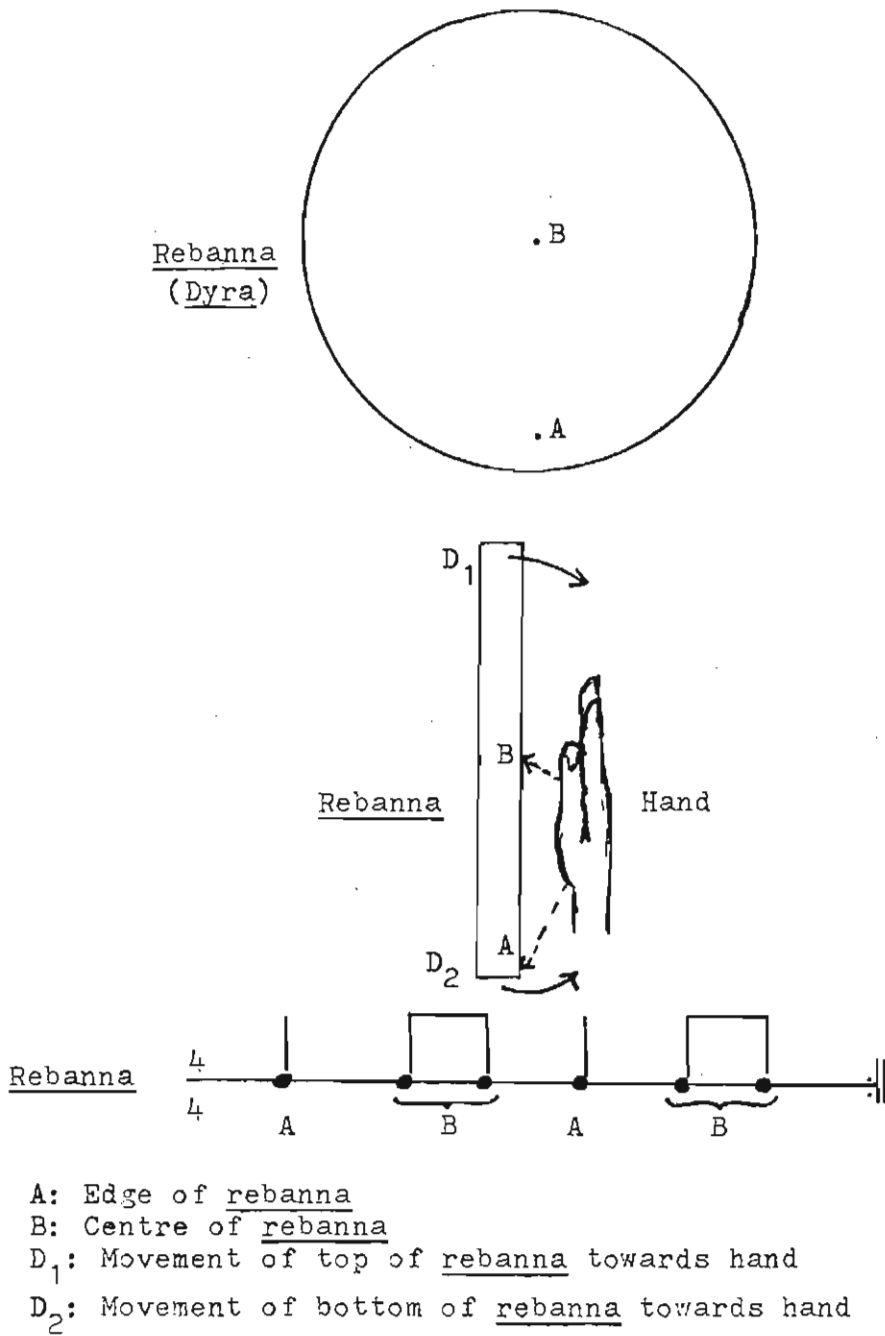


Figure 32.1: Performing on a Rebanna (Dyra)

The qawwal (soloist) of the qawwali group sang to peti-baja (harmonium) and tabla accompaniment until the procession reached the mazaar about an hour later.

The ratib sandal procession of the 7th of October incorporated the following dhikr:

First: La illaha illal lah

Second: Ya Muhammad Rasullulah

Third: Ya Moulay

Fourth: Muhammad Sallalla

Fifth: La illaha illal lah

Sixth: Anta-alla hasi Allahu (unclear text)

Seventh: Mudu i (Unclear text)

The asharakal consisted of the text:

Allahoema hi wa sallam

Allah ya duniya, ya Muhammad

Sallalla hu alay hi wa salaam

Allah ya nabee

Salaam nabee Rasullulah

Nabee Alayka

Allahu

Muhammad Rasullullah

Translation:

Allah grants blessings

Allah O Eternal, O Muhammad

Allah, O Prophet

Peace upon the Prophet and Messenger

Prophet of God

Muhammad the Messenger

The acts were as follows:

First: Tamboester: To stomach and eyes.

Second: Saal: To arms, hands, cutting of boy (who appeared to

be in severe pain) and another man, neck, stomach.

Third: Panga: To arms hands, "cutting" of person on ground.

Fourth: Bending of sword on the stomach.

Fifth: Performances with saal and tamboester onto eye sockets.

The same types of percussion instruments were used, as in the ratib performance of the 23rd of September. One rebanna was patterned (See Figure 33). Movement of both hands and rebanna or hands only, occurred when performing thereon. Slow, medium and fast rhythmic patterns were used. The two points of striking the drum head are indicated in Figure 12. Different types of dhol were used (see Figure 35). Either hands or sticks were used to strike the drum head. The following different rhythms were used:

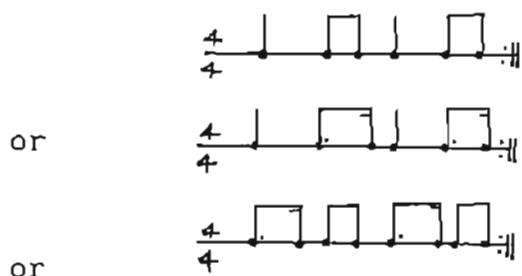


Figure 33: A Patterned Rebanna



On the 16th of December 1989, the same ratib jamaah of Farook Razak performed at Unit 11, House 1106, Chatsworth, at a wedding celebration held at the home of Mr Ally Ahmed.<sup>23</sup>

The stage inside a marquee was decorated with different flags of different colours, and was arranged for the performance (See Figure 34 & PLATE XXXIV). Approximately 70 men, women and children constituted the spectators. The jamaah consisting of 11 men and boys, performed on 2 dhol, 4 rebanna and 1 tambourine. Khalifa Razak and his brother played on the two dhol. No bank was present. The khalifa lit incense. All members wore shoes, except for the khalifa who had on only socks. The sharp instruments consisted of 2 tilwar (swords), 2 pangas and 7 gurust (daggers).

The performance started at 18h10. The first act was performed by the khalifa with gurust. The audience remained reserved, whilst the jamaah performed the dhikr "Allah Baderoe Jallala". The end of a particular dhikr was indicated by a particular handmovement of the khalifa. Act 2 consisted of a performance by a boy of 18 years with a sword. The dhikr "Allah Jamalikum" was performed.

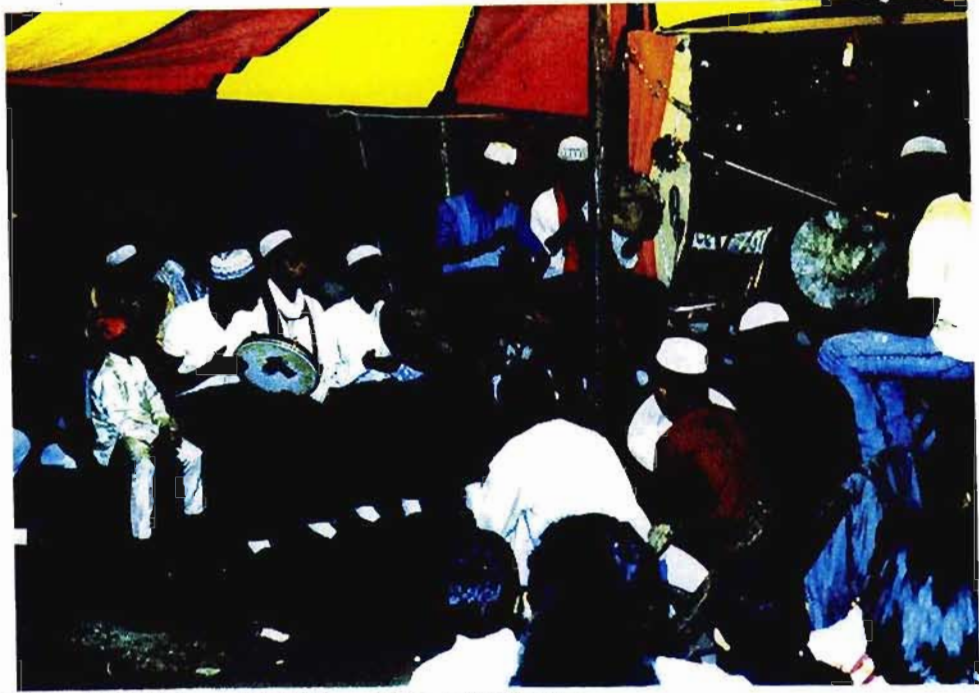


Plate XXXIV: Inside the Marquee

MARQUEE

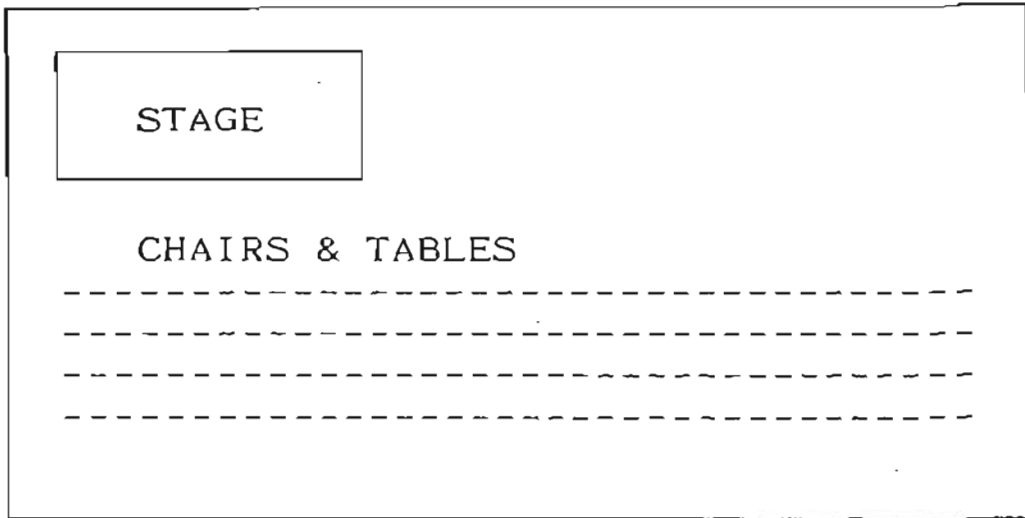

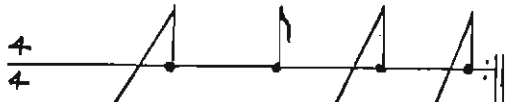
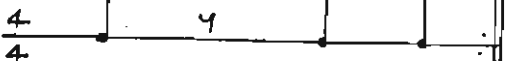


Figure 34: The Arrangement Inside the Marquee

Cutting to his throat and arms occurred. An eight-beat time-line pattern was observed, with strokes to the body occurring on the 7th beat. Act 3 consisted of khalifa Razak performing with two pangas to the dhikr "Allah Moulay". Act 4 consisted of a performance with swords by another member. The bleeding which developed was stopped by the khalifa. Act 5 consisted of running alwaan (skewers) into the cheeks of Faiek, a jamaah member. The dhikr "Allah Nur" was performed. A dagger was driven through a member's cheek into a pole. Act 6 consisted of a performance by khalifa Razak with gurust. At that stage the rebanna and dhol rhythms were:

<u>rebanna</u>	
<u>dhol</u>	
L.H.	
R.H.	

The above dhol rhythms indicate alternation between the left and right hands on the dhol. The final Act 7 consisted of the "cutting" of a member with sword and panga. An unusual event occurred when a tabla was brought into the performance,

while the act of cutting was performed. The dimensions of these sharp instruments are indicated on p. 359. The performance ended at 18h50.

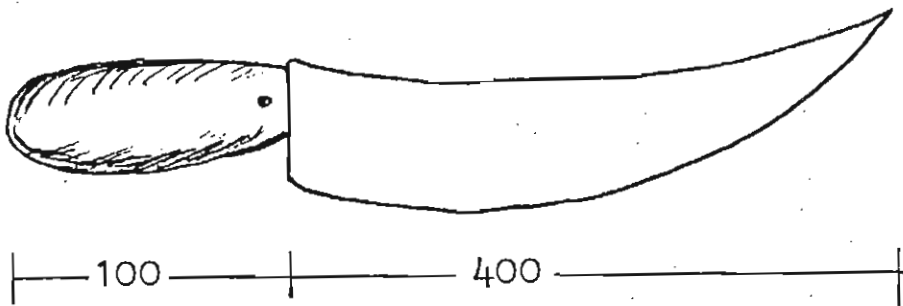
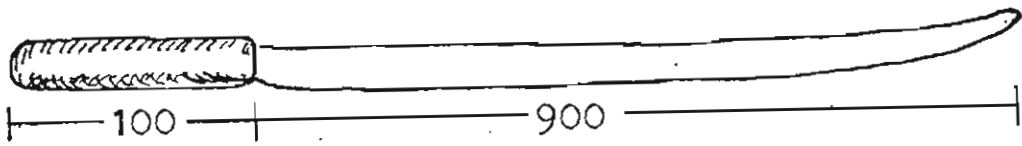
Ratib sandal performances have been held in honour of deceased saints other than Badsha Pir. An example is the Urs Sharif held at 63 Mabel Road, Rylands, Cape of "Peer Bawa Fagroodien of Savnas" on the 20th of April 1985 (See Invitation Card, p.358). The program consisted of qiraat, a Giyerwee Sharif, a ratib performance followed by the sandal. A similar performance occurred on the 25th of January 1992 when an Urs Sharif was held at the dargah (mazaar or tomb) at the Habibia mosque in Rylands. At about midnight, outside the front entrance to the mosque, a ratib performance was held following a Giyerwee Sharif which took place in the dargah nearby. As was the case in the Durban performances, only men participated; men, women and children were among the spectators.

The Lockday Jamaah of Rylands performed the same dhikr, both in form and style, as they did in their performance of the 20th of April 1985. The dhikr "Astafirullah" which has been transcribed and analysed before, serves as an example (cf. p.377). A structure similar to the Cape Muslim bank was absent. The only structure Indian Muslims use which is similar to the Cape Muslim bank, is the taziyah.



Figure 34.1: An Invitation Card to a Giyerwee Sharif

Tilwaar used by Khalifa Razak



All measurements in mm.

This dome-like structure is carried shoulder-high by men on the 10th of Muharram during celebrations in honour of the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of the Prophet Muhammed (See PLATE XXXII & p.113 ). As was the case with the Durban performances, the jamaah members did not sit in rows, but stood around in no systematic, predetermined and/or well-ordered manner. The nature of the self-mutilating acts and the stylized movements were the same, however.

An interesting double-headed dhol was used by the Chatsworth Jamaah in Durban in a ratiep performance held during December 1990. This drum differs in form and construction from that used by Cape Muslim jamaahs. It is constructed from a 25 litre paint drum, of which the bottom has been removed. Its Cape Muslim counterpart is invariably constructed from wood. The two pieces of vellum over the two open sides of the Chatsworth dhol are kept together by means of a threading technique clearly illustrated in the figure below (see Figure 35). Two beaters are used to perform on one head of the dhol, while the performer is seated with the dhol positioned in an upright manner between his legs.

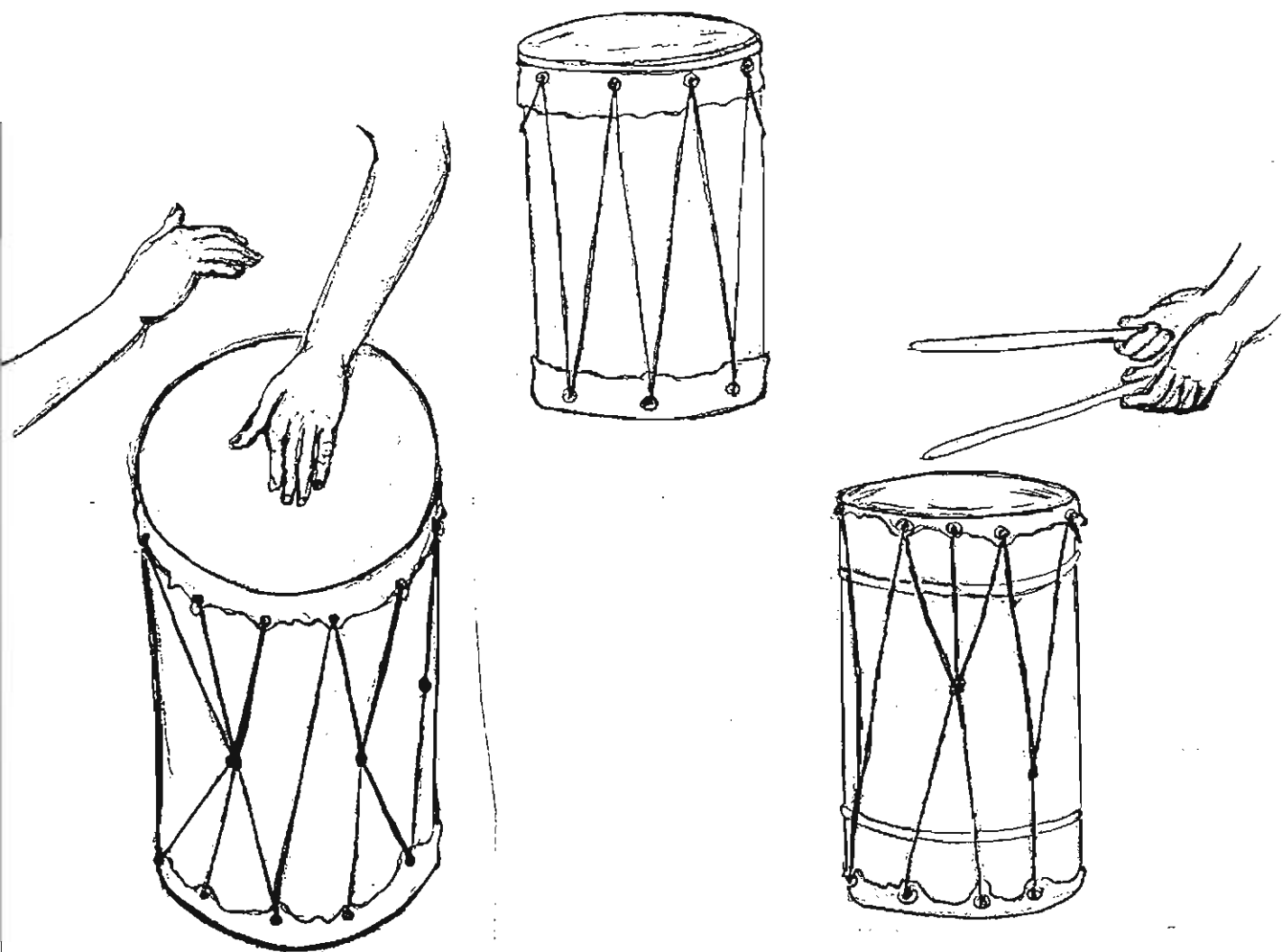


Figure 35 : The double-headed Chatworth dhol

The style of the Indian ratib is markedly different from the Cape Muslim ratiep performance. While Cape Muslims often employ the technique of "gatte toemaak" ("filling gaps") which implies adding voice-parts in order to enhance a



melody, and is often in slow legato singing style, Indian Muslim performances are less ornamental and essentially monodic. Indian Muslims singing style is mostly monosyllabic, and in the majority of other cases, two notes are sung to a syllable resembling a "slur".

While open-throated singing is characteristic of the Cape Muslim jamaahs, Indian Muslim singing is more nasal and less legato than that of Cape Muslims. It has already been pointed out that there are correspondences between the Western-based nederlandslied and Cape Muslims djiekers and pudjies. The longer contact between Cape Muslims and Western musical traditions may account for these differences between Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim musical performances.

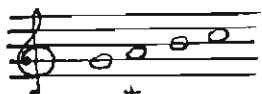
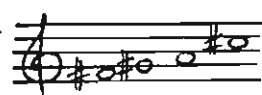
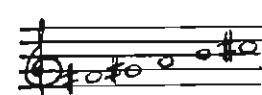
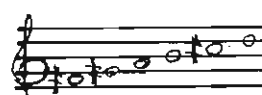

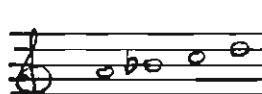
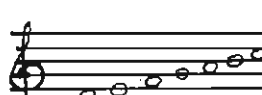
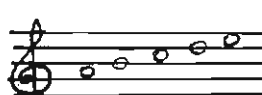
The melody types of Indian dhikr are built upon certain modal forms combining descending or ascending patterns.

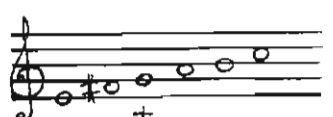

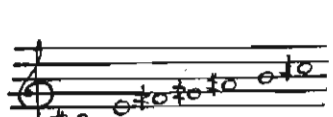
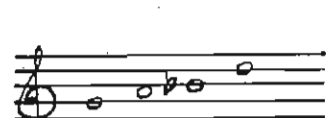
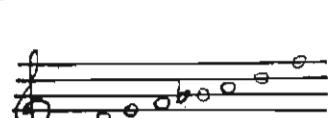
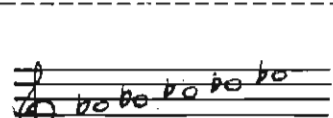
Indian Muslim modes bear resemblances with the MA-grama in Indian Classical music, and the 'Ushshāg and Nawā maqāmāt in Arabic music. This may not be surprising if the history of Hinduism and Islam in India and Pakistan is taken into consideration.

Cape Muslim dhikr may be based on four-note mode, pentatonic mode, a seven-note mode or an eight-note mode (See Table 3 ). In these modes certain notes predominate. For example in "Abdul Kader" the 3rd, 4th and 5th degrees of the mode predominate. In "Allahu" the 2nd and 3rd degrees predominate, whilst in "Salaam" the minor 3rd B and D predominate, as in the case in "Alwaan".

#### 4.4. MODAL ORGANISATION

Fourteen different musical examples representing ten Cape Muslim and four Indian Muslim examples, all of which are mentioned in this chapter, were examined in order to determine the nature and structure of the modes used in these ratiep or ratiep-linked performances. In the Cape Muslim music category, two examples represent a 4-note mode, three a 5-note mode, one a 6-note mode, two a 7-note mode and two an 8-note mode. In the Indian Muslim music category, two represent a 4-note mode, one a 5-note mode and one a 7-note mode (See Table 3 ).

Title/ Example	Mode	Cape Muslim Indian Mus- lim(I.M./C.M.)	Remarks
<u>Kalima</u> Example		C.M.	4-note mode; 1, 1 & 1/2 tone tetrachord
<u>Asta-firullah</u> Example		I.M.	4-note mode; 1, 1/2 & 2 tones tetrachord
<u>La Illaha</u> Example		I.M.	5-note mode; 1, 1/2, 1 & 1 tone Addition of B to "Asta-firullah"
<u>Allahumma</u> Example		I.M.	7-note mode; 1, 1/2, 1, 1, 1/2 & 1 tone
<u>Aqmad Saydina</u> Example		C.M.	8-note mode; 1, 1, 1/2, 1, 1, 1/2 & 1 tone
<u>Ma Salim</u> Example		C.M.	4-note mode; 1/2, 1 & 1 tone tetrachord
<u>Allahu Nasali</u> Example		C.M.	8-note mode; 1, 1, 1/2, 1, 1, 1 & 1/2 tone
<u>Salaam</u> Example		C.M.	5-note mode; 1, 1/2, 1 & 1 tone

<p>Allahu Ya Example</p>		<p>C.M.</p>	<p>6-note mode; 1,1/2,1,1/2,1 &amp; 1 tone</p>
<p>Alwaan Example</p>		<p>C.M.</p>	<p>5-note mode; 2,1/2,1 &amp; 1 tone</p>
<p>Allahu Example</p>		<p>C.M.</p>	<p>7-note mode 1 1/2,1,1,1,1/2 &amp; 1 tone</p>
<p>Allahu Example</p>		<p>I.M.</p>	<p>4-note mode 1,1/2 &amp; 2 tones</p>
<p>Assalaamu Example</p>		<p>C.M.</p>	<p>7-note mode 1,1,1/2,1,1 &amp; 1 1/2 tones</p>
<p>Ideroos Example</p>		<p>C.M.</p>	<p>5-note mode 1,1/2,1 &amp; 1 tone</p>

'Ushshāq mode(U): g a b c' d'e'f'g' : 1,1,1/2,1,1,1/2 & 1 tone

Nawā mode(N): g a b c' d' e ' f' g' : 1,1/2,1,1,1/2,1 & 1 tone

4-note mode	3 linked to U / 2 linked to N
5-note mode	3 linked to U / 2 linked to N
7-note mode	1 linked to U / 2 linked to N
8-note mode	2 linked to U

Table : The Structure of Cape and Indian Muslim Modes in the ratiep with their link with the 'Ushshāq and Nawa maqāmāt

In the two 4-note Cape Muslim modes different tonics were noticed. The tonic is indicated by means of the letter t in the Table. In both Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim cases the basic tone, tone, semitone tetrachordal structure is found. Support for an argument that ratiep modes are based on either a particular tetrachord, or a combination of two or a portion thereof, may be found in the examples considered. In the 5-note mode example, different combination of tone and semitones are found for Cape Muslims and Indian Muslims, as is the case in the 7-note modes. However, Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim are interrelated: 4-note modes appear related to 5-note modes due to an additional note; Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim modes also appear related. The "kalima" is related to "Allahu Nasali", and "alwaan", while the modes of "Ma Salim" appears related to the Indian Muslim "Allahu". A link can also be found between these modes and the 'Ushshāq and Nawā maqāmāts, as shown in Table 3. Both forms of maqāmāt occur in 4-note, 5-note and 7-note ratiep modes. The mode representative of eight notes may be linked to the 'Ushshāq mode only.

#### 4.5 RATIEP MUSIC IN DEPTH

Present ethnomusicological analyses of ratiep music fall into the "embryonic" stage of "defining idioms, styles and genres".<sup>24</sup> One does not have a comparative and well-studied folk art form for ratiep in Western musical tradition, which could provide a similar parallel between the German Lied and Urdu poetic genre of ghazal as linked by Qureshi.<sup>25</sup>

However, in Indian Muslim ratiep, gawwali performances form an important part of an Urs Sharif (death anniversary of a saint); Qureshi has provided useful information on gawwali. While Cape Muslim ratiep performances on the one hand have the voorwerk common to haddad, and show a parallel development with haddad, Indian Muslim ratiep seldom occurs as a public display; qiraat, giyerwee sharif and sandal all take place during an Urs Sharif.

Apart from this, the elements that constitute the total performance, form an integrated whole. Thus the integral highly stylized ratiep movement has a place in context of the entire ratiep performance. Also, the setting of the musical performance against the decorated bank as backdrop, may be

omitted in an musicological investigation, but inevitably results in incompleteness and may yield conclusions different from one which considers the performance in its entirety.

The rhythm provided by the percussive instruments (dhol and rebanna), the characteristic intensity (loudness) of the sound, the repetiveness of the text, the movement and the nature of the acts all contribute to the trance state in the ratiep. Trance states, in a varying degree, also occur in other Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim religious performances. The question may be posed as to whether music, text, movement, the acts and the deliberate intent if the performer all contribute to trance, and whether they are necessary requirements. In samman, trance is achieved through movement (See Figure 36 ), asperated vocalised sounds and repetitions of texts. No self-mutilation by sharp objects occur. There are also no drums or any other musical instruments used in samman. It therefore seems that the combination of repetitive texts, movement and intention of the adept to seek union with Allah, contribute to states of trance. Trance states leads to heightened awareness of metaphysical being of the performers. The khalifa fulfils the role of acting as a mediator or link between deceased saints called olea and the adept.

ILLUSTRATION AND SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF A RECONSTRUCTION  
OF THE SAMMAN MOVEMENT

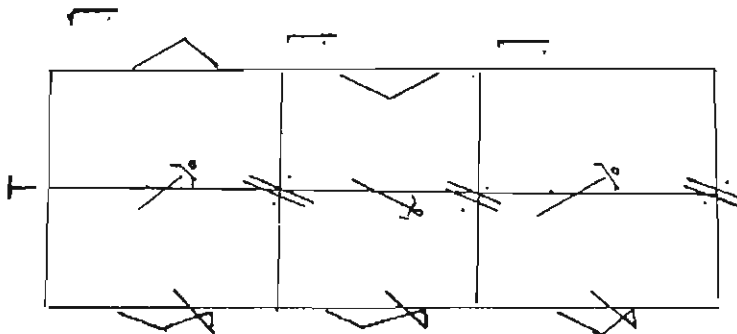


Samman Movement

Left foot  
left knee

Man

Right arm



Left foot forward; Body bent to left; Right arm across chest; Reverse.  
Left foot forward; Body bent to right; Right arm across chest; Reverse.  
Left foot forward; Body bent to left; Right arm across chest; Reverse.

Figure 36: Illustration and Schematic Representation of a Reconstruction of the Samman Movement



The similarity between performances from 1959 to present and historical evidence dating from the eighteenth century relating to Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep jamaah performances seem to suggest that the art form must have undergone very little change over a period of at least 200 years. The nature of the acts, dhikr such as "Ma Salim" and "Say Goena," occur in all recorded performances. The voorwerk (called the giyerwee sharif by Indian Muslims) also proceeded the ratiep performances which I attended. The ashrakal and certain dhikr occur in some. The Lockday Indian Muslim jamaah of Cape Town and the Rylands ratib incorporated in the ashrakal movement elements which suggest non-indigenous influence. The Chatsworth ratib jamaah was taught by a Cape Muslim khalifa, which explains its Cape Muslim similarity. Two main loci, namely the Yusufia and Chatsworth jamaahs were used to provided structural detail of ratiep performances. (See Figure 37) for the broad structure of the ratiep which shows the voorwerk, main body of self-mutilating acts, and the ashrakal. The approximate time duration for each section is given.)

The complex historico-socio-political-cultural matrix of the ratiep performance in South Africa has to be highlighted.

FORM	Dhikr	Duration	Style
<p>VOORWERK/GIYERWEE SHARIF</p>	<p><u>Asmanaal Goesna</u> <u>Quranic Surahs</u></p>	<p>± 2 hrs</p>	<p><u>qiraat/dhikr</u></p>
<p>RATIEP      <u>KHALIFA</u>                   <u>and</u>                   <u>JAMAAH</u></p> <p>Accompanied/Unaccompanied <u>dhikr</u> Acts of self-mutilation</p>	<p>→ <u>Ma Salim</u> → <u>Tagiel</u> → <u>Ma Salim</u> → <u>Salaam</u> → <u>Abdul Kader</u> → <u>Alwaan</u></p>	<p>± 3 hrs</p>	<p><u>pujje</u> <u>dhikr</u> <u>pujje</u> <u>dhikr</u> <u>dhikr</u></p>
<p>ASHRAKAL movement</p>	<p><u>Salawaat</u></p>	<p>± 30 mins</p>	<p><u>dhikr</u></p>

Figure 37: Key Elements in a Ratiep Performance

Ratiep music, as does Islamic music in South Africa generally, represents a synthesis of cultures. It is a South African musical genre which displays distinctive features showing cross-fertilization from other cultures. The use of flags as identifying feature of individual jamaahs and the Rifa'iyah Sufi brotherhood, may have resulted in a viewpoint of separate ethnic groupings applied to ratiep, given the political constraints of a former racially divided South African population under apartheid (segregation) laws. This may have lead to negative perceptions of the ratiep especially by the orthodox Muslim section of the South African population.

The function of ratiep music is to create the occasion, opportunity and atmosphere needed to provide a means whereby the adept seeks and achieves union with his creator. It is enhanced by performance acts, the performance of dhikr and the beating of drums. The emphatic, repetitive rhythms provided by the dhol and rebanna intensifies the musical performance and leads to heightened emotional experiences by the performers. A forceful, openthroated vocal technique is used given the text the dominance is achieves throughout the performance. The khalifa in Cape Muslim performances character-

istically embellished notes so as to enhance the melody and add emotional content. Indian Muslim solo and group singing are generally either monodic and monorhythmic, or consists of very little embellishments comparatively speaking.

The outer form of the ratiep shall be termed the "macro-form". The macro-form consists of a voorwerk or giyerwee sharif, an optional introductory section introduced by the khalifa as his first moenavat (prayer), the taglil (Example 10 ), salaam, followed by a subsection which consists of various acts of self-mutilation accompanied by dhikr. In the case of those Cape Muslim Indian ratib performances linked to Urs Sharif, the taglil and salaam do not occur as separate sections. However, phrases of salutation of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad contained in these sections occur in the Urs-linked ratiep performance as part of the dhikr which accompany the acts of selfmutilation. The ashrakal concludes the performance.

The Cape Muslim voorwerk constitutes the first section of a complete haddad performance which is held either to commemorate the deceased or as a general prayer meeting. The Indian Muslim giyerwee sharif is similar to its Cape Muslim counterpart which may be held at such occasions as an Urs Sharif, birthday, or when moving into a new home. Like haddad it consists of verses of Arabic texts of praise and reverence to Allah and the Prophet Muhammad; Urdu verses found in moulood performances may be joined in.

Kalima (Tagliel) O.P.

M.M. ♩ = 52 Jamaah: Yusufia

The musical score consists of four staves of music in 2/2 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/2 time signature. The lyrics are: ( Ga- ka- la ) La- il- lah ha il- lah. The second staff continues with: lah, la- il- lah ha il- lah lah,. The third staff continues with: la- il- lah ha il- lah lah. The fourth staff concludes with: il- Mu- ham- med - ur Ra- sul- luh lah. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

( Ga- ka- la ) La- il- lah ha il- lah  
lah, la- il- lah ha il- lah lah,  
la- il- lah ha il- lah lah.  
il- Mu- ham- med - ur Ra- sul- luh lah.

Example 10: Tagliel

The voorwerk consists of performances based on certain Qur'anic Surahs, such as "Kulloo Allah", "Kul a'othubil robbil fallak", "Annaas", "Al fatiggah", "Al Baqara" and the so-called "Ayataul Kursi" (a portion of "Al Baqara"). These performances are characterised by statements by a khalifa (leader) and response by the jamaah in antiphonal style. Textual emphasis is strong since a large part is Qur'anic, and the whole is religious-based. Melody and other musical aspects, all interlinked, play a subordinate role to text, unlike the dhikr with rebanna accompaniment in the ratiep performance proper.

The acts within a ratiep performance that follow on the voorwerk, consist of djats (basic dhikr sections) such as "Abdul Salaam", "Abdul Qadir", "Alwaan" and "Ideroos". These djats may vary from jamaah to jamaah. This is followed by the closing section called the ashrakal, which incorporates stylized movements (cf. p. 272) to the accompaniment of dhol and rebanna or daira.

Indian Muslim giyerwee sharif may also be divided into sections. The first section consists of a recital of the khalifa which may last approximately three minutes.

