

DA'WAH MOVEMENTS AND SUFI TARIQAHS: COMPETING FOR SPIRITUAL SPACES IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH(ERN) AFRICA

MUHAMMED HARON

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a brief survey of the contemporary da'wah movements and Sufi orders (tariqah) that have redefined and reformulated some of the social institutions among the Muslim community in southern Africa. After a theoretical discussion of the definition of movements and orders, the paper provides a brief overview of Islam's presence in contemporary southern Africa. This is followed by a historical review of the various Sufi tariqahs and Muslim movements in the region, focusing on the Tabligh Jama'at and including the Chistiyyah, Murabitun, Qadriyyah, Alawiyyah and Naqshbandi tariqahs. In the final section of the paper comparisons are made between the growth of da'wah movements and Sufi tariqahs and the reasons for their relative influences and successes are analysed.

Introduction

Southern African Islam¹ and, more particularly, Islam in South Africa² have been given ample attention by scholars during the closing decades of the 20th century. However, despite the extensive list of research output, very little attempt has been made by these scholars to assess the role of the *da'wah* movements and Sufi *tariqahs* that have been active in the region. Not much has been done to analyse how these groups have been competing with one another for spiritual space in contemporary South(ern) Africa.

Indeed, during the last three decades of the 20th century the Tabligh Jama'at,³ and *da'wah* movements such as the Africa Muslim Agency and the Islamic Da'wah Movement of South Africa, have dominated the *da'wah* activities in the region. These movements have no doubt made valuable and significant contributions towards the conversion of people to Islam and towards the spread of Islamic *da'wah*; thus making South(ern) Africa an important part of the global *da'wah* force that must be addressed. Alongside these late 20th century developments, there has also been the mushrooming of Sufi *tariqahs* in the region's major cities. This development, to some degree, has resulted in the competition for spiritual space and, as far as could be ascertained, these *tariqahs* have been quite successful in gaining support from individuals who come from all walks of life, and, unexpectedly, in attracting individuals who were involved in the *da'wah* movements.

Religious Fundamentalism

Religious resurgence across the globe has attracted interest from a variety of persons and groups. Amongst them have been a coterie of academics such as R. Scott Appleby and his team of scholars who investigated the 'religious fundamentalism' phenomenon in the 1990s.⁴ The African continent was not left out of his team's survey since 'religion and

politics' have been associated with one another in this (forsaken) continent throughout the 20th century. An array of scholars in a period spanning from the early 20th century into the new millennium has given attention to religion on the African continent; some studied the art, others looked at the variety of rituals, and a few others concentrated on the mystical elements and practices amongst the Africans. In the latter category, there has been a sizeable number of scholars such as B.G. Martin, P. Clarke, C. Stewart, D. Westerlund and K. Vikor who have turned their attention to the phenomenon of Sufism.⁵

Indeed Sufism and, of late, *da'wah* movements, have been the subject of numerous studies because of their impact and influence on many African societies and communities. Vikor's survey of the Sufi orders in many parts of the continent clearly demonstrates the vast networks established by them over the decades: from as early as the 17th century.⁶ Individuals such as Vikor have, however, not assessed the vibrancy of these orders in the southern African part of the continent. Perhaps the reason for this is that the orders in this part of the region generally reflected a conservative and an apolitical agenda that was unlike their counterparts in north, west or east Africa.

But with the onset of the process of globalization and the connections being forged by the various orders with their co-religionists in other parts of the world, scholars have showed an eagerness to study these trans-continental networks and inter-continental developments. They have been concerned with the spread of the 'religious fundamentalism' that has rocked the world during the past few years. The tragic bombings during 1999 in east Africa, for example, have caused an array of studies to question the reasons for these events. These studies were further bolstered by the September 11 attacks that took place on US soil in 2001—a happening that neither academics nor politicians could forecast. These events thus triggered off renewed research activity to investigate the extent of religious fundamentalism in the world and to find out to what extent *da'wah* movements and Sufi orders are involved or implicated in this trend for, after all, Islamic fundamentalism seems to be seen as the 'culprit'.

Although this paper is not based on an investigative study, it provides a brief review of the emergence of these movements and orders during the final three decades of the 20th century. The article sketches the growth of Islam in southern Africa during the last half of the 20th century. It locates the significant *da'wah* movements that have been established during this period and looks at a couple of case studies to reflect upon their activities and impact. In addition to identifying these movements, the article traces the establishment of Sufi orders in the region and demonstrates the extent of their growth and influence. In closing, the article compares and contrasts the activities of the movements and orders respectively, by highlighting the commonalities and tensions that exist between these two groups.

***Da'wah* Movements and Sufi Orders**

In Abdul Kader Tayob's study of *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa*, he proposed a modern Islamic paradigm that is quite appropriate for this study.⁷ Its appropriateness lies in the fact that the emergence of the *da'wah* movements and growth of Sufi orders form an integral part of the Islamic resurgence witnessed in Muslim heartlands and in many Muslim societies all over the world.

He argues that the idea of power relations is 'inherent in the conflicting Muslim visions of Islam', and he extends his argument stating that 'religious knowledge', which is inextricably tied to the notion of power, plays a crucial role in determining, authorizing,

admitting and excluding individuals or groups depending upon their perspectives and interpretations of Islam. Tayob drew upon the contributions of individuals such as Sayyed Qutb and Ali Shariati, who had lived in and interacted with the West, to devise this modern Islamic paradigm, and concludes that different historical contexts and figures have shaped it. He points out that the exclusive focus of this paradigm was on the prophetic model, particularly the socio-political dimensions of the prophetic ideal. He also mentions that this paradigm sought to redefine and reformulate the meaning and significance of the institutional structures in society.

Contemporary *da'wah* movements and Sufi orders have undoubtedly been amongst those groups which have redefined and reformulated a number of social institutions. Now that these groups have been placed within their specific theoretical paradigm, it would be helpful to briefly define the terms 'movement' and 'order' respectively. The term 'movement', according to the definition contained in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, refers to 'a group of people who shares the same ideas or aims'.⁸ However, according to scholars of sociology of religion, namely Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, religious movements—of which *da'wah* movements form an integral part—may be viewed as a subcategory of social movements.⁹ The primary purpose of the latter, they argue, is to cause or prevent social change, and that of the former, is:

... to cause or prevent change in systems of beliefs, value symbols, practices or institutions concerned with providing supernatural compensators.¹⁰

The term 'movements', as John Saliba suggests, is a more functional and appropriate term because it encompasses the ideas of transition, transformation and change,¹¹ and since movements initiate and bring about internal and external transformations and changes, this term is quite apt and useful. However, religious movements do differ from other subcategories, such as sects and cults; these groups usually militate against the environment and, at times, break away from the societies and communities within which they had emerged. Examples of these are plentiful within the house of Islam.

It might be instructive, at this juncture, to bring into the discussion the understanding of Edmund Burke III. He, in his interpretive article entitled 'Islam and Social Movements: Methodological Reflections', raises two very simple questions: 'Is it Islamic political movements? Or is it social movements in Islamic societies?' He poses these questions and links them to the paradigm shifts that have taken place over the past few years in the academia.¹² Defining the type of movement is an important issue because both religious and social movements might operate in the Muslim heartlands, but they follow differing principles and have different sets of goals. One may, however, respond by stating that a religious movement is a type of social movement that is mainly concerned with aspects of religion. The beliefs or ideologies of members are the major ingredients of this movement, whereas social movements may have non-religious ingredients as a result of their goals.

Shifting to the term 'order', this has been defined in the afore-mentioned dictionary as 'a group of persons such as monks and nuns living in a religious community'. As per the views of Knut Vikor, the word '*tariqah*' was either translated as 'order' or 'brotherhood'.¹³ However, in Arabic it means a 'way' or a 'method' which assists one in reaching a religious experience. Through this, an organizational framework is constructed in order to transmit and practice this method. He made the point that whilst *tariqah*-ways can do without brotherhoods, *tariqah*-brotherhoods cannot do without ways, and since the latter is more widespread, the brotherhoods have acquired a function beyond the 'ways' in

different parts of the African continent; many of them have been transformed into socio-political and economic actors.

Islam in Contemporary Southern Africa

Moving from the western part of the continent to the eastern part, one is struck and fascinated by the variety of beliefs, cultures, and practices that Africa accommodates. Peoples of different creeds live alongside one another; African traditional religionists find themselves next to families who are either Muslims or Christians. Ali Mazrui's famous work, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, beautifully illustrated these stories in his widely seen video footage.¹⁴ This was further borne out in the late 1990s by Professor Henry Louis Gates' observations and video footage during his epic journey around the continent.¹⁵ It cannot be denied that Muslims have been part of this continent for generations and indeed centuries; some have reflected syncretistic tendencies and others opted for purist customs.

Even though Muslims came onto the African soil many centuries ago, Islam found a foothold in the continent by the mid 17th century. Ironically, Muslims came as slaves and later as traders to inhabit the southern African region along with the colonialists. When the latter began to make inroads and make headway into the region, Muslims were brought from other parts of the world to serve the colonial masters.¹⁶ Ever since then, southern Africa has been the home of small pockets of Muslims residing in different states. The majority of them are located along the east coast from northern Mozambique towards the Somali territories. Muslims in the hinterlands of the region are far and few between; the numbers are, however, steadily growing through intermarriage, missionary activities and the steady birth rate. The demography of Muslims in the region demonstrates that even though they are numerically small, their input has been quite conspicuous.¹⁷ For example, the Malawian government was headed by a Muslim and supported by a few Muslim members of parliament until the 2004 elections; there are at least two Muslim members of parliament in the Botswana government and a handful of others in extra-parliamentary politics; and in South Africa, there are four Muslim cabinet ministers, a few Muslim parliamentarians, one Muslim premier and a sizeable number of Muslims who are active in local governments around the country.

