THE PROLIFERATION OF ŞŪFI ORDERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

By

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DECEMBER 2006
ETHICAL STATEMENT

With the signature below I, Zoraida Isaacs, hereby declare that the work I present in this thesis is based on my own research, and that I have not submitted this thesis to any other institution of higher education to obtain an academic qualification.

Z. ISAACS

DATE

As candidate supervisor I hereby approve this thesis for submission.
ABSTRACT

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

SCHOOL AUTHORISED TO AWARD DEGREE:
RELIGION & THEORY

THE PROLIFERATION OF THE ŞÜFI ORDERS IN THE
GREATER DURBAN AREA

By

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The primary focus of this dissertation is to examine the proliferation of the Şüfi Orders in the Durban area. The popularity of taşawwuf, (Islamic Spirituality) appears to be on the increase as manifested by the increase in the membership of the more established Şüfi Orders as well as an increase in the emergence of new Şüfi Orders. This study reviews the history, nature, characteristics and activities of the Şüfi groups, and documents their growth over the last ten - twelve years. It also focuses on the reasons which could possibly account for such an increase and it asks the question “What motivates individuals to gravitate to Şüfi Orders and groups?”

Key Terms:
Taşawwuf; Şüfi; ţariqa; silsila; Islam; spirituality; dhikr.
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al- jihad al- akbar the greater battle i.e. to control inner desires and passions

a'māl (sing. 'amal) actions

amīr head

ashāb al- mainanā companions of the right hand

Asghab al- Ṣuffa companions of the bench

'Asr the last afternoon prayer

bara坤ah spiritual blessings

bāy 'ah initiatic pact

da 'wah propagation of Islam

dhākir invoker, rememberer

dhikr (pl. adhkār) invocation, remembrance

dhikrullah the invocation of God

dāirah spiritual centre

du 'āh supplication

fanā' annihilation

faqr poverty

farṣ obligatory

fiqh jurisprudence

furqān discernment

Hadith prophetic tradition

haṣrah congregational dhikr
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<td>Ḥaqq</td>
<td>Reality or Truth</td>
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<td>Ḥayy</td>
<td>Living</td>
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<td>ḥifz</td>
<td>memorization of the sacred Qurānic text</td>
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<td>ijāzah</td>
<td>authorisation/permission</td>
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<td>istighfār</td>
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<td>jali</td>
<td>loud</td>
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<td>karam</td>
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<td>karāmāt</td>
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<td><em>muqarrabān</em></td>
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<td><em>murāqabah</em></td>
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<td><em>murīd</em></td>
<td>seeker, one initiated into a Sūfī Order</td>
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<td><em>murshid</em></td>
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<td><em>musāfahah</em></td>
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<td><em>na 't</em></td>
<td>poetry or liturgical recital in honour of the Prophet</td>
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<td><em>nafs</em></td>
<td>soul, self</td>
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<td><em>p.b.u.h.</em></td>
<td>peace be upon him (the Prophet)</td>
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<td><em>pir</em></td>
<td>Persian equivalent of Shaykh</td>
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<td><em>qalb</em></td>
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<td><em>qawwali</em></td>
<td>Sūfī poetry accompanied by music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rahīm</td>
<td>Forgiving (a Divine Attribute)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rahmān</td>
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<td>rank, line, row</td>
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<td>prayers</td>
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<td>sālik</td>
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<td>suffah</td>
<td>bench</td>
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<td>ṣūfī</td>
<td>follower of a ṣūfī path</td>
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<tr>
<td>sunnah</td>
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<td>surah</td>
<td>chapter</td>
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<td>ta 'lim</td>
<td>education</td>
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<td>night prayers</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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<td><strong>tahlil</strong></td>
<td>to recite lā ilāha illallāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>taḥmīd</strong></td>
<td>to recite alhamdulillāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tālib</strong></td>
<td>aspirant to the mystical path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tariqah (pl. turūq)</strong></td>
<td>way, path, order</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>taṣawwuf</strong></td>
<td>Islamic Sūfism/spirituality</td>
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<td><strong>tawakkul</strong></td>
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<td><strong>tawbah</strong></td>
<td>repentence/conversion</td>
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<td><strong>tawhīd</strong></td>
<td>Uniqueness of Being (God)</td>
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<td><strong>tazkiyyat al-nafs</strong></td>
<td>purification of the lower self</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>'urs</strong></td>
<td>commemoration of the anniversary of death</td>
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<td><strong>wahdat al-wujūd</strong></td>
<td>Oneness of Being</td>
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<td><strong>wali (pl. awliyā)</strong></td>
<td>friend of God</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>wazīfah</strong></td>
<td>litany</td>
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<td><strong>Wird</strong></td>
<td>access, litany</td>
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<td><strong>zuḥd</strong></td>
<td>renunciation of worldly pleasures</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

This Chapter comprises a brief explanation of terms, the motivation for the chosen field of study, aims and objectives, benefits of this study and a brief overview of the research design and methodology.