Thereafter call-and-response (djawab-ing or answering) between two clearly defined sections of the jamaah, often between the khalifa and jamaah only, starts. This section may be described as a salutation of the prophets, introduced by a repetitive phrase: "Assalaatu wa assalaam alyka" (The blessings and peace is upon you). These call-and-reponse sections are interspersed by comparatively longer unrepeated phrases by the khalifa. The responsorial sections consist of short melodic phrases, designed to accommodate often repeated texts: "asta'firullah" (I ask for forgiveness), "La illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah), "subganallah takri ma illahi", "Assalaatu Assalaam alyka" (the opening responsorial section consisting of six verse lines) or "Allah". These melodies are built around a few (mostly four, five or six main) note groupings or modes (See Example 24 ). The mode never exceeds the range of an octave. The total performance may last up to an hour. The duration depends on the speed and style of performance of the jamaah, and the particular performing group. This group of mureed(pupils) have learnt the text and melody through oral tradition from their khalifa in "school" setting normally at the home of the khalifa.

Asta ' firullah

Rylands Jamaah  
25 January 1992

As- ta- a- fi- rul- lah, as- ta-a- fi- rul- lah

as- ta- a- fi- rul- lah, as- ta- fi- rul- lah.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff contains the melody for the first phrase, with a slur over the notes. The second staff contains the melody for the second phrase. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Translation: I ask for forgiveness, I ask for forgiveness,

Example 21: "Asta'firullah"



The Cape Muslim and Cape Muslim-influenced Indian Muslim Chatsworth ratiep jamaah perform the "taglil" as the first complete compulsory section of the ratiep performance. It is characterised as the Islamic profession of faith which is generally accepted as the most important of the five "pillars" of Islam: : "La illaha illal lah" (There is no God but Allah) with a reference to the prophethood of Muhammad: "Muhammadur Rasullulah". Urs Sharif-linked ratiep performances do not incorporate the taglil as the first compulsory dhikr. The optional introductory section consisting of call and response between khalifa and jamaah, where the text "Allahumma ma salim, wa sallam alay" (May Allah bestow peace and blessing) is repeated by the latter, may precede the "taglil" in Cape Muslim ratiep performances.

This optional section always occurs in Indian Muslim Urs Sharif-linked ratiep performances, and is repeated seven times (See Example 22). In this transcription the essentially monodic and monosyllabic Indian Muslim performance with dhol and dyra accompaniment shows call-and-response between khalifa and jamaah: the statement by the khalifa is answered by the jamaah always in similar melodic and rhythmic manner, but with the jamaah repeating the text "Allahumma" a number of times.

Allahumma Salim Allah

Rylands Jazaah  
25 January 1992

M.M. ♩ = 83

J. 

Rebanna  
Dhol  
Alli la- hum- ma sa- lim Al- rah



Mu- ham- mad ya ra- bi



sa- li- al- lay wa- sa- laam.

Repeat khalifa

Kh. 

ya ra- bi sa- li al- lay

Kh. 3 



J. 4

Repeat Jazaah

J. 5

Kh. B. # #

Repeat Jamaah

Example 22: "Allahumma Ma Salim" (Indian Muslim)


In the transcription of the Mouweejas performance of 1981 this introductory section based on "Allahumma" is demarcated into Part I and II (See Example 23 ). In it, the elaborate melismatic passages of the khalifa are clearly observable. While Cape Muslim public ratiep displays are generally shortened to fit into the allotted time, it is important to note that this section which precedes the taglil is often a long and elaborate preamble to private ratiep performances. Indian Muslim Urs-linked performances are as a rule private, and always incorporate "Allahumma" (See Example 22 ). The stylistic differences between the two transcriptions of Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim "Allahumma" is clear: Indian Muslim is monodic, essentially monosyllabic and melodically less elaborate. (See also Appendix I, p. 363)

The important taglil is characteristically a slow, carefully articulated dhikr with broad legato antiphonal singing between khalifa and jamaah. During this performance rebanna and dhol accompaniment are introduced for the first time in characteristic manner with a few introductory notes by the dhol which prepare the start of rebanna and dhol playing.

PART II

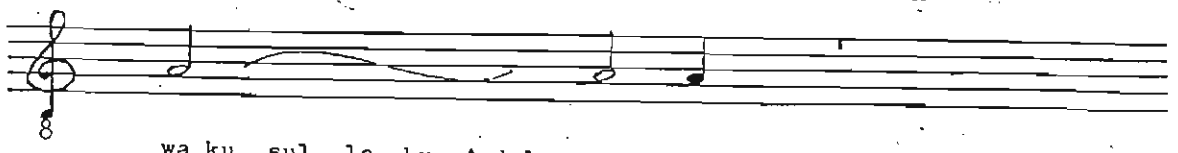
kh.  08 secs  
 Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim - wa sal- lam a- lay

J.  10 secs  
 Al- la- hum- ma- sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

Kh.  8  
 Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

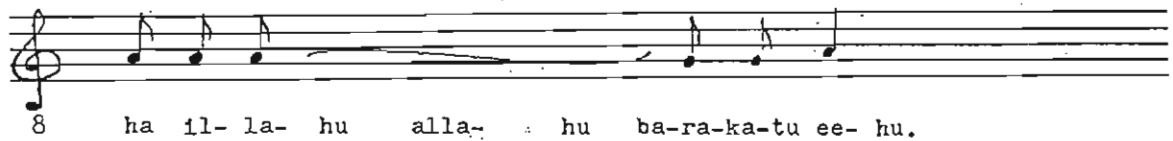
J.  8  
 Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

Kh.  8  
 A- bu- ru- ja- Ab- dul Ra- sul- lah mi- na sa- lim A- jee- ma

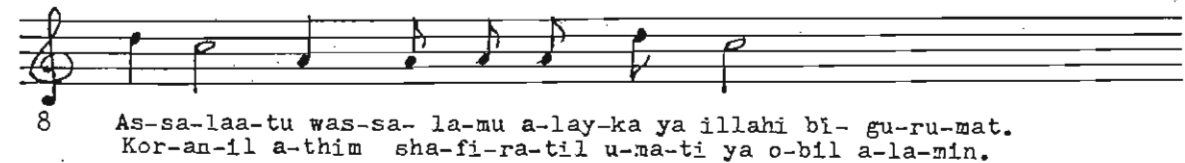
 8  
 wa ku sul- la- kum A- dul- ra- gi- ma

J. 





J. 

KH. 

J. 

Kh.   
8 As-sa-la- tu wa-sa-la-mu a- lay- ka ya il-la-hi bi- gu-ru-mat.

  
8 Kor-an- il a-thim sha-fa-ra-til u-ma-ti ya o-bil a-la-min.


J.   
8 Al- la- hum-ma- sa- lim- wa- sal-lam a-lay.

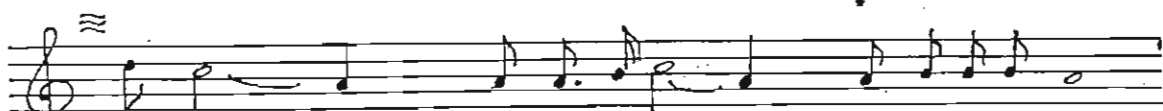
Kh.   
8 Al- la- hum- ma- sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

  
8 Kor-an ni a-thim sha- fi-ra-til u- ma- ti ya o-bil a-la- min.

J.   
8 Al- la- hum- ma- sa- lim- wa sal- lam a- lay.

Kh.  8 As-sa- laa- tu was-sa- la-mu a-lay-ka ya il-la-hi bi- gu-ru-mat.

  
Kor-an-il a-thim sha-fa-ra-til u-ma-ti ya o-bil a-la-min.

J.  8 Al- la- hum-ma sa- lim wa sal-lam a-lay.

Kh.  8 Al-la hum- ma sa- lim wa sal-lam a-lay.

 8 Kor-an - il a-thim sha-fa-ra-til u-ma-ti ya o-bil a-la-min.



Jamaah

(08) secs



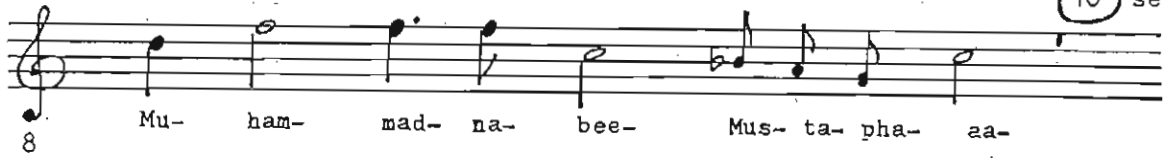
8 A- sha- fa- ee- A- de- naan;

(10) secs



8 O -o ee- ma- ee- ee- ee;

(10) secs



8 Mu- ham- mad- na- bee- Mus- ta- pha- aa-

(08)



8 ya- a- naan Ra- sul- lu- lah

Example 23: "Allahumma Ma Salim" (Cape Muslim)

The style of the Cape Muslim taglil strongly contrasts the optional "Allahumma Salim" which consists of unaccompanied call-and-response between the declamatory style of the khalifa performance, and the jamaah. While the lagoes (melodies) and style of performance of dhikr and on percussion instruments in both genres, namely Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep performances are markedly different, the purpose of attaining unity amongst themselves and union with God remains the same. In Urs Sharif ratiep the sections within the first rendition of "Allahumma Salim" are repeated. In Example 23, of the Mouweejas performance, A is sung alternative by the khalifa and jamaah. The B part consists of a threefold repetitions of a phrase, which is repeated by the jamaah. The last part is a repetition of A.

The term "salaam" literally means "greeting" and presumably is intended to call up olea or saints. In public shows it also serves to introduce the jamaah to the audience and to greet them. The "salaam" is not performed by all jamaahs. The Heideveld jamaah and the Q-town performance of khalifa Wali held in 1985, did not incorporate the "salaam". The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah, the Chatsworth Ratib Jamaah and the

1959 performance on disc incorporated it.

While all ratiep jamaah performances, except the Urs-linked ones, have many musical and non-musical aspects in common, such as the opening of the taglil and the dhikr alwaan, they differ with respect to the type and style of dhikr. Not only does the macro-form of individual jamaahs differ, but also the style of vocal and instrumental performance. The Yusufia Jamaah has a completely different style of dhikr to that of the Heideveld jamaah or that of khalifa Wali. The Lockday Indian Muslim jamaah performs characteristically in slower tempo than the Rylands ratiep performance of the 25th of January 1992. More microtonal ornamentation occur, while the largo appears less developed and defined. Khalifa Hendricks of Newtown put it this way: "Ons is die enigste jamaah wat 'Baderoe Jallala' djiaker" (We are the only group which performs "Baderoe Jallala") when he stresses that some dhikr were created by him, and that the textual and musical content of dhikr may differ from jamaah to jamaah.

The micro-form refers to the inner form of individual sections within the macro-form. These sections may be considered from musical and textual perspectives. These two

aspects are interrelated in the case of ratiep performances. The musical form of Part I of the Mouweejas ratiep performance of 1981 essentially reveals a binary form (See Example 23 ), and may be indicated as  $A \parallel B$ . Part II consisting of puddies or alternating sections between khalifa and jamaah may be represented  $A \parallel B \parallel A' \parallel B \parallel A'$  and so on, showing a form based on variation, and which is initiated by the khalifa. The 1959 performance reveals the same textual and musical form as the 1981 and certain other performances. The jamaah repeats the refrain "Ma Salim" several times which leads up to the first dhikr. Textually the same "binary" and "variation" forms emerge in parts I and II. In part I, the khalifa's first verse is repeated by the jamaah, followed by a repetition after the second verse rendered by the khalifa. The jamaah thus repeats the music and text (See "Ma Salim").

In order to discuss text-music relationships in the ratiep performances, one needs to examine three chief aspects: the metrum (stressed and unstressed words) in relationship to the text; the duration (length) of vowels in the Arabic texts in relationship to the duration of the musical notes; and the nature and importance of pitch (high-low) variations and general musicality in the Arabic text in relationship to the

accompanying music. With respect to metrum, three important ratiep phrases, verses or stanzas were considered. The phrase "la illaha illal lah" was examined in terms of its metre in relationship to the music. The text consists of regular trochaic feet, while the music shows that stressed syllables coincide with strong beats. The unstressed "il" in the second word occurs on a half-beat (quaver), while the stressed syllable "ha" occurs on the stronger third beat. "Ma Salim" also suggests the same text-music relationship in that strong beats generally coincide with stressed syllables. The dhikr "Salaam" consists of four lines, of which the rhyme scheme is a-a-b-b. Here again the basic metrum is iambic, and the music in quadruple time, with the stressed sounds occurring on strong beats (See p. 391).

Unfortunately only little information is available regarding length of notes (garaka) in Arabic recitals. It has been observed that length of notes in recitals are carefully "measured" by the performers. It has been argued by many informants that there exists a relationship between musical and textual metre in Qur'anic recitals, a fact which has been supported in academic treatises.

"Taglil"

M.M. ♩ = 52 Jamaah: Yusufia

(Ga-ka-la) La-il-lah ha il-lah  
lah, la-il-lah ha il-lah lah,

La il-la-ha il-lal lah, Mu-ham-mad-ur Ra-sul-lu-lah  
(Translation: There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger.)

Metre: / u | / | | u | | u | | u | | u | |

"Ma Salim"

Al-la-hum-ma sa-lim-wa sa-laam a-lay

Al-la-hum-ma sa-lim wa sa-laam a-lay  
(Translation: May God bestow peace and blessing upon you.)

Metre: | u | | u | | u | | u | |

M.M. ♩ = 52 "Salaam" Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985

Sa-laam, ya sa-laam,  
a-lei-kum sa-laam, Al-lah  
ya Ra-sul-lu-lah, Al-ma-di-na mi-nou wa-

Rhyme Scheme  
/ a

Sa-laam, ya sa-laam  
(Translation: Greetings, O greetings upon you)  
Metre: u | | u | |

A-lei-kum sa-laam  
(Translation: Greatness upon you)  
Metre: u | | u | | a

Al-lah ya Ra-sul-lu-lah  
(Translation: Upon you, Messenger of Allah)  
Metre: / u | | u | | b

Al-ma-di-na mi-nou wa-ra  
(Translation: On the illuminous city of Medina)  
Metre: | u | | u | | b

It could thus be inferred that the "musical" and reputedly powerfully poetic nature of the Arabic language, and repetitive Islamic verses, undoubtedly determined to a large extent the form and style of ratiep music.

The important role of the khalifa in determining the macro- and micro-form, as well as other aspects pertaining to the ratiep performance, the form and style of dhikr, the nature of acts and the flags need to be stressed. The introduction of the 1981 ratiep occurs with the khalifa performance starting with the words "Aqmad Saydina" (See Example 24 ), which leads into the responsorial "Allahumma". The jamaah repeats with the same text of the khalifa, as well as the melody except with slightly modified ornaments. Thereafter, the khalifa performs the "Ma Salim" repeated in similar textual but altered musical style by the jamaah. This suggests that the khalifa sets the style and form of the ratiep performance. Part II shows the nature and style of the khalifa performing pudjies: the khalifa's part have different texts, but the jamaah repeats "Ma Salim" as refrain. The dhikr are also introduced and shaped melodically by the khalifa. The khalifa' also appears to enhance the melody by adding ornaments to his melody, in his pudjies.

O.P. No Transposition  
Jamaah: Mouweejas  
Khalifa: Hadji A. Abrahams

Agnad Saydina

M.M. ♩ = 60

Khalifa

Ag- mad Say(dina) Ag- mad, A- de-

gamaka

dhol

roos ma- ee, \*

Mu- gam- mad Mus- ta- pha, ya- sa- phat

MODES: KHALIFA, 4 Phrases

No of times 5 1 (10) 4 1 1 1  
Time = 34 secs

il- (Ra) Rus- u- lah.

JAMAAH

No of times 3 2 (13) 5 1 1  
Time = 36 secs

Example 24: "Agnad Saydina"



These additional notes are indicated \* in Example 23 . A musical profile of function, manner and distinctive features of the khalifa performance is shown in Table 5 . The importance of textual articulation, introduction of dhikr, the gaining of spiritual elevation and the emotional content, as well as establishing a feeling of close brotherhood amongst the performers, are all characteristics of the khalifa. Similar profiles may be constructed for the other major parts of the ratiep performance: the acts accompanied by "salaam" and other dhikr, the movement (during the main performance and the ashrakal), and the various acts of self-mutilation themselves. These show the function of the music, movement and the acts in the ratiep performance. (See Tables 5 to 7.)

The profiles contained in Tables 5, 6 and 7, relate to function-related features of the khalifa performance, the jamaah performance and the movement respectively. From Table 5 the musical function of the khalifa of enhancing the melody yields the distinguishing musical features mentioned in the Table. The functions of the music of arousing mystical love and arousing a sense of unity are performed through the procedures adopted by the khalifa as mentioned in the appropriate Table.

TABLE 5

Musical Profile of Function-Related Features  
of the Khalifa Performance

Function of Musical Features/ Musical Function	Procedure (by <u>khalifa</u> )	Distinctive Musical Features Used (by <u>khalifa</u> & <u>jamaah</u> )
1. To enhance the melody	By careful articulation of text and skillfull ornamentation	Rhythmically free passages; Music is text-related
2. To arouse mystical love	By conveying emotional intensity	Metre with forceful stress patterns
	By maintaining textual dominance	Continuous singing by group singing in alternation
	Through Melismatic passages and artful melodies	
3. To arouse a sense of unity	By controlling the alternation of the singing	Initial absence of drumming followed by accentuated drumming
	By establishing the melody and text	Performance of acts in groups
	By blessing instruments	Musical reply by <u>jamaah</u>
	By watching over proceedings	

TABLE 6

Musical Profile of the Function-Related Feature  
the Dhikr performance of the Jamaah

Function of Musical Features/ Musical Function	Procedure (by <u>jamaah</u> )	Distinctive Musical Features Used (by <u>jamaah</u> )
1. To enhance the melody	By careful and appropriate articulation of text	Metred passages; Music is text-related
2. To arouse mystical love	By conveying emotional intensity	Metre has forceful stress pattern
	By repeated invocation	Stress accentuated by drumming
	By maintaining textual dominance	Continuous text by group singing in alternation
3. To arouse a sense of unity	By repeated invocation	Text and music repetition
	By following the drumming	Synchronised singing and drumming
	By strictly observing <u>khalifa</u>	Togetherness in start and end of <u>dhikr</u>
	By performing acts	Synchronised acts and movements

TABLE 7

Profile of Function-Related Features of Movement

Function of Musical Features/ Musical	Procedure (by performers)	Distinctive Musical Features Used (by performers)
1. To enact belief	By careful and appropriate performance	10-pulse movement pattern
2. To arouse mystical love	By conveying emotional intensity By repeated movement patterns	Metre with stressed patterns Accentuated by repeated stabbings and drumming
3. To arouse a sense of unity	By repeated movement By following drumming patterns By performing in groups	Repetitive movement Synchronised movement with singing and drumming

Likewise the musical function (of enhancing the melody) and functions of music (of arousing love and a sense of unity) of the dhikr performance by the jamaah are achieved through the procedures mentioned in Table 6. While there is a degree of overlap between the distinctive musical features mentioned in Table 5 and Table 6, there are musical features unique to the jamaah performance such as the synchronised singing and drumming.

Table 7 concerns the movement element of a ratiep performance. While acts of self-mutilization generally accompany these stylised movements, the two parameters are distinct. Again correspondences amongst the three Tables are found, notably in the function of the music and musical features. "Enacting belief" also becomes a function of music. Distinctive features unique to the movement aspect include synchronised movement with singing and drumming. The 10-pulse pattern, a feature generally common to most ratiep movement patterns where the aim is perceived bodily-mutilation, also acts as a mode through which the belief of the power of the faith of the adept over his physical body is demonstrated.<sup>27</sup>

The musical style of ratiep performances differs on two basic levels: between the Cape Muslims and the Indian Muslims, and between the khalifa and the jamaah. The former pertains to differences in tempo, text, language, melismas in vocal melodic passages, modes, and style of performance on the percussion instruments. All of these aspects, except for drumming which will be looked at under "Ratiep Instruments", have already been discussed. Essentially Indian Muslims perform on the dyra with up-down vertical hand movements, as opposed to Cape Muslims who strike the head of the rebanna on a more horizontal level. While Cape Muslims perform with their hands on all percussion instruments, dhol Indian Muslims use beaters to perform on their dhol, and they hold these beaters in a unique manner (Figure 38).

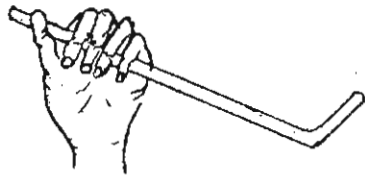
On the macro-formal level, Cape Muslim singing does not differ markedly for different dhikr. The "Salaam" and "Taqlil," however, tend to be monodic, while djats such as "Ideroos" may have different voice-parts. It should also be remembered that the Yusufia Jamaah has a different style than the Abrahams Jamaah; the latter has characteristically many voice-parts in their singing of which the tessitura also tends to be high as in their moulood performances.

The musical style of the khalifa performances may be characterised as melismatic, ornamented and essentially rhythmically free. The performance consists of unaccompanied or accompanied call-and-response between the khalifa and jamaah. The rebanna and dhol accompaniments which both provide the underlying rhythmic structure begin with the start of dhikr which involve open-throated part-singing by the jamaah.

It must be stressed that to the Muslim music alone would make little sense; it is the textual meaning coupled with the intent and purpose of the performance that matters to him. "Music" to him refers to "melody" and "rhythm", and has the function of enhancing the performance. Thus, an investigation into "music" per se must not be seen in isolation, but as part of a larger totality. "Form" and "style" of the ratiep music should be seen as an integrated whole, the two aspects of which cannot exist independently in any form. Within the formal structure, various performance styles may be manifested.

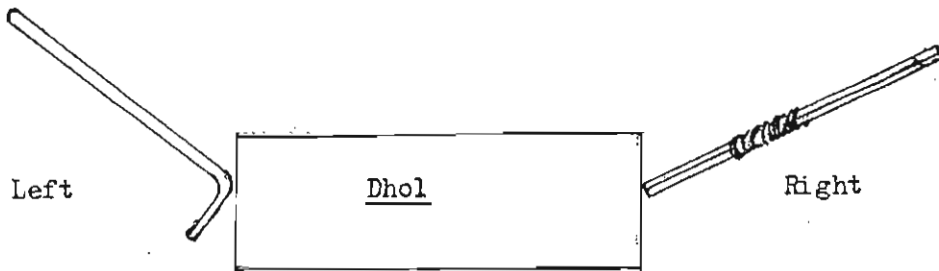
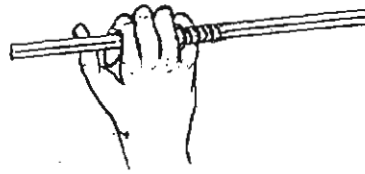
All Cape Muslim performances commence with the seated khalifa reciting his first moenayat (a prayer based on Qur'anic of

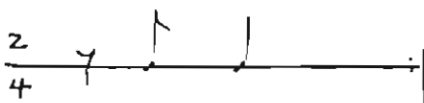
Indian Muslim Dhol




Beater in Left Hand

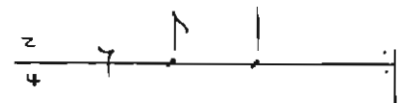
Beater in Right Hand



Right Hand  $\frac{2}{4}$  

Left Hand  $\frac{2}{4}$  

OR:

$\frac{2}{4}$  


$\frac{2}{4}$  

Figure 38: Manner of Holding the Dhol Beaters



any other religious source). The introductions are rhythmically free, melismatic, and set the emotional tone of the performance. Often the words are not clearly discernable due to the large number of highly ornamented melodic phrases. His recital is characteristically nasal. Khalifa Abrahams of the Mouweejas ratiep jamaah has a high pitched voice with a "tenor" tone quality. Khalifa Gasant (died November 1987) had a deeper, guttural voice, while khalifa Wali's voice was also dark, more dramatic and had greater volume. Thus, the tone quality may vary from individual to individual. The tessitura may be high, with phrases often starting on high notes, and falling to lower ranges. On vowel sounds, melismas, glissandos and ornaments (called karienkels) occur. Often glissandos occur at the end of phrases (See Example 25 ).

The above generally hold true for Cape Muslim khalifa performances. Indian Muslim khalifas tends to have a more nasal tone quality. Fewer melismas occur in Indian Muslim khalifa performances. Indian Muslim performances revolve round a few (four, five or six) main notes, with melodies built around central notes. Cape Muslim melody types generally span less than an octave; they appear similar to

Agnad Saydina

M.M. ♩ = 60

8

Ag- mad Say(dina) Ag- mad,

(0 8)

The image shows a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The tempo is marked 'M.M. ♩ = 60'. The piece is titled 'Agnad Saydina'. The notation includes a series of notes: a quarter note 'A', a quarter note 'g', a quarter note 'm', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'd', a quarter note 'S', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'y', a quarter note 'd', a quarter note 'i', a quarter note 'n', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'A', a quarter note 'g', a quarter note 'm', a quarter note 'a', and a quarter note 'd'. A glissando line is drawn over the final notes 'A', 'g', 'm', 'a', and 'd'. A circled '0 8' is written above the final note. The word 'Khalifa' is written vertically on the left side of the staff.

Example 25: End of Phrase Glissando

scalar types used in Western European classical music traditions. This is not surprising, if the history of Cape Muslims in South Africa, which is characterised by integration with other social groupings through marriage, social interaction and labour, is considered. On closer scrutiny of South African Islamic music in general and ratiep music in particular, it appears that a common technique used to embellish a melody is to built clusters around main or central notes which is regarded as a typically Eastern technique. This is also the case in Cape Muslim secular nederlandsliedere, and in ratiep music. The introduction of the khalifa checked, yielding a result that certain note values predominate. The larger numbers suggest central notes, which are indicated in Example 24.

In both subgroups, the response by the jamaah is rhythmically less free than that of the khalifa. This may be because the singing is less ornamented, and the large number of performers makes for greater cohesiveness and uniformity. There is no conductor; the khalifa acts as the leader who may terminate dhikrs by means of hand signals. Another reason for the rhythmic uniformity of the jamaah performance may be that it anticipates the metred accompanied dhikr performance.

Also, a group needs more uniformity and less freedom if it is to stay together.

Dhikr performances are performed to the accompaniment of rebanna and dhol or dholak. Specific dhikr accompany certain acts of self-mutilation. These specific dhikr are to a large extent dependent on the choice of the khalifa and the particular jamaah. For example, the insertion of skewers into the facial parts and the tongue is accompanied by the dhikr "alwaan" in the case of the Yusufia Rifia Jamaah. The Chatsworth Indian ratib jamaah performs this to the dhikr "salaam". In the case of the Urs Sharif held in Rylands on the 25th of January 1992, a different dhikr, also in different style, was performed to the same act of inserting skewers.

During the djieker-ing performance of Cape Muslim dhikr, many voice-parts are distinguishable at times, at an interval of a third or fifth or an octave above the main melody and generally parallel to the main melody. These higher voice parts often indicate a heightened emotional state, and an increased state of trance. The tempo of dhikr may be slow and ponderous for certain Indian and Cape Muslim ratiep dhikr

(M.M. ♩ = approximately 50). Cape Muslim dhikr tend to quicken as tension and emotion increases. Doubling up of the tempo frequently occurs in Cape Muslim performances: A particular dhikr may start at a slow M.M. ♩ = 66 and end with a quick M.M. ♩ = 132. Faster tempi have been noted: I have recorded tempi of up to M.M. ♩ = 166. These accelerating and fast tempi have also been noted in many books and articles, and appear characteristic of the Cape Muslim ratiep performances. As well as possibly indicating a heightened state of trance, the faster tempo indicatives that a particular dhikr is nearing its end. In relation to the formal structure of the ratiep performance, it must be mentioned that the quickening of tempi occur only during the djats which have rebanna and dhol accompaniments.

Of particular importance in all ratiep performances, are the expressions of the faces of the performers, which during peak times of the performance, may be indicative of a trance state. The performers stare and their facial muscles are tense at such times. Great energy is used in the singing of dhikr and the performance on instruments, which are both loud and intense. Certain members again may be expressionless, as most are at the beginning of the ratiep performance. No

nervousness or excitement seems to be present at the beginning of performances. Big arm movements are used in striking the rebanna and dhol. The Indian Muslims use exaggerated up-down hand movements during their ratiep performances. (See Figure 32.1, p.350)

The refrain "Ma Salim" is characteristic of Cape Muslim and certain Indian Muslim performances. Not only may it be performed at the beginning, but also as a "break" during the performance. It is unaccompanied, serves as a breather, and gives the instrumentalists a chance to warm their instruments' skin and get them in "tune".

While stylistic differences between various aspects of Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim ratiep performances are immediately obvious, closer analysis of ratiep dhikr representing these genres shows several areas of commonality with regard to pitch organisation. The example of Indian Muslim ratiep dhikr "Allahumma" (Example 22 ) shows a narrow range from F<sup>#</sup> to E<sup>1</sup>. This corresponds to a span of less than one octave. The Abrahams Cape Muslim ratiep performance of December 1985 of "Allahu Ya" (Example 26 ) shows a range from G to C<sup>1</sup>, a span of a fourth. The Lockday Indian Muslim performance of 20 April 1985 of "Laha Illah" (Example 27) shows a simple melodic motive, which has a similar span and consists of the same notes as the Abrahams performance.

Allahu Ya Abrahams Jamaah, 1985

M.M. ♩ = 60

The musical score is written on four staves in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'M.M.' with a quarter note equal to 60. The melody is written on the top staff, and the lyrics are written below the bottom three staves. The lyrics are: 'Al- lāh l-hu ya Rab- bi ya say- di- na . gi- din sul- ta- ni- a- a- le- a, Aūdul Ka- der- Jai- la- ni.' There are various musical notations including slurs, ties, and a repeat sign at the end of the piece.

Al- lāh l-hu ya Rab- bi ya  
say- di- na . gi- din sul-  
ta- ni- a- a- le- a, Aūdul  
Ka- der- Jai- la- ni.

Example 26: "Allahu Ya"

The Abrahams "Allahumma" (Example 23) likewise displays a falling minor third, the complete main melody encompassing only a third. "Salaam" of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah of May 1985, reveals melodic phrases built around B and having a span from A to E<sup>1</sup>, or a fourth. Yusufia's dhikr "Alwaan" (Example 28) uses a pentatonic scale from G to E<sup>1</sup>, by omitting the A. Similarly the "taglil" uses a narrow range. Indian Muslim Giyerwee Sharif melodies also show this narrow range, as in "Asta-a Firullah" and "La illaha" (Example 21 and 29).

Another characteristic feature is the essentially stepwise movement of the melodic phrases, as is the case in "Laha Illah", "Allaha Ya", "Salaam" and "Allahumma Salim". Ascending and descending thirds and fourth do occur in "Alwaan" or "Allahumma" (both genres). The resulting melodic contour is a smooth one which may fall, as in "Allahumma" or "Alwaan" or gently rise and fall, as in "Salaam" or "Allahu Ya".

A fairly stable tonic is found in all performances as can be seen from the examples. In the examples cited above, it is either G or F#. It may, however, change stepwise during an entire performance in an unpredictable manner, depending on the individual choice of the khalifa.

M.M. ♩ =

La ha Illah

Dyran

The image shows a musical score for 'La ha Illah'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, stepwise fashion. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a 4/4 time signature, labeled 'Dyran'. The notes in the bass staff are mostly quarter notes and half notes, providing a rhythmic accompaniment to the melody. The tempo is marked as 'M.M.' (Moderato) with a quarter note equal to one beat.

Lockday Jamaah  
20 April 1985

Example 27: "Laha Illah"

Alwaan

Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985


M.M. ♩ = 52



Say goe- na - a - a Al- lah.  
I- be- nu al- waan.

Example 28: "Alwaan"

La Illaha Illal Lah



La il- lah- ha il- lal- lah, Mu-  
han- mad dur Ra- sul- lu- lah.

Translation: There is no God but Allah,  
Muhammad is his messenger

Example 29: "La Illaha"



Following is an analysis of a ratiep show held at the Baxter Theatre on the 13th of May 1985. The purpose in particular is to give an account of the nature of the acts and the accompanying dhikr. (See Figure 39 for the applicable Performance Model which was adapted from Qureshi.)

#### 4.5.1 The Baxter Ratiep Display

This ratiep performance was arranged with a dual purpose in mind: firstly, to bring me into close contact with ratiep performers and the art form itself, and secondly to raise funds for the participation of the secular Suid-Afrikaanse Koorraad in the Roodepoort Eisteddfod.

The public display started at approximately 21h00 with all ratiep jamaah members having arranged themselves in a two roughly parallel rows of members facing each other. The khalifa started the performance with his ornamented rendition of the taglil which starts: "La Illaha". The jamaah responded with their version of the "taglil". This performance of the "taglil" continued with the khalifa and jamaah alternating the respective renditions of this dhikr.

<del>Time</del> (cf. p. 88 )	1	2	3
Member			
A. <u>Khalifa</u> Ebrahim	Behind <u>bank</u>	<u>La Illaha</u>	<u>salaam</u>
Gasant	<u>La Illaha</u> (20 secs)	(20 secs)	(20secs)
B. Hadji Hassiem Samuels ( <u>mureed</u> <u>saboos</u> )			
C. Mogammad Tape	Plays on <u>dhol</u>		
Samuels ( <u>hazrat</u> <u>saboos</u> )			
D. Shaheed Wyngaard	<u>Jamaah</u> stands in 2 rows	<u>Jamaah La Illaha</u> (20 secs)	
E. Johaar Wyngaard		2 notes on <u>dhol</u>	
F. Abduragmaan Noordien		<u>Rebannas</u> (10)	
G. Sulaiman Hendrieks			
H. Rajab Samuels			
I. Hoesein Wyngaard			
J. Abubakar Noordien			
K. Yusuf Noordien			
L. Latief Samuels			
M. Faiek Samuels			
N. Faiek Adams			
O. Ismaiel Williams			
P. Sieroot Karriem			
Q. Igsaan Adams			
R. Agmat Abrahams			
S. Bienie De Vos			
T. Salagoedien De Vos			
U. Abduragmaan Samuels			
V. Karriem Samuels			

4

5

6

salaam

4 tamboes

J, K: on saals

8 tamboes

7

8

9

salaam

J: salaam

10

11

12

J, N, O, P, Q:

tamboes

Hassiem to front

Insertion by khalifa

13

14

15

Kh. Gasants inserts

Insertion of  
skewer into tongue

16 17 18

Abubakar Noordien  
through tongue

19 20 21

tongue

22 23 24

alwaans tongue Insertion by kh.