These individuals and pockets of Muslims owe their presence to the early Muslim traders and also, in a sense, to the colonialists who brought some of their ancestors to this region either as slaves or as plantation workers. There were of course some who came as free traders, but this was a fairly late development. Since the early 20th century, Muslims established themselves in various parts of the region and pursued their professions as craftsmen or shopkeepers. In the process of earning a living and accumulating wealth, some of the philanthropists amongst them laid the foundations for the construction of mosques in the major cities of the region. It is therefore not uncommon to find places of worship in Bulawayo, Blantyre, Durban, Gaborone, Maputo, and Mbabane. Alongside some of these mosques there are also *madaris* that cater for the Islamic education of the children of these communities. *Madaris* have even flourished independently in many communities which could not afford the construction of *madaris* alongside the mosques. In a few of the states, the departments of education have even allowed the Muslim community to utilize the state's schools to disseminate Islamic education; this was and remains a very positive sign regarding the states' attitude towards religious minorities.

Moreover, many of the communities were able to establish mosques and *madaris* after forming functional Muslim organizations that pursued these objectives. Thus one finds, for example, that in South Africa and its neighbouring states, the existence of many Muslim organizations that have been serving the needs of the whole region. These organizations have played, and continue to play, a crucial role not only in the dissemination of Islam but also in assisting in social welfare work throughout the region. One important organization is the Waqf ul-Waqifin (Gift of the Givers) organization, which has assisted with the collection and distribution of goods to communities in Mozambique and Somalia which have experienced socio-economic problems.¹⁸ The Africa Muslim Agency is yet another broad-based organization that has served these communities for more than a decade. Its African headquarters are in Johannesburg and its main office in the city of Kuwait under the leadership of Dr Abdurahman As-Sumayt. However, prior to the formation of welfare focused organizations, there was the South Africa Islamic Youth Conference, which was linked to the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, which had the necessary infrastructure to organize meetings and set up institutional structures.¹⁹ This body networked with numerous organizations in the region in order to coordinate their activities and cooperate to streamline the work in the region. This broad-based organization had been influential during the 1980s into the mid 1990s but, because of the disappearance of Arab funds and the breaking up of its infrastructure, it had to give way to stronger emerging organizations, such as the Africa Muslim Agency (AMA), which had the financial backing from Arabs in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. These groups have all been concerned with the building of mosques in various parts of the region; AMA has been viewed as the only organization at present that can sanction work in Malawi and the surrounding countries. In fact, through the AMA, a Malawian community was able to set up its own personal community radio station.

Muslim Movements in Southern Africa

During the period since mid 20th century, many movements have emerged amongst the different communities in the various states; some of which had not become independent by this time. Most of the southern African states only became independent from the 1960s onwards. According to the research of scholars, such as Ephraim C. Madivenga, James N. Amanze, and David Bone, many Muslim organizations were established during the last three decades of the 20th century in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi.²⁰ The same may be said about South Africa; however, since it had a more economically well established Muslim community, as compared to its neighbouring states, and had a greater variety and number of organizations. These organizations served the needs of their respective communities in different ways. There were organizations specifically set up to accommodate those who went to study Islam at traditional institutions in the Middle East and Indian continent; for example, in the Cape there is the Muslim Judicial Council (established 1945) and in the north there is the Jami'at ul-Ulama (established 1923).²¹ In the mid 1940s the Muslim Teachers' Association came into being to serve the interest of the teachers. For those interested in learning the Quran via translation, the Arabic Study Circle in Durban was established by Dr Dawud Mall during the 1940s. Ahmad Deedat and Ghulam Vanker established the Islamic Propagation Centre in 1957 and developed it into an internationally based organization with branches in Dubai, United Arab Emirates and Birmingham, England. Many other organizations have emerged and flourished whilst others disappeared and made way for stronger ones. A quick glance at the website of the Muslim Judicial Council

will give an indication of some of the many organizations located throughout South Africa;²² in fact Murshid David's directory offers an interesting overview of the organizations in almost each and every town and city in South Africa.²³ The numerous organizations concretely demonstrate the vibrancy and (perhaps financial) strength of the South African Muslims.²⁴ However, attention should now be turned to those movements and orders that are of relevance to the theme of this paper.

***Da'wah* Movements**

The *Da'wah* Movement may be categorized into two: the first group consists of those that have specifically targeted the propagation of Islam amongst non-Muslims, and the second group consists of those which have been attempting to target only the Muslims and, in particular, the 'lapsed' Muslims. These two groups differ much in their objectives and activities. However, they share a common aim and that is to propagate Islam. The Tabligh Jama'at, that fits into the second category, will be dealt with later, and the others will form the first part of this section.

*The Islamic Propagation Centre*²⁵

The Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC) came into being as a result of the classes that Ahmad Deedat had been giving to adults who attended the Arabic Study Circle in Durban during the 1950s. He realized the need for individuals to be knowledgeable about the Christian missionary work conducted by the Anglican diocese and the Dutch Reform Church amongst Muslims in various parts of the country. It was then that he and his good friend, Mr Ghulam Hussein Vanker, decided to set up the foundations of the IPC in March 1957.

During the time period from 1957 until 1980, Deedat and his support group confined their teachings to the southern African region. Whenever he held public debates the halls were packed. Muslim crowds were generally attracted to his harsh method of debate. These Muslims argued that Christian missionaries employed similar tactics to spread 'The Word', and thus Deedat should not be faulted for using the same methods. However, at the same time there were the young university-educated Muslim professionals who disagreed with Deedat's methods. Since many of these young professionals had familiarized themselves with the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (S), they averred that Deedat's way of doing *da'wah* was not totally in line with the Prophetic method. During the 1980s, after Deedat disparaged the beliefs of the Hindus, he was verbally attacked from numerous quarters. Despite these criticisms, he never abandoned his method. In fact, when he became popular elsewhere in the African continent, such as in Nigeria, his recorded lectures were widely circulated and he was invited numerous times to combat the missionary activities in those countries. The same may be said for some of the Arab states where many of his writings were translated into Arabic. An interesting outcome of his Malaysian tour in the early 1990s was that he was prohibited from speaking in public or debating openly with counterparts. By then the IPC had become known as IPC International (IPCI) as a result of Deedat's growing international profile. Deedat, who was given financial support by numerous Arab Muslim philanthropists and states, had realized the need to go global.²⁶

Controversies did not leave Deedat and his supporters behind. One of his former students Advocate Yusuf Buckas, who emulated Deedat's dynamic style, split from the IPCI because of internal disagreements and squabbles. He later decided to form his

own group and by 1986 put up a training centre, Islamic Da'wah College International. In addition, there have been other conflicts caused by Deedat's family members that led to the restructuring of the IPCI which was, at one stage, under the directorship of Mr Fuad Hendricks, former Secretary-General of the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa. Since the beginning of 2003, a new executive was appointed, and in June 2003, Dawood Ngwane, a lawyer, was voted in as *Amir* of IPCI, which has its two active branches in London and in Dubai.

Deedat has left behind numerous booklets, many of which have been translated into different languages. However, his video material proved more popular since the audience could see Deedat in action, and the manner in which he conducted his debates. It is purported that the IPCI is one of the richest *da'wah* movements in the Muslim world. Mention should be made of the fact that Mr Vanker, who resigned in 1982 because of ill health, was the other active member of the IPC during the 1960s and until the 1980s. His style was markedly different from Deedat's and he was viewed as a sober and intelligent debater; someone who wisely responded to issues pertaining to Christianity and to other religious traditions.

Islamic Missionary Society

Vanker's style was somewhat similar to the style adopted by Mr Mohammed Laher who formed the Islamic Missionary Society (IMS) in Johannesburg in 1958. He, however, gave great attention to missionary work amongst the Africans.²⁷ With his supporters, they set up simple Islamic centres to serve the needs of the impoverished communities in the African townships. This, in turn, led him to the setting up of feeding schemes and self-help projects to empower the communities. These types of projects also became part of the programme of the Islamic Da'wah Movement (IDM), which was formed in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa in 1981.

Islamic Da'wah Movement of South Africa

The Islamic Da'wah Movement of South Africa (IDMSA) started humbly in one of Durban's Islamic centres, namely the Umlaas Marianhill Islamic Centre. Medical doctors Ebrahim Dada, Yusuf Osman, and Faizal Ahmad, as well as the stalwart of the Islamic mission, Yusuf Mohamedy, started the IDMSA; all of whom were members of the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa (MYMSA) and who felt the need to break away from the parent body and devote their time to *da'wah* activities. Presently, the successful IDMSA is located in all major cities of South Africa. These individuals have done well for themselves. However, when the Africa Muslim Agency came onto the South African scene, some of the IDMSA's members joined it to pursue *da'wah* in the region.

Africa Muslim Agency

The Africa Muslim Agency (AMA), directed by Faried Choonara who was also a key member of the MYMSA in Johannesburg, opened its offices in 1981. The organization was and still is bankrolled by Kuwaiti funds via Dr Abdurahman As-Sumayt, and it operates in more than 35 African countries. Its purpose is not only to give *da'wah* but also to provide other assistance, particularly during floods; the Mozambique floods being a case

in point. The AMA and other organizations, such as Waqf al-Waqifin, have been extremely active in helping communities in times of need.