1.1 Introduction

There has been a phenomenal increase in the number of people attending Şüfi gatherings or joining existing Şüfi orders as well as a moderate increase in the establishment of new orders in the greater Durban area in the last decade. Prior to this there were several small groups practicing Şüfism in a limited number of mosques and private homes. Furthermore, Şüfi adherents belonged to a select few orders which are generally known.

1.2 Explanation of Terms

The great spiritual current which goes through all religions is called "Mysticism" which in its widest sense may be defined as "the consciousness of the One Divine Reality - be it called Wisdom, Light, Love, or Nothing." (Schimmel 1975:3)

Taşawwuf is the generally accepted term for Islamic Mysticism and Şüfi for the one who practices mysticism. In Islam, 'the way' that traverses the infinite distance separating man from Allah (God) is called the tariqah - a term which means the mystical journey in general and in a more limited sense, signifies a brotherhood or a particular order of Şüfis, bearing the name derived from the founder of that particular order.
1.3 Context of Study

The last decade has witnessed tremendous socio-economic and political transformation of South African society. This has been accompanied by many socio-legal changes such as legalization of casinos, prostitution, and same-sex marriages, which Muslims are struggling to come to terms with. Coincidentally, there has been an increase in the manifestation of religious and cultural activities in many communities. I have observed a fairly substantial increase in the number of Sufi orders as well as in membership of established orders in the greater Durban area. This raises questions as to whether and to what extent the transformation of South African society has contributed to the gravitation of Muslims towards Sufi orders in the greater Durban area.

1.4 Rationale for Research

A specific circumstance motivated my selection of the ‘Proliferation of Sufi Orders in the Greater Durban areas’ as my area of research for this dissertation and it is this: about three years ago, having returned from performing the obligatory Hajj and armed with a resolve to be a "better Muslim", I joined a women’s “prayer group” that met once a week. Part of our activities included attending lectures and prayer meetings of other similar groups, in homes, as well as masjids. Over a period of time I noticed an increase in the number of Sufi Orders that emerged in various localities in the greater Durban area. The emergence of some of the new Sufi Orders could be explained by the large influx of immigrant Muslims from countries like Senegal and Turkey where the practice of Sufism was the norm. Their activity in this regard was very obvious, manifested by the establishment of Sufi centres, wherever they may be or settle. However, this did not explain the growth of adherents of local Sufi groups. This aroused my curiosity and inspired me to explore the phenomenon of Ta'awwuf with a view to examining the reasons for its increasing popularity.

The comment by Da Costa (1994:137):
"...almost all the Shaykhs and Imams in the Cape Peninsula who had studied overseas during the first half of this (20th) Century and before...were well-known in the community for the exercise of many Taṣawwuf practices..."

is one which is equally applicable to the circumstances and situation in Durban. Some students who studied in the theological seminaries in the Indian subcontinent under teachers who were also Ṣūfī masters invariably became disciples of their teachers and on their return to South Africa continued practicing Ṣūfīsm privately and individually. However, in the last decade these religious scholars have established Ṣūfī Orders or initiated Ṣūfī practices in the localities in which they live and also began initiating disciples into various Ṣūfī Orders. Prior to this, one can say that many of those who studied overseas, in the latter part of the 20th Century were either oblivious of, if not against Ṣūfīsm. Opposition to Ṣūfīsm was manifested in some quarters. I was therefore intrigued by the translation of Taṣawwuf from the individual, private sphere to the public sphere, and was curious to know what or who was responsible for this transformation.