25 26 27

alwaan performance by 18 repeated stabbings to chest with alwaan clusters still dhikr "say goena" C: trapsaal on arms and cutting

28 29 30

dhikr "alwaan continues

C: stomach cutting (2 keeps saal) a boy comes forward tramps on neck D: moves from back to front

31 32 33

B: keeps saal  
D: hammers saal  
dhol and rebanna  
parts softer

34	35	36
S,T,U,V: perform with <u>tamboesters</u>	10 pulse time-line pattern: 4+4+2 (stabs on 9th beat) Initially the timing was out Anticlockwise move- ment	Break: "Allahumma salim" no drumming
37	38	39
<u>dhikr</u> "Ideroos" B: cutting on arms	B: 2 <u>saals</u>	cutting of subject on bench
40	41	42
hammer 2 members hold <u>saal</u>	B: stand on <u>saal</u>	B: cutting
43	44	45
mouth 2 members hold standing on <u>saal</u>	<u>kh: saals</u> table removed	<u>dhikr</u> "Attas" F: <u>kapsaal</u>
46	47	48
<u>kh.</u> continues	A and 2 move to front	Final <u>dhikr</u> no acts
49	50	
	Show ends Members start moving off stage	

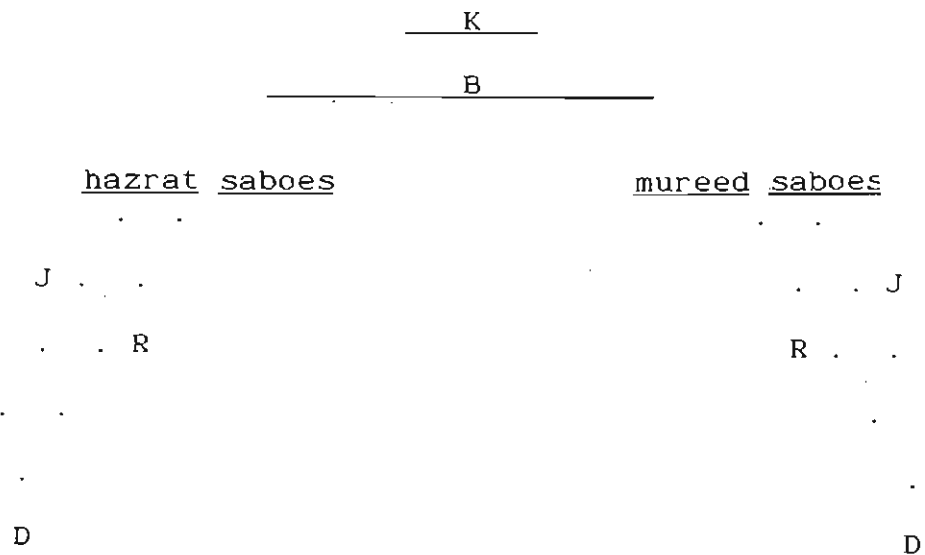
Key: J: Jamaah; Kh.: Khalifa; Letters refer to individual members as numbered in list

Figure 39: Baxter Performance Model

The taglil replaced the traditional "Allahumma" which incorporates the refrain "Ma Salim" because this show was organised to be completed within an hour. Thereafter the salaam was performed; both the taglil and salaam were introduced by the khalifa. The dhol players were the first members to sit astride their instruments (See Figure 40 for a schematic representation of a ratiep show for the position of the dhol players). This was immediately followed by the seating of the rebanna players and the rest of the jamaah, including the khalifa who seated himself behind the bank. At this stage the percussion instruments, which were previously warmed in a secluded place near the stage where the performance took place, were not played upon. The bank was also assembled and decorated with instruments and flags before the commencement of the show. The khalifa, Gasant, seated himself behind the bank. Two important members, the mureed saboes (khalifa designate) and the hazrat saboes (honoured and senior member) were seated respectively left and right of the khalifa in front of the bank (See Figure 40 ).

The salaam of the khalifa (S1) is more embellished than the reply of the jamaah (S2) (See Example 30 below).

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PERFORMERS  
OF A RATIEP DISPLAY



Key: K: Khalifa

B: Bank

R: Rebanna players

D: Dhol players

J: Other jamaah members

Figure 40: Schematic Representation of the Arrangement of a Ratiep Display

Both were unaccompanied initially. The rebanna players initially held their instruments across their chests, with their arms folded over them. Afterwards they also sat down, with their legs folded underneath them and seated in almost parallel rows facing each other (See Figure 40).

M.M. ♩ = 52 Salaam (S1) Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985

Sa-laam ya sa- laam a-  
lei- kur sa- laam. Al-lah ya Pa- sul- lu-  
lah. Al ma- di- na mi- nou- wa- ra.

M.M. ♩ = 52 Salaam (S2) Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
May 1985

Sa- laam, ya sa- laam,  
a- lei- kur sa- laam, Al-lah  
ya Ra- sul-lu- lah. Al Ma- di- na mi nou wa-  
ra.

The image contains two musical staves, each with three lines of notation. The first staff is titled 'Salaam (S1)' and the second 'Salaam (S2)'. Both are in 4/4 time with a tempo of 52 M.M. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff includes a triplet of eighth notes at the beginning. The second staff ends with a double bar line.

Example 30: Salaam Dhikr S1 and S2



The next repeat(S3) of the salaam by the khalifa was accompanied by two loud staccato-like notes on the dhol occurring towards its end. These beats served as a cue to the members that it was time to begin the accompanied dhikr by the full jamaah. The introductory percussion cue thus serves to "tune them in" and to ready them for their performance. They also arguably serve to shape the up to now predominant recitativo unaccompanied vocal style into clearly defined metric units.

During this performance (S3) and all subsequent repetitions (S4,S5 and so on), the subjects perform their acts with tamboesters, saal and alwaan (daggers, swords and skewers).

The first act started after 5 minutes, with a "simple" or less-skilled performance by 2 boys. This consisted of a tamboester performance by Rajab Samuels - a family member of the mureed saboes and hazrat saboes - and Hosain Wyngaard who were both about eight years old at the time. The two boys performed the characteristic dance movement, which ended with strikes to the body. The full act was skilfully synchronised with the musical performance by the rest of the jamaah. The steps and the arm movements which were in

synchrony with the underlying rhythmic structure ended in less powerful stabs to the body. They followed a basic 10-pulse rhythmic pattern. This rhythmic pattern of the movement superimposed on an essentially quadruple rhythmic pattern, and the combination thereof presented to the onlooker a synchronised whole. It must be stressed that music, dance and drama combine in the ratiep art form to make it a totality.

During this first act, very little evidence of trance was observable. The ratiep public performance seems to be carefully rehearsed and the acts carefully selected for a particular purpose of public display. In private ratiep and samman performances, the degree of trance (called tarik or hal) may be considerable. However, in more advanced acts, such as cutting, alwaan and saal performances, a marked degree of trance may occur even during a public performance.

The second act was performed by Abubakar and Yusuf Noordien with saals to the accompaniment of the dhikr "salaam" (See Example 30 ). These were synchronised to fit in with the dance and form and style of the salaam dhikr performance. As with the previous act, the movement, cutting with saals

and the dhikr are in accordance with the quadruple rhythmic pattern of singing. More powerful strikes to the body and arms were performed by more experienced young men.

The third act was a hammer (See Figure 46 ) and tamboes performance by Latief Samuels, who also danced to the 10-pulse time pattern described above (Cf. p.257). Noticeable was the softer rebanna and dhol accompaniment which gave prominence to the sound of the hammer striking the tamboester, and highlighted the act more.

The fourth act was the alwaan performance by the khalifa, assisted by the mureed saboes. Five boys, Faiek Adams, Abubakar Noordien, Ismail Williams, Sieroot Karriem and Igsaan Admas were pierced with alwaan by the khalifa. These subjects, as well as two older members, one whose cheek was pierced by a tamboester and another whose tongue was pinned by a tamboester to a hammer head, moved in procession through the audience. Donations were placed in a rebanna by members of the audience. They returned after a few minutes to the stage, when the khalifa removed the skewers and tamboesters one by one. One boy reportedly bled. Noticeable from a video-cassette recording was the repeated

wiping with a handkerchief of the ears of one subject, after the khalifa removed the skewers.

Alwaan Yusufia Rifi'a Jarsah  
May 1985

M.M. ♩ = 52

Say goe- na - a a Al- lah.

I- be- nu al- waan.

Example 28: "Alwaan"

The fifth act consisted of a performance with alwaan by Agmad Abrahams. This subject was reputedly fond of reaching an advanced state of trance, but he did not do so during this performance.<sup>28</sup> It appeared that there exists in general a correlation between the level of the act and the degree of trance: The more "advanced" or dangerous the act

by the older performer, the greater the state of trance.

The sixth act consisted of Mogamad Tape Samuels performing on the "trapsaal" still to the dhikr "alwaan" (Example 28). This act consists of two helpers holding a sword shoulder high, with the sharp side facing upwards. Samuels then walked on the sharp edge, after having been lifted to the required height needed to perform this act. This took place while a dhikr was rendered.

The seventh act saw Shaheed Wyngaard with hammer and saal performing to the dhikr "alwaan".

The eighth act involved four boys: Bienie de Vos, Salagoedien de Vos, Abduramaan Samuels and Karriem Samuel. They performed the ratiep dance (cf. p.250) with tamboes while moving anti-clockwise in a circle.

The ninth act took place during the performance of an "important" dhikr, "Iederoos". During this act, the mureed saboes performed "cutting" on the subject Sulaiman Hendricks. This subject was laid on a table, and a sharp sword stroked over parts of his head and upper torso.

The "cutting" of the mouth appeared extremely dangerous and painful to the subject.

In the tenth act, khalifa Gasant performed with a saal. This was a simple but powerful and important skilful display with sword by an important man of over seventy years of age.

The eleventh act took place with Abduragmaan Noordien performing with kapmes (panga) to a dhikr "Attas" which was then new to this performance.

All these mentioned acts took place while four djats (basic dhikr sections) were being performed to dhol and rebanna accompaniment. A short unaccompanied "break" occurred with the unaccompanied performance of "Allahumma" after 36 minutes. Therafter the dhikr "Ideroos" was performed.

The rhythmical dhikr "Assalaam" concluded the performance of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah after about 50 minutes. This essentially was a farewell greeting to an appreciative audience. The elaborate and highly stylised ashrakal performance, which consist of movements described before (cf. p. 272 ), did not conclude this performance.

The ashrakal is also performed at moulood performances, but without the characteristic movement, which appears peculiar to ratiep performances alone. Ashrakal performances took place during a private show in Athlone in 1985 and the Thom Theatre public display in November 1985. In all Indian Muslim ratieb performances the ashrakal concluded the display, but the dyra again is played upon by the Indians Muslims with their characteristic up-down handmovement technique. (See Figure 32.1, p.350)

#### 4.6 RATIEP INSTRUMENTS

Two types of drums are used by both Cape and Indian Muslim ratiep performers, namely the rebanna frame drum (also called a dyra by Indian Muslims) and barrel-shaped dhol (or dholak for some Indian Muslims,) drum.

##### 4.6.1 The Rebanna

The rebanna is single-skinned frame drum with an average diameter of approximately 40 cm (centimeters); the full diameter range varies from about 30cm to 50cm. The instrument is covered with either springbok or buck hide.

Shortly before a ratiep performance, the skin of the rebanna is warmed over a gas stove, or an open fire kindled from paper, wood or twigs as illustrated below (See also Plate XXVIII):

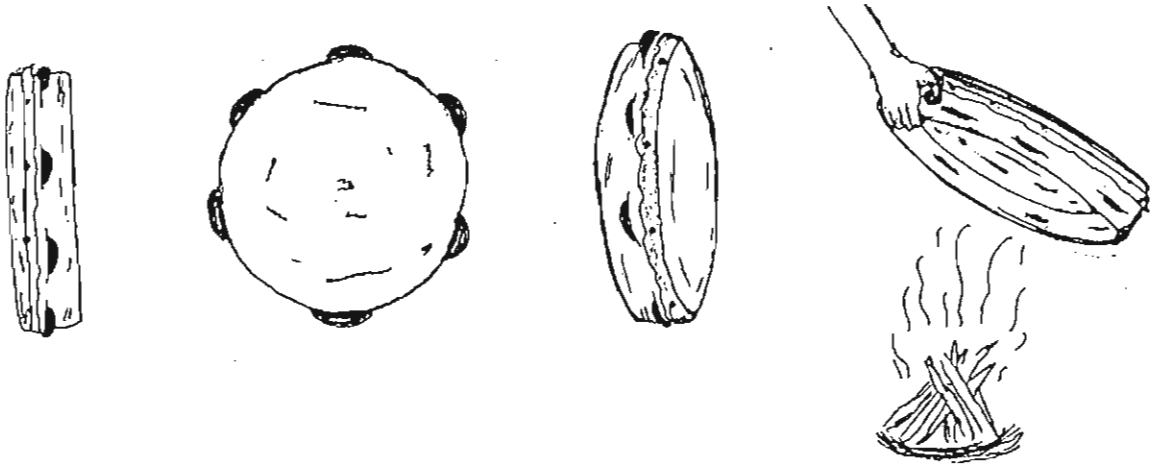


Figure 41: Warming the Skin of a Rebanna

#### 4.6.2. The Construction of a Rebanna (See Plates XXXV to XLIII)

The details following were supplied by members of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah on the 28th of September 1985, at the Mannenberg home of Hassiem Samuels.<sup>29</sup>



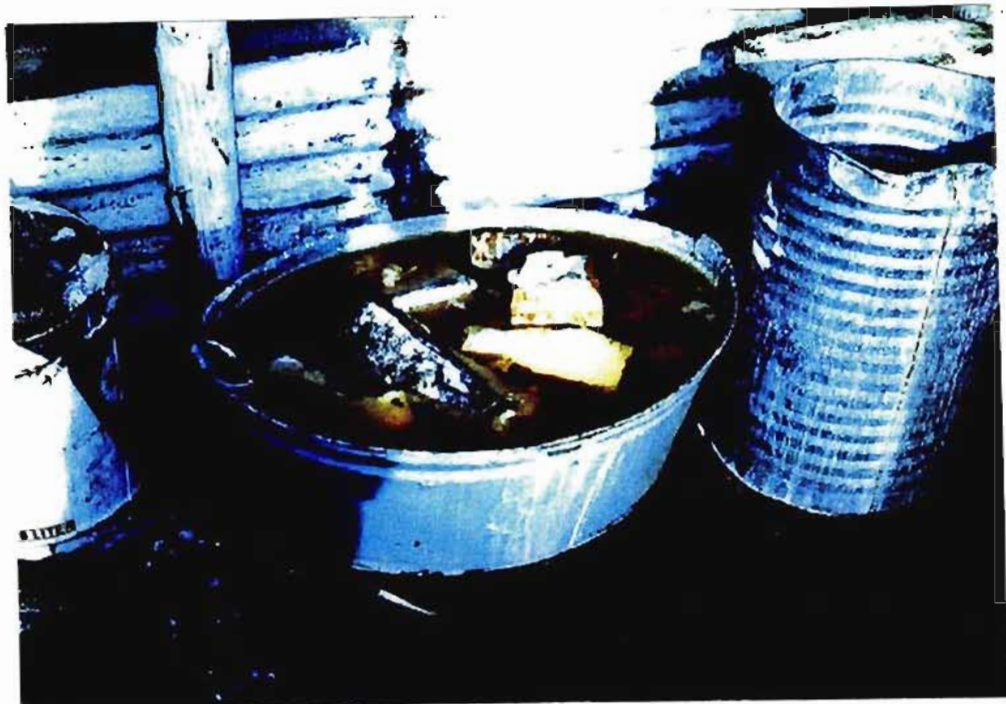


Plate XXXV: The skin is soaked in lime water.



Plate XXXVI: The skin is taken out of the lime water.



Plate XXXVII: The hair is scraped off.

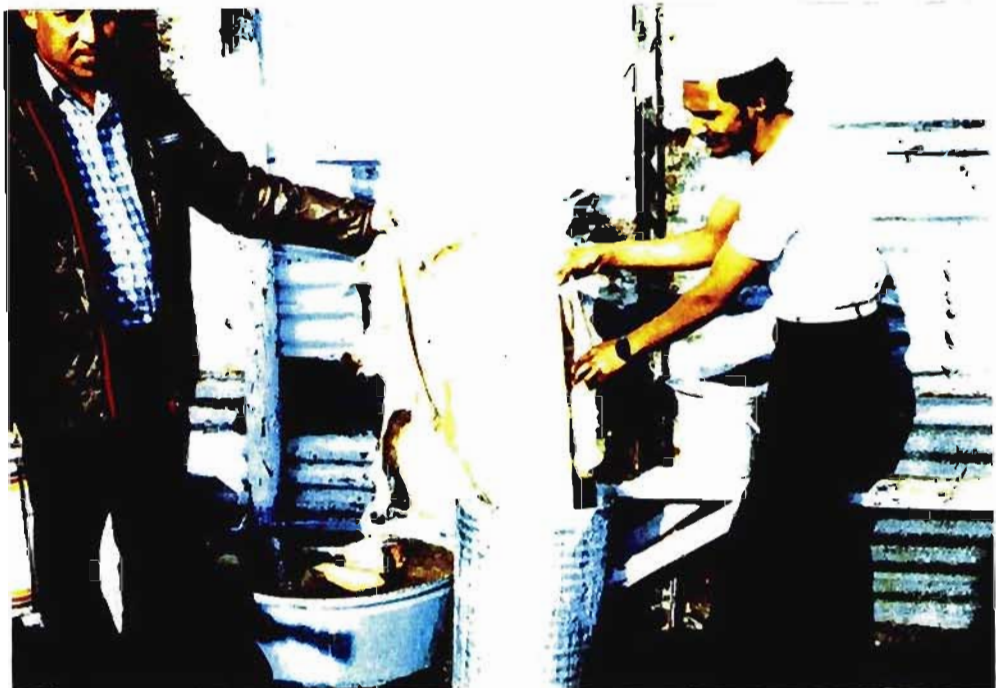


Plate XXXVIII: The skin is submerged into water. Note the different container.



Plate XXIX: The skin is placed over a hoepel (hoop).



Plate XL: String is used to tie the skin down.



Plate XLI: The skin is tied onto the hoepel.

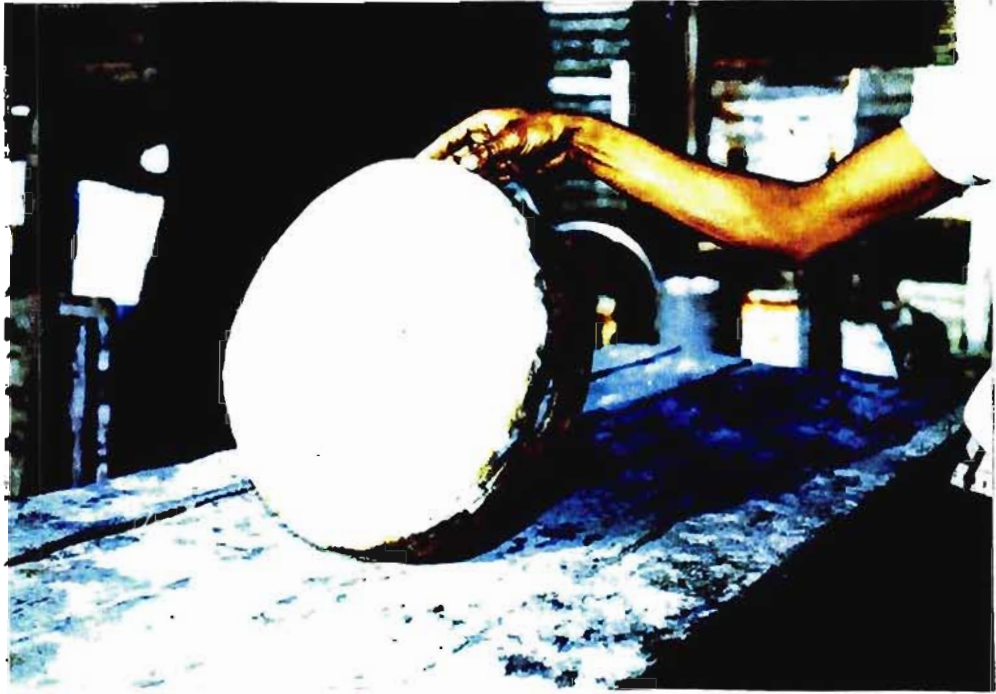


Plate XLII: The finished product



Plate XLIII: Different sizes of rebannas. Two types are found, namely tenor (smaller) and base (larger) rebannas.

Initially lime is rubbed into the hair of the buck's skin, which has been spread out on a table. Thereafter the skin is soaked for approximately two weeks in a solution of lime and water. The skin is then taken out of the bucket of water, again spread out on a table and the hair then scraped from the skin by means of a scraper. The whole process of removing the hair may take approximately half an hour. Thereafter it is again submerged for about 10 to 15 minutes into water. The skin is again placed on the table and then spread over the frame of the rebanna. The skin then gets stretched, after which a string is bound tightly around the frame by means of a tourniquet technique. Thereafter the skin is sown onto the frame, using a particular stitching method.

Following are particulars regarding the four rebannas placed on the table:

rebanna 1: Four holes around circumference; diameter 40 cm.; "bass" type; sides 9,5 cm wide; constructed of wood; painted brown.

rebanna 2: Four holes; diameter 35 cm; "tenor" type; sides

7,5 cm; constructed from wood; painted brown.

rebanna 3: Four holes; diameter 36 cm; "tenor" type; sides 8,5 cm; mild steel metal construction; painted brown.

rebanna 4: Four holes; diameter 41cm ; "bass" type; side 12,5 cm; wooden construction; painted black (possibly belonging to another jamaah).

The seven rebanna of the Anjuemaan Refa-e-Jamaah held by the South African Cultural History Museum in Cape Town are of variable size. Four are circular, one oval and two irregular in shape. Their diameters range from 280mm to 430mm, and the average diameter of these rebannas is 251mm. The width ranges from 105mm to 130mm, with its average 112,8mm. The number of discs (jingles) range from 3 to 5, and the average is 4,14. These rebannas have double jingles (or metal discs), whereas some rebannas may have only a single jingle, or two jingles placed next to one another as in the Chatsworth Ratib Jamaah dyra (See Plates XXXIX).

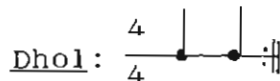


As in the Cape Muslim ratiep performance, Indian Muslim performers on the dyra seat themselves in two parallel rows. Each row of performers faces the other. At some ratib performances, performers may form a rough circle. When the ashrakal is performed, the performers move in a rough circle, and perform a characteristic dance.

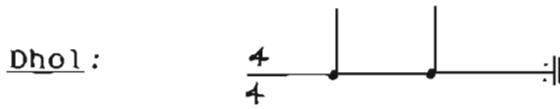
There is a difference in the style of performance on the rebanna and dyra between the Cape Muslims and Indian Muslims respectively. Indian Muslims strike the dyra in up-down hand movements.

#### 4.6.3 The Dhol (Dholak)

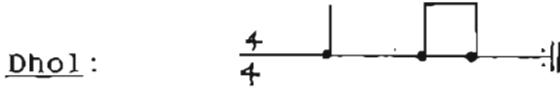
The dholak is a double-headed barrel-shaped drum performed upon in a characteristic manner with two beaters. The beaters are held in unique positions in the two hands (See Figure 35 ). Given below are rhythmic patterns found at the the beginning of an Indian Muslim ratib performance:



At climactic moments during a ratib performance, the rhythmic patterns are varied thus:



becomes



The performance on the Cape Muslim dhol or ghomma was fully described under "kasedas" (p. 204 ) and "Cape Muslim Music and its Relationship with the Ratiep" (p. 331 ).

#### 4.7 PRABOES

The praboes refers to the sharp instruments used in a ratiep performance. These are tamboesters (daggers), saals (swords, called tilwaar by Indian Muslims), kapsaal (panga), alwaan

(skewers) and the hammer (a hammer used for striking tamboester, swords or pangas). The hammer is also used to drive a taboester, through the tongue and cheek, into a wooden block kept against the cheek.

These instruments are kept in a large wooden box, and only removed for the ratiep performance (See Plate 27 ). When a bank is present, they are arranged systematically on the bank: the swords are arranged on the saalstand (sword stand) and the number of tamboesters displayed on the lower shelf. Often they are stuck into the wood of this lower shelf or fitted into holes drilled into the base. A special silver sword is hung in the centre from the kap (top) of the bank.

Before a ratiep performance, the khalifa or specially appointed members, clean and sharpen these sharp instruments. An informant, khalifa Gasant, pointed out that these instruments have to be sharp and clean to avoid injury.

Older ratiep Javanese instruments have been described before (cf. p. 23). These Javanese types may point to the possible origin of the South African tamboesters.

It was only possible to compare the sizes of two sets of praboes: that of my main locus the Yusufia Jamaah and the praboes kept at the South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM) in Cape Town.

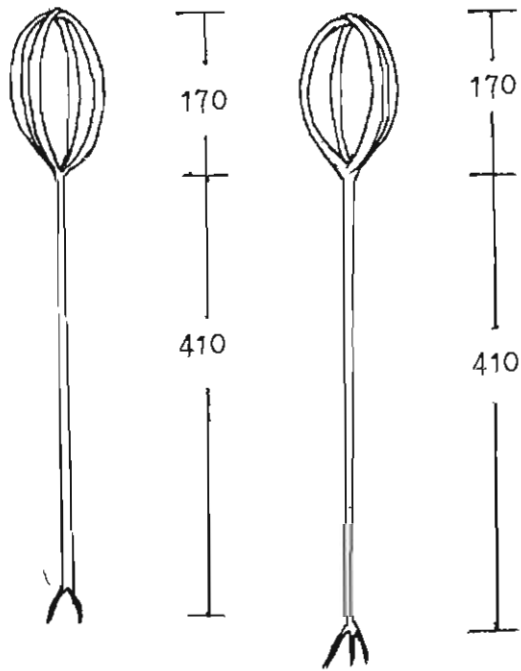
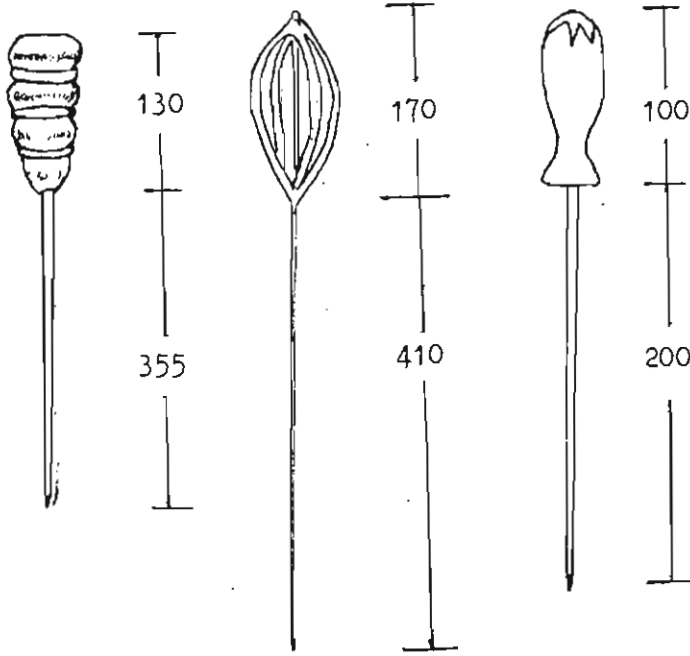
#### 4.7.1 Tamboesters

Ratiep acts usually commence with a tamboester performance.

Figure gives the dimensions of various tamboesters, which are made of wood, brass or steel. Each jamaah possesses a wide range of taboesters of different forms and shapes.

Smaller ones are used for children. The SACHM has an unusual twisted brass tamboester, with a three-pronged point. Below are examples of tamboesters with dimensions of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah and the SACHM.

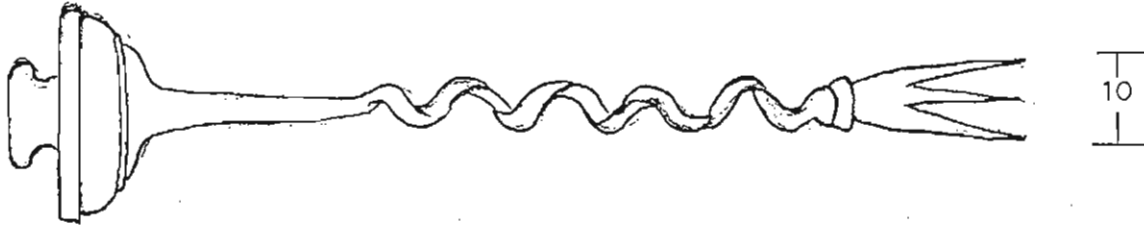
The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah tamboesters (dimensions in mm):



South African Cultural History Museum Tamboesters

(Dimensions in millimeters)

| 80 | 340 |



| 150 | 220 |



| 135 | 160 |



| 115 | 225 |



| 150 | 170 |

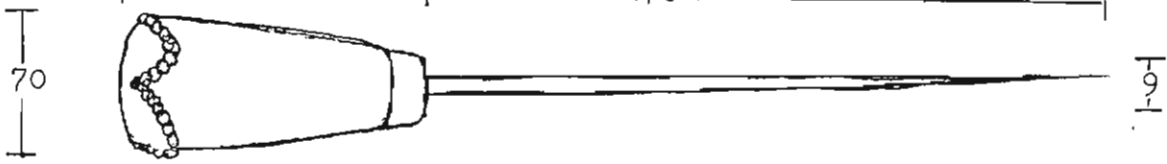
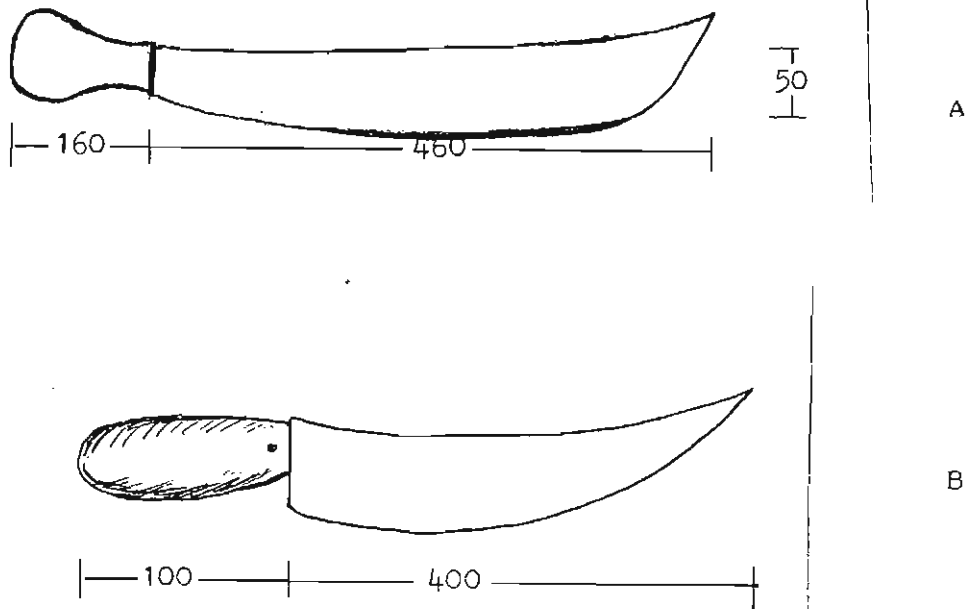


Figure 42: Illustration of Tamboesters

4.7.2 Saals

Saals may be grouped as follows: Saals for cutting and chopping; kapsaal; trapsaal; and the silver sword which is hung in the centre of the bank. Saals are made of old steel. The silver sword is silver coated. Handles made of wood, are of various shapes and forms, and may be covered in cloth or silver plated. The important silver saals may be kept in a silver plated sheath, which is much valued. The Yusufia's silver plated sheath was made by the late Hassiem Abdullatief Samuels (See Plate 38; the silver sword hangs from the medoura of the bank).

Kapsaal



Key: A = Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah  
B = South African Cultural History Museum

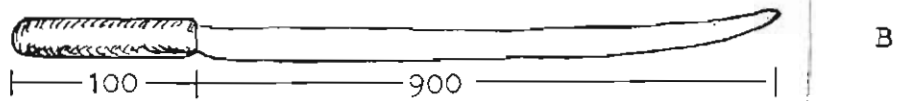
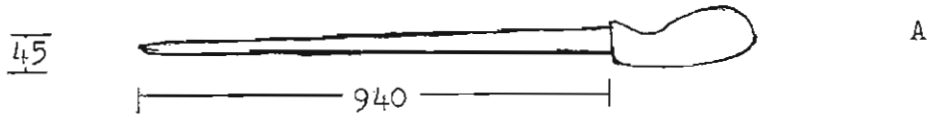
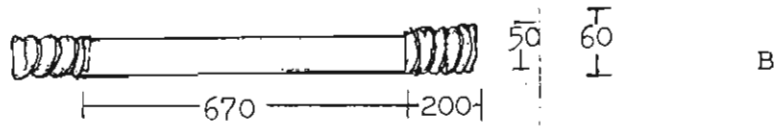
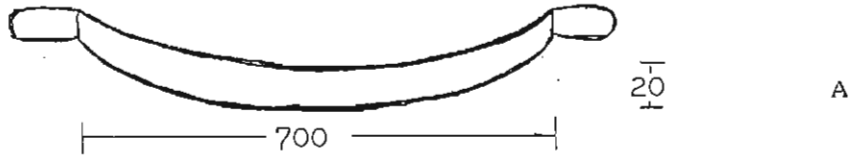


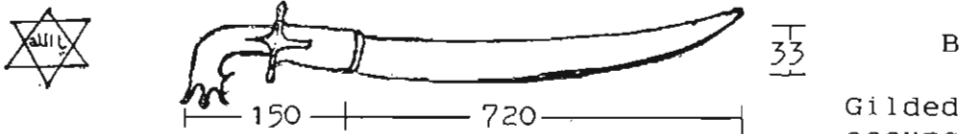
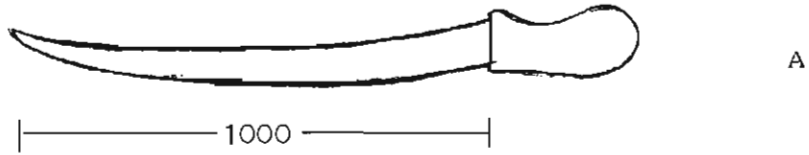
Figure 43: Illustration of Saals



Trapsaal



Silver Sword

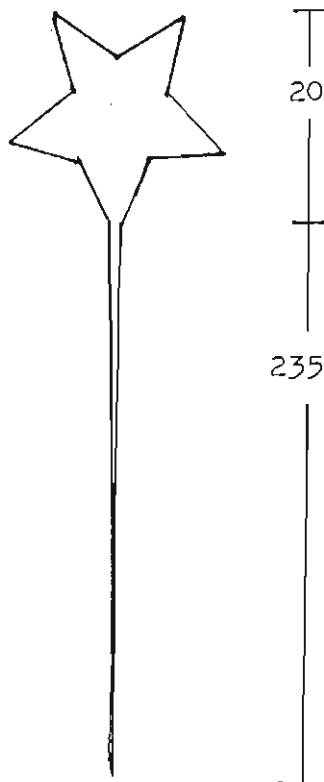


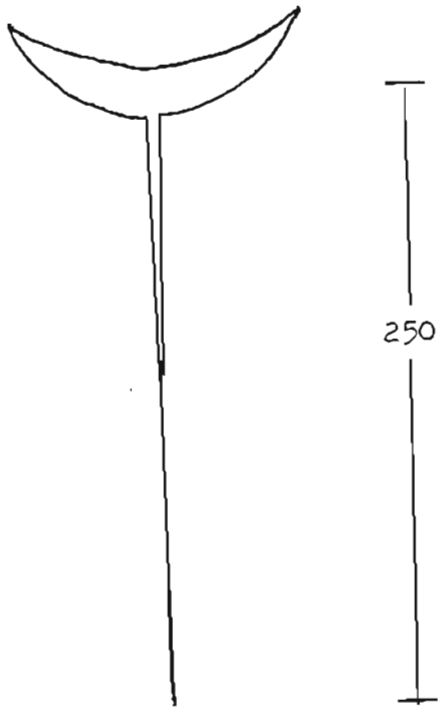
Gilded writing occurs on the blade. On the side, the Star of David appears.