Tabligh Jamat

One movement that succeeded in overcoming the borders of the southern African states and settling in the region as a result of its apolitical agenda was the Tabligh Jamat (TJ). This movement, which had its origins in India and which had initially been strongly linked to the Sufi order, has spread its branches to different parts of the world and has become known for its missionary work amongst Muslims.²⁸ Scholars have closely scrutinized its development over the years. In southern Africa the TJ is believed to have taken root in 1963 during a time when the South African socio-political scene was at its harshest;²⁹ by then the liberation movements had been banned and many of their Muslim members had gone into exile, were detained or continued in a clandestine manner with their political activities. According to Ebrahim Mahida, the TJ was already conducting *tabligh* activity as early as 1958.³⁰

However, from the very outset it was clearly understood that the TJ had to steer clear and not concern itself with the politics of the states it was entering, and that all its members' efforts and focus should be on the Muslim community. An important part of the TJ's focus and concentration was to force lapsed Muslims to implement the basic practices of Islam; in other words they must be reminded to perform the daily *salat* on time and preferably in congregation. The performance of these prayers, they argued, would lead to the improvement of the person's personal qualities and increase the person's faith in God. In fact, the TJ laid a great deal of emphasis on one's faith in God and reminded its followers of the necessity of constantly increasing one's faith through good actions. These actions, however, can only come about via certain rituals instituted by the TJ. Amongst these are the daily '*kitab*' reading, going out on the *gash* and seeking out the Muslim residents of the area, using a *miswak* to brush one's teeth instead of the toothbrush, donning an 'Indian/Pakistani' outfit, namely the *kurta*, that has 'hosepipes' which end above the ankles, and having a long, clean beard. All these activities and mannerisms, they averred, would help in keeping the person on the spiritual path. In addition to these, they were spurred on to go out on a 40 day '*tabligh*' excursion to different parts of the country, or to other parts of the world in order to spread the message amongst Muslims and to wake them up from their slumber, and to remind them of what would take place if fundamental principles were neglected or ignored. In support of these, statements attributed to the Prophet(s) were daily read to the members as a method of putting 'fear' into their hearts. This rigid programme was instituted from the inception of the TJ, and it was the programme that TJ members faithfully followed and practised wherever the movement established itself. In Southern Africa the TJ was established in the 1960s, flourished during the 1970s and early 1980s, but seemed to have slackened its activities in the 1990s; for example, after a long absence they came to Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, to hold small gatherings over weekends in June 2002 and February 2005 respectively.

During the time when it was quite active and widespread, the TJ had come under severe criticism from various quarters, particularly from the emerging youth groups and educated elites. The latter, for example, critically commented that there was no need that they be called to prayer because one should know one's duties and they should be left to the individual's conscience. They emphasized as strong evidence that even though the TJ is concerned with 'Allah's work' (God's work), its members

neglect their duties towards their kith and kin, particularly when the male breadwinner goes on the *gash*t for 40 days at a time; the families, they insisted, needed their breadwinners to be around and spend quality time with their spouse and children and, at the same time, to stabilize the community and reinforce the Islamic values that the TJ preaches. The TJ also came under fire from a different quarter, namely the student groups. The students came into conflict with one another at universities where the TJ and youth movements had infiltrated during the mid 1970s. In 1976, for example, the University of Durban-Westville's Muslim Students' Association was torn between those who supported the Muslim Youth Movement (see below) and those who felt that they had to follow the more traditional lifestyle practised by the TJ members.

The TJ's long-standing foes, however, were those who are aligned themselves with the Barelvi school, which is referred to as the stronghold of Sunnis in southern Africa. The latter classified the TJ as deviant, and supported this accusation with examples extracted from their thoughts and practices. The Barelvi group, for example, wrote two articles: one entitled 'Who are these Deobandi/Wahabi Peoples and what is the Jamat Tableegh?' and the other 'The Tableeghi Jamat in relation to World Islamic Movements'. In these articles, they pointed out that the TJ ideologues considered practices such as the *milad* (celebration of the birth of the Prophet), *bid'a* (an innovation) and these ideologues arrogantly held the view that their *kitab* reading, *chilla*, *gash*t and *ijtima* be strictly followed.³¹ In response to the TJ's dogmatic perspective, the Barelvi group opined that these practices, from a legal standpoint, are '*makruh*' (undesirable). They also accused one of the TJ theologians of having stated that 'Allah speaks lies', this and other statements have been used by them to show the false beliefs spread by the TJ. In fact, this group suspected that the British colonialists created the TJ and it is for that reason that the TJ has been praised by a journalist in *The Economist*. It made reference to the journalist's article, 'The Other Side of Islam', in which he is purported to have said: 'So long as such movements exist, . . . essential Islam remains alive and well.' The Barelvis, who followed certain Sufi sheikhs and accepted certain *pirs* as their spiritual guides, rejected the TJ programme and constantly spoke against TJ views. As a consequence of these open verbal conflicts, one of the members of the Barelvi school was tragically killed, allegedly by members of the TJ in the late 1980s; unfortunately no one was apprehended or found guilty for this despicable deed.³²

Another group with which the TJ came into conflict was the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa: a movement described as centrist and different from the leftist Muslim movements that had been established in the 1980s, such as the Qibla Mass Movement and the Call of Islam.³³ The latter was supportive of the African National Congress (ANC), and the former of the Pan African Congress (PAC) before the democratic election in 1994. These groups, however, did not spread far and wide; they were confined to urban areas and other specific places. The MYMSA, however, was instrumental in establishing a host of organizations, which were responsible for the formation of organizations in neighbouring states such as Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. The main reason behind the TJ and the MYMSA being at loggerheads with one another was the fact that the TJ was under the influence and control of the well-established Muslim theologians who were trained in Deoband and Deobandi affiliated institutes such as the Darul Ulums at Newcastle and at Azaadville. Their brand of theology fully supported the activities of the TJ and this led to a close bond existing between the two. In contrast, since Muslim theologians were sceptical of the Muslim youth movements and their agendas, they spoke out against them and against the modern practices that had infected their thoughts and practices. The theologians were dead against the modernists, whom

they pointed out were empty of any true spiritualism which they claimed could only be attained through participation in movements such as the TJ. The MYMSA and its supporters did not leave the debate unchallenged; they responded to the views of the theologians and the TJ. Although the debates and challenge persisted for a few years, the conflict eventually died down and each were left to move along their own paths.

Despite the criticism, the TJ drew crowds of people to its cause and in the process reformed many individuals who had been involved in gangsterism and drugs. In fact, many of these individuals seem to have opted for this movement because it suited their behaviour patterns; they were not at any stage ostracized or looked down upon for what they had committed in the past as might be the case in other movements. They also felt more secure with the support the theologians had given the TJ. The conservative Deobandi theologians fully supported the TJ's conservative agenda. It is, however, interesting that even though the theologians participated and supported the TJ, none of them led the TJ in this region. The leading exponent was an elderly Kwa-Zulu Natal gentleman, namely Bhai Padia, who had won the hearts of many followers in that part of South Africa and whose humble approach attracted many. He was generally known for his piety and for his deep sense of spirituality. In fact, he stood out as the lone figure who was able to lead the TJ for more than two decades. Nevertheless, this dependence upon one figure led to a leadership crisis that eventually led to the movement entering its weakest period.

Sufi Tariqahs³⁴

When comparing the TJ to the Sufi orders, it is immediately striking that the latter is no new phenomenon. Sufi orders have existed for many centuries in the Muslim heartlands and they were exported to other communities. In fact, these orders played a crucial and cohesive role in many of the minority Muslim communities. Southern Africa is a case in point. Sufi traders were the ones to plant Islam in this part of the African continent just as they did in other parts of the world.

In this section, an attempt will be made to describe the development of some of the orders. In fact, during the last decade of the 20th century there seems to have been a rapid increase in Sufi orders and many Muslim individuals—young and old, male and female—have demonstrated an interest in these movements. One major reason for this phenomenon is the desire for spiritual guidance and support in this very competitive material world that is in need of a spiritual resurgence. However, this trend has also led to the appearance of a number of leading Sufi sheikhs who considered South Africa a convenient place to station themselves. Prominent Sufi personalities, such as Sheikh Abu Bakr Siraj ud-Din (Martin Lings), Sheikh Abdalqadir As-Sufi ad-Darqawi (Ian Dallas), Sheikh Fadhlalla Haeri and a few others, have either made South Africa one of their regular stopovers or, in many cases, have established branches there: branches that have been growing and flourishing. For example, Sheikh Haeri made his permanent home in an outlying town in South Africa known as White River. He leads the Jafariyyah-Shaddhiliyyah order in which locals such as Abu Bakr Karolia and Iqbal Jhazbhay play prominent roles. Its geographical shift, however, does not mean that they have lost contact or touch with their *murids* (disciples) in other parts of the world. Contact has been kept with these *murids* and supporters via their cyberspace connections.³⁵ Websites, for many of these orders, have been designed and this has drawn a new clientele as well as added to the growing numbers of adherents.

Since it will be difficult to describe and discuss each and every Sufi order that has emerged during the past three decades, it may be instructive just to mention them in brief at this juncture and then move on to treat the more prominent ones in detail. From amongst the small and flourishing *tariqahs* are the Maryamiyahs whose ideas are closely tied to those of perennial philosophers, such as Schuon and Lings. This *tariqah* has been around for more than two decades and has kept its membership to a minimum. Another Cape Town *tariqah* that has grown quite rapidly under the stewardship of Sheikh Mahdi Hendricks is the Shadhliyyah-Alawiyyah Order. In 1997 Sheikh Ahmed Alawi ibn Murad from Algeria came to Cape Town to inaugurate the opening of the Zawiyah as-Sufiyyah in the southern suburbs of Greater Cape Town.

Other *tariqahs* that have found their way into the hearts of some of the Muslims of Cape Town and other South African cities, where the West African refugees and migrants are located, are the Tijaniyyah and the Mouridiyyah *tariqahs*. Some of these new *murids* travelled to Senegal to be initiated by the grand sheikh, Imam Hassan Cisse, of the Tijaniyyah order and by the South African *muqaddam* who, at time of writing, is Sheikh Anwar Bayat.³⁶ The Mouridiyyah that had been formed by Sheikh Ahmad Bamba and his ardent Senegalese followers also rooted itself in different parts of South Africa particularly in the main cities;³⁷ it and many other orders that are currently based in South Africa have each set up branches to lure the Muslim youth to their specific order. These and other related or fledgling *tariqahs*, such as the Rifa'iyyah or Sammaniyyah, have added a new dimension to South African Islam—a dimension that was always invisible and distant from its core. At the turn of the 21st century, these *tariqahs* have pushed the South African Muslims into the focus, and have forced the Muslims that have been influenced by the Wahhabite thought to accept the presence of these orders which are also claiming their rightful spiritual place in society.