Another key consideration for undertaking this study is the fact that Taṣawwuf is a global phenomenon and one which is integral to the practice of Islam. Islam as an integrated entity incorporating both the exoteric dimension by way of the Divine Law of Shari'ah and its esoteric dimension, manifested by Taṣawwuf, was introduced into the Cape in the late 17th Century and into the Natal Colony (Durban specifically) in the late 19th Century. Any changes in the adoption or assimilation of religious practices (not exclusively to Islam, but I believe to any world religion), is of sufficient importance to render a closer examination of the phenomenon. It was also the general paucity of literature pertaining specifically to Kwa-Zulu Natal that originally acted as one of the chief inspirations for this dissertation. I found that Kwa-Zulu Natal, in comparison to the Cape, was sadly lagging behind in terms of the academic input in the areas of Taṣawwuf. Very
little of substance pertaining to the history of Taṣawwuf in Kwa-Zulu Natal has been contributed i.e. in both the public and academic domains. However, several scholars have researched the subject of Islamic Mysticism in South Africa. Amongst these are several articles on Taṣawwuf at the Cape written by the late Achmat Davids and Yusuf Da Costa. One work, however, which provided interesting insights into the practices of Taṣawwuf is The Influence of Taṣawwuf on Islamic Practices at the Cape by Yusuf Da Costa in Pages From Cape Muslim History (1994). While largely descriptive in nature it was the first publication dealing largely with the history of Taṣawwuf at the Cape. This has been followed by a more detailed study of this subject in a paper: Şūfīsm at the Cape: Origins, Development and Revival by Fakhruddin Owaisi, published as late as 2001 in the Occasional Journal of ICOSA (2001). This paper outlined the growth and development of the Şūfī tradition at the Cape. Other papers and articles which emerged in the middle and late 1990’s were Abdul-Kader Tayob’s Contemporary Şūfīsm in South Africa (1996) and his essay Turning to the Core: Şūfīsm on the Rise? (1999) which was published in the Annual Review of Islam in South Africa by the Centre for Contemporary Islam at the University of Cape Town. These two renditions largely deal with contemporary issues impacting on Taṣawwuf. Another paper, In Defence of Some of the Practices of the Şūfīs translated by Mahdie Hendricks and Abdullah Bayat, published in the IPSA Journal of Islamic Studies (2005) which is actually a treatise in response to an article criticizing some of the practices of the Şūfīs, provides valuable insight into Şūfī practices and its basis. The treatise was extracted from the A’dhāb al- Manāhīl fi al-ajwībah wa al- rasā’il (The Sweetest Fountains containing Answers and Letters) by Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Mustafā Al- ‘Alawi, a grand Shaykh of the Alawīyyah Order.
A useful study is that of Ahmed Mukadam’s three papers: 

- Myth and Meaning in Cape Islam: A Non-Conventional History of Cape Muslims published in the Occasional Journal of ICOSA (2003), and

The first two papers, although not dealing exclusively with Ta'awwuf per se, provide valuable insights into Ṣūfic Islam at the Cape in relation to oral history, legends and myths as well as an overview of Shaykh Yusuf and Tuan Guru (two earliest Ṣūfis) at the Cape. The latter paper identifies rituals such as Maulid-un Nabi, Dhikr, visiting of the tombs of saints, sacred persons and healing movements. Some of the practices described have their origin in Ṣūfism and continue to be practiced not only in the Cape but in Durban as well. Shaykh Yusuf of Makasar (1994) by Suleman Dangor is a rendition of the history of one of the earliest Ṣūfis in the Cape.

To celebrate the hundred years of the establishment of the Habibia Soofie Masjid at the Cape, a centenary magazine was published in 2005. Here, many articles pertaining to some aspects of Ta’awwuf were published. These are:

a) The Spiritual Practices of Habibia by Ahmed Mukadam which outlines the various spiritual practices initiated by Hazrath Sufi Saheb of Durban and maintained by Moulana Abdul Latif. These practices find their source in Ta’awwuf.

b) The significance of the Moulood of the Glorious Nabi (p.b.u.h.) by Abdul Haadi al- Qaadiri Radawi.

c) Keeping the Company of the Awliya by Goolam Muhammad Soofie which dwells on the spiritual importance of keeping company with saints and pious persons.

d) ‘The Holy Circle’ by Yusuf Da Costa in reference to the locations of the tombs of the saints of the Cape.
e) *Dhikr in the modern age* by Goolam Rooknodien which extols the value of *dhikr*—an activity engaged in by Ṣūfīs.