Figure 44: Illustrations of the trapsaal and silver sword

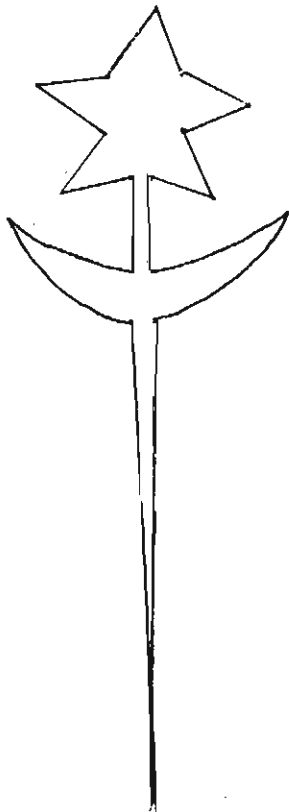
4.7.3 Alwaan

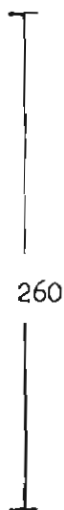
Alwaan are used for piercing parts of the body. They are made of steel. A top decorative brass or steel part in the form of a half-moon, star or both, is welded into the steel spike. Following are sketches with dimensions of the Yusufia and SACHM alwaans. The larger one is not used for insertion into body parts, but is used when a subject had been pierced to collect the donation from the audience. When the alwaan are to be removed from the face or tongue of a subject, he is struck over the shoulder.





Large Alwaan





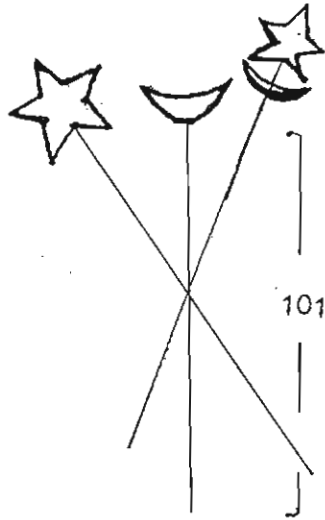
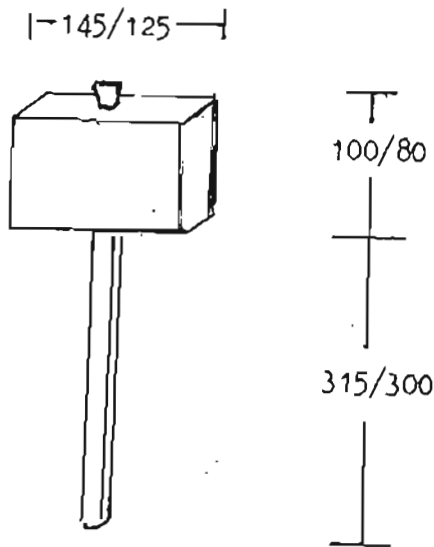


Figure 45: Illustration of Alwaan

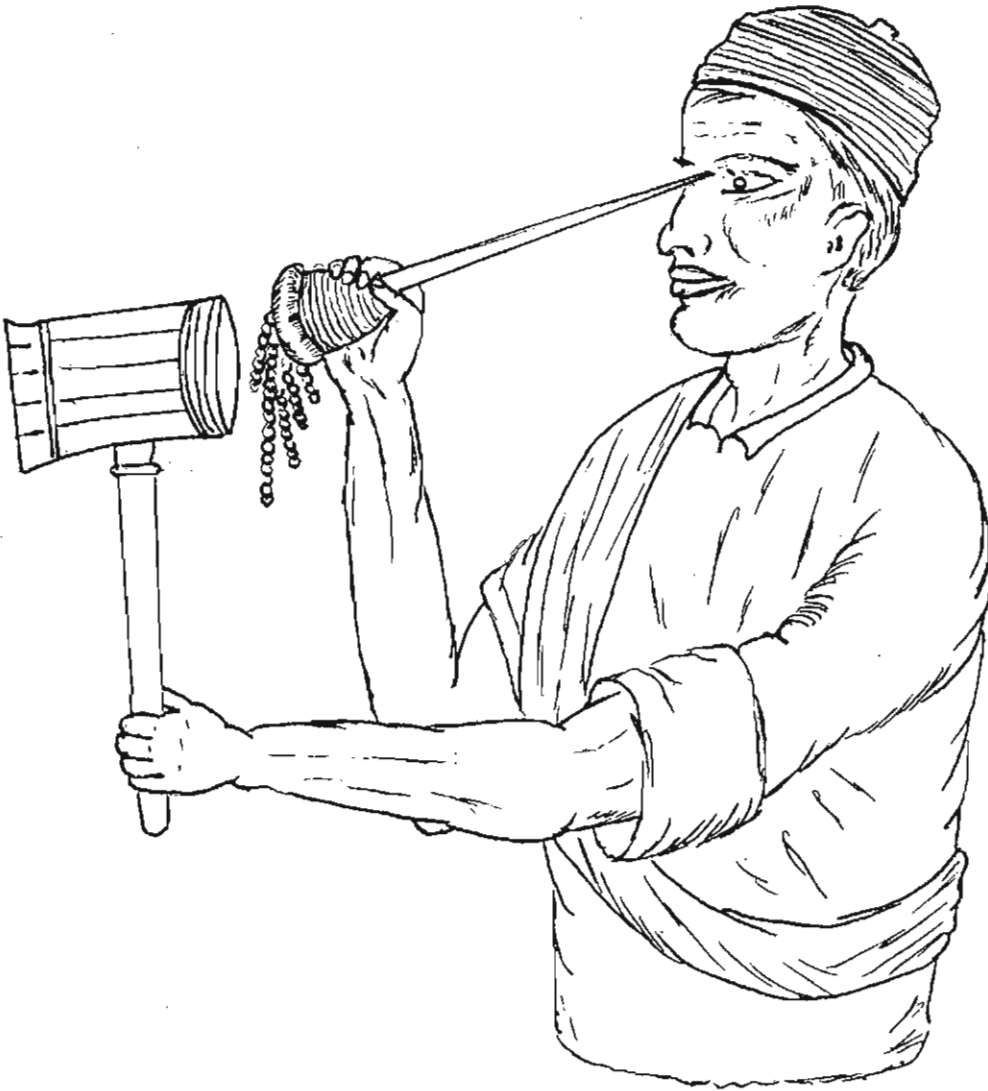
4.7.4 Hammer

The hammer is used to strike a special tamboester made of harder wood. Following are diagrams of hammers of different dimensions. The smaller hammer is used for piercing the tongue with a tamboester.



Left Dimension: Larger Hammer  
Righth Dimension: Smaller Hammer  
(used for tongue)

Below is a reproduction of an illustration of the hammer and tamboester ratiep performance act given in the "Illustrated London News" of 18 August 1888:





South African Cultural History Museum Hammer

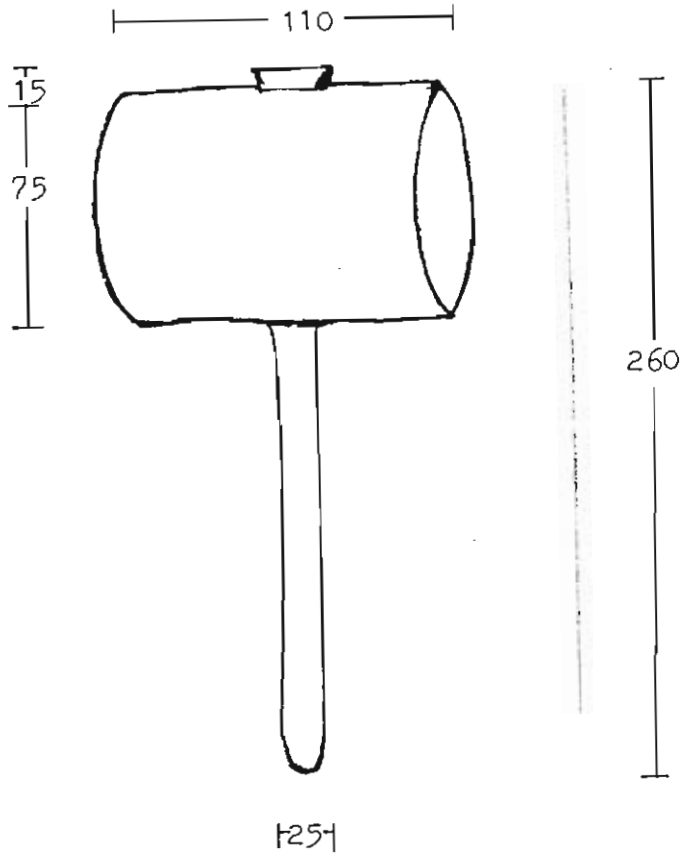


Figure 46: Illustration of Hammer

#### 4.8 BANK

The origin of the bank is obscure. The horizontal arrangement of saals on the saalstand of a ratiep bank is similar to that of the Prophet Muhammad's swords depicted in a photograph in The Muslim Digest.<sup>30</sup> Khalifa Gasant and Khalifa Hendricks both indicated that their ancestors established this traditions in South Africa. The use of a bank in Cape Muslim performances goes back to at least the beginning of the previous century. The bank of Khalifa Hendricks of the Newtown ratiep jamaah is about 200 years old according to him (See Interview, p. 588). Illustrations which depict Cape Muslim ratiep performances of the nineteenth century clearly shows the presence of a bank.

The ratiep bank is important for the following reasons: the ratiep flags are affixed to it; the praboes is arranged on it; and the khalifa is seated on a bench behind it.

The bank is constructed of wood and has a characteristic basic form and structure: it consists of a base part (voetstuk), a middle part (saalstander or stand for swords) and a top section (the kap or medoura). The bank may be

painted white, green, black or simply varnished. The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah bank, which was constructed circa 1950, is illustrated below. Its dimensions are given, as well as those of the bank in the South African Cultural History Museum.

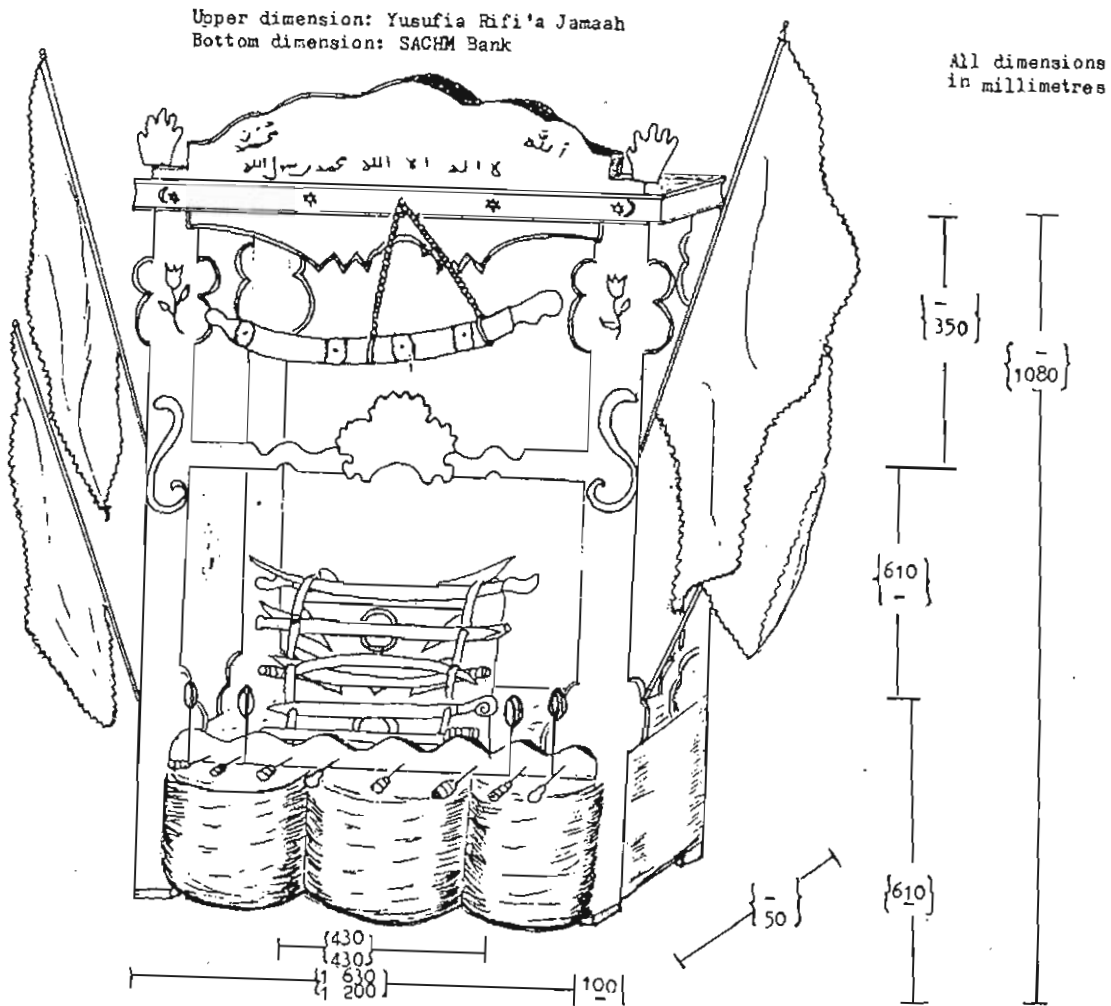


Figure 47: The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah Bank

ENDNOTES

1. South African Indian Muslims use the term "Urs". See also Glossary of Terms, p.509).
2. Ratiep flags are discussed in Section 3.7, p. 218. The colours of these flags are significant in that they are the identifying colours of different Sufi Brotherhoods.
3. See for example Regula B Qureshi, "Musical Gesture and Extra-Musical Meaning: Words and Music in Urdu Ghazal" (Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol. XLIII, no.3, Fall 1990.); Peter L. Manual, "The Relationship between Prosodic and Musical Rhythms in Urdu Ghazal-singing." (Studies in the Urdu Ghazal and Prose Fiction. Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1979.); and Harold S. Powers, "Language Models and Musical Analysis" (Ethnomusicology, vol.24, 1980.)
4. This is the general Muslim viewpoint. See also R.Qureshi, "Musical Gestures", p.469.
5. Qureshi, Ibid.
6. The khalifas are respected members in society, and are generally the composers of both text and music of new djiekers. This creates an apparent inconsistency, because of the Muslim viewpoint of the lesser role of music per se.
7. Information was supplied by a young informant, Khalifa Sulaiman Lamara, of Steenberg, August 1991.
8. Ibid.
9. D.Desai, "An Investigation", p.35.
10. A paper on this topic was read on the 24th of August 1993 at the Eleventh Symposium on Ethnomusicology held under the auspices of the Department of Music, University of Natal. A research grant by the University of Natal made the reading of the paper possible.
11. Desmond Desai, "An Investigation into the Influence of the 'Cape Malay' Child's Cultural Heritage upon his Taste in Music" (Unpublished M.Mus. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1983), p.34.

12. Information may be found in : G.M. Theal, History of South Africa before 1795 (Stellenbosch: University Press, 1964); H.Lichtenstein, Travels in South Africa. Volume 1 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928), pp.33-34; Lady Duff Gordon, Letters from the Cape (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1925); Isak, D. Du Plessis, The Cape Malays (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1972); J.Campbell, Travels in South Africa (Cape Town: Struik, 1974); J.S.Mayson, The Malays of Cape Town (Pretoria: State Library, 1970); and Desmond Desai, "An Investigation".
13. D.Desai, "Islamic Music in South Africa: An Investigation into Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim Practices, both Past and Present" (Unpublished thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), pp.183-194.
14. D.Desai, "An Investigation", pp.328-329.
15. Ibid.
16. Regula B.Qureshi, "Musical Gesture and Extra-Musical Meaning", p.458.
17. D.Desai, "An Investigation".
18. It had been impossible to identify Shi'a Muslims in South Africa. Informants indicate that the Muharram festival is practised by all Muslims alike, although this occasion is linked to Shi'a Muslim practices in Iran, Iraq and elsewhere.
19. This research was started in 1981; my 1986 work contains about 60 pages on the subject.
20. See Interview M.S.Soofie, p. 585 .
21. Fatima Meer, Portrait, pp.204-205; C.G.Oosthuizen, p.338.
22. In 1949 a controversy regarding the proceeds of the procession developed which resulted in a court case. See Interview M.S.Soofie, p.585.
23. The following are details of 4 of the performing persons in the jamaah: Farook Razak, aged 24, occupation driver; Nasser Osman, aged 21, occupation mechanic; Ebrahim Ismail, aged 26, occupation clerk; Aslam Khan, aged 23, occupation busdriver.

24. Regula, B. Qureshi, "Musical Gesture and Extra-Musical Meaning: Words and Music in Urdu Ghazal" (Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol. XLIII, no.3, Fall 1990), p.457.
25. Ibid.
26. P.L. Manuel, "The Relationship between Prosodic and Musical Rhythms in Urdu Ghazal-singing" (Studies in Urdu Ghazals and Prose Fiction. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1979).
27. The movement is synchronised with the music and text. This "tunes" the body so that it becomes immune. See also Inayat Khan, The Mysticism of Sound, (Katwijk: Servire, 1979), p.108.
28. This characteristic psychological tendency of Agmad Abrahams was confirmed by several of the Yusufia Jamaah members.
29. The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah was started by the father of Hassiem Samuels, namely Abdul Latief Samuels, who died on the 13th of April 1985 at the age of 78 years. Together with Salie Saboes and 'Boeta' Ebrahim he formed the jamaah which was served by khalifas Gamat Sedick and later three other khalifas. During Hassiem's time, khalifa Amien Abrahams acted as the first khalifa, who was later succeeded by khalifa Abubakar Abrahams of the Mouweejas Jamaah.
30. The Muslim Digest, (Durban, April/May 1989), p.59.

CHAPTER 5

5 MEDICAL AND METAPHYSICAL ASPECTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION ;

The purpose of a ratiep performance has often been characterised as a demonstration of the power of the adepts' faith or a physical demonstration of "the power of flesh over steel".<sup>1</sup> These and other references in the literature to supernatural or metaphysical forces, signify an attempt of some observers to explain or understand a performance which may be completely beyond their understanding; some reject metaphysical speculations as conjecture and regard the acts as "exhibitionism" or "skilful swordplay".<sup>2</sup> A balanced viewpoint should accept the plausibility of both viewpoints, which requires that the role of the spiritual phenomenon, the physical reality (medical) and the role of magic need to be examined. "Explanations" of incredulous ratiep acts thus relate to a state of mind on the one hand of the performers, and in particular the khalifa as director of the performance and mediator with deceased saints and the realms of the spiritual or religious. On the other hand, the physical acts

need to be examined from a physical and medical point of view. Magic may be defined as a ritual or performance, believed to influence events through access to external mystical forces to a particular end.<sup>3</sup> Magic thus seemingly brings the two aspects, physical and spiritual, together. Muslim viewpoint generally draws a distinction between "magic" and religious considerations.<sup>4</sup> Ratiep performances have Islamic objectives as its aim. Notwithstandingly, certain Cape Muslim ratiep jamaah members have been participating in performances of "magic" per se.<sup>5</sup>

Alongside metaphysical considerations of ratiep performances are medical perspectives. These latter perspectives focus on medical aspects which may explain the reasons for certain phenomena and thus explain the "abnormal" nature of the acts in medical and scientific terms. Already in the first chapter of this work the medical investigations of Lynn Gillis of the University of Cape Town has been discussed (cf. p. 26 ). In this chapter, his further experiments conducted under the auspices of the College of Music, University of Cape Town in April 1986 will be discussed later.

Closely linked to medical and spiritual aspects of the ratiep



performance are the nature, reason and function of trance. The rhythm of the percussion instruments have been described as "hypnotic".<sup>6</sup> The inference is clearly here to an important characteristic of ratiep performances, namely the varying degrees of trance which subjects may reflect during a ratiep performance.

Trance, aided as such by music in a musical performance such as the ratiep, has been discussed by Gilbert Rouget.<sup>7</sup> The reason, purpose and nature of ratiep trance cannot and/or has not been fully investigated. How do the performers enter the state of trance, and why? What, apart from being an altered state of consciousness, is it precisely? While much information regarding subjects in various states of hypnosis exists, not many answers for ratiep trance can be given.<sup>8</sup> The totality of the performance, that is the music, the repetitive texts, the movements, the atmosphere and the deliberate intention of the performers, as has been noted, all contribute to reaching the state of trance. But how and when do deceased saints and other supernatural factors influence events, if at all? From personal experiences, and accounts in literature sources, an "electrified" or "hypnotic" atmosphere arises during the ratiep performance

which is experienced by the researcher. Is this because of the various elements in the performance such as the drumming, singing, and movement? Or are other metaphysical factors also responsible. How can this be tested?

## 5.2 MEDICAL ASPECTS

Lynn Gillis, a former professor of psychiatry of the medical school of the University of Cape Town, has been conducting research into the medical and psychological aspects of the ratiep art form since 1970. During my association with the University of Cape Town in 1986, having closely co-operated with Deidre Hansen of the College of Music and Lynn Gillis, a special ratiep performance by the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah was arranged. This ratiep performance took place at the College of Music on the 11th of April 1986. Information regarding this ratiep performance was provided for the audience in programme notes.

Professor Gillis required at least six members of the jamaah to be tested, for his experiments to have any reliability. This proved impossible since certain of the leading members of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah strongly objected to the drawing of blood samples. This presented serious problems, and a sense of mistrust amongst the various roleplayers developed.

Gillis first demonstrated how the procedure worked (See Plate XLIV). The jamaah, however, could at first not be influenced to subject themselves to blood sampling. Hadji Jabaar, President of the jamaah, reneged on his original consent to grant six subjects for testing. After I had exercised considerable coercion in my capacity as patron of the jamaah, the jamaah eventually agreed to only three subjects being tested, from each of whom blood samples were taken. Blood samples were drawn from each before the commencement of the ratiep performance, and again from each during the performance. The three subjects were:

Agmat Abrahams: Aged about 28 years;

Sieroot Karriem: Aged about 11 years;

Khalifa Ebrahim Gasant: Aged 75 years.

The mureed saboes (khalifa designate) was more upset about Khalifa Gasant, than of Karriem or Abrahmas, since Gasant was the khalifa (leader) of the jamaah.

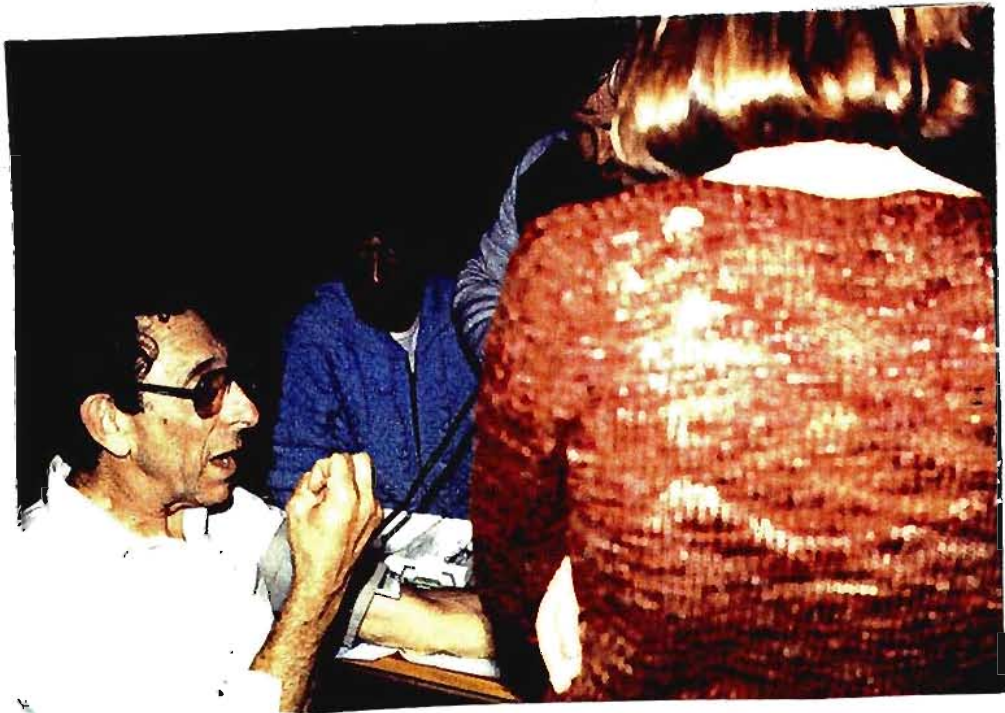


Plate XLIV: Professor Lynn Gillis Demonstrating his Procedure of Drawing Blood Samples

The medical experiment of Gillis was based on a simple argument: He hypothesised that ratiep performers should bleed less during a ratiep performance, when they were in a state of trance, than before the performance, when they were not in a state of trance. The experiment required that the skin on the forearm be lacerated by means of a mechanical device. A piece of blotting paper was then used to determine the time taken for the blood to coagulate or clot.

The following represents the time taken for coagulation to take place:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Time before show</u>	<u>Time after show</u>
Abrahams	10,5 seconds	10,5 seconds
Karriem	11,0 seconds	11,0 seconds
Gasant	4,5 seconds	4,5 seconds

In the light of the above results, Gillis concluded that the results were inconclusive. He needed more subjects, and suggested to me that the hypothesis had to be rethought.

The ratiep performance of the evening lasted about one and a

half hours. It consisted of:

A dua or prayer;

A performance consisting of about 10 acts;

The salawaat and dua.

Hadji Jabaar, who was never present during any of the previous ratiep performances attended by myself, appeared to have influenced both the form of this particular ratiep performance and the djiekers, which now appeared related to mouloud djiekers stylistically.

The acts, however, were similar to those performed at previous shows, such as the Baxter Performance of May 1985, which has been analysed in detail (p. 411) and of which a video-recording is enclosed with this work. The following important points relating to the acts and movement of the Gillis show, were noted:

. The members performed a sequence of movements towards the flags which followed the following basic 12-pulse pattern:

To the right : 4 beates;

To the left : 4 beats;

To the centre: 4 beats.

. Hassiem Samuels cut himself while performing the "cutting" act on a subject. This occurred while Khalifa Gasant was giving a blood sample; when Gasant noticed Hassiem bleeding, he rushed to his position behind the bank, and started djie-ker-ing intensely, his mouth wide open, and eyes flashing.

The following reasons are advanced for the "accidental" bleeding during acts with saal, alwaan and tamboesters:

. The subjects experience technical difficulty in the execution of the blow. They may strike body in the wrong place, or in the wrong way. The khalifa may extract the sharp instrument from the body in a wrong manner.

. The performance may be out of its (religious) context.

. Members have not performed the compulsory act of abdass (ablution) and/or may not have isolated themselves from women prior to the performance. The presence of women

amongst the audience may also cause lack of preparation for and concentration during the ratiep performance.

On the 4th of March 1993, from 11h00 to 11h30, a follow-up interview with Lynn Gillis took place at the University of Cape Town Education Centre at Valkenberg Hospital in Observatory. The principle aim of this interview was to establish the precise nature and results of the investigations of Gillis into medical aspects relating to the Cape Muslim ratiep performance. In particular I needed to confirm that the April 1986 investigation at the College of Music, Rondebosch, yielded results that were inconclusive.

The following are the main aspects of our discussions:

1. The reason for April 1986 investigation into the blood flow of ratiep performers was "to check the clotting time" and "why they don't bleed".
2. In his 1986 experiments, Gillis hypothesised that "there may be a reduction of blood coagulation time which may be related to findings in hypnosis or there may be peripheral vaso-constriction". His hypothesis thus was: The clotting time of blood of ratiep subjects deminishes during the ratiep performance.



During a ratiep performance, subjects undergo an altered state of consciousness, awareness and perception. The subjects also believe that no pain will be experienced when for example skewers are inserted into their cheeks or tongues.

3. Gillis carefully noted the main problems contributed to the "inconclusive" outcome of the experiment: The number of subjects who were tested were not enough, and those who submitted themselves to it, inititally were reluctant to do so.

4. During 1973 and 1979 Gillis conducted similar experiments of blood testing. His results (which were shown to me) showed NO CHANGE in blood clotting time before and after the performance. He mentioned that there "was a slight shift in clotting time" during the 1986 experiment, but the results were inconclusive. He could not find any record of his 1986 results.

5. As a psychiatrist of standing he answered to the negative upon the question whether he thought that subjects may have a psychiatric disorder: "Not at all". They do, however, undergo

an altered state of consciousness during the performance, he contended.

6. In reply to my question on further investigation into medical aspects, he stated: "I was the only person to investigate medical aspects relating to the ratiep.... I cannot think of any person who would be willing to do so now.... I am unable to conduct such research now due to my retirement."

He felt that the swordplay is characterised by skill and exhibitionism. The subject strikes his arm on the soft muscular parts, and never on the skin over bones. When this happens, laceration occurs. The swords are not "rasor sharp", and the blows are carefully controlled.

Gillis stated that the peripheral blood flow of subjects may be measured easily by means of a sleeve which can be put onto the finger tips.

7. Gillis believes that "magic" and "supernatural" phenomena do not exist. These have not been investigated properly, or scientists may have been prevented from doing so, in order to

explain these rationally. However, he concurred with me on the acceptance of a metaphysical reality and the ultimate control of all physical events by a metaphysical force(s) or being(s). All people, even Muslim doctors, subscribe to a system of beliefs. A Muslim doctor may, due to his ingrained belief, argue that the swordplay demonstrates the power of the adept over physical reality. Muslim religious leaders may, due to their belief, accept the "miraculous" nature of the ratiep performance, although not condoning it publicly. It is possible that religious leaders used the ratiep performance as a tool to propagate the Islamic religious. Particularly during the slave and colonial eras in South Africa, the ratiep performance may have served to impress ordinary people and introduce them to the religion of Islam.

### 5.3 MAGIC AND MYSTICISM

Certain people in various parts of the Muslim world, in particular Southeast Asia, have been associated with magic.<sup>9</sup> "Magic" may also refer to the use of unexplained forces to control physical occurrences. In this respect accounts of activities of evil spirits called poltergeits have been given by Lyall Watson who has researched the phenomenon in South Africa, Brazil and the United States.<sup>10</sup>

I.D. Du Plessis had published widely on the occurrence of this phenomenon amongst the Cape Muslims. Against the background of South Africa's history of racial prejudice of associating evil spirits with "non-Whites" only, Du Plessis argued that magic may be linked to people in all parts of the world, and not only to the East, as traditionally is the case.<sup>11</sup> Du Plessis divides the occult into two categories, namely the mental and the physical. Ratiep acts, accordingly fall into the latter, although he does not speculate about the ratiep performance in this connection (cf. p. 19). Du Plessis cites the scientific work of Bozzano and others concerning states of altered consciousness. Ratiep acts occur with subjects experiencing a altered state of consciousness, and arguments about the influence of magnetic fields and alpha, beta, theta and delta brain waves may be brought into relevance. Du Plessis finally argues that a new area for possible investigation lies ahead, and that "magic" cannot be the sole domain of "Easterners".<sup>12</sup> In support of his latter argument, the witchcraft practised by some Finns in the past may be cited.<sup>13</sup>

Certain traditions have become associated with the Cape Muslims. The practice of "kerkhof ry" (literally "riding the

churchyard") has been linked to the Cape Malays.<sup>14</sup> This ceremony consists of a visit to the graveyard by a dukun ("Malay" medicine man) and a friend of a deceased murderer who attempts through a pact with the devil to attain certain evil powers. This apparently may be accomplished by meeting the ghost of the dead man. At midnight, when the moon is full, the two men, carrying three coconut palm fronds, a brazier of coal, and incense, visit the grave. After having sprinkled incense onto the coals, they carry the censor to the gravehead, and then circle the grave thrice. After having called upon the dead man, the first leaf is waved in the incense and struck in the gravehead. The two men then sit astride the grave, using the remaining two leaves as oars. They then "ride" the grave. The scenery changes as if on rough seas, and the ghost of the murdered man will come before them.

Azeemats have also been customarily used by Cape Muslims. These consist of Qur'anic phrases, secret formulae and advice which may be carried on the person. Magic formulae are associated with the practices of a dukun, which also borders on "evil" practices. Azeemats also for some include these magic or evil formulae. For some South African Muslims,

azeemats refer only to Qur'anic based formulae. Old azeemats have been discovered, which were kept by a respected Indonesian prince who exercised great influence amongst the Cape Muslims during the 18th century, called Tuan Guru (literally "Mister teacher"). A shrine or kramat has been erected in his honour.

Magic and mysticism must not be confused. Al-Attas states that the deep spiritual origin of Sufi acts amongst Malays (in the East), draws a clear distinction between Sufism and magic. He argues that self-respect is fundamentally important and that charisma plays an important role in Sufism.<sup>15</sup> South African Sufi saints of reknown have been associated with miraculous deeds. Sufi Saheb, a member of the Chisti Order, performed miracles at the turn of this century in Durban and elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Badsha Pir, whose death is annually commemorated with a Sandal Procession which incorporates ratib acts, had also reputedly performed several karamat or miracles.<sup>17</sup>

Mysticism has been recognized as valid and as distinct from magic by at least some of the adherents of many religions, and it is known that it was held in high esteem by the Islamic peoples of Persia and India during the time Islam spread to the East.<sup>18</sup> Abdul Kader Jilani, an

important founder of Sufi Orders who is directly related to the ratiep art form, reputedly practised supernatural powers of yoga. Through hypnosis he could transfer a medium through space.<sup>19</sup>

Ratiep performances are all closely associated with mysticism (cf. p. 175 for a discussion on relatedness of ratiep to Sufism), and are characterised by the performances of unusual or "paranormal" deeds. The warning in the above is that it cannot be related to magic.<sup>20</sup> The following represent various hypotheses about the ratiep acts which need to be tested for validity:

- (a) The acts are merely skilful swordplay and exhibitionism;
- (b) The acts are directed by a khalifa who acts as mediator between the performers and deceased saints;
- (c) The acts are controlled by deceased saints;
- (d) The feats are performed in a state of trance by which miraculous acts are made possible;
- (e) The metabolism of physical human body changes during state of trance;
- (f) Supernatural forces are at work during the ratiep performance.

According to Alfred Douglas proper investigation into psychic phenomena requires repeatable and reliable laboratory experimentation. This seems to be the biggest stumbling block preventing acceptance of the supernatural world. Pedler warned against accepting what is observable as fact, a statement which appears contradictory in itself. For example, if a person does not bleed after repeatedly stabbing and cutting himself with swords and daggers, it does not exclude the possibility of "skilful" swordplay. This is one of the conclusions Gillis reached when examining Cape Muslim ratiep acts closely, and concluded that the blows appear to be rode by the performers by dropping the arm at an instant when the sword strikes the arm. In my opinion more reliable conclusions may be reached if, through rigorous analysis of speed of sword and arm movements, and repeatable experimentation, which is possible in the case of ratiep performances, the power of the impact of the sword or dagger is measured. The speed of impact may even be determined from video shots, by relating for example, the distance the sword travels through the air to the time taken. Unfortunately a uniform speed cannot be assumed.

Closer medical and psychological examination of heartbeat,



brain waves and breathing may be monitored. If it was possible to subject ratiep performers to blood sampling, it may also be possible to subject them to even more rigorous testing. This will lend greater validity to scientific experimentation.