Later in this article, descriptions will be given of some of the more popular South African based Sufi orders; a fair amount of information will be extracted from their specific sites to show the diversity of South African Sufism and their philosophies and practices. However, for a more detailed and interesting study on earlier practices of Sufism at the Cape the unpublished thesis of the medical practitioner, Dr Goolam Mohamed Karim, should be consulted.³⁸

Personalities and their Influences

Prior to looking at contemporary developments, a few lines should be dedicated to the beginnings of Islam in South Africa so that one can be able to observe the change and continuity. In fact, Samuel Zwemer, a Christian missionary, astutely observed that the Qadiriyyah, Chistiyyah, Naqashbadiyyah, Rifa'iyyah, and Shadhiliyyah *tariqahs* had all been around when he visited the Cape in the 1910s.³⁹ He noted the impact that one of the earliest and most prominent exiled figures subsequently had on the growing Cape Muslim community. He was Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari⁴⁰ who came from a royal family but more importantly was a Sufi sheikh; one who was not a practitioner of one order but of many. He was a member of the Khalwatiyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and Qadriyyah *tariqahs*. This description clearly reflects the extent of his interest and involvement in each of these orders; he may be viewed as a non-partisan individual who wished to merge all the orders into his personality. Even his writings bear testimony to the fact that he was seeped into the teachings and practices of these orders.⁴¹ Subsequent to his death, there were a number of other orders that found South Africa to be virgin territory

and a safe haven; free from other competitive groups and thus where they would be able to practise freely and without any public opposition.

Mention must, however, be made of two other important Sufi figures: Badsha Peer (d.1894) and Sufi Saheb (d.1910). These individuals had a lasting impact not only on the Durban Muslim community, in particular, but also on other parts of the region in general.⁴² The latter had been an active philanthropist since his arrival in South Africa in 1895; he built mosques, *madradas* and *khanqahs* in different parts of the country and at the same time formed branches of his *tariqah*. A more detailed discussion follows below.

Contemporary Tariqahs

The *tariqahs* have grown at a tremendous rate in different parts of South Africa throughout the 1990s, and particularly during the period of democracy, which began in 1994. However, it has been difficult to track the establishment and development of each one of them, and because of this, this article only makes reference to those *tariqahs* that have been well-known and wide-spread. Mention *en passant* is however made of the minor ones. We now give attention to these popular *tariqahs*.

The Chistiyyah Tariqah

This order, which came via India to this part of the continent, has become one of the most widespread and diffused orders. Most of its supporters are located in important towns such as Zeerust that links groups in Botswana and Zimbabwe respectively. One of the key personalities to have planted the seeds of the Chistiyyah order in this region was Badsha Peer. The Chisti-Sabiree Jahangiri *silsila* was brought to South Africa in 1943 by Janab Ebrahim Bhai Madaree Saheb Chisti Sabiree. He established the Buzme Shah Iqbal Chisti Sabiree in Durban. This Buzme, and its sister Buzmes in other cities and towns, have monthly gatherings in which they have a Khatem Khwajegaan in memory of Hazrat Kwaja Muinuddin Chisti as well as other *khawajas* and *sayyids* linked to their order. The other Buzmes are located in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Zeerust; members of the latter Buzme reside in Gaborone and in other nearby Botswana towns.

The Chisti Sabiree Jahangiri Silsila created a special website, namely <<http://www.sabiree.com>>, on 27 July 2000 with the blessings of its Indian-based sheikh who is known as Pir-O-Murshid Sajjada Nasheen Hazrat Sayed Muhammad Shah Chisti Sabiree Jahangeer Kambalposh. The site was set up so that it may disseminate the teachings and information of the order. It included: (a) various sayings of the *awliya*, (b) names of the saints of the order, (c) a tree of sheikhs, which appears in Urdu and accompanied by a transliteration, for those who know how to speak the language but cannot read it (an English version will soon be made available), (d) conversations of the Chisti sheikhs as recorded by their *mureeds* as well as (e) anecdotes about them. If one is a *mureed* then one is expected or rather encouraged to sign in and identify the sheikh with whom one is associated. The site also has a few wallpapers or screensavers which one can download; amongst them are the photos of its *pir* and of the order's headquarters.

The *tariqah* also has an online *Sabiree Paighaam*—the *Sabiree Message* newsletter—that shares information about the wise thoughts of the Chisti sheikhs and also spreads information about their monthly activities. In addition, the editorial committee has inserted its response to the 'grave worshipping' controversy that started during the latter part of

2000 and continued unabatedly into 2001 (see below); the response also appears in *Al-Qalam*, the MYMSA monthly mouthpiece. Although the first issue of their newsletter appeared in July 2001, it is assumed that other issues have been delayed due to technical hitches. The order also printed a booklet entitled *Sama/Qawali* in order to expose the reader/surfer to the role of spiritual music in the order. The compiler(s) cautioned that although the *qawali* is not the sole objective of the order, it has a specific place within it and this is borne out by a list of recorded statements of sheikhs of the order. Because of the acceptance of this practice, South African Indian Muslims have generally responded positively to this form of music as well as to *qawali* singers such as the Sabiree brothers who annually entertain them with their recitals in various South African cities.

Amongst the variety of annual and monthly activities is what has been commonly referred to as the 'urs celebrations' and the 'salami'. The latter has been a practice also shared by South African Muslims of 'Malay' origin.⁴³ The practice is solely concerned with the celebration of the birth of the Prophet(s) and the recitation of the 'salawat (praises)'. It, however, differs from those who do not identify with the practice with regards to the manner in which it is done; for example, when the 'praises' are brought the congregants in that specific gathering stand up to re-enact the way the nascent Medina community welcomed the Prophet(s) upon his arrival into the city of Yathrib. Supporting themselves with this event, they argue that they are reminded of it by literally standing up. Whilst this has been considered an acceptable argument, the more fanatical followers have stated that when doing so, the Prophet(s) appears in their midst when reciting the 'praises', and therefore one should be mindful of his presence. This has of course led to numerous theological debates that have not been put to rest.

This practice did not solicit as much opposition as was the case with the 'Urs Shareef' activity. This involves a few interrelated practices; the first is the commemoration of the tragic death of Imam Husayn at Kerbala, and the second is the visiting of the graves of those viewed by them as 'awliya' (saints). When these graves are visited the disciple(s) usually bring along a *chador* of flowers and scent to place it over the grave of the *awliya*. This practice, according to them, is a sign of respect and distinction in that the *awliya* are considered to be different from the ordinary person. This practice was and is vehemently condemned by those who oppose the Sufi orders. As already indicated, this is quite an old debate but was resurrected towards the end of 2000 by Sheikh Faiek Gamielien, a Cape Town *imam* and one who was opposed to many of these mystical practices. The debate was initiated when he saw a television programme in which the practices of Muslims were highlighted; in response to this he wrote a lengthy article in one of the Cape Town newspapers.⁴⁴ Because he strongly stated his point of view regarding a few basic practices including 'grave worshipping', he was attacked by the different Sufi orders and by those who were sympathetic towards Sufism. Various groups had gatherings to debate the issue and they even invited Sheikh Faiek, who seemed to have gotten cold feet, to these gatherings. In one example, the video-recorded debate frequently zoomed in on an empty seat where the sheikh was supposed to have sat to present his arguments.

Apart from the CSJ *tariqah*, there is also the Chisti Habibi Soofie Islamic order. This order has its headquarters in Durban and also established its website in order to disseminate the views about its activities.⁴⁵ The order was brought to South Africa by Hazrat Shah Goolam Muhammad when he arrived there in 1895. Many have recorded his contributions in building *khanqahs* and mosques in different parts of South Africa.⁴⁶ Its members are involved in economic empowerment projects, youth development activities, and publications. Its branches are located in, amongst others, Cape Town,

Pietermaritzburg,⁴⁷ Ladysmith, Colenso, Tongaat and Riverside;⁴⁸ the latter has been declared as part of South Africa's monumental heritage and it also has archives and a museum. Another group that has their own website is the Basha Peer,⁴⁹ it is located in Kenville in the greater Durban area.

The Murabitun

The Murabitun, compared to the other Sufi groups, is the youngest order to enter southern Africa, besides the Muridiyyah order that was brought by Senegalese traders and visitors. Since its arrival in the mid 1980s, it has attracted adherents from all walks of life and has established itself in major cities. No information is found about its South African branch on its (now temporary) website <<http://www.murabitun.org>>. The movement is led by the notable and vibrant scholar, Sheikh Abdalqadir As-Sufi, who was previously known by many other appellations such as Ad-Darqawi, etc. Whilst in North Africa he embraced Islam and studied under the renowned scholar, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Al-Habib. Since then he has been a faithful follower, and henceforth became the founder of the Murabitun in the early 1970s. There are other individuals who have also been quite active with the Murabitun, such as Ismail Nana, who has been the *amir* of the South African branch for a number of years, and Amir Aburahman Zwane, who was ousted from the position for having abused his powers and having interpreted aspects of Islam in an extremely literal manner. Since this event, the movement has attempted to keep a close control over its activities and monitor its members.