Of the numerous publications pertaining to Ṣūfism described above, almost all are exclusively concerning Ṭaṣawwuf and the Cape and have Cape-based authors. Thus it is on this basis that I say that very little of substance pertaining to Ṭaṣawwuf in Kwa-Zulu Natal has been contributed. This said however, let us turn to the available publications pertaining to Ṣūfism in the Kwa-Zulu Natal area. Tajammul Husayn's *Riyāz-al-Ṣūfī* was the first written work on the life of Sufi Saheb which was based primarily on the information supplied by Sufi Saheb's brother-in-law 'Abd al Latif Qâdi.

An interesting though short bibliography was written by G.R. Smith entitled *A Muslim Saint to South Africa* (1981). The latter has been used as a standard reference by English readers. A short descriptive article by A.F. Vanker, *The Tomb of Soofie Saheb* was published in the Al-‘Ilm Journal of Islamic Studies, University of Durban-Westville (1983). A master’s dissertation, *Sufi Sahib’s (1850-1911) Contribution To The Early History Of Islam in South Africa* submitted in 1993 by Yunus Saib to the Department of Islamic Studies at the then University of Durban-Westville documented the life and history of Sufi Saheb and his contribution to the upliftment of Muslims in Kwa-Zulu Natal. While Saib’s work was largely descriptive in nature, it enjoyed uniqueness concerning its detail and documentations of Ṣūfīc succession (*khilāfah*). *Lanterns of the Path* (2003), a publication by Talib Al-Habibi is a largely informative and descriptive rendition which traces the spiritual lineage of the *Chishti Habibi Ṣūfī Order*. This was followed by the publication of a booklet, *Ṣūfī Sahib* by Suleman Dangor in 1995 which was largely a biographical account of Sufi Saheb’s life.

Another interesting bibliographical work, which also focused on Sufi Saheb is *Hazrath Soofie Saheb & his Khanqahs* (1999) by Shāh Mohamed S. Soofie and
Shah Abdul A. Soofie. Along with the articles cited previously which were published in the Centenary magazine of the Habibia Soofie Masjid, is an unusual, and to my mind, the first one on this Ṣūfī personality – an article entitled *A Majzoob: Hazrat Shaykh Ahmad Badsha Peer (Rahmatullahi 'alaihi), King of Guides, Guide of Kings* (2005) by Fuzail Soofie of Durban which describes the personality of the earliest Ṣūfī in Durban, Shaykh Badsha Peer.

To date very little research has been undertaken on Ṣūfīsm in general in KwaZulu Natal and of that which exists, most of it is focused on the personal contributions of Sufi Saheb. No comprehensive, in-depth study has been undertaken of the Ṣūfī Orders in the Durban area. It was, in fact, the general paucity of available literature on *Taṣawwuf* in Kwa-Zulu Natal which provided the impetus for this dissertation. My research attempts to fill this gap in the available literature.

Earlier scholars have no doubt, successfully approached the subject of *Taṣawwuf* – however it was usually from a descriptive, historical perspective. In this regard my point of entry will be a new one, focusing on the nature of the groups and the reasons for their proliferation. The gaps I would attempt to close during the course of this dissertation are particularly those related to identifying the existing and emerging Ṣūfī Orders and the reasons for their proliferation.

1.5 Aims of Research

The aims of this research are:

- To determine the reasons for the proliferation of Ṣūfī orders in the greater Durban area.
- To identify the established and emerging Ṣūfī orders.
- To determine why individual Muslims are drawn to these orders.
Hypotheses:

This study is based on the following hypotheses:

(a) There is a relationship between the recourse individuals seek in mystic orders and the uncertainties brought about by social transformation.
(b) Individuals have a natural urge to experience the ‘sacred’ and to find meaning in their lives.

1.6 Critical Questions to be answered in the Research

- Are local Ṣūfī groups connected to an international parent Order?
- Has there been an increase in the number of orders or in the membership of existing orders in the past 10 years?
- What reasons can be attributed to this increase?
- What attracts people to Ṣūfī gatherings, to join a ṣāriqah or participate in Ṣūfī group sessions?
- Is the ṣāriqah involved with community organizations or social upliftment projects?
- What are the ṣāriqah’s major activities?
- What motivated individuals who were engaged in Taṣawwuf privately to establish orders, initiate Ṣūfī practices for general public participation and induct disciples into the orders?

1.7 Significance of Research

The findings from this research would be useful to:

- Enrich the knowledge base of group formation in the Muslim community.
- Assist in understanding the behaviour of religious groups in a period of social transformation.
1.8 Research Design Theory

To answer the critical questions relating to Sufi groups, an in-depth study was undertaken to obtain a "thick description" of the group and its members. According to Denzin (1989:83) a thick description does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearance. It presents detail, context, emotions and the web of social relations that join persons to one another. It establishes the significance of the experience or sequence of events for the person. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard.