But how is the deliberate intent, will and mind of the performer to be measured? His psychological state changes during a performance, and it becomes difficult to make contact with him during a performance. During performances, I often sat close to the khalifa and other performers, and asked them general questions immediately before and after performances of individual acts while the ratiep performance continued. Although I monitored their facial expressions, the musical performances, and the acts closely during a performance, I could never ask them questions, while performing the act. If done, this may have broken their concentration, or their trust in me as observer.

Thus apparently at this stage, the most conclusive evidence is provided by the performer himself. Many aspects of the ratiep remain a closely guarded secret of the initiated few. The religious disposition of a khalifa and a performer appear

clearly different. Khalifas appear often in a state of dissociation from the real of physical world in a deeply meditative mood, while ordinary jamaah members appear and behave ordinarily. During a performance, subjects appear to undergo psychological changes. Thus it appears as if performers develop gradually, and strive towards the "right" state of mental detachment from the outside world.

Mystical and religious considerations therefore cannot be divorced from the physical reality, as the Muslim performers themselves believe. Purely scientific investigation of the physical reality is limited. The "mysterious" or mystical is an important and fascinating part, as Einstein remarked in connection with scientific investigation.<sup>21</sup>

ENDNOTES

1. I.D.Du Plessis, The Cape Malays, p.37 and Penny Miller, Myths and Legends of Southern Africa (Cape Town: Bulpin, 1979), p.70.
2. Ibid.
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, vol. VI (Chicago: Britannica, 1975), p.483.
4. S.N.Al-Attas, p.48.
5. Hassiem Samuels, a chief informant and a member of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah offered to organize a magician's show in 1985 and 1986, but this was never arranged.
6. I.D.Du Plessis, p.41; and Miller, p.70.
7. Gilbert Rouget, Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession (Chicago: University of Chicago, 19 ).
8. See for example Du Plessis, p.41; and Alfred Douglas, Extra Sensory Powers; A Century of Psychical Research (London: Victor Gollancz, 1976), p.315.
9. Du Plessis, p.71. See also New Larousse Encyclopaedia of Mythology (London: Hamlyn, 1982), p.323.
10. Lyall Watson, Supernature II: A New Natural History of the Supernatural (London: Hodder & Stroughton, 1987), p.221.
11. I.D.Du Plessis, p.76.
12. Ibid.
13. Masson-Oursel, P. & Morin, Louise "Mythology of Ancient Persia". New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology. (London: Hamlyn, 1982), p.323.
14. Miller, p.72.
15. Al-Attas, pp.48-49.
16. G.R.Smith, "A Muslim Saint in South Africa" (Habibivah Khankah, Masjid and Madressa, 75th Anniversary, June 1980), p.6.

17. "Hazrat Badsha Peer RA" (Habibiyah Khankah, Masjid and Madressa), p.26.
18. New Larouse Encyclopaedia, p.323.
19. Ibid., p.324.
20. Al-Attas.
21. Kit Pedler, Mind Over Matter: A Scientist's view of the paranormal (London: Thames, Methuen, 1981), p. .

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The ratiep performance is part of a large and interwoven body of cultural activities of the two Islamic subgroups which constitute South African Muslims. Each of these subgroups is fairly homogeneous. One is the Cape Muslim group, the largest percentage of which resides in the Cape Peninsula, and the other is that of the Indian Muslims, who are resident largely in Durban.

The ratiep is one of several types of Islamic performances, including, for example, the haddad, moulood and samman performances, all of which share with the ratiep a long history of practice in South Africa, and the methods used herein for the study of the ratiep could be adapted for the other forms.

The musical tradition of the ratiep in South Africa has evolved out of ancient musical traditions, which may be related to one another. Islamic music shows a historical shift from textual dominance over music, to musical dominance

over text. Likewise a shift has taken place from orthodox musical performance to performance which are more secularly based. In terms of evolvement, sacred musical styles have tended to remain static while secular forms have evolved. Thus dhikr became stylistically related to nederlandsliedere, the former pre-dating the latter.<sup>1</sup>

The postulate concerning the Sufi origin of the ratiep found full support in the interviews conducted, and the literature sources. All of these point to the important role of Sufi saint Abdul Kader Jailani and Ahmad Rifi'a. The roots of the Cape Muslim ratiep may be traced back to the practices of the Southeast Asian and other (including the African) ancestors of the early Cape Muslims. The ratiep performance has been compared to the Indonesian dabus performances. The stylized ratiep movements have also been compared to similar movements of the Dervishes and the samman performance.

Certain Indian Muslim ratiep practices, namely those that are Urs-linked, may be traced back to Indo-Muslim origins. The Chatsworth jamaah and Zanzibari ratiep performances are linked to the Cape Muslim ratiep performances by the form and style of the dhikr, the acts of self-mutilation and the

movement.

The perpetuation of the ratiep, even in the face of opposition, ensures (Islamic) cultural transmission. Flowing from its practice are underlying opposing political and cultural motives which may be discernable in the works of Du Plessis, Davids and De Lima. This is a subject beyond the scope of this work. Notwithstanding its Sufi Islamic roots, the common ground in the majority of documented sources remain the unacceptability of ratiep as an orthodox "Islamic" practice.

The problems encountered in researching the ratiep performance prompted a search for modes of investigation, description, musical transcription and analysis which would be suited to this particular art form. Notating the temporal element of ratiep musical performances was particularly problematic. Further, Islamic musical performances are seldom identical, even when by the same jamaah of the same performance type such as ratiep. Even the macro-form may be changed to suit circumstances. The salawaat, an important part of the concluding section of a ratiep or moulood performance, may vary harmonically, melodically and

temporally for different performance. A broad description of Islamic musical performances should include text-musical considerations, stylistic devices, interhuman modes of communication, moral codes, norms of behaviour and an evaluation of aesthetic aspects for completeness. Some of these have been incorporated in a performance model for ratiep performance, a notation method devised for ratiep movement and an adapted notational system for transcription.

A large body of the texts, due to oral transmission and distortion or blurred performance of the texts in musical performance, is unclear and could not be notated properly. Consequently, their precise meaning could not be established. The important role of the khalifa in the creation of dhikr was stressed, but due to the fact that a part of his knowledge remains known only to the initiated few, khalifas were unable to render full assistance in the respect of the exact nature of texts.

An important Appendix of ratiep-linked terminology and key to pronunciation has been provided. South African ratiep terms are often peculiar to the South African cultural traditions and influenced by its socio-cultural domain.



Descriptions of ratiep performance prior to the works of the author, do not only lack depth and accuracy, but also display subjective prejudice born mainly from one-sided Western European musical and cultural traditions. On the other hand, works such as that by Khan written by Muslims reveal an opposite viewpoint, from an Islamic vantage point. There is a need for an impartial, balanced and scientific perspective which would promote the broader cultural and national aims of the communities that are directly or indirectly linked to the ratiep performance. The ratiep performance must cease to become a political tool; this may not be possible, but there is a need for a description that it is not devised as a political tool.

An inadequate range of perspectives, namely musical, anthropological, medical, psychological and linguistic, fail to penetrate the depths of metaphysical aspects which occur against the backdrop of religious fervour. For example, when performing dhikr, some performers may reach a state of emotional ecstasy which is transmitted in his performance. It is this metaphysical realm where the precise nature thereof escapes the researcher and may render him reluctant to continue his research since completeness cannot be

achieved. This "dividing line" may be regarded as separating objectivity from subjectivity.

Music must be seen a necessary link between physical and metaphysical reality. Such is the role of music according to protagonists of Sufism.<sup>2</sup> Sama thus provides the medium for interacting with the metaphysical reality. This may be illustrated by the khalifa who, during a ratiep performance, reputedly makes contact with olea or deceased saints.

Coupled with a belief that the physical body of the performer becomes immune to physical mutilation, Khan states:

...by the power of words they [the adept of the Rifi'a Order] try to tune bodies to that pitch of vibration where no fire, no cut, nothing, can touch it.<sup>3</sup>

The connection between the "interaction of music" and spirit, is apparent in the above quotation and coupled with a frequently encountered belief in the role of music in ritual, the function of music must be seen in terms of the above.<sup>4</sup>

As a further possible indication of the cause and nature of trance in the ratiep, the writing of a meditator is cited:

trance or meditation results in greater control °over the bodyf so that the flow of blood can be controlled, and the sharpening of consciousness which results from meditation, (and also, it is claimed, from khalifa drumming,) leads to perceiving sword-contact in its original "suchness" or "thingness" without anything else such as painful sensation. <sup>5</sup>

For the ratiep performer, music acts as catalyst between physical and metaphysical realities. Through music he elevates himself to a state of ecstasy, a state in which his whole being is transformed in accordance with the requirements of the performance act. It is at this point that providing an accurate description of the experiences of the adept becomes impossible. It is also necessary to examine the nature of trance in other trance-linked art forms in South Africa and other geographical areas with similar art forms.

Aspects that need further elucidation include the influence of African drumming and other African influences on the ratiep performance. While an attempt in this direction was made in this work, the role of music in inducing a state of ecstasy or trance needs further research. Trance-linked performances in Southern Africa need to be fully researched in order to establish interconnection with the ratiep performances of South African Muslims. While the majority of South Africans belong to the Christian faith, most Africans on the continent of Africa are Muslims.

I became acutely aware of certain characteristics and phenomena pertaining to the ratiep performance:

- . An orderly arrangement of jamaah in rows, in front of a bank, if present;
- . A repetitive element in melodic phrases, which may or may not suggest nearing climactic points (cf.p. 389);
- . A quickening of tempo;
- . A marked degree of swaying of performers' bodies, and the performance of a characteristic and highly stylistic movement during acts;
- . High-pitched voices, and very loud and intense singing in

the case of Cape Muslim performances;

Performances on percussion instruments with vigour and almost exaggerated movements; in both Cape Muslim and Indian Muslim performances the drumming is loud and intense;

An ability to mutilate the body, apparently without pain the loss of blood;

A decreased awareness of physical environment by the subjects;

An increased awareness of fellow performers and an increased feeling of brotherhood amongst them, as evidenced by smiling amongst ratiep performance during a performance. This may suggest an element of "enjoyment".

Ratiep performances are rooted in Sufism. A decrease in the degree of musical prominence, with the resulting increase in textual dominance, suggests a decreasing link with Sufism as in moulood and haddad. In the ratiep, musical dominance is high and the possibility of pre-Islamic influence in the ratiep and incorporation of elements in the cultural environment must be assumed. The connection between the responsorial style of singing between khalifa and jamaah had been compared to that of the nederlandslied (cf.p.326).

Ratiep performances exhibit basic outer and inner forms. The broad macro-structure have been identified, and the micro-structure pertaining to call-and-response between khalifa and jamaah investigated. The voorwerk (or giyerwee sharif), djats and ashrakal sections incorporate performances of the khalifa and jamaah. The khalifa plays an important role in the antiphonal style between khalifa and jamaah and incorporation of the rebanna and dhol in the performance. Elements pertaining to musical organisation, embellishments, type and style of dhikr, type and style of performance on musical instruments and movement are markedly different for Indian Muslim and Cape Muslim performances.

South African Islamic musical performances which incorporate dhikr, such as haddad, mouloud, samman and ratiep all have the stylistic element of repetition of text, musical motives, phrases and melodies in them. This element, together with others, contribute to a heightened awareness of metaphysical being, of performer and apparently the observer.

There exists a correlation between the nature of the long/short sounds of the ratiep texts, and the long/short note values. This points to the fact that tajwid, or the

science of Arabic pronunciation, is linked to the musical performance in the ratiep.

The movement in the ratiep performance forms an integral part of the total performance. In general, the movement of those performing dhikr, the rebanna and dhol players and those subjects performing acts of self-mutilation, all follow a prescribed pattern. The movement may serve to induce the trance, or may result from trance. In any event, trance-states in a ratiep performance may range from their total absence to advanced states of trance of some subjects within a particular performance.

Skillful handling of the swords in the execution of acts of cutting of the subject himself or others has been observed. Invariably the subject appears to ride the blow. The speed with which the sword strikes the body is calculable, although not done in this work as it falls within the ambit of in-depth medical and scientific investigation. It seems possible that while certain acts have an element of "miraculousness" about them, such as the lack of blood when a skewer is inserted in the tongue, others lack credibility, while some may be described as "magic". In this manner acts

may serve to promote Islamic cultural ideals: "Magic may serve to state and maintain the formal culture and organisation of the society".<sup>6</sup>

There has been constant pressure by orthodox Muslims for the abolishment of the ratiep performance since the time of De Lima a century and a half ago. It is frowned upon by opponents as alien to Islam. Yet it has been performed for a long period of time in South Africa, and the number of performances and the audience bear testimony to its popularity among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Its dying out cannot be foreseen in the immediate future, although the previously racially segregated South Africa, and its 300-year old minority colonial rule may be regarded as partial contributors to its survival hitherto.

The colours of the various flags, and the bank to which they are attached, are while both decorative and interesting, not standard to ratiep performances. In the Urs-linked Indian Muslim and the Chatsworth ratiep performances, the bank is completely absent. Both of these, like the style of dhikr, form part of the distinguishing features of individual performances and ratiep jamaahs.



The ratiep performance has been part of the South African cultural scene for at least 200 years. While its future seems insecure, it is still frequently performed at Urs celebrations and other religious and social occasions. The ratiep performance has been, rightly or wrongly, associated with South African Islamic culture for many years. Given the upsurge of Islam as a world religion, and its prominence in world politics, as well as the changing South African political scene, it is hoped that the danger of such an association be accepted. However, the people that perform the ratiep, as the art form itself, are real and important. The necessary support in this respect must be given in order to preserve a unique and worthwhile South African trance-linked art form.

ENDNOTES

1. D.Desai, "An Investigation", p.105.
2. Ramadaan Annual of the Muslim Digest, (Durban, September/October 1975), p.164.
3. Inayat Khan, The Mysticism of Sound (Geneva: Barry and Rockliff, 1979), p.108.
4. The South-Easter. June 1986 & The Argus, 15 April 1986.
5. J.Tobias, "Meditation and Khalifa" (Unpublished paper, Cape Town, July 1986).
6. John F.M. Middleton. "Magic". Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol.7 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1986), p.672.

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TRANSLATIONS

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APPENDICES

A. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Key to Abbreviations and Symbols Used

Njv.	New Javanese (Kähler) <sup>1</sup>
Mal.	Malay (Kähler)
Skrt	Sanskrit (Kähler)
Ar.	Arabic (Kähler)
Ur.	Urdu
Afr.	Afrikaans
Ned.	Nederlands (Boshoff) <sup>2</sup>
Swah.	Swahili (Boshoff)

Phonetic Symbols

Vowels:

[a]	as in "but"
[a:]	as in "father"
[ɛ]	as in "when"
[ɛ:]	as in "tear"
[ə]	as in "bird"
[i]	as in "it"
[i:]	as in "eat"
[o]	as in "molest"
[ɔ]	as in "on"
[ɔ:]	as in "jaw"
[u]	as in "put"
[u:]	as in "too"
[ã]	nasalized a

Consonants:

[b]	as in "bear"
[c]	as in "keel"
[d]	as in "do"
[dʒ]	as in "judge"
[f]	as in "fan"
[g]	as in "goose"
[h]	as in "hat"
[j]	as in "year"
[k]	as in "cool"
[l]	as in "long"
[m]	as in "mat"
[n]	as in "noon"
[ŋ]	as in "sing"

Consonants

[dh]	as in "daughter"
[r]	as in "rot"
[s]	as in "see"
[ʃ]	as in "she"
[t]	as in "too"
[tʃ]	as in "choose"
[v]	as in "van"
[x]	as in Afr. "gaan"
[z]	as in "rose"
[ʒ]	as in "leisure"
[ñ]	nasalized n

Diphthongs:

[œ u]	as in "cold"
[əi]	as in "way"

RATIEP-LINKED TERMINOLOGY

abdās Ritualistic ablution (cleansing) before  
the commencement of the ratiep, or any  
[abdās] other relevant religious occasion, such  
as the five daily prayers.

Mal., Njv.

Afrikaans: "Neem abdās"

Translation: "Take ablution"

---

alwaan Skewer which is run into the flesh:  
cheek, tongue and ears) at a ratiep  
[alwa:an] performance (cf.p.443)

Cape Muslim

---

Amantua Ablās Celebrations held on the 11th day of  
the Muslim month of Rabi-il Achier in  
honour of the Sufi Saint Jailani

[amantuwa ablas]

Mal.

---

ashrakal                      The last stanzas of the poems called  
"Ruwayats of Brazanzi."<sup>4</sup> The dance  
[afrakal]                      movement which concludes the ratiep  
display.

Cape Muslim

---

bakaaier                      To stab oneself with swords or daggers;  
The act, together with the movement,  
[bakaiər]                      involves self-mutilation.

Baklai; Mal.                      Afr. "Hulle bakaaier mooi."  
Transl. "They dance well."

---



bank                      The name of the wooden structure used in  
the ratiep, onto which flags are affixed,  
Afr., Ned.                      and on which the swords are arranged.  
The khalifa seats himself behind the  
bank (See p. 451 ).

---

barakat                      The gifts, usually foodstuffs, taken home  
by visitors after a gathering, such as  
[barakat]                      moulood celebrations.

Mal. barkat: blessing

Ar. baraka: blessing

بركة

---

basmalah                      The opening of a Surah (Chapter) of the  
Qur'an:  
[basmala:]                      "Bismillahim ar-Rah..."  
(In the name of God, the Beneficient...)

Ar. Basm

---



djawab The reply or answer to a (musical)  
statement (dhikr) by a competing jamaah  
[djawab] (group) in moulood (birthday) celebra-  
tions involving an antiphonal style  
Ar. jawab of polyphonic singing.

جواب

Afr. "Bring julle die toekang, dan  
djawab ons."

Transl. "You make the statement, then  
we'll answer."

---

chalifa (khalifa) The leader of a ratiep display; leader;  
Successor; caliph.

[xalifa]

Mal., njv.

Ar. kalifa

خليفة

---

dabus (dabbus;  
dabos; daboes)  
[dabus]

Sharp steel spikes used in the ratiep  
(cf.p.41); also termed tamboes or tam-  
boester; name of a North Sumatran  
trance-linked self-mutilating art form.

Mal., Ar. dabbus

دبوس

---

djama (jamaah)  
[dʒama:]

A group of ratiep performers; any group  
of Muslims who formed a group with an  
organized structure with some specific  
purpose, such as moulood celebrations or  
ratiep performances.

Ar. jama'a

جماعة

---

djampie (djampi)  
[dʒampi]

The particular words(verses) the khalifa  
utters in support of the act of his murid  
(follower), in order to protect the  
subject from physical injuries.

Mal., njv.

Skrt japa: to whisper prayers

---

djieker

Repeated utterances of certain formulae  
in praise or remembrance of Allah; a  
musical form and style in Cape Muslim  
religious non-liturgical music.

[dzikar]

Mal. dikir, ziker

Ar. dhikr

ذکر

---

dōl (dhol)

A barrel-shaped, single-headed drum used  
in ratiep performances.

[dhɔ:l]

Mal., Hindi

Ur.

دھول

---

dukun

A 'Cape Malay' medicine man who is  
believed to possess special spiritual  
powers

[dukun]

Mal., Njv.

---

flambou A ratiep adept who performs the act of  
swallowing fire.

[flambœu]

Cape Muslim

---

ghomma (ghoema) A barrel-shaped, single-headed drum with  
one end open, similar to a dhol,  
which is used as percussion instrument in  
both sacred and secular Cape Muslim  
performances.

Nguni: ghoma

Cape Muslim

---

hammer A wooden instrument, a mallet, used in  
a ratiep performance to drive a tam-  
boester through an adept's cheek.

[hamər]

Afr.

---

hadji                    A Muslim who has undertaken the pilgrim-  
mage to Mecca.

[hadʒi]

---

ietse                    A term used for any Cape Muslim religious  
ceremony. A ratiep is one such ceremony.

[itsə]

Afr. iets = something

---

imam                    A Muslim priest

[imam]

---

inry                    To run skewers into the cheeks, eyelids  
or ears.

[ənɾəi]

Afr.

(From "inryg" : to sew (in))

---

insny                    The initiation of a new khalifa

[ənsnəi]

Afr.

---

kalima                    The profession of Islamic faith in  
written or spoken form

[kalima]

Ar.

---



kapsaal                      An alternative term for panga, a type of  
sword (cf. p. 440 )

[kapsa:l]

Afr.

---

keris                         A dagger (cf. p. 44)

[kɛris]

Mal., Njv.

---

kitāb                         A term used by Muslims to  
denote religious book

[kita:b]

Ar. Mal.

كتاب

---



kalk

Lime used in the process of making a rebanna frame drum, in order to remove the hair from the skin.

[kalk]

Afr.

---

lingo

A term used by some Cape Muslims for the ratiep dance.

[liŋgu]

Cape Muslim

---

lagu (<largo>)

The melody of a djieker.

[lagu]

Mal., Njv.

---

mat

The carpet placed on the floor in front  
of the ratiep bank on which the  
performers perform barefooted.

[mat]

Afr.

---

mantera

The prayers uttered by the khalifa  
during the ratiep display.

[mantara]

Mal., Njv.

Skrt

---

melk

A symbolic term used for blood flowing  
during a ratiep performance.

[melk]

Afr.

---

moenayats

A Cape Muslim synonym for mantera.

[munajats]

Cape Muslim

---

moulood

The birthday celebration of the Prophet  
Muhammad.

[moe ulud]

Cape Muslim

---

middelstand

The central horizontal part of the bank.  
(cf. p. 303)

[middelstand]

Afr.

---

middelstuk                    A synonym for middelstand.

[middelstæk]

Afr.

---

panga                        A synonym for kapsaal, which is a type  
of sword with a characteristically-shaped  
[panga]                        steel blade.

Nguni, Swah.

---

praboes                      The sharp instruments used during the  
ratiep display.

[prabus]

Cape Muslim

---

pudjie (<pudji>            Utterences in praise of Allah;  
a type and style of Cape Muslim sacred  
[pudʒi]                        music.

Mal.

---

ratiep                        A trance-linked art form characterised  
by bodily self-mutilation without the  
[ratip]                        apparent loss of blood.

Ar.

رتب

---

rebanna                    The frame drum used during a ratiep  
performance.

[rebana]

Mal.

---

salaam

Peace; a Muslim greeting which means  
"peace".

[sala:m]

Ar.

---

salawaat

Salutations towards the Prophet; a  
section of a moulood celebration.

[salawa:t]

Ar.

---

sallalla

The beginning of the ashrakal.

[salala]

Ar.

---



taglil

The words "La illaha illal lah"

Transl. "There is no God but Allah."

[taxlil]

Ar., Mal., Njv.

---

tamboes(tamboester) The daggers used in a ratiep display.

Possibly derived form the term "dabus",

[tambus]

with the "m" an addition or insertion

to the term dabus.

Ar. dabbus

---

tasbeh

The beads which are used to count the

number of times a prayer formula is

[tasbi]

recited.

Ar. tasbih

---

trapsaal

[trapsa:l]

The act in the ratiep performance which involves the subject walking on the sharp edge of a sword with bare feet.

Afr.

---

tuang

[tuaŋg]

Teacher

Mal.

---

vlae

[flahə]

The flags attached to the bank in a ratiep display (cf. p. 452 ).

Afr.

---

voorwerk                    An optional introductory ceremony before  
the start of a ratiep performance; a  
[vorwerk]                    section of the Cape Muslim haddad  
ceremony.

Afr.

---

voetstuk                    The base part of the bank (cf. p. 303)

[futstak]

Afr.

---

wallie                      A Muslim saint

[wali]

Ar.

---

zaas

A khalifa who has not yet been fully initiated or who is not accepted as one by some.

[za:s]

Cape Muslim

---

Indian Muslim Ratib-linked Terminology

dhol

A barrel-shaped drum used in the ratib performance.

[dhol:1]

Ur.

ڈھول

---

daira (<dyra>

A frame drum used in ratib; a synonymn  
for the Cape Muslim rebanna.

[dahāra]

Ur.

دايرة

---

harmonium (<peti-  
baja>

A harmonium used in a qawwali  
performance.

[harmœ uniam]

Ur.

---

murid

The pupil of a khalifa

[murid]

Ur.

---

ratib The South African Indian Muslim  
counterpart of the Cape Muslim ratiep  
[ratib] ceremony.

Ar.

رتب

---

sandal A procession held through the streets;  
the name of wood that is burnt as  
[sandal] incense; it is carried shoulder high  
on cushions during a procession  
Ur. and offered afterwards.

---

tabla The drums used in a qawwali performance.  
(cf. p. 542)  
[tabla]

Ur.

---

talwaar

Urdu word for "sword"

[talwa:r]

Ur.

تلوار

---

tarrat

Indian Muslim term for "drum"

[tarrat]

Indian Muslim

---

thaziya

A wooden structure which represents  
the symbolic tomb of Imam Hussain carried  
shoulder high by men during the Muharram  
festival.

[taziya]

Ur.

تازیہ

---

qawwali

A genre of Indian Muslim music; it is performed on such occasions as during an ratib sandal celebration.

[kawali]

Ur.

قوال

---

ustaad

Teacher; professor

[usta:d]

Ur.

zikr

Indian term for "dhikr"

[zikr]

Ur.

ذکر

---



B. PLATES NOT INCLUDED IN MAIN BODY

The following 81 plates depict various aspects of South African Islamic musical activity. Consistent with the main focus of this work, the largest number of plates, namely 60, relate to the ratiep art form. The ratiep is further subdivided into Cape Muslims, with the subsection on Amantua Ablas, and into Indian Muslims, which includes a subsection on the Sandal procession.

PERFORMANCE	PLATE NUMBER
<u>Adhdhaan</u>	1
<u>Qiraat</u>	2
<u>Kaseda</u>	3
<u>Mouloud</u>	4;5
<u>Haddad</u>	6;7
<u>Giyerwee Sharif</u>	8;9;10;11
<u>Qawwali</u>	12;13
<u>Muharram</u>	14-19
<u>Kaderia</u>	20;21
<u>Ratiep</u>	
Cape Muslim	22-63
<u>Amantua Ablas</u>	27;28;30-32
Indian Muslim	64-81
<u>Sandal</u> Procession	66-73

ADHDHAAN

Plate 1: The kaseda singer Rajab Devajee giving the call to prayer during Ramadaan. Note the "cupping and closing of the ears" technique. Apparently he does this to mute the intensity of the sound; his voice also sounds differently to himself, when he does this.



QIRAAT

Plate 2: The Cape Town exponent of the art of qiraat, Muttaqin Rakiq, explaining the counting of garaka needed for Qur'anic recital, Athlone, December 1990.



KASEDA

Plate 3: Members of the Alwieda Kaseda Band performing the salawaat with the Zainatoel Madressa children at the H.B.Thom Theatre in Stellenbosch, 23 November 1985.



MOULOOD

Plate 4: Men seated during a djieker session at the Strand Mosque, 10 February 1985. Note the sjeg (leader) to the far left, as well as the pillows before him.



Plate 5: An aerial view of the two jamaahs. Note the cupping of the ears" by five of the jamaah members.



HADDAD

Plate 6: The Kirsten Jamaah of Durban reciting dhiqr during a haddad held at a private residence in Durban, December 1984.



Plate 7: The Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah members in a standing position for the salawaat. Note the trellis surrounding the burial place inside the kramat of Sheikh Yusuf.



GIYERWEE SHARIF

Plate 8: A photograph showing members of the jamaah counting off prayers on a tasbeh during a giverwee sharif held in Rylands, 26 July 1986.

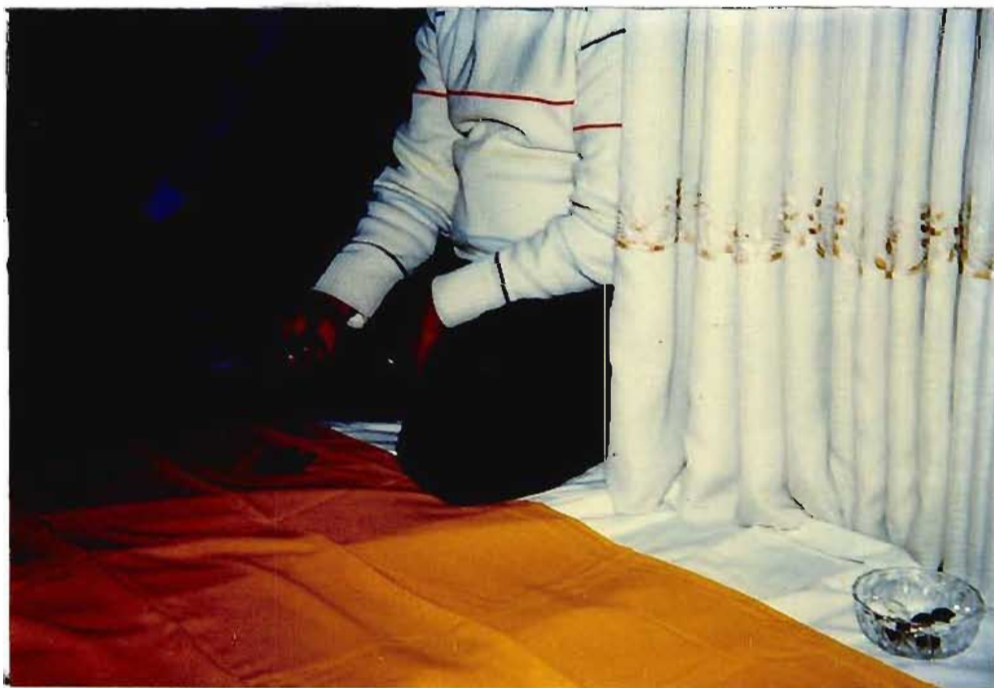


Plate 9: A close-up of the dhol showing how the beaters are held in the right hand.



Plate 10: The beaters played with the left hand.



Plate 11: The start of a giyerwee sharif consisting of Qur'anic recitals.

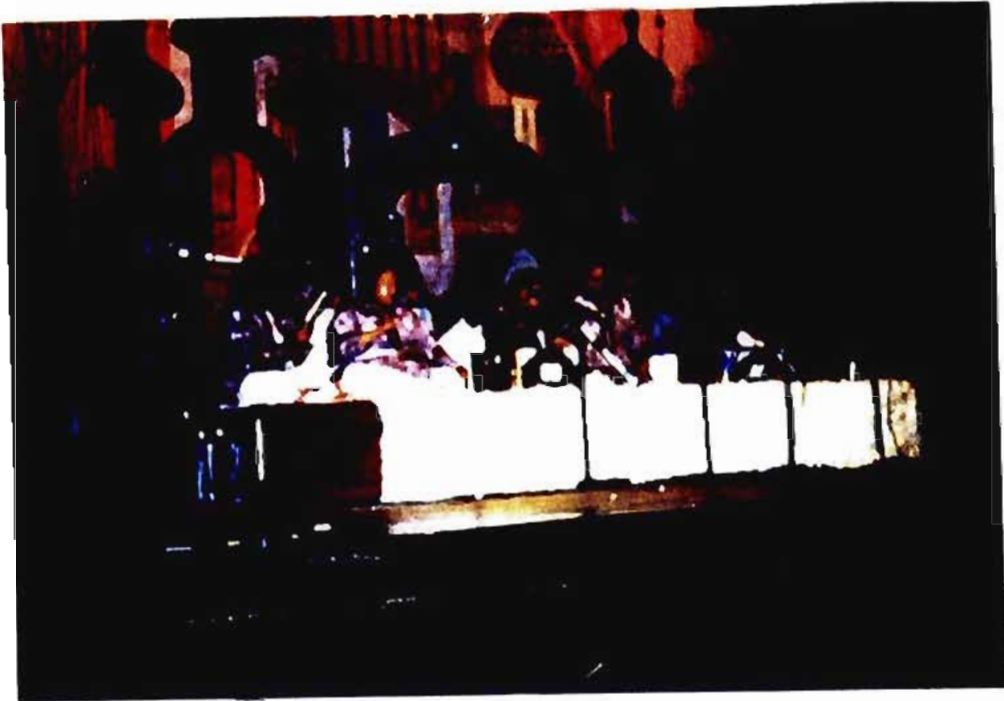


QAWWALI

Plate 12: The Farouk and Sikander Qawwali group in Durban. Note the tabla drums on the right.



Plate 13: The Khan Brothers gawwali group in the Luxurama Theatre in Wynberg, 1985.



#### MUHARRAM

Plate 14: Before the commencement of the Muharram procession held in Rylands on the 19th of August 1989, there were very few activities. The man with the black fez in the background was responsible for the organization of the procession, and hails from Durban. Sweets and other delicacies, on the left, were on sale.





Plate 15: A large crowd gathered at the mosque in Rylands before the start of the procession at 17h40. Note the overcast weather.



Plate 16: The Thaziya being wheeled out of the madressa hall, where it had stood for the previous ten days. During this period it had been visited by hundreds of Muslims, who brought cocnut and other delicacies as offering.

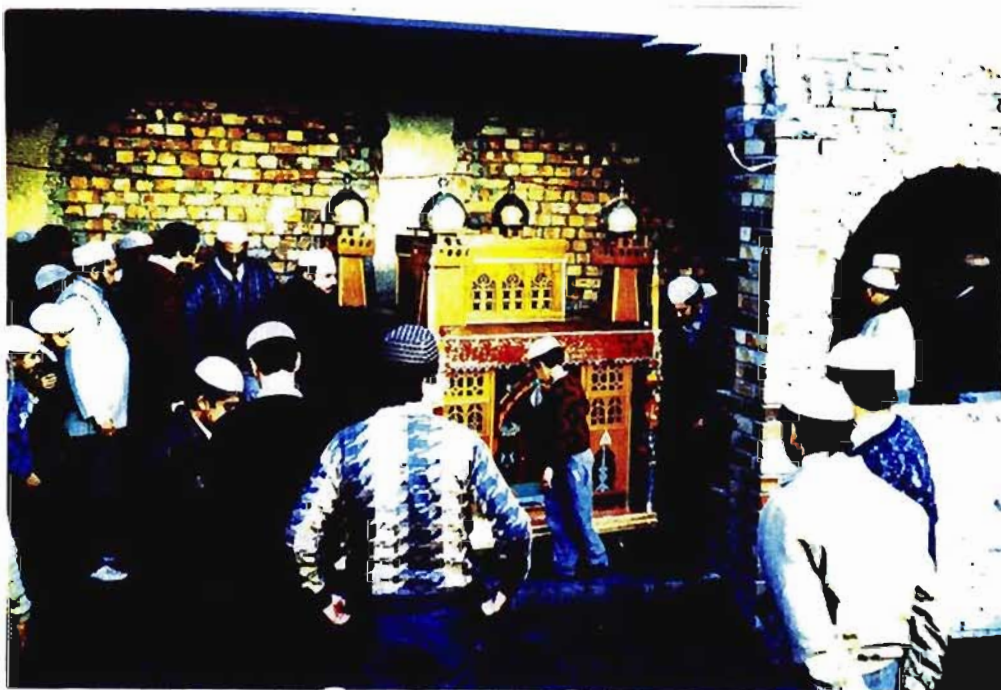


Plate 17: A close-up of the colourful Thaziya showing trimmings of flowers. The Thaziya is lifted shoulder-high by men, while women render dhikr in Urdu in a room nearby.