This movement considers itself to be a 'post-modernist platform' which responds to the concerns of the day by emphasizing basic Islamic beliefs, and by totally rejecting the present-day economic framework imposed upon the global society by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. As a result of its firm stand against this framework, it has proposed practical alternatives. The sheikh of this order, namely, Sheikh Abdalqadir As-Sufi, has been a prolific writer. He has written numerous works amongst which *Roots of Islamic Education* and *The 100 Steps* stand out as significant texts. In addition, some of his disciples have also been active in producing translations and texts on various aspects of Maliki theology and jurisprudence. One of the most contemporary translations of the Quran was produced by Aisha and Abdurahman Bewly, a wife and husband team. This fresh presentation has contributed new insights into the Quranic verses; the translation has been in circulation in the South African book market but has not been able to eclipse the popular Yusuf Ali translation. Imam Malik's famous and influential *Al-Muwatta* was also translated by Aisha at-Tarjumana, as Aisha Bewly was known before she married.⁵⁰

The movement has launched the *Islamic Times* in South Africa in order for the newspaper to act as an important conduit through which the order's ideas could reach a wider audience. The issues that appeared consisted of reports and newspaper articles that did not concentrate on hard community news, but focused on thematic issues that were of concern to the movement. Unfortunately, the paper that was launched in the beginning of the 1990s could not survive even after it was re-launched in the late 1990s. However, these publications are still available on the business site of the movement.⁵¹

The Murabitun has weekly meetings in which members recite the special *murabitun wurd*. They also emphasize exercises involving *dhikr* (invocation of Allah) and *fikr* (reflections upon Allah). However, in tandem with these, one has to have *himma* (consciousness of Allah) if he is to journey to the higher plains of spirituality. The group also allow the

singing of the 'qasidah burdah' and other related genres by groups such as Al-Rijal al-Burda, from Morocco. It also has annual gatherings such as the 'World Gathering of the Darqawa' and 'Moussems', similar to the gathering that was held in Casablanca in 2000. The movement indulges in the formation of Islamic markets where the dinar is promoted and used;⁵² and since establishing itself in the Cape Peninsula, it has also been considering setting up a million dollar educational institution in the Cape.⁵³

Qadriyyah Tariqah

The Qadriyyah order has been widespread in the African continent for quite some time. A section of the Qadriyyah operated at the Cape for a number of generations. During the latter half of the 20th century many internationally respected sheikhs came to South Africa. Amongst these were Maulana Abdul-Alim Siddiqi Al-Qadri who came in 1935 and 1952 respectively, Hazrat Pir Zainul Abidin who visited in 1961, 1973 and 1983, Maulana Ibrahim Khustar al-Qadr who lectured in 1968, Maulana Fazlur-Rahman Ansari who delivered lectures during 1970 and 1972 respectively,⁵⁴ and Sheikh Sharif Umar al-Qadri of the Comoros came during the early 1980s. Each and every one of these individuals contributed to the spirituality in South Africa in one way or another. In fact, Maulana Ansari delivered a series of inspiring lectures that have been edited and published and broadcast on the local Muslim radio station, Muslim Radio 786. The Qadriyyah *tariqah* has remained very active although it only seems to have blossomed during the last three decades. The reason for this has been that it was under a steadfast leader; a local artisan, Mr Abdurahman Da Costa, who was very much attracted to the Sufi practices and accordingly cultivated these practices amongst his family and friends. The Cape branch of the order is, however, not the same as the branch found in Kwa-Zulu Natal, which is represented by the Imam Ahmed Raza Academy (see below); since this is the case, in this study concentration will only be focused on the group as it is at present in the Cape. It must also be pointed out that the order has members who are located in other towns and cities beyond the Western Cape province such as the cities of Kimberly and Mafeking. During early 2003, a very interesting overview of the order was given in an unpublished manuscript by Da Costa's son, 'Adil. 'Adil is at present one of the leading exponents of this *tariqah*. The Qadriyyah *tariqah* at the Cape is currently under the leadership of Imam Farid Manie.

The Imam Ahmed Raza Academy was established in 1983 and has since grown rapidly. It considers itself to be the largest 'Ahle Sunnah organization in South Africa';⁵⁵ it protects and promotes the cause of the Ahl Sunni wa al-Jama'ah. This helps it to distinguish itself from the Shi'is and other such groups. The foundation of the Academy was laid by Sheikh Abdul-Hadi Al-Qaderi Barakaati in 1986 with the purpose of uplifting the Muslim community academically and spiritually. Sheikh Abdul-Hadi Barakaati was taught by Darul Ulum's Mufti Maulana Shah Mustapha Raza Khan Al-Qaderi An-Noori Radawi. The latter is also referred to as 'Ghous ul-Waqt' and 'Taj ul-Ulama al-'Arifin'. The members of the Imam Ahmed Raza Academy follow the path of the Qadriyyah *silsila* (chain/order).

The Academy has listed a number of objectives amongst which are: to propagate and promote the teachings of the Ahl Sunni wa al-Jama'ah; to promote the celebration of the *maulud* of the Prophet(s) and the *urs* of the *awliya*; to adopt ways to improve the quality of life of Muslims both locally and abroad; to serve as a centre of learning and produce memorizers of the Qur'an; to formulate and implement a simplified syllabus as part of its learning centre; to initiate schemes for Muslims; and offer guidance to Muslims.

Since *maulud* is considered one of the most important practices of this and other *silsilas*, the Academy refuted the arguments presented by the Majlis Ul-Ulama of the Eastern Cape. These arguments presented 17 reasons why Muslims should not celebrate the *maulud* the way it is celebrated by the Bareilly (Barelvi) groups. The Academy also refuted the statements of the late Saudi scholar, Sheikh Bin Baz on the same issue. The Academy consists of a variety of departments, such as the Fatwa, Welfare and Educational Departments. The latter is responsible for the preparation and printing of textbooks as well as for the housing of the Mustapha Raza lending library and the audio-visual library. The Welfare department extends its services to the community and the Fatwa department responds to community queries concerning dietary laws and other related matters.

Since the Academy has been established along the lines of the Barelvi school, it has also been exposed to its fair share of criticism. In fact, the institution's mentor, Imam Ahmad Raza Khan, was vehemently criticized for his views in a lecture by Maulana Ibrahim Adam, a Cape Town-based theologian, who was trained in Deoband. This lecture entitled 'The Barelwis and the Truth Behind its founder' accused Imam Khan of saying that he was appointed by Allah over the Ahli Sunnis and claiming that another prophet will come after Prophet Muhammad (s). Sayed Shah Ali Rasool Nazmi from Meerut in India has responded to these and other excerpts from Maulana Ibrahim Adam's lengthy troublesome lecture, and on each of the points has refuted his arguments.⁵⁶

Alawiyyah Tariqah

The Alawiyyah order has been one of the more established orders in South Africa and, in particular, at the Cape. Sheikh Muhammad Salih Hendricks (d. 1945), who studied in the Haram of Mecca (the Grand Mosque) under some of the most learned sheikhs (Sheikh Sulayman Shattah, Sheikh Umar Ba Junayd, Mufti Ash-Shafi'iyah Sa'id Ibn Muhammad Bab As-Sayl), had been initiated into the Alawiyyah order and upon his return from Mecca strengthened his ties with members of the same order in Zanzibar, whilst also serving as a religious judge. This bond led the *Ratib ul-haddad* (Devotions by Al-Haddad) a liturgical devotional religious text that was prepared by one of the Hadramawt sheikhs, to be introduced and practised at the Cape. However, in addition to this, the order also made use of other religious texts such as *Ratib ul-attas* (Devotions by Al-Attas), *Nasr wa al-Falah* (Assistance and Success) and *ad-Duriyya* (Cognizance).⁵⁷

The Zawiyah, a mosque located in the heart of greater Cape Town not far from the city centre, has been an important centre of religious activities for this *tariqah*. It is a centre where the *maulud* is one of the most significant annual activities. During these activities the earlier mentioned *ratibs* are regularly performed. At present the order is overseen by two brothers, namely Sieraj and Ahmad Hendricks. Both were graduates of Umm Al-Qura University in Makkah and both took the *bay'at* (oath of allegiance) of the Alawiyyah order. Being the major role players, they have pursued the activities of the Alawiyyah order with great passion and have drawn many people to their activities. They have created a website to remain in contact with their *mureeds* and, at the same time, to make available information about their activities and writings/translations.⁵⁸

Amongst their most important activities are the weekly classes and sermons. For their classes and sermons they rely on the works of scholars such as Imam Nawawi, Imam Al-Ghazali and Sheikh Al-Habib as-Sayyid Abdullah Ibn Alawi Al-Haddad, and during these classes and sermons they often recite the popular Barzanji *qiyama* and *du'a*. Both

the sheikhs are active in translating texts of prominent figures in the order and they also write their own articles on issues pertaining to Islam. They are very particular about their order and they rely heavily upon the policies set down by earlier sheikhs. Their devotion to the *tariqah* has culminated in the translation of Sheikh Abdurahman Balfaqih's *fatwa* that deals with 'The Way of the Bani Alawiyyah at-*Tariqah* al-'Alawiyyah'. This sheikh mentioned that the Alawiyyah endorsed the following: the taking of the oath, the donning of the *khirqah*, going into seclusion, doing spiritual exercises, adopting self-discipline and closely bonding with one's sheikh. In the case of Sieraj and Ahmad Hendricks, they are the *mureeds* of the respected Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Al-'Alawi Al-Maliki who visited Cape Town during 1997. Many Cape Townians took the oath of allegiance in his presence and, when he died in November 2004, many tributes were published as a sign of respect and loyalty towards the sheikh.⁵⁹

Naqshbandi Tariqah

The Naqshbandi order in Southern Africa has had a rich and long history. However, during the recent past new leadership came to the fore; amongst this leadership was Dr Yusuf Da Costa, a former school principal and a lecturer in geography at the University of the Western Cape, and Imam Hasan Walele, a trained and practising engineer. These two individuals carried the order into the new millennium with regular weekly gatherings as well as weekly discussions on the local Muslim radio stations about issues dealing with Sufism. In addition to these activities, they also created their own website <<http://www.naqshbandi-sa.org>>, which has subsequently been incorporated into the mother website of the Naqshbandi order. This website listed many of the order's activities and also highlighted the controversy resulting from its dealings with Sheikh Faiek Gamielien, who opposed some of its views. What is more, the weekly talks and discussions resulted in growing interest in Sufism which was bolstered by the visit of prominent international personalities, namely Sheikh Hisham Kabbani and Sheikh Muhammad Nazim 'Adil Haqqani; both of whom are leading personalities associated with the 'Naqshbandi Order of the USA'. Their works and ideas have been circulating in certain circles in South Africa, and they paid visits to the country during April 1998 and November 2000 respectively. They were, however, only represented at the Parliament of World Religions gathering in Cape Town in December 1999.