The research design is an empirical one, based on social scientific theories using primary data. However the study encompassed some historical descriptive elements as well.

The study of the nature of the Sufi groups, and the reasons for the proliferation of the Sufi groups, would be examined in the light of the following two theories:

i) Khwajah Ansari, a renowned commentator of the Qur'an, postulates that one of the major causes of the "disease" (Arabic 'mard') referred to in the Qur'an is "desacralization" (Nasr, 1987:300). The individual, due to various reasons and situations, does not experience the 'sacred'. This thesis will attempt to determine whether the gravitation of Muslim men and women towards Sufi Orders and groups is an attempt to "return to the sacred" as assumed by Ansari.

ii) Max Weber's social action theory which argues that human action is directed by meanings. From this perspective, action can only be
understood by appreciating the world view, the image or picture of the world held by the members. From their world view, *individuals* derive meanings, purposes and motives which directs their actions.

1.9 **Research Methodology**

In this research the phenomenological approach is the one selected for the study of the *Sufi* groups in Durban. It is an approach where, according to Mouton the phenomenologist emphasize that all human beings are engaged in the process of making sense of their (life) worlds and they continuously interpret, create and give meaning to define, justify and rationalize their actions (Mouton, 2001:28). This approach is justified by Schimmel who advocates that “the phenomenological approach is well suited to the study of Islam” (Schimmel, 1994:xii) It is thus this approach which would give consideration to all perceived phenomenon associated with the *Sufi* groups, both the objective and the subjective.

*This study is largely qualitative. The qualitative paradigm has been selected because one of the “major distinguishing characteristics of qualitative research is the fact that the researcher’s attempt to understand people in terms of their own definitions of their world (insider perspective)” (Mouton, 1998:278). Qualitative methods are often associated with collection and analysis of written or spoken text or the direct observation of behaviour (Hall, 1996:96). Qualitative methods allow for flexibility within the research process. Thus, the responsiveness to the individuals and the *Sufi* organizations’ conceptualizations of themselves is also related to a willingness to formulate new hypotheses and alter old ones.*

The qualitative paradigms as with any other method, has both weaknesses and strengths. The weaknesses are:

- Problems of reliability caused by subjectivity.
- Risk of collecting useless and meaningless information.
• It is time consuming.
• Problems of representativeness and generalisability of findings.
• Problems of objectivity and detachment.
• Problems of ethics (entering the personal space of respondents).

The main reason for the selection of this paradigm lies in its strengths. These reasons have been tailored to suit the purpose of this study and are listed as follows:

• The proliferation of Sufi Orders is a phenomenon that needs to be explained – qualitative approach is best suited.
• It involves the study of Sufi groups and their members in their natural setting (mosque/Sufi center).
• It would achieve a deeper understanding of the respondent’s world.
• It humanizes the research process.
• It stresses interpretations and meanings.

All aspects considered, the phenomenological approach with a qualitative paradigm has been selected as the approach best suited to the study of the Sufi Orders in Durban.

The research methodology for this research has incorporated library research and field research.

1.9.1 Library Research

This included an extensive consultation of books, articles, journals, periodicals, academic papers, theses, newspapers, and the Islamic and Jewish encyclopedia relevant to the subject at hand. I have had access to the well-stocked University
of Kwa-Zulu Natal's libraries as well as the library of the Al-Ansaar Foundation.

1.9.2 Field Research

One of the key strengths of field research according to Babbie is the comprehensive perspective it gives the researcher (2001:283). Field research is especially appropriate to the study of behaviours best understood within their natural setting, as is the case of the Şūfi groups. Thus by going directly to the social phenomenon under study and observing it as completely as possible can we develop a deeper and fuller understanding of it. Two approaches were adopted in this respect, interviews and observation.

1.9.2.1. Interviews

The history and current development of Taşawwuf in Kwa-Zulu Natal has not been given much attention by researchers and documented therefore interviews with key people have been conducted in gaining valuable information. This took the form of personal face-to-face semi-structured interviewing to administer questionnaires.