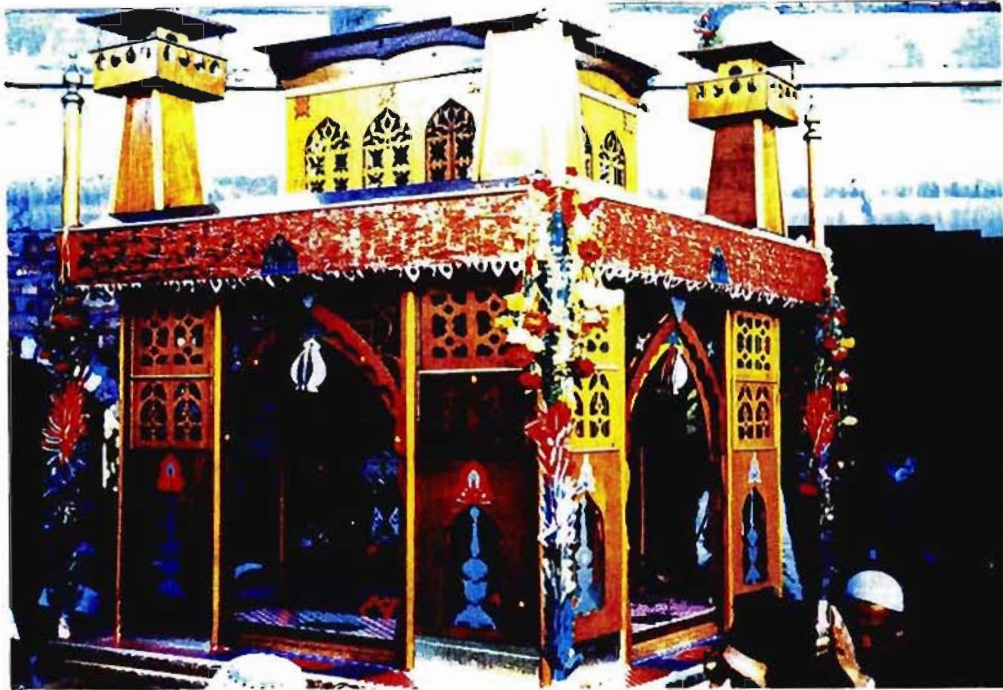


Plate 18: A close-up showing the Arabic writing of the names of Ali and Fatima. Note the wheels at the bottom of the Thaziya.

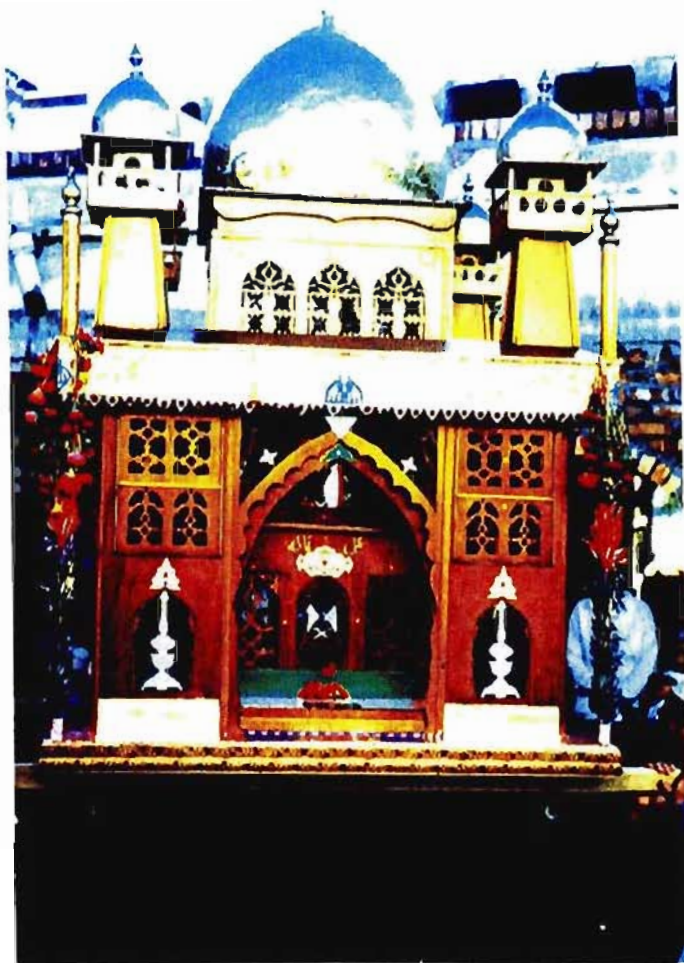
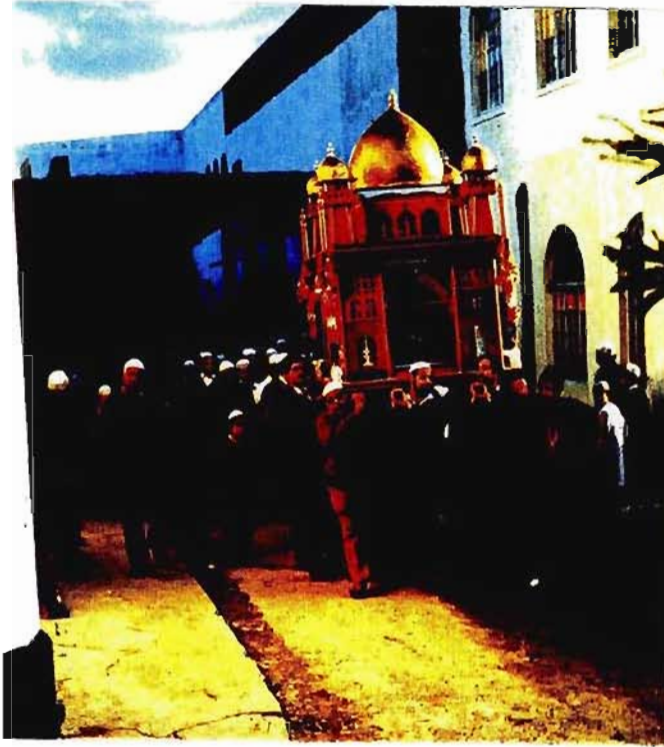


Plate 19: A view of the Thaziya which resembles the Taj Mahal, with a large dome surrounded by four smaller ones. At this point the men in the procession started rendering dhikr in Urdu.



KADERIA

late 20: Men performing a kaderia dhikr at the Bridgetown mosque, 5 June 1985.

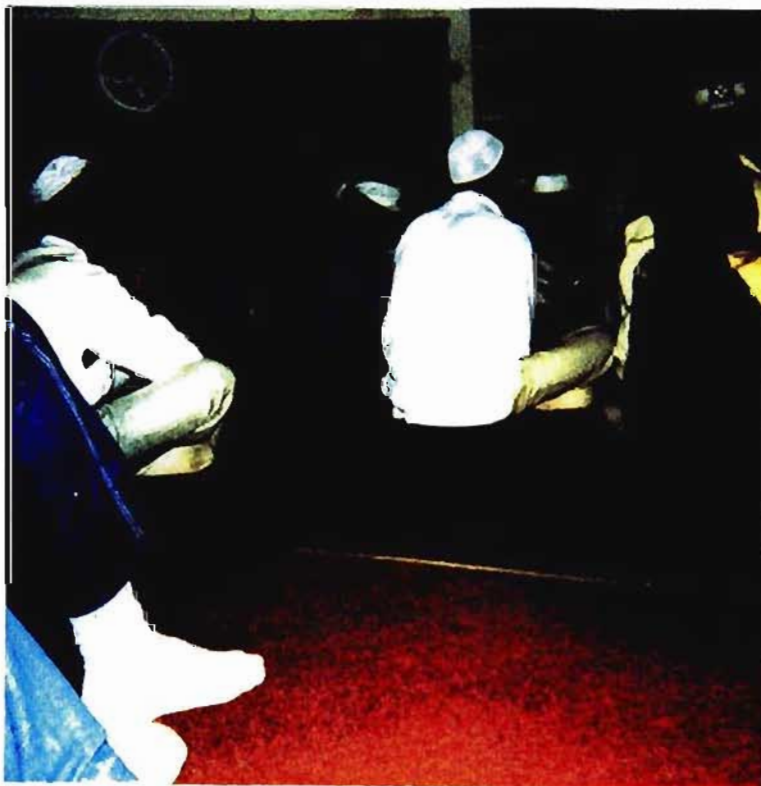


Plate 21: An intensely emotional moment during the performance of the dhikr "Allahu Akbar" at the Bridgetown mosque, 5 June 1985. A marked degree of head and bodily movement occurred at this stage.



RATIEP

CAPE MUSLIM

Plate 22: Khalifa Hendricks at his home in Newtown in front of his bank.



Plate 23: The voetstand of the bank of Khalifa Hendricks.  
Note the saalstand on which the swords had been arranged.

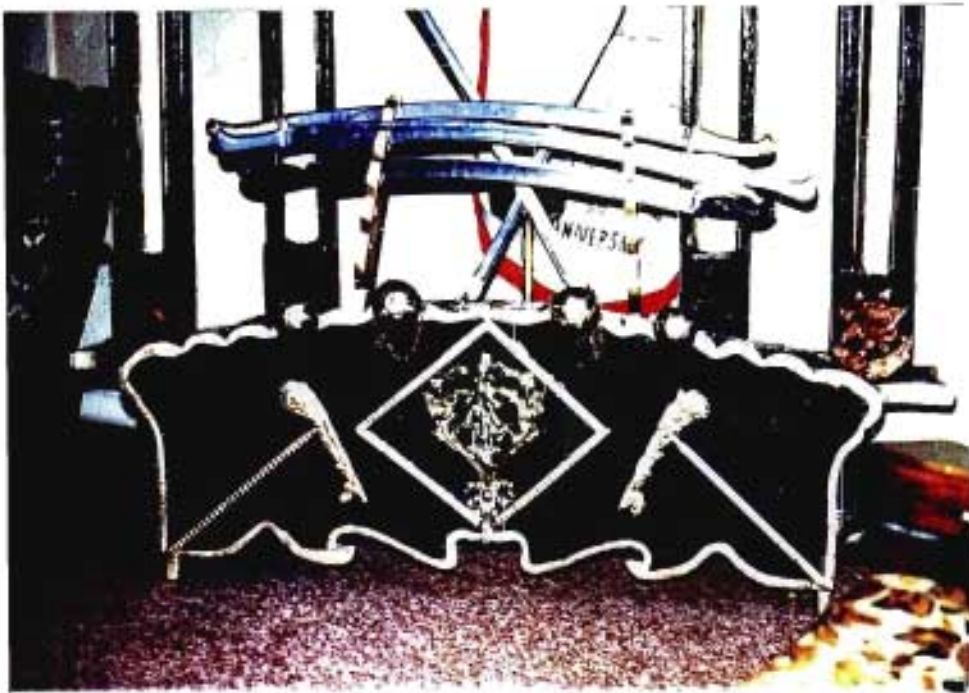


Plate 24: A ratiep display showing the acts of saal and alwaan. (Photo: The Cape Times Collection, South African Library)

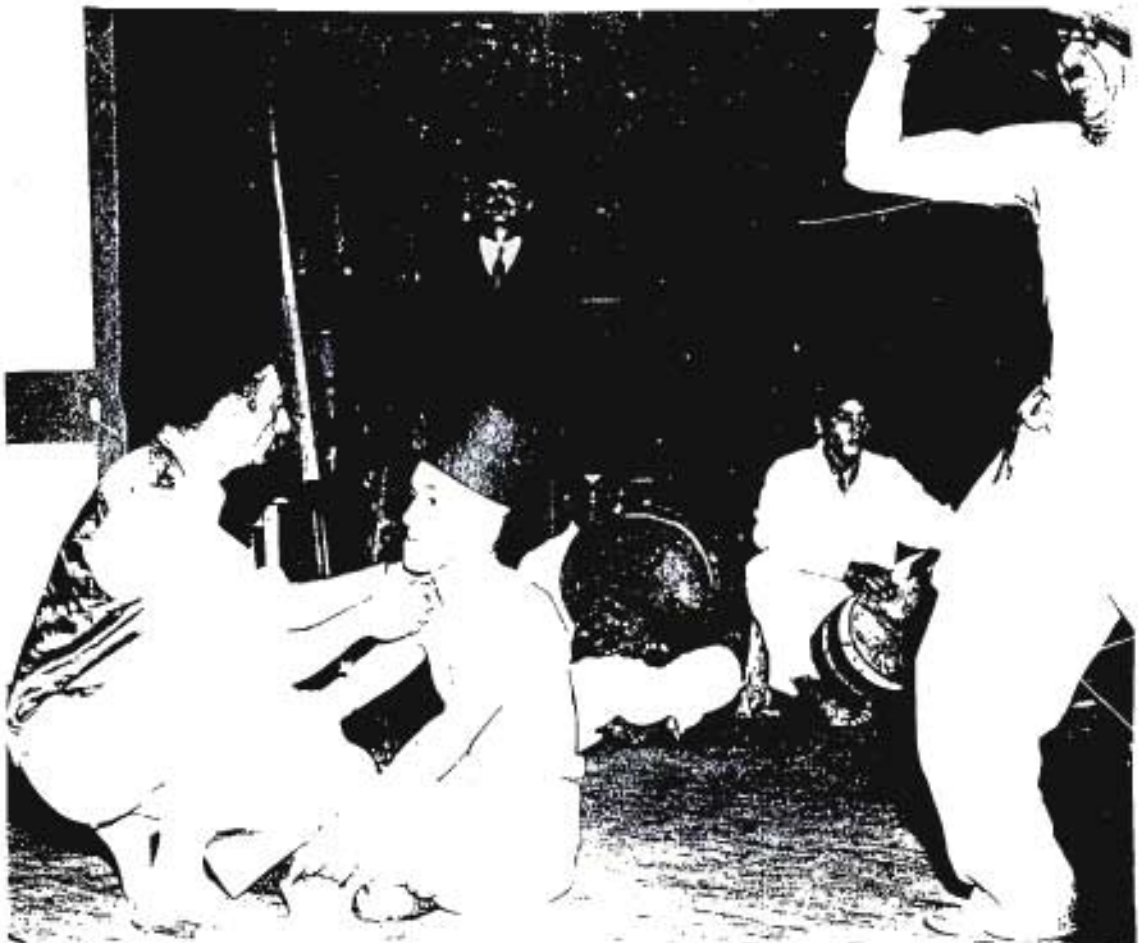


Plate 25: Boys performing with tamboester (daggers) in a ratiep display of 1935. (The Cape Times Collection, South African Library)



Plate 26: Khalifa Agmat driving a tamboester through the cheek with a hammer. (The Cape Times Collection, South African Library)



Plate 27: Mouweejas Jamaah members preparing the bank for an Amantua Ablas performance, 25 December 1985. Note the box for the praboes on the right.



Plate 28: A view of the spectators at the Mouweejas Jamaah performance for Amantua Ablas, 25 December 1985.



Plate 29: Agmat Abrahams performing with alwaan, 23 November 1985.



Plate 30: A close-up of the mieang-tessie used for burning incense of sandalwood on Amantua Abias performance of the Yusufia Jamaah, 25 December 1985.





Plate 31: Khalifa Gasant of the Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah blessing a saal for a performance by Hassiem Samuels, seen in the background.



Plate 32: A tamboester and hammer performance by a Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah member at another Amantua Abias performance on 25 December 1985.



Plate 33: The start of a ratiep show, Thom Theatre, 23 November 1985. The two khalifas Abass (left) and Gasant (right with embroidered undercoat) from the point of confluence of the two rows of performers on rebanna and dhol.



Plate 34: Khalifa Gasant counting off the prayers on a tasbeh at the College of Music show, 11 April 1986.



Plate 35: Mogammat Samuels performing a "dangerous" act with two saals.

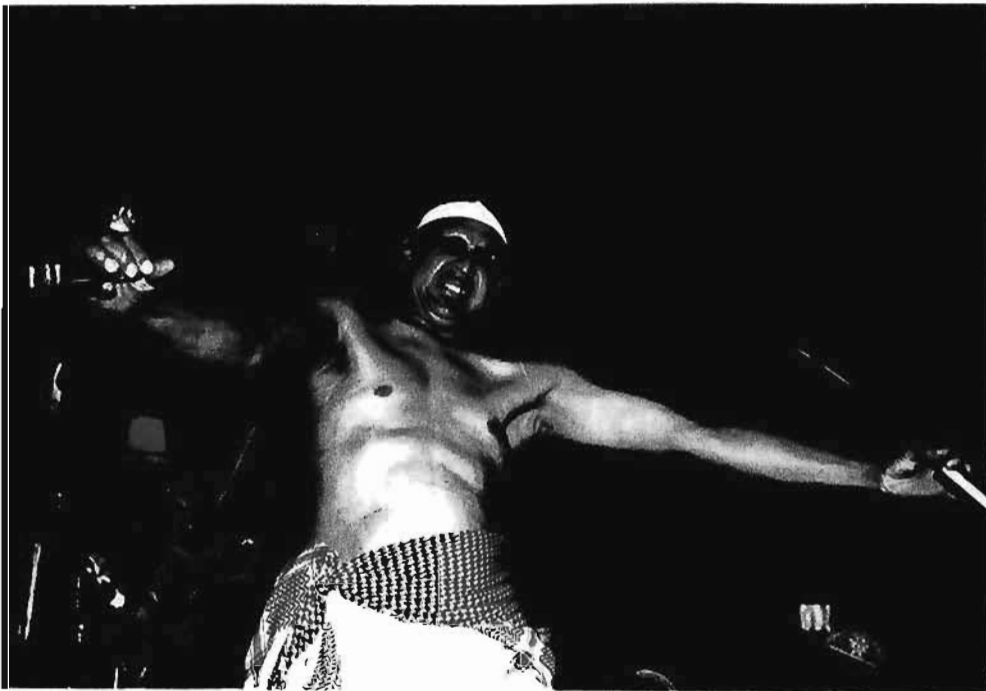


Plate 36: Khalifa Wali performing the inry (insertion) of alwaan (skewers), Athlone, April 1985.



Plate 37: A member of a ratiep jamaah performing with alwaan, Hanover Park Civic Centre, October 1985. Note the performers sitting on chairs, as a carpet was not available at the time.

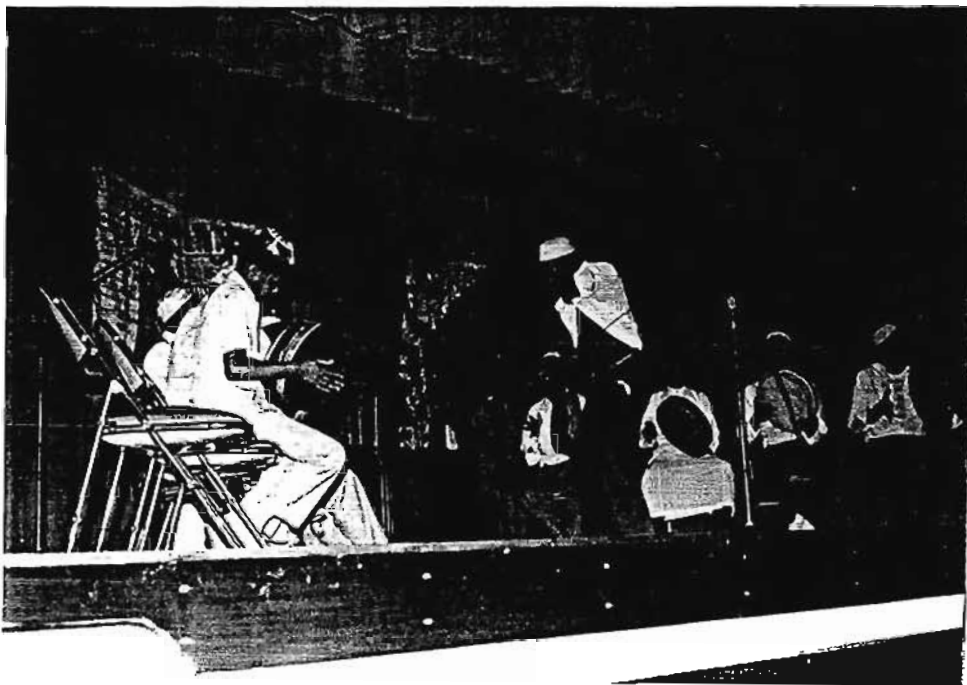


Plate 38: Hassiem Samuels performing the "cutting" on a subject during a Grassy Park performance, 21 April 1985.



Plate 39: "Cutting" of a subject, Thom Theatre, 23 November 1985.

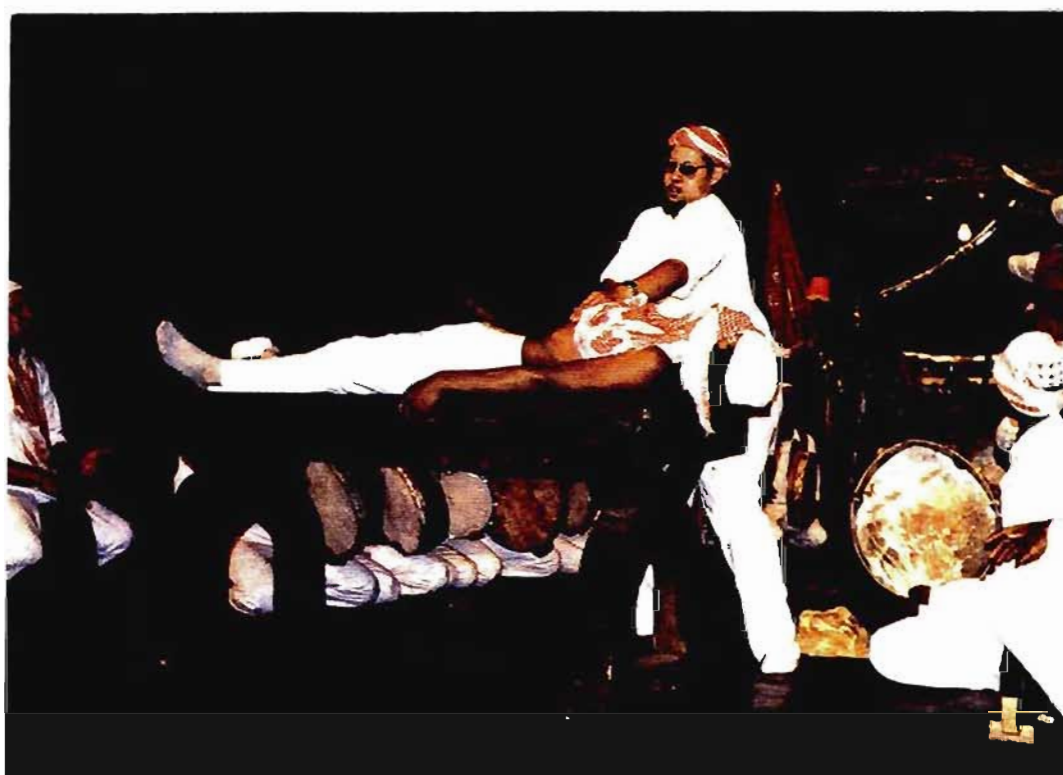


Plate 40: Khalifa Gasant driving a tamboester through the cheek of a subject, Thom Theatre, 23 November 1985. Note the subject in the red undercoat whose tongue is to be pierced next.



Plate 41: Khalifa Gasant driving a tamboester through the tongue of Abduragmaan Noordien, Thom Theatre.



Plate 42: I inspected Noordien's tongue three days after the Thom Theatre performance, and could detect no scar or sign of the act performed.

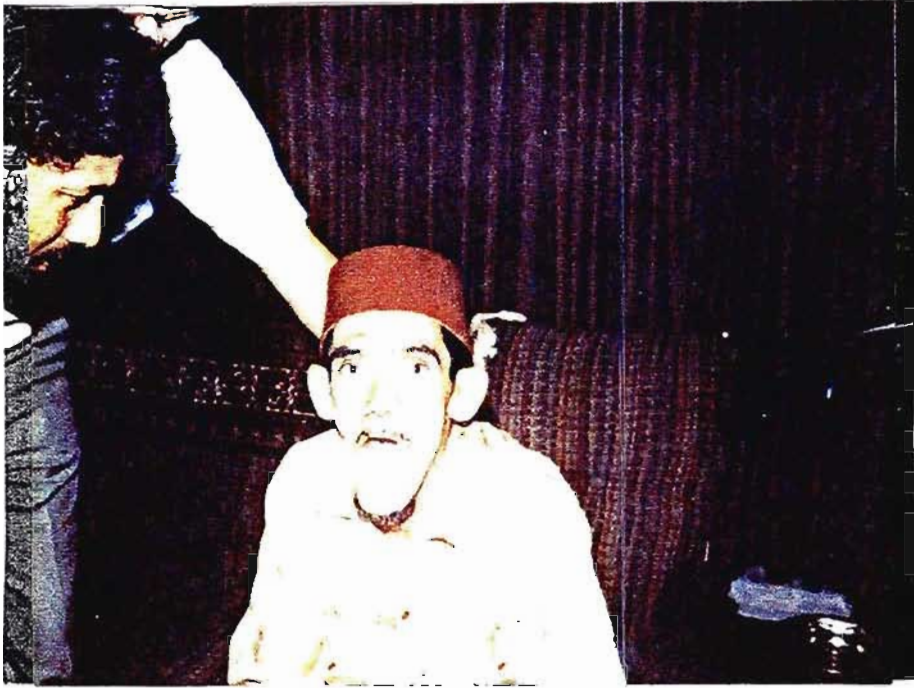


Plate 43: Two Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah members warming the rebannas on gas stoves, Thom Theatre, 23 November 1985.



Plate 44: A subject bleeding profusely at a ratiep performance, Athlone, April 1985.



Plate 45: Professor Lynn Gillis of the Medical School, University of Cape Town, and Khalifa Gasant together during arrangements for the College of Music performance, 11 April 1986.





Plate 46: Khalifa Gasant and Professor Gillis discussing the latter's experimentation at the Medical School, University of Cape Town, April 1986.

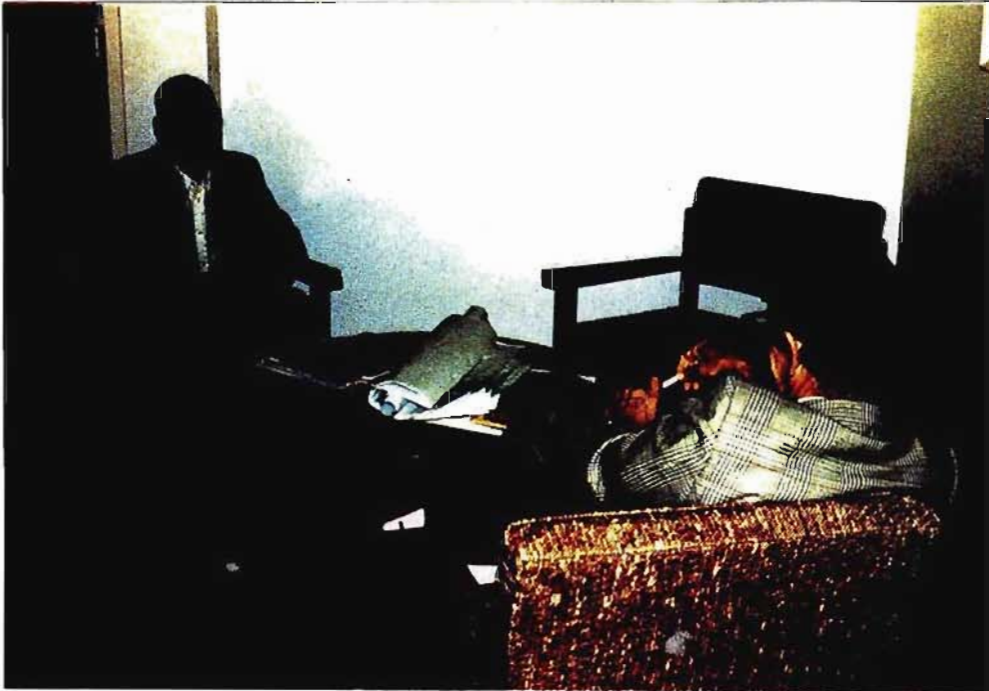


Plate 47: Agmat Abrahams' blood being tested before the College of Music show.

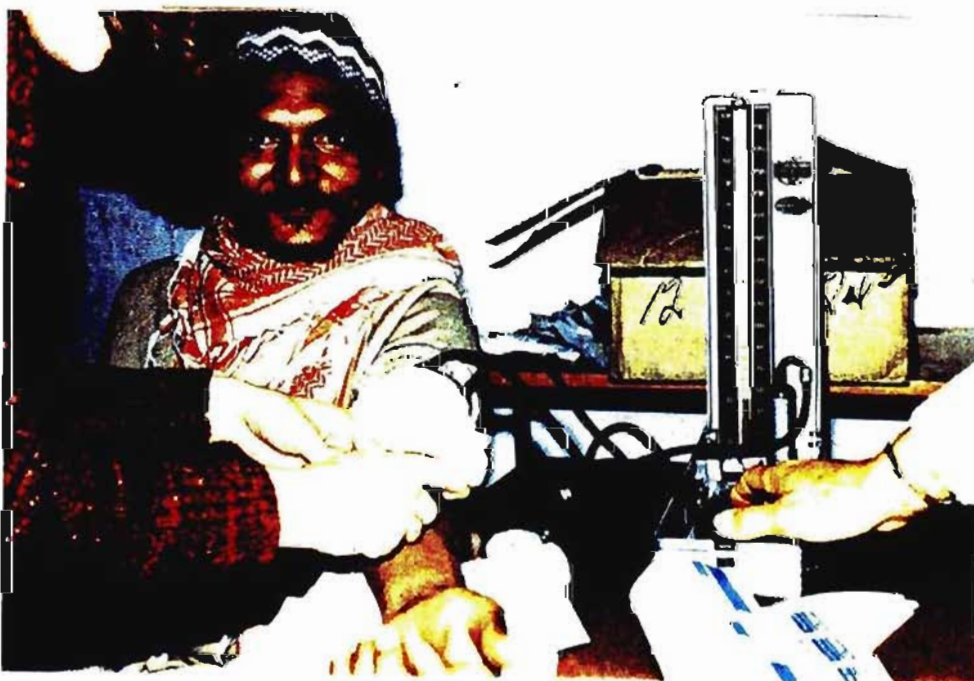


Plate 48: A youthful performer, one whose cheeks were to be pierced by alwaan later, having his blood tested before the College of Music show.



Plate 49: The same subject performing abdas (ablution) before the show, 11 April 1986.

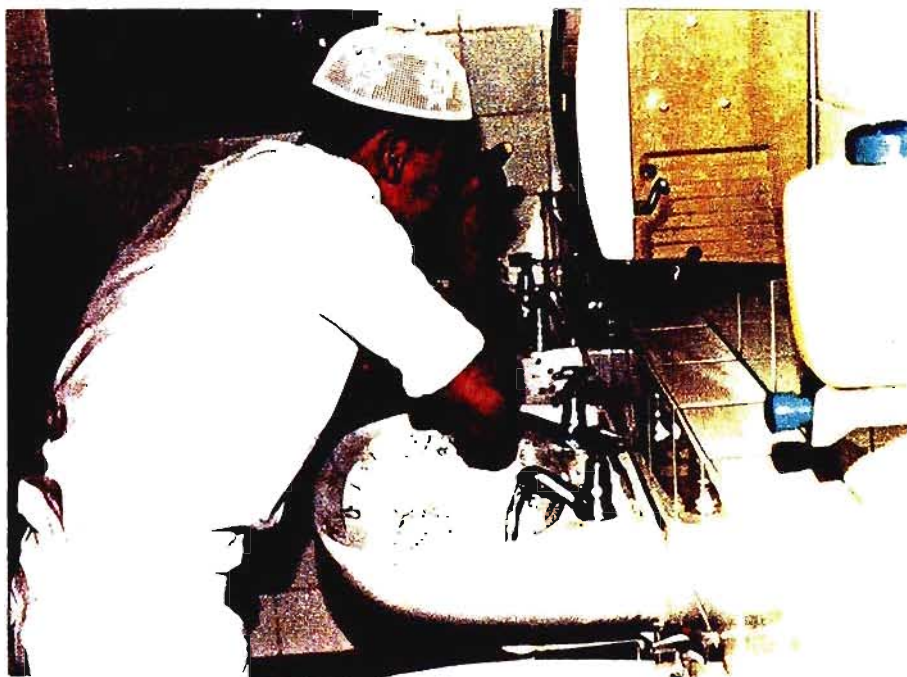


Plate 50: The same boy's blood being tested during the show.

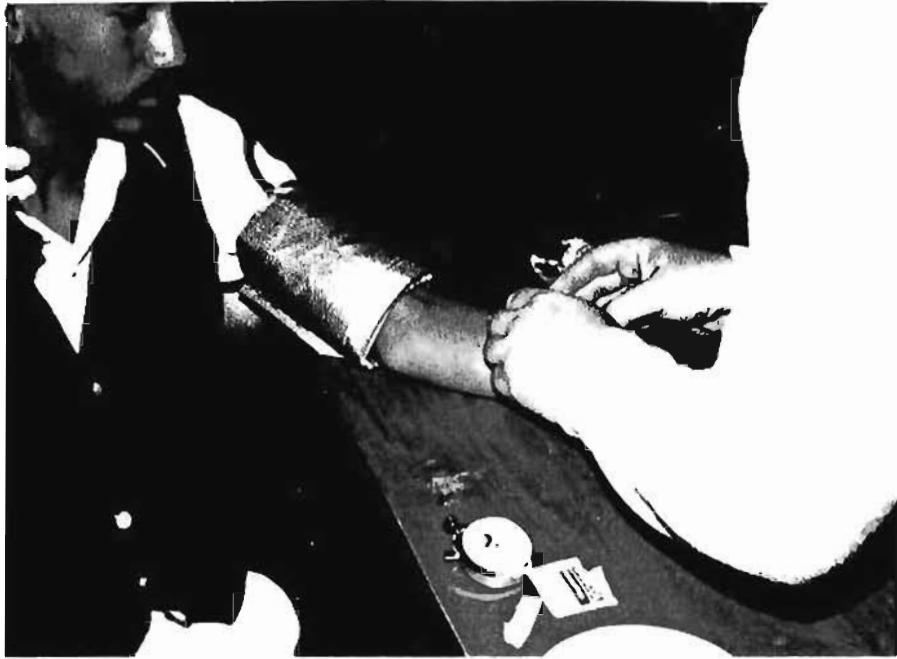


Plate 51: Agmat Abrahams' blood being tested during the show.

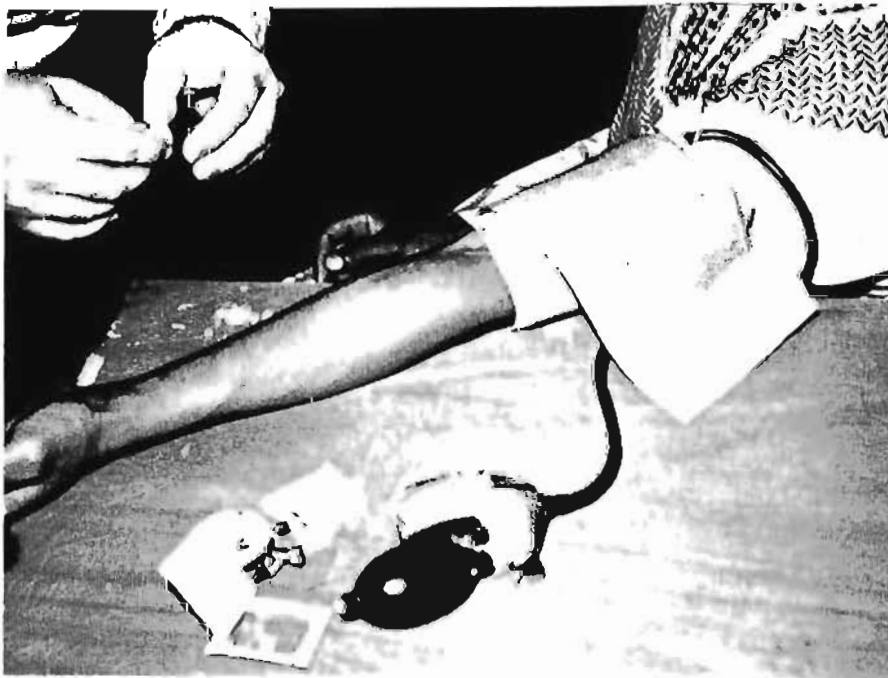


Plate 52: Khalifa Gasant inserting skewers (alwaan) during the Thom Theatre show, 23 November 1985.