During April 1998 a five-person delegation representing the Islamic Supreme Council of America came on a 12-day fact finding visit to South Africa. The delegation was led by Sheikh Hisham Kabbani—the Caliph of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani order—and it was hosted in Durban by Advocate Hafiz Abu Bakr of the Al-Baraka Bank and other members of different Muslim organizations. The idea behind this visit was to establish diplomatic ties with the South African Muslim community, to build working relationships with the *ulama* fraternities, and to forge links with Muslim educational institutions and mosques. Sheikh Hisham Kabbani delivered the Friday sermon at the largest mosque in the southern hemisphere, namely the Jumu'ah masjid in Grey Street, Durban on 17 April. The delegation visited the shrine of Soofie Saheb in Durban and the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf in Cape Town. In Cape Town they were much impressed by the *salawat*, *burda* and *barzanji* recitation by the South African youth, recitals that are quite normal and common in the Cape.

For the December 1999 meeting of the Parliament of World's Religions, Sheikh Muhammad Nizam Adil al-Haqqani, the world leader and 40th Grand Sheikh of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani order, prepared and delivered a paper on 'The Spiritual

Dimension of Man' and 'Tasawwuf'.⁶⁰ Less than a year later, on 31 October 2000, Sheikh Muhammad Nazim Adil al-Haqqani and his caliph, Sheikh Kabbani, were attracted to South Africa's mother city, Cape Town, as well as the other major cities, namely Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria, where they formally established their links with the local Naqshbandi order led by Dr Yusuf Da Costa and his deputy Imam Hasan Walele.⁶¹ During their visit to these cities many locals took the *bay'at* although they continued to be *murshids* of Dr Da Costa. The delegation was also able to visit most of the graves of the *awliyas*. They then toured Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria. They were able to lead the *dhikrs*, the *khatm al-khawajagan* and the *suhbat* in all of these cities, and while they were in Cape Town one of their gatherings was broadcast live on the local Muslim radio station, Voice of the Cape. The main message of the delegation was to hold fast to, and to practise the traditions of the Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah, and that these efforts should be accompanied by continuous spiritual exercises.⁶² Presently mention should be made of the fact that while on this tour the delegation met with some opposition from the Salafi ranks, as has been the case elsewhere. For example, when Sheikh Kabbani was giving his speech at the Husami masjid in Cravenby, which is located in the northern suburbs of Greater Cape Town, a Wahabite protested and wanted to intervene, and the same act was repeated when the delegation visited Pretoria.

Comparative Evaluation

This wide survey, containing extensive comments in some cases, of the different *da'wah* movements and Sufi *tariqahs* in South(ern) Africa, gives one a clear view of the vibrancy of these groups in this part of the world. One is able to note that each of the mentioned groups share certain common strands whilst they differ in the ways that they function and operate.

In this section an attempt will be made to briefly compare and evaluate the *da'wah* movements with particular reference to the TJ with the Sufi *tariqahs*. This comparative evaluation will reflect on the question of leadership, the nature of scholarship, the types of rituals, the number of adherents and the issue of social change; all in relation to these *da'wah* movements and Sufi *tariqahs*.

Leadership

In all the movements we have discussed, the question of leadership has been a crucial factor upon which depends the leading and the guiding of the movements. There is definitely a distinct difference between the nature of leadership in the TJ and in the Sufi *tariqahs*; whilst the latter supports the ideas of charismatic leadership and of paying homage to the appointed leader, the TJ plays this down and shifts the focus to other activities. However, the TJ leaders still act in an important capacity that cannot be ignored. Although actual *bay'at* is not performed in the TJ as it is witnessed amongst the Sufi *tariqahs*, allegiance and respect is shown to the *amir* of the TJ via the duties one performs for or on behalf of the TJ. The titles bestowed upon the leaders of the Sufi *tariqahs* place them in a position of respect. For example, the visit of Sheikh al-Haqqani, and the manner in which his personality has been described by Shafiq Morton, concretely demonstrates the respect accorded to him and the attention he has been given by his *mureeds*, supporters and empathizers.⁶³

It should also be stated that whilst the question of leadership plays a significant and crucial role in all of these movements, the positions of leadership are also exposed to

abuse. A case in point is the scathing booklet written by the Italian Sidi Othman about the personality of Sheikh Abdul Qadir as-Sufi. The former *Murabit* member, basing his arguments upon the Sheikh's writings and practices, raises a number of critical and pertinent issues in his booklet entitled *Ian Dallas: The Shaykh who has no Clothes: The True Realities of Shaykh 'Abdalqadir al-Murabit and the Murabitun World Movement* (1994). Another case in point was when the leading members of the Barelvi group responded to their critics' remarks about their leadership. Although there would be an overwhelmingly warm response amongst people whenever prominent personalities came to Southern Africa, at the same time, there were also those individuals who would wait in the wings to criticize and find fault with the 'opposition's' ideas and rituals. This negative response has been demonstrated in South Africa on numerous occasions. As a result of this, quite a few of the movements have tried to fill the spiritual gaps which have not been satisfactorily attended to by the jurisprudential-oriented theologians. What is quite evident, however, is that, in general, the people do not mind paying homage to each and every sheikh who comes from abroad; as far as they are concerned they are thus given the opportunity to benefit from the sheikh's august presence and particularly benefit from his *barakat* (blessings).

Scholarship

Perhaps an area where there has been a glaring distinction between the *da'wah* movements and the Sufi orders of Southern Africa is the area of scholarship. A very small number of the personalities leading the *da'wah* movements (with the exception of Deedat) have actually penned any books of significant importance. This could be due to the fact that they are more concerned with the spreading of *da'wah* while neglecting the systematic planning of the *da'wah* process, part of which is the preparation of specific texts. Individuals such as Yusuf Mohamedy who have been active over the years in Islamic missions, have not written any noteworthy books that offer an understanding of how Islamic missions operate within the Southern African region. Deedat has, of course, written numerous booklets that give the reader clear insight into the nature of Christian missions and their relevance to Muslims, as well as shed light on the many other aspects that are part of his approach to Islamic missions. He indeed stands out as a unique example in this regard. However, his texts are not used as readily and extensively as those written by Sufi sheikhs. The main reason behind this trend is that the writings of Sufi sheikhs concentrate mainly upon spiritual development. In other words, the Sufi sheikhs give clear guidance to their followers, and to those interested in their method, as to how to become spiritually imbued and conscious. Consequently, the works of the Sufi sheikhs are generally influential and are profusely used by the educated and non-educated alike. In contrast, the texts of the *da'wah* movements never make use of spiritual development as a key ingredient in the spreading of their Islamic mission.

One of the leading Sufi *khalifas* in South Africa is Dr Yusuf Da Costa. This former high school principal and university academic might not have written any specific Sufi texts to date had he not been advocating the reading of works of his sheikhs as well as the works of the Sufi order which he currently leads. Moreover, he has been regularly using local radio stations as a means of publicizing his opinions and views regarding the Sufi order. These weekly broadcasts have become popular and have drawn much interest from a variety of listeners. The popularity of Sufi sheikhs such as Dr Yusuf Da Costa, has outstripped the work of the *da'wah* movements which have not been using the media effectively. Other individuals who are not necessarily Sufi sheikhs but are prominent *mureeds*, such as

Sheikh Sieraj and Sheikh Ahmad, have also made use of radio stations as a means of disseminating the ideas of the 'Alawiyyah order'.⁶⁴ In addition, they have also publicized their thoughts via intermittent publications and through their online site. Both of these individuals have been writing and delivering lectures and have been openly punting the Sufi path. They have also been occupied with the translation of some of the key texts of the 'Alawiyyah order. As a result of their input, they have attracted the attention of a number of adherents. Mention may also be made here of Abu Bakr Karolia (who is attached to the Jafariyyah-Shaddhiliyyah order lead by Sheikh Fadhlalla Haeri) and his online contributions, such as 'A New Universal Strategy for the Ummah', which, along with a few other related articles written since 2001, reflect upon the Sufi path.

Adherents

If one compares the TJ to a combination of all the Sufi *tariqahs*, one might wish to argue that they have an equal number of adherents and sympathizers. This is evident when one observes their annual and monthly gatherings. During the TJ's annual '*ijtima*' (gathering), it usually attracts at least, 5 to 10 thousand persons over a single weekend; this is indeed a large number of participants. Although the Sufi *tariqahs* do not have their activities over a long weekend, as is the case with the TJ, similar numbers of followers do attend the *urs* or the *milad* celebrations annually. When surveying the mosques that are controlled by the respective groups, one might find that almost an equal number is controlled by each group; this again explains that no out-right majority or minority emerges when assessing these groups. This issue, however, remains a point of debate and can only be resolved when demographic surveys are taken into consideration to substantiate the arguments for or against each group.