1.9.2.2. Observation

A large part of the discussions surrounding the methodologies employed and activities engaged in have been based on personal observation. During this phase key role players and gatekeepers such as Amīr (head) of the Şūfi groups and their localities were identified. In this respect I enjoyed an advantage of some experience of both the participative and non-participative types.
1.10 Literature Review

It is necessary to mention the category of works, which was considered to be the most important for this research, and from whence most of the information was obtained.

*Mystical Dimensions of Islam by A. Schimmel*

Schimmel is a standard text both in the English and German speaking world. It was of greatest importance for an authentic understanding of Ṣūfism. Here, Schimmel admitting that Ṣūfism is a phenomenon “so broad and its appearance so protean that nobody can venture to describe it fully” (p. 3) begins by presenting a derivation and interpretation of ‘Ṣūf’ and ‘Ṣūfism’ as defined by Western scholars as well as by the Ṣūfis themselves.

She coined the terms ‘voluntaristic’ and ‘gnostic’ approach to mystical experience and classifies mysticism as ‘prophet’ and ‘mystic’. The inner spiritual significance of the allegories and metaphors used by the Ṣūfis is interpreted. Schimmel gives the historical outlines of Ṣūfism with cogent reasons. She also refutes the charge of a Hindu influence on Ṣūfism when she says:

“Many scholars were and still inclined to accept Indian influence on the formative period of Ṣūfism... But Max Horten’s numerous articles in the field could not bring any stringent proof of such influences” (p.26)

Giving her own opinion on the origin of Ṣūfism, she says:

“Ṣūfism traces its origin back to the Prophet of Islam and takes inspiration from the Divine Word as revealed through him in the Qurān...” (p.27)
Schimmel contradicts the allegations made against Hāllaj by a number of European scholars like Tholuck and Horten by quoting Nicholson and Massignon who have exonerated Hāllaj and traced his mysticism to Qurʾān and Hadīth of the ‘tariqah’ path. Schimmel proves the “oneness of Shariʿah, ṭariqah and Ḥaqiqah” by showing that the tripartite way to God is explained by a tradition of the Prophet. She devotes considerable space to prove that all the Ṣūfī doctrine like Dhikr (remembrance), Tauba (repentance), Ṣabr (patience) etc, are all based upon the verses of the Qurʾān and traditions of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.).

The first Ṣūfī Orders are traced, outlining their origination and development. Practices specific to the Orders such as initiation, the rites associated with them and specific doctrines are outlined.

Schimmel ends with Ṣūfīsm in Indo-Pakistan with an extrapolation of the Naqshbandī principles describing it as a ‘sober order’ (p.366)

**The Ṣūfī Orders in Islam by Tringham, J. Spencer**

Trimingham traces the history of Ṣūfīsm as it has been conveyed to the various generations, right from the time of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), his companions, and companions of the companions down to the present time through the unique and lasting institution known as the silsilah-i-ṭariqat (the spiritual lineages).

Complaining about the lack of research on the organizational aspect of Ṣūfīsm on the part of Orientalists he says:

“Whilst Islamic mysticism has exercised a compelling attraction upon many Western scholars, its organizational aspects, the mystical orders, has been neglected” (p.v)
The work traces the chief *tariqah* lines, the organization of the Orders, the nineteenth century Revival Movements from whence the *Darqāwī* and *Tijāniyyah* movements took root as well as ritual and ceremony associated with the *tariqah* lines. Negating the possibility of foreign influence on *Ṣūfism* he says:

“*Ṣūfism* was a natural development within Islam, owing little to non-Muslim sources” (p.2)

*Sufism, The Mystical Doctrines and Methods of Islam by William Stoddart*

Stoddart defends the fact that *Ṣūfism* lies within Islam by saying:

“There is no *Ṣūfism* without Islam. *Ṣūfism* is the spirituality of mysticism of the religion of Islam. Mysticism makes an appearance as inward dimension in every religion, and to attempt to separate the mystical element from the religion which is its outward support is an arbitrary act of violence which cannot but be fatal to the mysticism or spiritual path concerned...” (p. 22)

Stoddart discusses the relationship between *Sharī'ah* and *Haqīqat*. He sees the *tariqah* as the radius proceeding from the circumference to the centre (*Haqīqat*) as representing the mystical or initiatic path. Further discussion is based on how outward observance leads to inner conviction and from belief to vision.