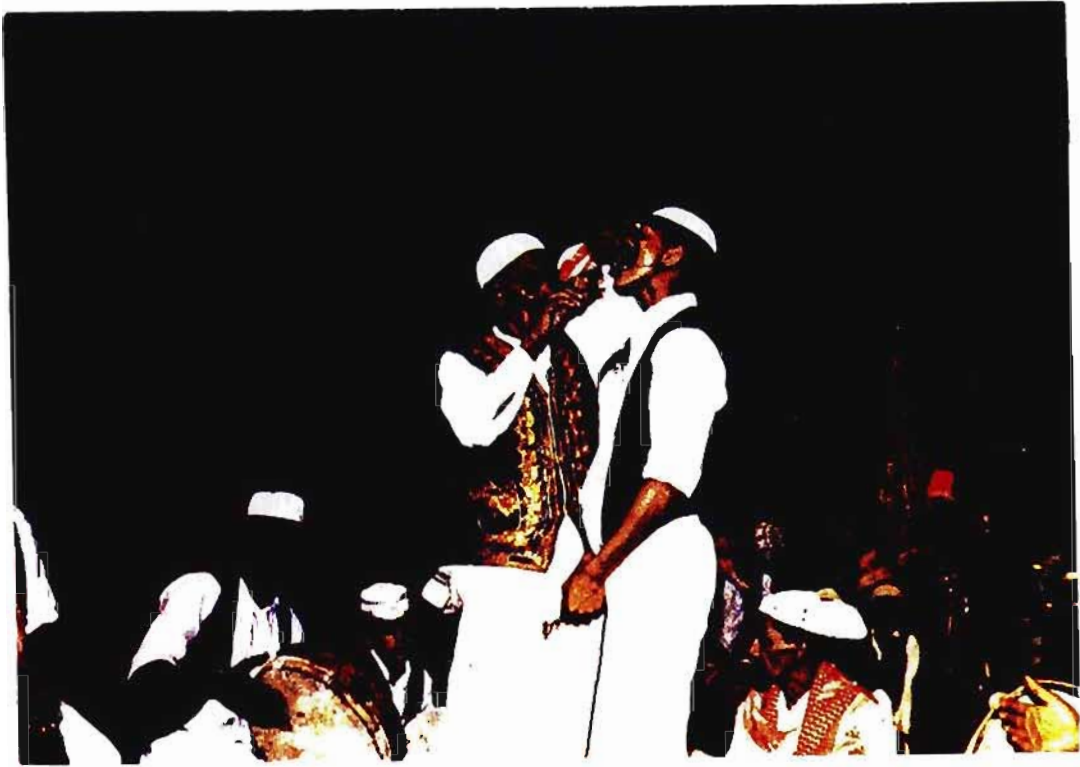


Plate 53: During the Thom Theatre show on 23 November 1985, I was called upon to "hammer" a subject.

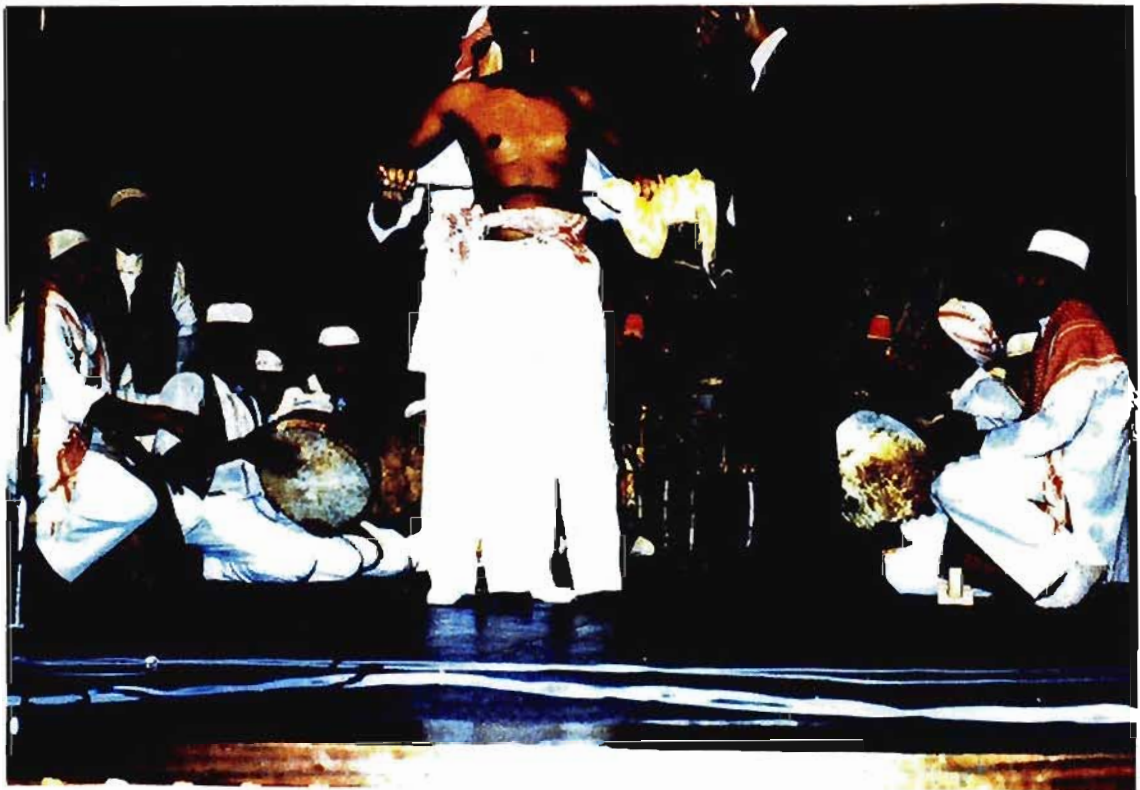


Plate 54: Specially invited guests, including Prof. Brian Priestman, Dr Stuart Saunders and representatives of the British Council and Stellenbosch University standing for the performance of the salawaat at the Thom Theate performance.



Plate 55: Subjects, whose tongue, cheeks and ears have been pierced, moving through the audience collecting donations at the Thom Theatre show.



Plate 56: Khalifa Wali performing on the dhol, April 1985.  
On this occasion he was not seated behind the bank.



Plate 57: Boys performing with tamboester, Grassy Park, April 1985.



Plate 58: A close-up showing Khalifa Gasant counting off the prayers on the tasbeh.

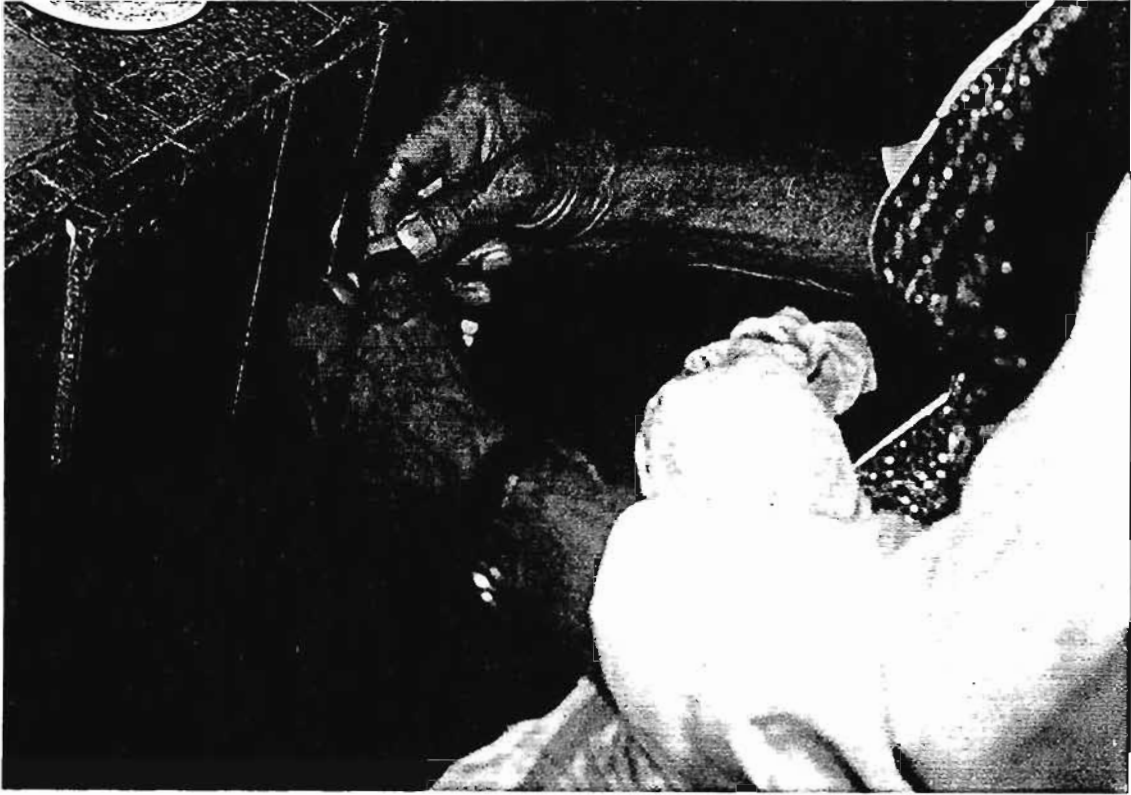


Plate 59: A framed portrait of handwritten account of the tariqah (path) of the Rif'iyah Sufi brotherhood kept at the home of Khalifa Hendricks in Newtown.

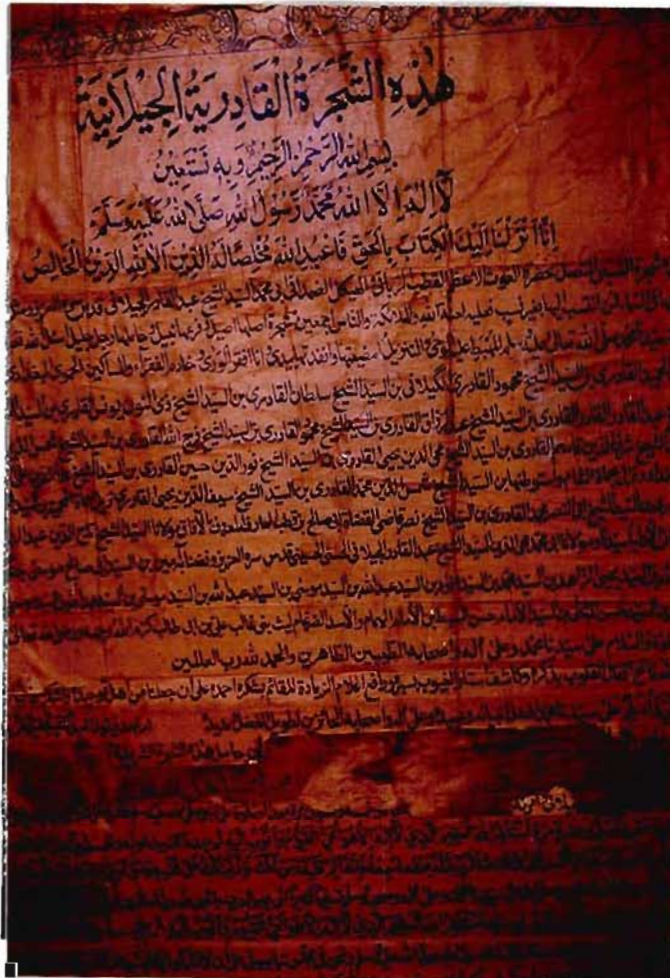


Plate 60: Framed decorations on the walls of the home of Khalifa Hendricks, Newtown.



Plate 61: The voetstuk and saalstand of the bank of Khalifa Hendricks.





Plate 62: Two saal handles made by Khalifa Lamara for his own ratiep jamaah of Steenberg, June 1992.



Plate 63: The completed handmade saal of khalifa Lamara, Steenberg, Cape, June 1992.



Place 64: An Indian Muslim ratib in Grassy Park, Cape, 1984.



Plate 65: Preparing the dhol for an Indian Muslim ratih.  
Grassy Park, 1984.



Plate 66: Before the start of the sandal procession in  
Druban, 23 September 1989. At about 14h15 tea was served to  
guests who were assembled outside a doctor's surgery in Cross  
Street, Durban.

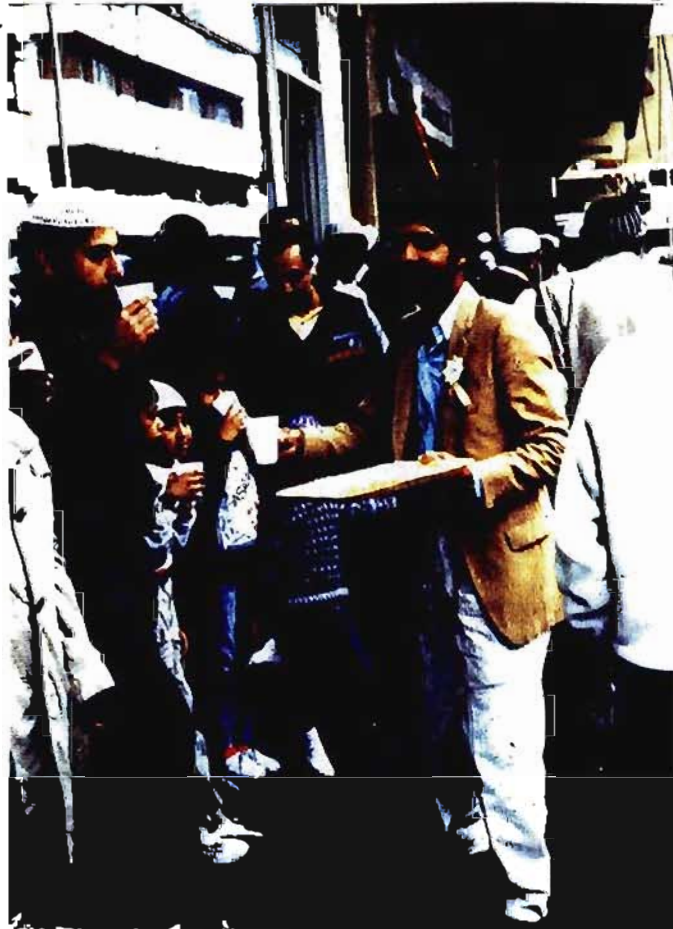


Plate 67: Khalifa Farook Razak starting the ratib performance during the sandal procession in Durban, 23 September 1989.



Plate 68 Jamaah members joining in with the dhikr, 23 September 1989. Note the dhol consisting of a 25 litre paint drum.



Plate 69: Note (a) performance with saals; (b) performance with gurust (daggers); (c) the video-recording of the event; and (d) the large crowd, 23 September 1989.



Plate 70: A performance with a panga, Durban, 23 September 1989.

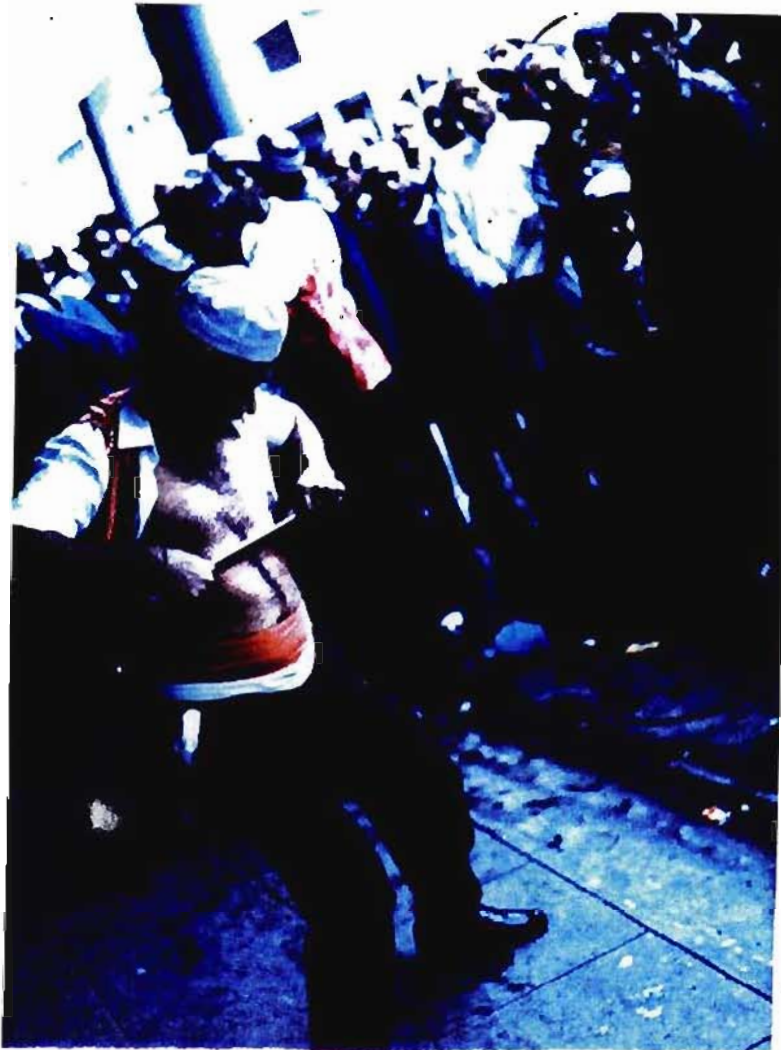


Plate 71: Khalifa Razak performing alwaan on a subject, 23 September 1989.



Plate 72: A tamboester performance by Khalifa Razak, 23 September 1989.



Plate 73: The Badsha Pir Mazaar, Durban, where the sandal procession held on 23 September 1989, ended.

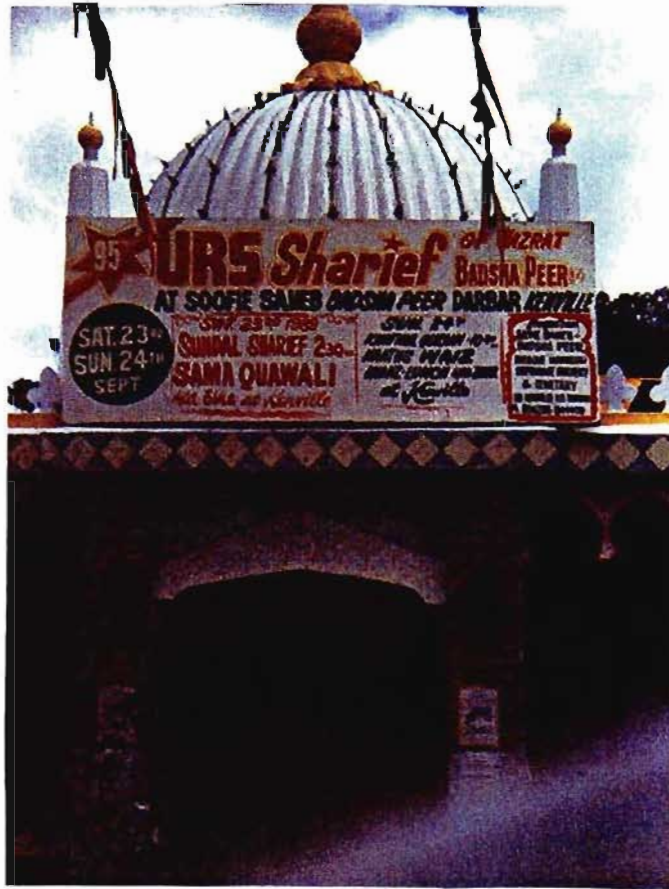


Plate 74: The inside of the Badsha Pir Mazaar, Durban.

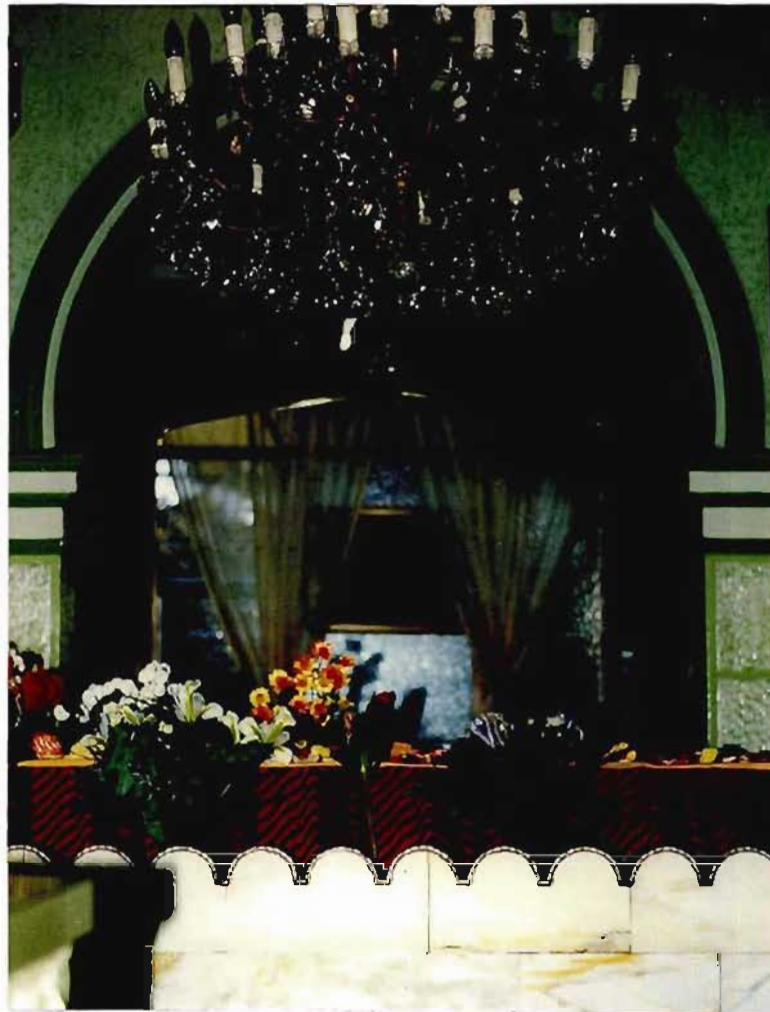




Plate 75: Khalifa Razak performing with two saals during a performance in Chatsworth, 16 December 1989.



Plate 76: A close-up of the act of "cutting" at the Chatsworth ratiep performance, 16 December 1989.

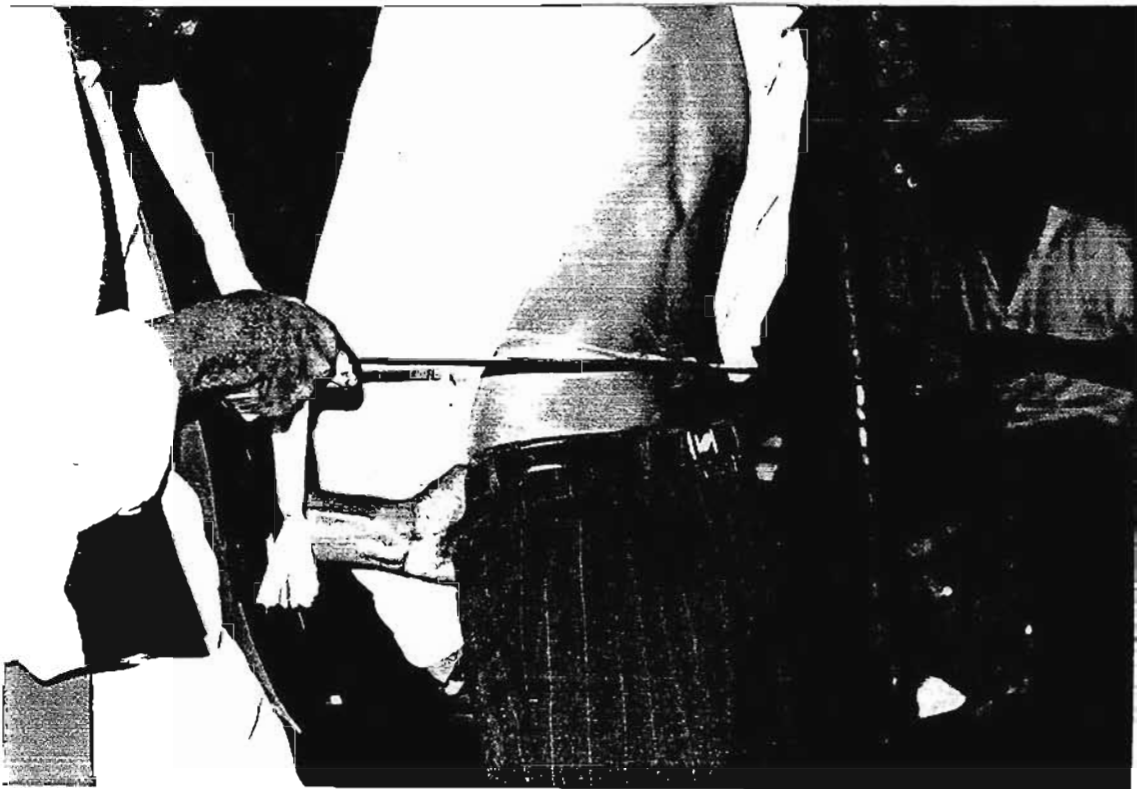


Plate 77: Khalifa Razak performing with tamboesters, 16 December 1989.



Plate 78: A view of performers and spectators, Chatsworth, 16 December 1989.



Plate 79: A performance of a "dangerous" act, Chatsworth, 16 December 1989.



Plate 80: Khalifa Razak indicating the ending off of a dhikr.

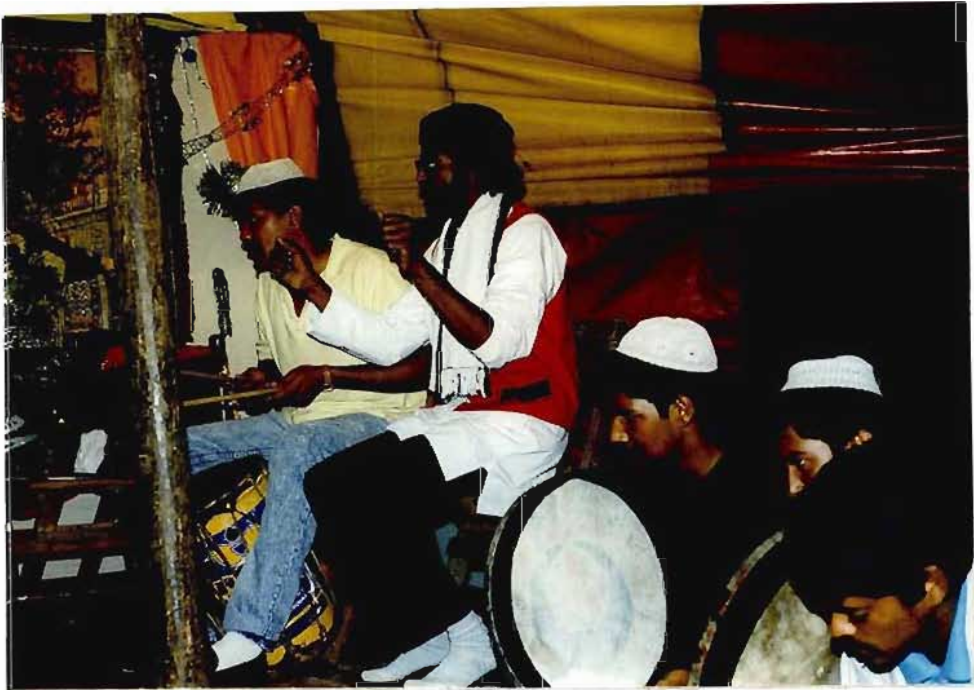
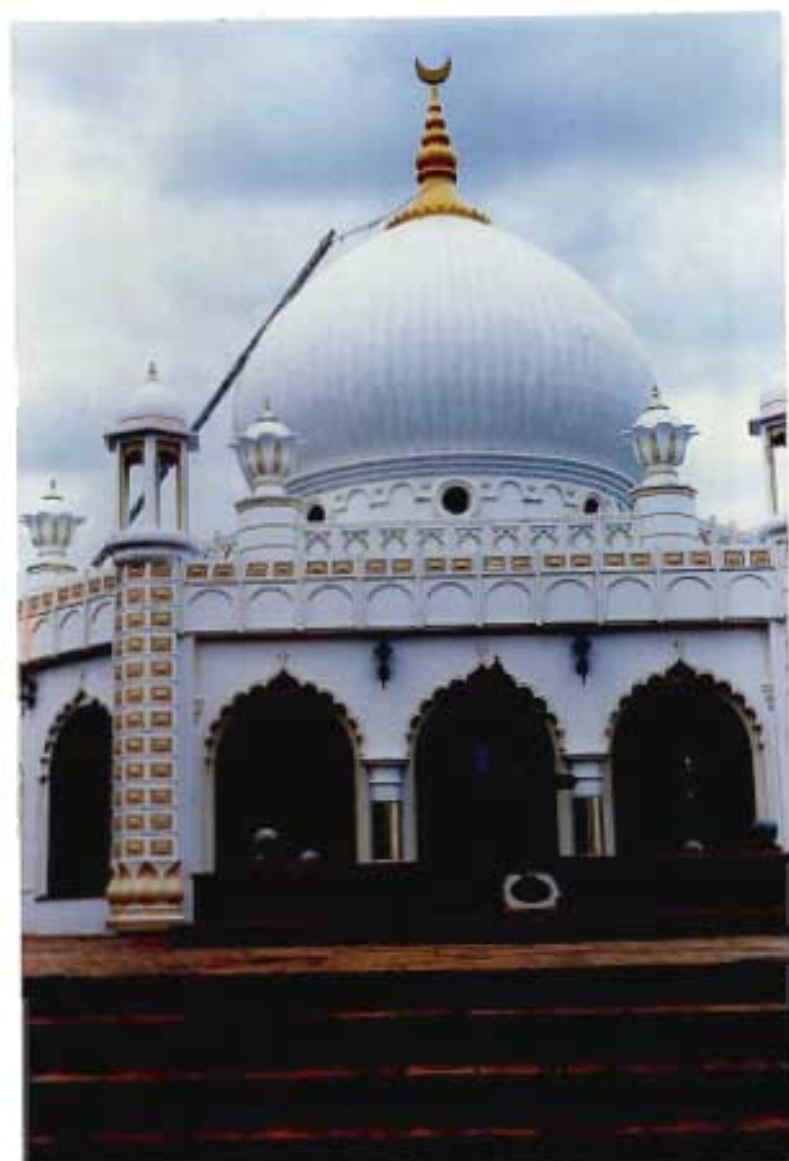


Plate 81: The Soofie Sahab Mazaar, Riverside, Durban.



C. INTERVIEWS

ABRAHAMS JAMAAH INTERVIEW, 5 DECEMBER 1981

The purpose of this ratiep performance was to raise funds for the completion of the Lansdowne mosque and madressa buildings. The performance took place in the half-completed buildings of the madressa.

Audio-taped Arabic music was played before the commencement of the performance.

Following is a transcription of an interview with a spectator and two ratiep performers before the commencement of the show:

Spectator:

Q(uestion): "Have you performed in a ratiep performance before?"

A(nswer): "I (would) like to take a chance..."

You have to know (about the ratiep)... It's fantastic! I mean,, to be stabbed in the stomach...Children and all that!

Q: "Who is performing this evening?"

A: "I don't know who's coming."

Q: "How long will the show last?"

A: " One, two or three hours."

#### Ratiep Performers

Interview with Ali Abrahams:

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "Ali Abrahams"

Q: "Can you describe the music?"

A: "The music is performed on the rebanna(s)..."

Q: "Where does it come from?"

A: "It is a symbolic belief; (it has) existed from ancient

times... It came for the Malays."

(Note: He probably refers to his 'Malay' ancestry.)

"...called rifi'a."

(Note: al-Rifa'i was one of the Sufi mystics and pupil of Jailani.)

"There is (sic) a lot of 'subjects'."

(Note: 'Subjects' here means 'orders' or 'tariqahs.')

"We are giving a display of Islamic faith...

It comes from Java, and is called ratib today..."

(Note: Ratib is not Javanese but Arabic.)

"It actually comes from Said Abdul Kader Jailani, who was ordered by God to 'cut man in half, and put together again'. It is one of the follow-ups of the (Islamic) religion. We are in Heideveld now, but are formerly from Newlands. We were moved due to the Group Areas (Act). There are a lot of 'voluntary' things."

Q: "Do you work?"

A: "We do a normal work. They are a jamaah, a formed group."

Q: "Do you perform only in the ratiep?"

A: "We do moulood, gaadjat, gaddat (on Thursdays). We don't worry with nederlandse liedjies."

Second Ratiep Performer, who was busy warming rebannas.

Q: "When are the rebannas ready?"

A: "The rebannas are ready when the sound is right."

Q: "How does one play on the rebanna?"

A: "You have to beat on the edge, for if you beat it in the middle, it may break. Do not stifle the sound - it must sing!"

Q: "It seems to me everyone is an Abrahams!"

A: "Most jamaah members are of the Abrahams family."

Q: "How does the skin remain like this?"

A: "The skin stays stiff for about two hours."



Q: "Are you nervous?"

A: "We are not nervous, as most (of us) have been in it from  
the age of six/seven years."

---

M.S.SOOFIE INTERVIEW: 20 JUNE 1989

Time: 20h00

Address: Northway, Durban.

M.S.Soofie is the grandson of the Sufi saint Sufi Sahib.

He explained the difference between the Chisti and Qadiri Sufi Orders: Chisti allows music, such as qawwali; Qadiri allows dhikr only.

He commented that people enjoyed qawwali too much; they listen to qawwali for the sake of enjoyment alone. Qawwali is supposed to promote love for Allah. Dhikr, the "path" of Sufism, is geared towards love, and unification with Allah.

Badsha Pir, whose death is celebrated annually with a Sandal Procession to his tomb in Durban, came to South Africa in 1860. He was unlike a saint, but rather "like a hobo". Badsha Pir lost himself in his love for, and search of unification with Allah. He lost his presence of mind. He was unaware of reality and "did not progress". His spiritual line came to an end. This was because of his total unification with Allah.

Sufi Saheb, on the other hand, showed progress. He has a line of descent. He also had been responsible for the establishment of 6(?) mosques in South Africa, of which the Habibia mosque in Rylands is one. He was buried in Riverside, Durban.

After Sufi Saheb's arrival in South African, he inquired about Badsha Pir one day while in Grey Street. No one could help him because Badsha Pir was "like a hobo". One person took him to an unmarked grave. Because Sufi Saheb and Badsha Pir were in spiritual contact with one another, he could identify the grave: "Here he lies buried". He placed his scarf over the grave of Badsha Pir, declared Badsha Pir a saint, and built a shrine.

The Soofie family took possession of the shrine. We (Soofies) have evidence that the shrine was in existence in the early 1900's with a corrugated roof structure, but without the outer walls.

The problem with Badsha Pir arose when others collected donations in the name of Badsha Pir. The key has always been in the Soofie family's possession. This key was used to lock the coffer (kept in the shrine(?)). In 1949 the problem

flared up again, and in 1960(?) it came to a head. This resulted in a court case, which the Soofies won with costs. We could prove that they are the owners of the shrine.