It may, moreover, be added that adherents are generally devoted to the cause of their movement and they thus try to follow the guidelines presented to them as faithfully as possible. It is not easy to compare whether a TJ follower is more or less faithful than an individual who follows a Sufi order. Here again it is a matter of conjecture, assessment, interpretation and observation; all of which are problematic. Since there are no spiritual barometers one cannot exactly measure the spiritual level of the adherents and thus cannot come up with conclusive results. One may only surmise that spiritual activities have been on the increase as a result of the influence of Muslim community radio stations. On the other hand, whether this spiritual level can be maintained and sustained is another matter which is not easily addressed. In any case, sizeable numbers of followers attend the obligatory prayers of both groups and many more participate in the TJ and Sufi circles. These gatherings can be used as a barometer to measure the increase or decrease in the number of persons participating regularly in the rituals of their respective groups.

Rituals

Rituals, it is well known, differ from one group to another; and in the case of these two respective movements, there are specific rituals outlined for both. Even amongst the Sufi orders, each group has its own specific rituals which its members perform. It is also unlikely that members of the TJ would accept all the practices implemented by the Sufi *tariqahs*. For example, the celebration of the birth of the Prophet(s) is, in general, not wholeheartedly approved by the Salafi/Wahabi schools. Members of the TJ

staunchly stick to the rules set down by their leadership and do not attempt to deviate away from them. In the Cape, where there exists a more tolerant atmosphere regarding these activities, members of the TJ attend functions organized by the Sufi *tariqahs*.

At the same time, theologians who side with the TJ have written numerous articles and books to prove the invalidity of such celebrations by the Sufi *tariqahs*. In fact, theologians belonging to the Majlis ul-Ulama of South Africa, which is confined to Port Elizabeth and the surrounding areas, have attempted to translate some Sufi texts such as *Irshaadul Mulook* (1998) and *Mashaikh –e-Chisti* (1998).⁶⁵ These translations have been undertaken as an indirect measure to counter the Sufi *tariqahs*; in this case the Chistiyyah *tariqah*. These theologians have been vigilant in their criticism of those individuals who visit the graves of those personalities perceived as *awliya*. The 2000–2001 Gamiel-dien controversy which erupted after Sheikh Faiek Gamiel-dien spoke out against certain Sufi practices, such as the visiting of the graves of saints, is a case in point. It led to heated debates in the media and amongst the public. For example, Sheikh Gamiel-dien was challenged with coming to an open debate organized by a Sufi *tariqah*. However, he decided not to attend it and the debate continued in his absence. Not surprisingly, though, a video recording made of the debate focused on the empty chair where the sheikh was supposed to have sat to make his input. This and other events indicate the attitude adopted by Salafi/Wahabi groups which have rejected the practices of Sufi *tariqahs*. The events, however, also demonstrate the extent to which the Sufi *tariqahs*' adherents have taken these practices to heart, and how they have emphasized their indulgence in these rituals which they view as important acts that allow them to become more spiritually enhanced or charged.

Social Change

Via the rituals implemented and practised by the different movements, one is able to gauge their impact upon society. It is therefore quite evident that the emergence and growth of each of these movements and *tariqahs* has led to one or another form of transformation. When the TJ slowly penetrated into the Muslim community at the Cape, its new members and adherents slowly changed their patterns of behaviour and not only adopted the dress code set down by the movement but also implemented certain eating habits, all of which, they argue, have been practised by the Prophet (s). Although similar changes were observed when the Sufi *tariqahs* were making inroads into different South African communities, these changes were, however, less visible in terms of dress codes but more prominent in terms of practices.

Moreover, these movements have not only affected the behaviour of their followers in a dramatic way, but they have also affected the nature of the followers' activities. It is indeed heartening to see that most of the Sufi orders have directed their efforts towards doing social welfare work; an act that was previously demonstrated by individuals such as Sufi Saheb at the turn of the 20th century. Some of the orders have thus set up feeding schemes and self-help projects as a means of showing that Sufism does not mean isolationism but full participation; they have involved themselves in social activities without making a fuss about the practices made compulsory upon them by their order or the order's purpose. The perception of outsiders has generally been that the Sufi *tariqahs* do not involve themselves in community affairs; but now armchair critics have been forced to change their opinions because of the meaningful contributions that are being made by the different orders. Social changes have thus been observed in

different parts of the region and many of these changes have been attributed to the orders active in these areas.

Conclusion

All the religious movements that have been established in South Africa, or that have re-emerged in the country over the past few years, have embarked upon spiritual programmes. They have tried to establish a spiritual space for themselves and have vied with one another to attract as many adherents to their particular movements as possible. In the process they have constantly been competing with one another so that their adherents may be able to fully enjoy the movement's specific spiritual pathways.

Southern Africa will remain a home, nay a safe-haven, for many of these movements and *tariqahs* for some time to come. However, one is concerned that despite the fact that the Muslim population is small, it could find itself embroiled in conflicts that would eventually lead to the dismemberment of these movements or *tariqahs*, and ultimately paralyse the communities involved. Each of these movements currently has a space in which it may freely operate and move. These groups should thus use these opportunities to pursue their objectives while refraining from adopting an intolerant attitude towards one another, and should in the process be mindful of the spiritual journey each of them has undertaken to reach the position in which it finds itself today.

NOTES

1. Muhammad Amara, 'Islam in Southern Africa', unpublished 'Islam in Africa' Conference Paper, New York: University of Binghamton, 2001; Abdulkader Tayob, *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams and Sermons*, Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1999; and Ephraim Mandivenga, *Islam in Zimbabwe*, e Gweru: Mambo Press, 1982.
2. Muhammed Haron, *Muslims in South Africa: An Annotated Bibliography*, Cape Town: South African Library, 1997; Muhammed Haron, 'Islam and Muslims in South Africa: A Bibliographical Update', in *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, No. 4, December 2001, pp. 64–69; and Muhammed Haron, 'Research and Writings on Islam and Muslim in South Africa', in *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, No. 7, December 2004.
3. Ebrahim Moosa, 'Worlds Apart: The Tablighi Jamaat and Apartheid, 1963–1993', *Journal for Islamic Studies*, No. 17, 1997, pp. 28–48.
4. R. Scott Appleby and Martin E. Marty, *Fundamentalisms and Society: Redefining the Sciences, the Family, and Education*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993; R. Scott Appleby and Martin E. Marty, *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies and Militance*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993; Appleby, R. Scott and Martin E. Marty, *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
5. The following small selection of references is but a few samples of the many writings that have concentrated on Sufism in Africa: Louis Brenner, 'Separate Realities: A Review of Literature on Sufism', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1972, pp. 637–658; Mervyn Hiskett, 'The Community of Grace and its Opponents, the "Rejecters": A Debate about Theology and Mysticism in Muslim West Africa with Special Reference to its Hausa Expression' *African Language Studies*, Vol. 17, 1980, pp. 99–140; Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century*, London: Edward Arnold, 1982; *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists*, eds, David Westerlund and Eva Evers Rosander, London: Hurst & Co. & Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1999; and Knut Vikor, 'Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa', in *The History of Islam in Africa*, eds, Nehemia Levtzion and Randal L. Powels, Cape Town: David Philips & Oxford: James Currey and Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000, Ch. 20, pp. 441–476.
6. Knut Vikor, 'Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa', *op. cit.*
7. Abdul Kader Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1995.

8. *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, 2000, 6th edition.
9. Jeffrey K. Hadden, 'Religious Movements', *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, eds, Edgar F. Borgatta and Marie L. Borgatta, New York: Macmillan, Vol. 8, pp. 1642–1644, 1992; and Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, 'On Church, Sect and Cult: Preliminary Concepts for Theory of Religious Movements', *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, No. 18, 1979, pp. 117–131. Also view Said A. Arjomand's 'Introduction: Social Movements in the Contemporary Near and Middle East', in *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Iran*, ed. Said Arjomand, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1984, pp. 1–27; and Christopher A. Rootes' 'Social Movements and Politics,' *African Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 1997, pp. 67–95 for more insights into and information on social movements.
10. Muhammed Haron, *Muslims in South Africa: an annotated bibliography*, Cape Town: South African Library 1997; Muhammed Haron, 'Islam and Muslims in South Africa: a bibliographical update' in *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa* No. 4, December 2001, pp. 64–69; and Muhammed Haron, 'Research and Writings on Islam and Muslim in South Africa' in *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, no. 7, December 2004.
11. John Saliba, *Understanding New Religious Movements*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.
12. Edward Burke III, 'Islam and Social Movements: Methodological Reflections', in *Islam, Politics and Social Movements*, eds, E. Burke and Ira M. Lapidus, Los Angeles, CA and London: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 17–35.
13. Knut Vikor, 'Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa', *op. cit.*, pp. 441–442.
14. Ali Mazrui, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, New York: Africa World Press, 1986.
15. Henry Louis Gates, *Wonders of the African World*, Six Hour—PBS series, 1999. Portions of the footage are available online at: <<http://www.pbs.org/wonders/>>
16. Ephraim C. Mandivenga, 'The Role of Islam in Southern Africa', in *Religion and Politics in Southern Africa*, eds, Carl F. Hallencreutz and Mai Palmberg, Uppsala, MN: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1991, pp. 74–88; Abdul Kader Tayob, 'Islam in Southern Africa,' in *Islam Outside the Arab World*, eds, D. Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg, London: Curzon Press, 1999, pp. 111–124; and Robert C.-H. Shell, 'Islam in Southern Africa', in *The History of Islam in Africa*, eds, Nehemia Levtzion and Randal L. Powels, Cape Town: David Philips and Oxford: James Currey and Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, Ch. 15, 2000, pp. 327–348.
17. Muhammad Amra, 'Islam in Southern Africa', unpublished 'Islam in Africa' Conference Paper, New York: Binghamton University, April 2001.
18. Visit the homepage at: <<http://www.giftofthegivers.co.za>>.
19. Visit the homepage at: <<http://www.wamy.org>>.
20. James N. Amanze, *Islam in Botswana*, Uppsala, MN: Uppsala University, 2000; David Bone, ed., *Malawi's Muslims*, Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 2000; and Ephraim C. Mandivenga, *Muslims in Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1982.
21. Read the thesis of Gerrie Lubbe's 'The Muslim Judicial Council—A Descriptive and Analytical Investigation', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa, 1989, and Jacobus Naude's 'The Ulama in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal Ulama', *Journal for Islamic Studies*, No. 2, 1982, pp. 23–39.
22. Visit the homepage at: <<http://www.mjc.org.za>>.
23. Murshid David, *Directory of Muslim Organizations in South Africa*, Johannesburg: ICT, 1994; this work is now outdated.
24. But, despite the South African Muslims' financial strength, many have been going to Botswana on collection drives, particularly during the month of Ramadan. This thus raises questions as regards the manner in which money is disbursed amongst the South African Muslims themselves.
25. Consult Samadia Sadouni, 'Le Minoritaire Sud-Africaine Ahmed Deedat: Une Figure Originale de la Da'wa' (The South African (Muslim) Minority's Ahmed Deedat: A Unique Figure of (Islamic) da'wah), *Islam et Societies au Sud du Sahara* (Islam and Society South of the Sahara), No. 12, December 1998, pp. 149–170; and David Westerlund, 'Ahmed Deedat's Theology of Religion: Apologetics Through Polemics', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2003, pp. 263–278.
26. Larry Posten, *Islamic Da'wah in the West: Muslim Missionary Activity and the Dynamics of Conversion to Islam*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; Samadia Sadouni, 'Le Minoritaire Sud-Africaine Ahmed Deedat' (The South African (Muslim) Minority's Ahmed Deedat: A Unique Figure of (Islamic) da'wah), *op. cit.*; Samadia Sadouni, 'Les territoires d'un prédicateur musulman sud-africain: Ahmed Deedat' (The Territory of a South African Muslim Preacher) in Véronique Faure's ed. *Dynamiques religieuses en Afrique australe* (Religious Dynamics and Africa) Paris: Karthala, 2000, Ch. 8, pp. 161–173; and David Westerlund, 'Ahmed Deedat's Theology of