He discusses the Christian-Muslim relationship with regard to *Ṣūfism* and Islam’s record of good attitude and tolerance to Christian and Jewish communities (people of the book). He refutes the allegation that *Ṣūfism* shifted to pantheism as represented by Ibn al-‘Arabī, under the influence of Christian mysticism and Neoplatonism.
An Account of the Mystics of Islam, A.J. Arberry

In this book Arberry discusses Ṣūfī life and thought and the centrality of the twin pillars of the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth in the structure of Islamic Mysticism. The importance of studying the life and sayings of the Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h.) are highlighted as being of great interest to the Ṣūfī. The qualities of preference for poverty as adopted by the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and its virtues are extolled. Other aspects on the life of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) are also given attention, most notably the Prophet’s obedience to God, trust, satisfaction and the fact that he did not lack for followers in the early years of Islam.

The Ascetics and their poetry, the Mystics and the relationships between master and disciple are covered, making use of the writings of al- Muhāsibī to discuss these. The theorists of Ṣūfism, the structure of Ṣūfī theory and practice and the various stations on the path are covered in depth listing 45 stations as well as an analysis of al- Ghazālī’s Iḥyā’ ʿulūm al- din (Revival of Religious Sciences). The life of al- Ghazālī as a simple mystic is also given attention. Arberry outlines the appearances of the first great Ṣūfī Orders ending with an outline of the decay of Ṣūfism.

Islamic Spirituality, edited by S.H. Nasr

This work presents in a single collection, scholarship from around the world devoted to Islamic spirituality. Here, Islamic Spirituality is treated as a distinct category of work. Part I presents the foundations of Islamic Spirituality, whose roots are traced to the Qurʾān, the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and his sunnah. To this end, the inner aspects of the Qurʾān, its esoteric commentaries and
interpretations and the spiritual significance of the Prophet rather than a limitation to the mere historical events in the life of a Prophet are dissected. The significance of the *Sunnah* and *Hadith* are discussed with the *Sunnah* “central to all aspects of Islamic spirituality” (p.98) and viewed as “in a sense the continuation of the life of the Prophet for later generations” (p.98). The Islamic rites of prayer, fasting, etc are treated as the means by which man approaches God and are given due attention by Nasr. The spiritual dimension of prayer is discussed. The fulfillment of Islamic rites is seen as a vehicle to the world of the spirit.

The degree of spiritual attainment achieved by humans is seen as none other than the degree of his realization of *tawḥīd*.

Of particular interest is a section on the *Sūfī* Science of the soul. Its psychotherapy is a mode of psychological treatment “based on a metaphysics that embodies the principles of Islamic tradition” (p.294).

Mohammad Ajmal in his essay advocates that there can be no cure for the maladies of the soul unless the sick man “enters into *bay’at* with a master” (p.297). Desacralization as a symptom of disease is dealt with and linked to the lack of opportunity an individual has to expose himself to sacred objects and persons possessing sacred presence. Since the *intellect* and the *rūḥ* (spirit) are closely related and the acquiring of knowledge has always been encouraged, based on the *hadith* “seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave”, the book concludes with ‘Knowledge of Reality’ which essentially is the Knowledge of God, and the relationship of man to the cosmos and the natural orders of the universe.
The Mystics of Islam – Dr Nicholson

Dr Nicholson views Sufism as a 'native of Islam' admitting, however, that Sufism is a complex thing and no simple answer can be given to its origination. In this study of Islamic mysticism Dr Nicholson sets forth the central doctrines of Sufism. The principle methods and features characteristic of the 'inner life' as lived by Muslims from a variety of classes from the eighth century is outlined. Throughout the work, Nicholson lets the mystics speak for themselves by variously quoting translations of original Arabic.

He outlines the 'path', identifying various stages and states, with repentance found as occupying the first place in every list of stages. Interestingly too, he refers to and identifies this repentance as 'conversion' (p.30-32). Much detail is provided about the preparatory training of the potential disciple. The central position of dhikr in Taṣawwuf is extolled. Divine love, gnosis, saints and miracles and the ultimate unitive state, with quotations from early mystics are discussed.

Taṣawwuf (Sufism): Its role and impact on the culture of Cape Islam by S. Hendricks

This dissertation discusses the extent to which Taṣawwuf impacted on Cape Muslim culture. It spans the time period between the arrival of the first significant political exiles at the Cape in 1667 to the founding of the Muslim Judicial Council in 1945. It covers a historical review of Taṣawwuf as it unfolded since its inception in the Muslim world with emphasis on the principles and doctrines of the Sufi Orders. It reviews the nature and character of the Taṣawwuf as it emerged in the geographical areas of the Cape. It examines practices which were influenced by Taṣawwuf. It concludes with a brief sketch of the post-1945 theological milieu that increasingly witnessed the emergence of the new anti-Taṣawwuf pressures within the Muslim community.