He (M.S.Soofie) thought they wanted it for the money. Much of the money was used for the khankahs (educational centres).

He (M.S.Soofie) told me to consult the Encyclopaedia of Islam for terms as dhikr and sama'.

A Natal University academic by the name of Smith, published a book on Sufism. He (M.S.Soofie) will send me one. Many thousands of copies were printed. It was very good. He (M.S.Soofie) has 6 courses for his B.A. which he started in the sixties.

I (the author) have the right people - I am on the right track, he stated.

I must contact the imam of the Grassy Park mosque in Cape Town. He is an Indian, but mixes with the Malays. So he knows both sides.

INTERVIEW WITH KHALIFA HENDRICKS, NEWTOWN, 4 JANUARY 1991

Three interviews were conducted with Khalifa Mogammad Hendricks, born 31 March 1903 in District Six. These took place on the 28th of November 1990, 5th of December 1990 and again on the 4th of January 1991. The purpose was twofold: Firstly to obtain good photographs and information on ratiep flags, and secondly to obtain more information on ratiep dhikr. In the first interview he stated that he became khalifa in 1927, has the oldest ratiep bank which came from Kanaldorp (District Six); according to him his bank is 200 years old and he also lays claim to being the oldest living khalifa.

The following extract of an interview held on the 4th of January 1991 on the origin of ratiep with Khalifa Hendriks was conducted in Afrikaans. I have transcribed the interview accurately, except in the case where additions have been enclosed in brackets. These additions make the Afrikaans more intelligible. After every sentence, or part thereof, an English translation is given.

"Daar is baie dinge, maar ek vertel jou maar net kort(liks)..."

(There are many things, but I am telling you only briefly...)

"Agmad Ibnee Alwaan, hy't geleer by Said Abdul Qadir - maar hy's 'n skoolkind."

(Agmad Ibnee Alwaan learnt from Said Abdul Qadir - he's a scholar).

"Maar, toe kom dit toe dat hy huis toe gaan."

(Then it happened that he went home.)

"Toe vra sy ma vir hom: 'Maar hoekom is jy dan so maer?'"

(Then his mother asked him: "Why are you so thin?")

"Toe sê hy - Sheikh Alwaan - Sheikh Abdul Qadir gee net vir hom bene om te eet."

(Then he - Shaikh Alwaan - answered that Sheikh Abdul Qadir

only gives him bones to eat.)

"Toe gaan die ma toe daarvandaan na Sheikh Abdul Qadir toe."

(Then the mother went from there to Sheikh Abdul Qadir"

"Toe gaan sy hom vra."

(She then went to ask him.)

"Toe sê Sheikh Abdul Qadir sy moet gaan kyk - hy moet gaan wys waar't hy die bene gegooi het."

(The Sheikh Abdul Qadir told her to go and see where he threw the bones.)

"Toe hulle kom daar waar't hy die hoenderbene gegooi het, toe loop daar hoenders."

(When they came there where he threw the chicken bones, there were chickens.)

"Daar waar't hy die skaapbene gegooi het, daar't skape geloop

en daar't bokke geloop."

(There where he threw the sheepbones, there were sheep and goats.)

"Toe gaan die ma huis toe - toe sê die ma vir hom: 'Olraait, ons moet nou huis toe gaan'."

(Then the mother went home - then the mother said to him:

"All right, we must go home".)

"Hulle het 'n paar dae daar gebly, en toe gaan hulle huis toe."

(They stayed there for a few days, and then went home.)

"Toe djieker die ma - al wat hy gehad was 'n mes - toe djieker die ma 'Saygoenaa Agmad Ibenu Alwaan'."

(Then the mother djiekered - all that he had was a knife - then the mother djiekered "Saygoenaa Agmad Ibenu Alwaan.")

"Toe slaan die ma die bakkie."



(Then the mother beat on the bucket.)

"Mugadiel qalbi, sagibu sultaan."

"Nou daai tyd, toe was Sagib die sultaan"

(Now that time, Sagib was the Sultan)

"Nou baie khalifas hulle weet nie waarvandaan start die djiaker nie."

(Now many khalifas do not know where this dhikr originates.)

"Die djiaker - toe vat hy die mes, en hy steek en hy kap."

(This dhikr - then he took the knife, and he stabbed and he chopped.)

"Daarvoor is die tamboester daar, en die alwaans daar, en die sale daar."

(That is why there are tamboesters, alwaans and sale.)

"Toe na daai\_toe maak die mense ratiep."

(Then after that they made ratiep.)

"Die rebanna was die bakkie gewees"

(The rebanna was the bucket.)

Important points Noted in the interview 29 November 1990:

Khalifa Hendricks accounted of a khalifa who went to learn in Zanzibar, "because he has montiq" (knowledge, wisdom). Apparently there was much mureeds (pupils) could learn in Zanzibar.

Replying to my relevant question, he answered that he did not know of any ratiep dhikr with Malayu text. However, he mentioned Java mantera, which are secret phrases used in ratiep performances by the khalifa for example to stop bleeding.

Texts Provided by Khalifa Hendricks, 29 November 1990

(Translation by Muttaqin Rakiep)

A. Malayu Mantra for Tamboesters

Dudu(k) Allah barka gunu\* tudjoo\*

(To sit...God...blessings mountain\* seven\*)

Kudu Ali barakat un Ali

(.....blessings from Ali)

barakat la illah illal lah

(blessings, there is no God but Allah)

Muhammad-ur Rasullulah

(and Muhammed is his Messenger)

Shaikh Aqmad Khan ya Allah ya Gabur (Gafoor?)

(Shaikh Kahn, O Allah, please Allah)

Mantra isharaat kan'aa\* Allah

(A prayer indicating, please Allah)

Danke Rasullulah

(Thank you Messenger)

N.B. \* Uncertain translation

Afrikaans words: 1

Malayu words: 7

Arabic words: 23

B. Malayu Mantra for Saals

Malaikat (Barakat) Malaikat Ebrahim

(Angel, Angel, Ebrahim...)

C. Bismillah Shafee

(In the Name of Allah)

Bismillah Kafee

(Who is the Healer)

Bismillah Ma'afi

(The One who suffices, the Pardoner, Forgiver)

N.B. Tuan Guru, a Cape Muslim Saint who lies buried in a kramat in the Bo-Kaap, left a mantra to the Cape Muslims community, which has been transmitted from generation to generation through oral transmission. It starts as above:

Bismillah shafee...."

and continues:

Mismillah Allah thi

(In the Name of the One)

La ya duru mi'as miyi

(In whose name nothing will harm you)

Shiamin fil ardi mali fisama

(In Heaven and on earth)

D. Khalifa Hendricks wanted to render a new djieker:

Allah ida imun n'amuttahi da imun.

(Allah is forever, his blessings are forever.)

Shukru-Allah

(Thanks to Allah)

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D. TRANSLATIONS

TRANSLATION OF T. PIGEAUD, JAVAANSCHÉ VOLKSVERTONINGEN.

(Translation done by myself)

267.

Daboesan, gedeboes

Here follows the description of Dr van Hoeffel of the dabus performance in Tjanjoer: "But the dabus play deserves your special attention; the same extent of amazement caused by this performance by the cleverness of inland people amongst the population, is caused by the slyness and cunningness of the priests. It has become one of the means whereby they retain their influence on the population. Fifty or sixty natives sat opposite each other in two long rows, amongst whom were several boys of twelve to sixteen years; all had a tambourine in one hand. At the one end of the two rows a square rag was hung, on which a heading in only Arabic was printed in white letters, filled with praises to God and Muhammad and the angels of the Lord of Islam."

"Behind this structure a priest was seated, who had been to Mecca on pilgrimage (a hadji). On a piece of white linen in

front of him lay the so-called soeltans, which are iron daggers about one foot long, some a bit more, others a bit less, with a broad wooden handle onto which iron chains are affixed at the ends. Furthermore he had a pair of round stones, about one foot in diameter, and other objects in front of him. On his lap lay a cushion with an opened manuscript, out of which he read in Arabic in the normal singing manner of the Mohammedans. After each verse, the remaining choir repeated the last words and the "amin! amin!". When it, with increasing intensity, had lasted for about one hour; it appeared as if the enthusiasm reached a peak; one person stood up from the mass, approached the structure in a dance-like manner (tandak), sat on his knees before the instruments; he made a striking movement with his body and head and grasped one of the iron daggers which he held to the priest. He took a little spit from his mouth, stroked the point with it, and pronounced the blessing. The young man who appeared to be in ecstasy, got up, danced and wrung his body in different directions, on the beat of the tambourines and the singing of the rest, and under a loud shout, plunged the iron spikes onto his stomach, on his shoulders, on the cheek, etc." "After him followed another, and so it went on the entire night. The only change was



brought by the stones to the performance, with which one inlander, in a dancing manner, with many grimacing, hit the other initiated on the body."

Thusfar the description of Dr van Hoeffell, a clear rational description (which hid artful retraction of the daggers) with which he tried to explain the incomprehensible phenomenon has been omitted. In fact, there is no need to argue that in the creation of such explanations, one needs insight into this physical-psychological phenomenon, about which an assumption of biology and hypnosis exercised upon the spectators, may offer a partial explanation.

One may, however, return to the remark about the dancing men, half adult boys, mentioned by Dr van Hoeffell, who participate in the performance. Furthermore, one could assume on the basis of the performance, that the Tjandjoer performance preceded another section which all performances must have: a collective "exercise" of the followers of one religious brotherhood or congregation (Dr van Hoeffell mentions Sheik Abdul Qadir Jailani) who gather in large numbers (50 ot 60) under the leadership of a voorganger (leader), the guru, even though the "exercise" may be public,

or even on the Resident erf.

Not so long ago, this dabus performance disappeared from West-Java, either as a result of prohibition by the authorities, or the activities of the representatives of the official, orthodox Islam. Nevertheless in 1925, one was held on a pasamalem, at the Governor's place in Bandoeng for some social reason, where another dabus performance was seen. Later it was found at similar occasions. Even in 1919 or 1920, so I am told, dabus art forms have occurred in Batavia, in the Sirene Park, as part of ordinary Christmas performances. European doctors would then examine the performers and confirm the absence of any form of trickery.

Through mediation of the R.A.A.M. wiranatakoesoema, the Governor of Bandoeng, I received a detailed description from Tjilijn (a province of Bandoeng) of the manner in which the dabus performance is given under the leadership of the late sheikh Hadji Djenal Moetapa, who had idjadjah (permission) from the late Hadji Moehammad Rasid of the pesantren of Bongas (What Bongas means, I do not know). A kjai of Tjibat (district Tjimahi) could confirm this.

The writer mentions that because the Sheikh must have been a follower of the tariqa Ripaijah, the other players were not all murids - that is, people who have for a long time learnt from or have been with the sheikh (tarek, goegoeroe, Javanese: megoeroe) - but also others who participate in this performance which is regarded by God as acceptable.

At the performance of about 1930 there were present, in accordance with the rule, a shiekh, his badal or badlas (substitutes who later wish to become gurus) and at least five players, the gendjings (the terbang with metal discs). The smallest of these are called rowel, then there are two paneroes, and the largest is called indoeng. There was also a djidor with it.

None of the performers need to be dressed in a particular manner. Before the performance incense is burnt, and sometimes a common meal is had, after which or before, the paths of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani and Shiekh Ripai their paths are displayed in white Arabic heading, and called the rakam of the tariqa. The performance, held at night, starts with a quiet prayer (tapakoer) of the sheikh; thereafter the gendjring music starts to which the performers themselves

sing Arabic prayers and praises (mouloods).

The first part of the performance one calls the soeltanija (which undoubtedly is linked to Dr van Hoeffell's description of the soeltans). Two men stab themselves with sharp, pointed irons without hurting themselves. The second is the sip performance, which consists of two dancers who pierce their ears with two pieces of iron wire. These are fastened behind their heads, while the ears are pierced from the front. When this is done, the performers perform a dance, after which the sheikh frees them from the (spikes) without any flow of blood. The third performance is with stones of 30 cm diameter, which the dancers cast at their bodies, again without any injury. The fourth and last performance consists of performers taking burning logs from a fire with their bare hands without inflicting burn wounds. This, anyone can do if he is ritually clean.

Ecstasy (pana) occurs with the dancers, although not always. The sheikh must then bring them to normal consciousness. The reporter adds further to this that the dabus performance, although given as part of a festival, must not be seen as a normal spectacle, and is not paid for as such. One witnesses

therein the presence and power of God with the required respect, for which one rewards the sheikh for his trouble.

Nothing needs to be added to this remarkable description. When linked to the emprak performance from S.Tjentini, which will be discussed hereunder, it may be seen how this performance exhibits both the spirit of religious miracle and that of magic, apart from the age-old indigenous ingredients, which are contained here and there.

Also in the mentioned discourse of Dr Hidding on the religion of the Soedanese (p.96), there appears a description of a dabus.<sup>1</sup> There one reads:

"The dabus, a play performed formerly frequently in pasantren,<sup>1</sup> is of Muslim origin. Herein is demonstrated how one may, in a state of ecstasy, achieve invulnerability, the origin, and how the leader, the dalang, who sits hidden behind a cover, calls up the mysterious being of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani through concentration; the pupils of the dalang can afflict to one another serious wounds, in which the public participates, but which heal soon afterwards. While the followers sit in a circle around the dalang, with incense being burnt, they dhikr until he indicates with

"hadir-hadir!" (that is, "he is present!") "the sign that the one called up has arrived, and that the performance, under the accompaniment of terbang-music, may be started.<sup>2</sup> The pupils who also have been prepared through concentration and who before, as was the dalang, have been purified ritually, performs a few dance steps, and then proceeds to the actual performance, until the dalang gives the sign that Abdul Qadir had disappeared again."

This description gives to the appearance (in spirit) of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani great meaning for the success of the play. The other descriptions do not achieve this to the same degree. It is not surprising that there is any difference in perception about what actually happens or what must happen in the meetings amongst the different kjai's, as well as the pupils and participants.

In conclusion it must be mentioned that in a sitting room of an old mosque of Bantam, which presently is an almost deserted capital of the former Sultanate, a few daggers are stored affixed to heavy metal balls by chains, which have formerly been used at the dabus performances, which the Sultan had held close to the mosque building, in a remarkable brick

house of one floor, in true Dutch style, called a tiana. A good description thereof one finds in G.P. Groenhof's Enkele Geschiedkundige Plaatsen in Bantam (Batavia 1920).

Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, in his contribution on Islam in the collection Neerland's Indië (compiled under the leadership of Dr Colijn, Amsterdam 1913, part II, p.251 and 262), includes prints of the oldest mosque in Bantam and of a dabus performance. He wrote extensively about the elmoe ripanji in his book about Aceh (English Publication II, p.249). The holy Ahmad Rifa'i, died 1182 A.D., a younger contemporary of Abdul Qadir Jailani (d.1166) is the founder of one of the "mystical orders" of religious brotherhoods in Islam. The initiated (into the deeper mysteries) thereof had performed art forms of miracles in public; out of this the excellence of the order and the holiness of the founder is demonstrated. Elsewhere it has developed in a spectacle for the masses.

It needs also to be mentioned here that the iron daggers or knobs with points, with chains, are also noted in the well-known description of Islam in the South of lower India, (Qanoon-i-Islam, Crooke, 1921, p.194) where the opinion of some is mentioned, namely that the Sheikh Rifa'i, from whom

the Ripanji songs and the performance with dangerous instruments originate, is the nephew of Sheikh Jailani.

Comment on Pigeaud, T. Javaansche Volksvertoningen.

Cape Muslim ratiep performances have taken place for at least the past 200 years. On the other hand, dabus performances described in the literature of witnessed performances go back only about 100 years. It is therefore difficult to compare Cape Muslim ratiep with Southeast Asian dabus. Compounding the problem are factors such as insufficient information relating to the dabus art form.

Nonetheless, the following observations and conclusions may be made, in the divisions: history, form, language and music.

Historical background

Dr Hidding in Pigeaud claims that the dabus is of Muslim origin. The Qanoon-i-Islam mentions the same in connection with its origins. Pigeaud clearly claims that the performance is linked to Sufi brotherhoods. Writers such as Davids and Shell, again, claim that the South African ratiep



may be linked to the un-Islamic roots of Hinduism. My own viewpoints coincide with that contained by the mentioned sources in Pigeaud about the dabus. The Cape Muslim ratiep may be traced back to the religious practices of the Rifa'iyah Sufi brotherhood. While Pigeaud does not discuss possible Hindu and other pre-Islamic influence in the dabus, Kartomi does. I have found correspondences between ratiep and other non-Islamic religious practices (such as the Hindu festival which incorporated fire-walking in Durban).

#### Form

The form of the dabus has only been loosely described in Pigeaud. He mentions definite "acts" such as soeltaniyyah and sip. Important is that a clear description is given: soeltaniyyah refers to a performance with daggers, while sip refers to the act of running skewers through the ears of subjects. The acts of stoning each other and stroking coals are clearly described, and the latter is a well-known South African ratiep act. The burning of incense, the performance of dhikr, the dance, the performance with daggers and the insertion of skewers into the cheeks and ears occur in both. The use of stone in dabus is foreign to ratiep. Cape Muslim

ratiep incorporates such acts as saal, trapsaal, kapsaal and hammer-tamboes.

### Language

Here a major difference may be found. Terms such as dabus, soeltans, soeltaniyyah, dalang, terbang, sip, tandak and tapakoer are foreign to ratiep. In ratiep the term "rebanna" is used for "terbang", "khalifa" for "dalang", "salaam" for "sultaniyyah", "tamboes" for "sultans" and "ratiep" for "dabus" and so on. Cape Muslim ratiep terminology may mostly be linked to Arabic roots, whereas dabus draws from the Malay language. Herein lies one of the most important observable differences. For a complete list of both common and uncommon terms found in Pigeaud, refer to Appendix A1. Reference to only a seven terms could be found in appropriate dictionaries of the Malay language. The fact that most of these terms remain unclear may be due to two factors: the first is that spelling of Malay terminology appears unstandardized. One dictionary gave Malay in Arabic script, which may have provided a solution to the problem of meaning of these terms, provided the Arabic transliteration was known. The second is that not all Malay terms seem to have been noted. In

particular it was found that specialized terms relating to musical forms and instruments are hard to find. This, however, does not mean that the terms are unclear. From the context their meaning may be derived, and other sources may be consulted.

### Dance

Pigeaud does not give any indication of the nature of the dabus dance (nor does Kartomi). It therefore cannot be compared except to say, that a stylized dance movement exist in both art forms, something which many Sufi-based performance have.

### Music

No discussion or analysis of the form and style of dabus music occurs in Pigeaud. No musical transcriptions are given. There are, however, refereces to "Amin! Amin!" and "Hadir! Hadir!", both of which are not present in Cape Muslim ratiep.

Conclusion

Superficially, there appears to be definite correspondences which link the two art forms ratiep and dabus in terms of historical background and form. On closer scrutiny, and in the absence of musical transcription and movement descriptions, no definite conclusion can be drawn. Linguistic considerations point to the fact that dabus terminology differ from ratiep terminology markedly. Important reason for this could be the fact that Cape Muslim terminology has only been recorded as recently as 1985, while Pigeaud's goes back to about 1930. It must also be remembered that Arabic influence in South African Islam increased from 1960's onwards. Formerly, until the first quarter of this century, Malay was spoken by a number of Cape Muslims. Very few Cape Muslims have presently a good knowledge of Malay. It could very well be that ratiep terminology underwent a similar shift from Malay to Arabic. What is surprising, though, is the difference between the names of the art forms. The term "ratiep" goes back a long time; the term "chalifa" for ratiep has been recorded in the middle of the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX A1: TERMS IN T.PIGEAUD'S JAVAANSCH E VOLKSVERTONINGEN

emprak

pasantren/ pesantren

soeltans = ruler

tandak = dance

pasarmalem

wiranatakoesoema

megoeroe

badal

gendjring , genderang = drum

rowel

paneroes

indoeng = mother, petname for a girl

djidor

rakam

tapakoer

pana

terbang = to fly

dalang = someone who displays puppetry, a wajang

kjai

tiama

elmoe ripanji elmoe = expertise

COMMON TERMS

hadji

dhikr (dikir)

ENDNOTES

1. This refers to a section in Pigeaud, T. Javaansche Volksvertoningin (Batavia, 1938), p.267, which is not part of the given translation.
2. This term is used as a verb, and derived from the noun dhikr which refers to a "hymn" or song of praise. The usage of the term as a verb is common amongst Cape Muslim.
3. H.C. Klinkert, Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Zakwoordenboek (Leiden: Brill, 1918); and Kolff, Hollandsch-Maleisch & Maleisch-Hollandsch Zakwoordenboek (Leiden: Kolff, 1932).



DABOS TRANSLATION1

DANCE DESCRIPTION

Dance Movements:

Ordinarily the dabos dance begins with a pair of (male) dancers facing each other. Each dancer holds a pair of steel "dabos spikes" (besi dabos), one in each hand. The dancing begins whenever the music starts to sound (apabila musik berbunyi);

The right foot moves to the fore, followed by the left foot moving diagonally to the back of the right foot. Then the right foot is lifted high so that the upper leg is horizontal. While maintaining this posture the dancers

rotate 360<sup>0</sup>. Then the left foot moves to the front, followed by the right foot until the left upper leg is horizontal. In this posture they rotate 360<sup>0</sup> once again. With each foot movement the dabos spikes are shaken, making a jangling sound; "chrik, chrik, chrik....."

Hands are held in a slightly raised posture, with arms extended and elbows slightly bent. The dabos spikes are held gracefully.

The dancers soon become driven (ditarikan) by the beating of the rebanas which becomes fast and thunderous. (cepat dan gemuruh).

The dancers then squat facing the "master of ceremonies" (kalifa) and begin to stab themselves (menikam dirinya) until they draw blood.<sup>2</sup> The stabbing movements follow the rhythm

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of the rebanas.

The rebanas then stop, bringing the dance to a close.

Then one by one the dancers face the kalifa who washes away the blood with clear water specially prepared in advance.

Other pairs of dancers may then start to dance.

#### PREPARATION FOR THE DANCE

This dance is presided over (dipimpin) by a person called a kalifah who is responsible for all preparations. Before the dance begins there is a sort of ceremony (upacara). A clean white bowl full of fresh water (air putih) is placed on a white cloth (kain putih).

The dabos spikes are about eight inches long. They are sharp at one end and the handle is broad. On the handle there are several hoops (usually three or four I think) each with several steel rings inserted which jangle whenever the spike is moved back and forth.

Care is taken to ensure that the presence of spectators will

not interfere with the magic, and that no "forbidden words" (kata-kata yang terlarang) are spoken. If these precautions are not adhered to the dancers frequently injure themselves.

#### DANCE TERMINOLOGIES

Gerak menembak - "shooting movement"

Gerak mengimbang - "reluctant but prepared to fight"

Gerak bunga - "ornament", "elaborations".

TYPE OF DANCE: Magic

#### EQUIPMENT/ACCOMPANIMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DANCE.

Accompanying songs: "dabos songs" (lagu-lagu dabos)

Accompanying instruments: 8 or 10 large rebanas

Dancers' clothing: "prison jacket" (baju kurung)

Muslim hat (peci or songkok)

Sarong

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

The dabos dance probably came from Arabia. The songs and instruments such as the rebana appear to have some Arabic influence. Just when this influence first appeared in Riau is not clear. Already dabos is becoming rare. Most of the dabos dancers still left are now old.

ENDNOTES

1. Translated by the Australian Indonesian music student, Ashley Turner, from Ensiklopedi Musik dan Tari Daerah Riau (Encyclopaedia of Music and Dance in Riau) (Riau: Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah Riau, 1978), pp. 165-166. The translation was included in his letter to me, dated 24 November 1988. His spelling of "rebana" was retained; the Indonesian words occur in the original version, which Ashley Turner provided me with during my visit to Melbourne in August 1985. In her letter of 14 September 1990 his mother, Margaret Reid, informed me that Ashley was working as Ethnomusicology Consultant at the University of Sumatera Utera in Indonesia.
2. Ashley Turner states in his letter of 24 November 1988: "I was surprised to read the bit about blood being drawn - I have seen a video of Dabos being performed in Rengat in Riau, and I did not see any blood resulting from self-stabbing."

E. NOTES: SNOUCK HURGRONJE

SNOUCK HURGRONJE

Snouck Hurgronje accounts that when the Arabic traveller Ibn Attoetah reached Sumatra-Pase, he found a thriving Islamic kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

He gives a detailed account of Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago. There appears to be a close resemblance to that at the Cape. There was a strong adherence to Sufi traditions; moulood and ratiep were practised. Malay terms well-known to South African Muslims, such as poeasa and bilal, are mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

There have be many Sufi brotherhoods (tarikahs) since the seventeenth century, which had as their aim the unification with God.<sup>3</sup> Specific religious exercises or dikir with hypnotic effects are practised.<sup>4</sup> The Kadirijjah (Qadiriyyah), Naksjibandijjah (Naqsabandiyyah) and Rifa'iyah are found. The latter finds expression in the gedeboes ceremony which is characterised by selfmutilation, which is still occasionally found in the archipelago.<sup>5</sup>

Before any parallel can be drawn between the Banten gededoes

and the South African ratiep the following questions have to be answered:

- \* The picture depicting the gedeboes dates about 1913. How long has gedeboes been practised in Banten, and what were the characteristics of it then?
- \* What correspondences and differences are there between South Africa ratiep and Banten gedeboes?
- \* What was the music like?
- \* What was the nature of the text?
- \* What was the nature of the movement?
- \* What was the purpose of the performances?
- \* What was the origin of each?

Much more is known about the ratiep than of gedeboes. Many of the above questions still remain unanswered. Hence no conclusions can be drawn at this stage of the rsearch.



ENDNOTES

1. C.Snouck Hurgronje, "Het Mohammedanisme", (Neerlands Indie: Land en Volk. Deel 1. Amsterdam: Uitgewers- Maatschappij, 1913).
2. Ibid., p.252.
3. Ibid., p.260.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.261.

F. LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES NOT IN MAIN BODY

The first four of the following musical examples are part of ratiep performances:

Example T1: An Abrahams Jamaah ratiep dhikr

Example T2: A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah ratiep dhikr

Example T3: An Indian ratib dhikr

Example T4: A Chatsworth Jamaah ratiep dhikr

Example T5: A ghazal

Allahu Nasali Abrahams Jamaah  
December 1981

Al- la- hu na- sa- li Al- lah say a- de- na

Al- lah Mu- gam- mad. Al-

Al- la- hu na- sa- li- Al- lah say a- de- na

Al- lah Mo gam- mad e- be- nee, ab- di-

lah.

Example T1: An Abrahams Jamaah ratiep dhikr

Allahu

O.P. No Transposition  
Jamaah: Yusufia Rifi'a  
Thom Theatre, 23 Nov. 1985

M.M. ♩ = 66

Al- lah Al- lah- u Al- lah- u

Al- lah, Al- lah, Al-lah-u Al- lah.

The musical score consists of three staves of music in treble clef. The first staff contains the first line of the melody. The second staff contains the second line, with lyrics 'Al- lah Al- lah- u Al- lah- u' written below it. The third staff contains the third line, with lyrics 'Al- lah, Al- lah, Al-lah-u Al- lah.' written below it. The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some rests.

Example T2: A Yusufia Rifi'a Jamaah dhikr

Ratib Dhikr Allahu

M.M. ♩ = 80


Al- lah hu ma sa- li


la- hu Mu ham- mad.

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes a vocal line and two rhythmic accompaniment lines labeled 'Dyrā' and 'Dhol'. The vocal line has lyrics 'Al- lah hu ma sa- li'. The second system continues the vocal line with lyrics 'la- hu Mu ham- mad.' and includes the corresponding 'Dyrā' and 'Dhol' accompaniment. The time signature is 2/4.

Example T3: An Indian ratib dhikr

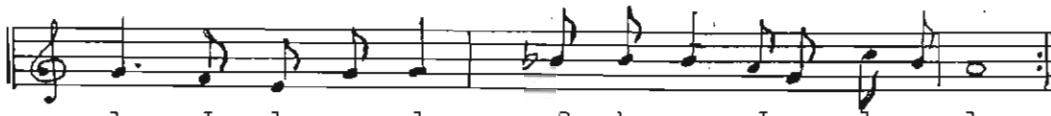
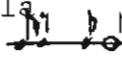

Kh.   
Ya, Mou-la-na, oh ya ra-bil a-la- min

  
Al- la- hum- ma sa- lim wa sa-laam a-lay,

J.   
wa sa-laam a-lay, wa sa-laam a-lay.

M.M. ♩ = 60 Baderoe Jalalla

Kh.   
La il-la- ha il il- lal lah, Bad-e-roe Ja- la-

  
la Ja- la- la Ba-de-roe Ja- la- la  
Dhol   
Rebanna 

Jamaah   
Rebanna   
Dhol 

Example T4: A Chatswoth Jamaah dhikr

M.M. ♩ = 104

O.P. Virtually no Transposition  
Original : M. Rafi  
Singer M. I. Rawoot

Te- ri aan- kha ka joh I-sha-a- ra na

ho- ta Te- ri aan- kha ka joh I-sha-a- ra na

ho- ta Toh bis- mil ka- bhi dil ha

ma- ra- na ho- ta Te- ri Aan- kha ka

Tabla

Translation : The tears in your eyes signify  
that your love is not ready

Example T5: A ghazal

G. KHALIFA LAMARA CERTIFICATE

THE GRADUATION CERTIFICATE OF KHALIFA SULAIMAN LAMARA

SPRINGBOK REFAA-IE TROUPE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT SULAIMAN LAMARA HAS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED HIS STUDIES AND PASSED HIS EXAMINATION AND IS NOW A FULLY QUALIFIED KHALIFA.

6 October 1985  
DATE OF PASSING OUT

*Ghaliefa Mogamat Salie Toffan*  
TEACHER (OESTAAD) SIGNATURE

WITNESSES:

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Ghaliefa Abobalkew</i> | 2. <i>Ghaliefa Yanief</i>    |
| 3. <i>Abu H. Jan</i>         | 4. <i>Abu H. Jan</i>         |
| 5. <i>M.A. Hendrickx</i>     | 6. <i>Abubakar Abubakar</i>  |
| 7. <i>Abubakar Abubakar</i>  | 8. <i>Abubakar Abubakar</i>  |
| 9. <i>X. Osman Daud</i>      | 10. <i>Abubakar Abubakar</i> |
| 11. <i>I. ABRAHAMS</i>       | 12. <i>M.A. JAMES</i>        |

GHALIEFA SULAIMAN  
KHALIFA LAMARA  
KHALIFA LAMARA  
EST. 1983

GHALIEFA SULAIMAN  
KHALIFA LAMARA ★  
KHALIFA LAMARA  
EST. 1983

H. DAILY INDEPENDENT ARTICLES

THE DAILY INDEPENDENT (Information supplied by the Mrs L.  
Brits, Africana Librarian, Kimberley  
Public Library, 4 January 1993.)

THE DAILY INDEPENDENT, FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1890

The Moslem Kalifa

It is shortly intended by the Moslems to give the Kalifa. The Oriental Kalifa band will play in the Eastern style, while the Moslems will stick steel skewers in their bodies, saw their necks with blunt swords, and have their cheeks and bodies pierced by new steel piercers, specially obtained from (sic) the occasion. There is to be an exhibition of sword play. It will be remembered that the Kalifa was given for the first time in Kimberley on the Eclectic ground some years ago, and again on August 15, 1887, in the Circus building. I remember on the first occasion the indefatigable and enterprising "J K" laid in a great stock of liquor under the impression that there would be a boom in that line owing to the presence of an odd thousand or so of Moslems, not to mention a large concourse of Europeans. There was a great show of Moslems, but all they took from the bar was a bucket of water.

THE DAILY INDEPENDENT, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1891

GRAND

ORIENTAL FETE

at the  
PIRATES GROUND  
on the evening of  
EASTER MONDAY,  
March 30th

----

The Hystorical(sic)

KALIFA

Similar to that performed during Her  
Majesty's Jubilee Year  
3 HOURS' ENTERTAINMENT

-----

SYNOPSIS:

- I. - SIX MUSSULMANS with  
sharpened steel-pointed Daggers  
will perform for half-an-hour
  
- II. - Four will play with swords,  
"cutting their throats," each  
  
using two swords.
  
- III. - one man will descend from  
the Stage to show the Spectators  
he has actually the steel  
wire through his cheeks and  
ears (as shown at the Jubilee Khalifa).



IV. - Four men will exhibit their fortitude, cutting their arms with swords.

V. - One man shall descend from the Stage with a STEEL PEG THROUGH HIS MOUTH, to which will be attached a Wooden Board in order to assure the Spectators of the bona fides of the Ceremony

VI. - Striking Pantomimic Exhibition of Thirty Oriental Performers, dancing with the "Tambouran," four with flags.

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BRILLIANTLY - ILLUMINATED STAGE

(Electric light)

BAND, with appropriate Oriental and other music.

-o-

ADMISSION - 3s. to the pavilion,  
2s to other parts of the Ground  
Commencing at 8 p.m.

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DO NOT MISS THIS EXTRA-  
ORDINARY SPECTACLE

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I. RATIEP TEXTUAL ASPECTS

RATIEP PERFORMANCE: LANSDOWNE, 1981

Abbreviations Used: Kh. = Khalifa  
J. = Jamaah

INTRODUCTION

	Text	Textual Form	Musical Form	Translation
Kh.	Aggemad.....Agmad	a	a	Prophet, our Lordship
	Saydina.....			
	Mugammad..Mustapha	b		
	Yasafa...il gurumat			
J.	Aggemad...ie..Agmad		a1	Prophet, our Lordship
	Saydina.....	a		
	Mugammad...Mustapha	b		
	Yasafa..ie..Rasullulah			
Kh.	Allahoema salim	c	b	Allah, put blessings upon him
	wa salaam alay	d		
	allahoema salim	c		
	wa salaam alay	d		
J.	Allahoema salim	B	b1	
	wa salaam alay			
	Allahoema salim			
	wa salaam alay			

BEGINNING OF PUDJIES

	.....ya Rasool	a	c	O Messenger
	Ajee...nay wa..	b		
	.....			
	Allahoema salim	c	b1	Allah put blessings upon
	wa salaam alay him	d		
	Pudjie II	D	c	

Allahoema	B	bl
Pudjie III: ....Gibriel ....Adenaan	E	c
Allahoema	B	bl
Pudjie IV: (See Yusufia)	F	c
Assalaatu wa salaamu Alaya ya ilahi bi gurumat		
Allahoema	B	bl
Repeat Pudjie IV	H(F)	c
Allahoema	B	bl
Pudjie V	I	c
Allahoema	B	bl
Pudjie J: Allambim	J	d
.....	K	e
.....	L	d
.....	K	e

SUMMARY: MACRO-MUSICAL & TEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE RATIEP

MUSIC	TEXT
(a;a1)	(A;A)
(b;b1)	(b;B) (B;B)
(c;b1) (c;c1)	(c;B) (D;B)
(c;b1) (c;b1)	(E;B) (F;B)
(c;b1)	(G;B) (I;B)
(d;e) (d:e1)	(J;K) (L;K)

MUSIC                      TEXT

a                              A

a1                             A

b                              B

b1                             B

b                              C

b1                             B

c                              D

b1                             B

c                              E

b1                             B

c                              F

b1                             B

c                              G

b1                             B

c                              H

b1                             B

c                              I

b1                             B

d                              J

e                              K

d                              L

e                              K

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