- Religion: Apologetics through Polemics', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2003, pp. 263–278.
27. See Abdurahman Doi's 'Proselytism and Islam in Southern Africa', *Emory International Legal Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Summer, 2000, pp. 1147–1167 for an overview of this phenomenon.
 28. Khalid Masud, ed., *Travellers in Faith: Studies of the Tablighi Jama'at as a transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal*, Leiden: E.J. Brill Publishers, 2001.
 29. J.L. Cilliers, 'Die Tabligh- Beweging en sy invloed in Suid-Afrika' (The Tabligh Movement and its Influence in South Africa), *Journal for Islamic Studies*, No. 4, 1984, pp. 55–77; Ebrahim Moosa, 'Worlds Apart: The Tablighi Jamaat and Apartheid, 1963–1993', *Journal for Islamic Studies*, No. 17, 1997, pp. 28–48; the latter was republished in Masud's *Travellers in Faith*, *op. cit.*
 30. Ebrahim Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology*, Durban: Arabic Study Circle, 1993.
 31. See the section under 'topics' and the website at: <<http://www.raza.co.za>>.
 32. Ahmad Mukaddam, 'Islam, Violence and Motives: An Analysis of the Schismatic Differences and Otherness between Wahhabism and Sunnism as Enacted in Aspects of the Azaadville Incident', unpublished Religious Studies Postgraduate Paper, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa, 1987.
 33. Faried Esack, 'Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988, pp. 473–498; and A.K. Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa*, *op. cit.*
 34. Read John Edwin Mason, 'A Faith for Ourselves': Salavery, Sufism and Conversion to Islam at the Cape', *South African Historical Journal*, No. 46, May 2002, pp. 3–25; also consult Andriana Pigai's edited book entitled *Islam e citta dell'Africa a sud del Sahara: Tra Sufismo e Fondamentalismo* (Islam in Africa South of the Sahara: Between Sufism and Fundamentalism), Napoli: Ligwari Editore, 2001; as well as *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists*, eds, David Westerlund and Eva Evers Rosander, London: Hurst & Co. & Uppsala: MN: Nordic Africa Institute, 1999. In addition also read Roman Loimeier, 'From Cape To Istanbul: Transnational Networks and Communal Conflict', *Investigating South–South Dimension of Modernity and Islam: Circulating Visions and Ideas, Intellectual Figures and Locations*, eds, Helmut Buchholt & Georg Stauth, Yearbook of the Society of Islam series, Vol. 2, Ch. 4, 2000, pp. 85–98.
 35. A bit of info on the Sheikh's literary output can be found in Mofakhkhar H. Khan's *English Translations of the Holy Quran: a Bio-Bibliographic Study*, Singapore: Toppan Publishing, Ch. 4, 1997, pp. 164–165. More information is available online at their website: <<http://www.nuradeen.com>>; some of its members have also established another related site to focus on the *Tariqah's* academic programme. Visit <<http://www.askonline.co.za>> which also contains a report of their 'Celebrating Islam Conference' that was held in Pretoria between 16 and 18 April 2004.
 36. Fakhruddin Owaisi, 'Sufis at the Cape: Origin, Development and Review', *Occasional Journal of ICOSA*, No. 2, 2001, pp. 101–119.
 37. At a conference at the University of Birmingham during April 2004, this researcher met the grandson of Shaykh Ahmad Bamba, Sheikh Saliou Mbacke—coordinator and consultant of the Interfaith Action for Peace in Africa, who mentioned that a young Cape Townian boy, aged 14, joined the *tariqah* at the request of the boy's father during 2003, and is currently studying the texts prescribed by the order. In the meanwhile he has mastered Wolof, the official language of the Mouridiyyah community.
 38. Goolam Mohamed Karim, 'Performance, Trance, Possession and Mysticism: An Analysis of the Ratib al-Rifa'iyyah in South Africa', unpublished Religious Studies doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa, January 1998.
 39. Samuel Zwemer, 'The Moslem Menace in South Africa', *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 37, October 1914, pp. 733–738.
 40. Suleiman Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, Durban: Iqra Research Committee, 1984.
 41. Mustapha Keraan, 'Selected Writings of Shaykh Yusuf', unpublished BA Arabic Honours Thesis, University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa, 1994.
 42. G.R. Smith, 'A Muslim Saint in South Africa', *African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 1969, pp. 267–278; and Muneera Haeri, 'A Chisti Shaykh in South Africa', in *The Chistis: A Living Light*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, Ch. 7, 2000, pp. 184–189.
 43. Hans Kahler, *Studen uber Kultur: Die Sprache und der Arabisch–Afrikaanse Literature de Kap-Malaien* (A Study of the Culture, Language and Arabic–Afrikaans literature of the Cape Malays), Berlin: Verlag von Dieter Reimer, 1971.

44. Unfortunately the site <<http://www.naqshbandi-sa.org>> has been suspended and subsequently incorporated into the mother site of the order.
45. Visit the website at: <<http://www.soofie.org.za>>.
46. G.R. Smith, 'A Muslim Saint', *op. cit.*; and Haeri, 'A Chisti Shaykh,' *op. cit.*
47. Visit the website at: <<http://www.sufi.co.za>>.
48. Visit the website at: <<http://www.soofie-saheb.org.za>>.
49. Visit the website at: <<http://www.badsha-peer.org.za>>.
50. Read more on Bewley at: <<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/Abewley/>>.
51. Also see online: <<http://www.madinahmedia.com>>.
52. Visit the site at: <<http://www.e-dinar.net>>.
53. Members of the Murabitun travelled to different parts of South Africa and Botswana during the early part of April in 2004 in order to introduce their movement and ideas and to also collect money for this project.
54. Yasien Mohamed, ed., *Islam to the Modern Mind: Lectures of Dr Fahir-Rahman Ansari circa 1970–1971 in South Africa*, Cape Town: Iqra Publishers, revised edition, 2002.
55. Visit the websites at: <<http://www.sarkaremadina.net/beliefs>, www.raza.co.za> and <<http://www.sunnimuslim.net>> for further details.
56. Jacobus A. Naude, 'A Historical Survey of Opposition to Sufism in South Africa', in *Islamic Mysticism contested: Thirteen Centuries of controversies and polemics*, eds, Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radke, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999, pp. 386–415.
57. Yusuf Da Costa and Achmad Davids, *Pages from the History of Islam at the Cape*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1994.
58. Visit Sieraj and Ahmad Hendricks' website at: <<http://home.pix.za/mf/mfj1/>>.
59. The November issue of *Muslim Views* devoted its front page to the contribution of the sheikh. And many other prominent individuals shared their thoughts about the man. See *Muslim Views* Vol. 18, No. 12, November 2004, pp. 1 and 3.
60. See a brief sketch by Shafiq Morton in *Al-Qalam*, November, 2000.
61. Due to internal disagreements with Dr Yusuf Da Costa in early 2004 Imam Walele broke ranks with the order and has moved on his own. And Dr Da Costa has been referred to as the Khalifah of the order in Southern Africa. On the 26th of February 2005 in Athlone Civic Centre in Cape Town, the youth members of the order organized a fund-raising dinner which was addressed by Dr Da Costa.
62. Also the issue of *Muslim Views*, November, 2000.
63. Shafiq Morton, *op. cit.*, 2000.
64. Muhammed Haron, 'South African Muslims Making (Air)Waves', *Journal for the Study of Religion in Southern Africa*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2002, pp. 111–144.
65. Maulana Sadeq Desai (tr.), *Irshaadul Mulook*, Port Elizabeth: MUSA, 1990 and Maulana Sadeq Desai (tr.), *Mashaikh –e-Chisti*, Port Elizabeth: MUSA, 1998.