1.11 Overview of Chapters
This dissertation comprises six chapters:

- The first chapter is an introduction to the study, motivation, research methodology and theory.
- The second chapter deals with the concept of Taṣawwuf, its origins, characteristics and historical development, culminating in Šūfi Orders as well as the earliest Šūfis.
- The third chapter gives a brief history of Šūfism in South Africa.
- The fourth chapter focuses on the research design and methodology adopted in the research.
- The fifth chapter presents the findings of the survey of the Šūfi Orders in the Durban region.
- The concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the research. It also presents a number of recommendations for future research.
Chapter 2

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SÜFISM AND SÜFİ ORDERS

2.1 Introduction

William James regarded religious experience as a 'first class religion' whilst the following of a text out of given belief was second hand religion (James, 1954:385). Thus Islam belongs in the first category of religion, based on revelation and personal experience, incorporating Islamic mysticism or more precisely, taṣawwuf.

In approaching the subject of taṣawwuf, we shall look at the concept of 'Ṣūfī and 'Ṣūfîsm' (taṣawwuf), its origination and historical development, the chief characteristics of taṣawwuf as well as a brief outline of the earliest Sūfis in South Africa and Durban. The major international Sūfī Orders and their specific practices are somewhat more detailed. This is precisely because regardless of where it is practiced the basic underlying principles of a specific tariqah (path, order), remained the same. Later when a more detailed extrapolation of the Sūfī Orders in Durban is undertaken, this would become apparent.

Let us now turn to the concept of 'Ṣūfī'.

2.2 The Origin and Meaning of the term Ṣūfī

Few terms in the dictionary of Islam are as impressive as the term Ṣūfī. The mere mention of the term provokes debate as to its origin, meaning and manifestation. For the sake of clarification, the various sources which offer diverse interpretations of the derivation of the term Ṣūfī and the subsequent basis of rejections on etymological and other grounds would be looked at.
(a) *Suffa*, an Arabic word meaning ‘bench’. During the first years of the Prophet Muḥammad’s (p.b.u.h.) ministry, about forty-five men of Makkah, more or less renouncing the active life of the world, abandoned all worldly belongings to engage themselves in meditation and teaching under the Prophet’s guidance. They sat in the mosque, fervent devotees of the Prophet. Abdul Fida, a Muslim historian, considers that these men of God, called ʿAṣḥāb-al-ṣuffa (companions of the bench) were styled as ʿūrūs.

“....Thus the porch of the Temple became their mansion, and hence they obtained their name” (Shah, 1979: 16).

If it is contended that the term ʿūrūs was derived from *Suffa*, then the correct Arabic derivative would be *ṣuffi* and not ʿūrūs (Valiuddin 1996: 1-2)

(b) *Saff*, an Arabic word meaning rank, degree, row as these men of piety will stand in the first row of men on the Day of Judgment before God.

“Because they are in the first rank (*Ṣaff*) before God through the elevation of their desires towards Him, the turning of their hearts unto Him and the staying of their secret parts before Him” (Valiuddin 1996:1).

The derivative of ‘Ṣaff’ however would be ‘Ṣaffi’ and not ‘Ṣūfī’.

(c) *Safa*, Arabic word meaning purity as a root word.

“... And so the ʿūrūs were ʿūrūs because of their pure lives and pure hearts and spiritual elevation (Shah, 1979: 18). Valiuddin (1996:1) quotes Bish Ibn al- Harith who said “The ʿūrūs is whose heart is sincere (*ṣafa*) towards God”
But if the term $iifi$ were derived from $safa$ the correct form would be $safawi$ and not $Sufi$ (Valiuddin, 1996:1)

(d) $Saffa$, the name of a tribe of Arabs, who in the time of ignorance separated themselves from their people and engaged themselves in the service of the Meccan temple. This Arab tribe of $Saffa$ lived in Bani Muzar. This source of the origination of the term $Sufi$ was rejected because the $Sufis$ did not want to be associated with Arabs from the Ignorant era.

(e) $Suf$, Arabic for wool pronounced "soof". It has been claimed that they were only called $Sufis$ because of their habit of wearing sūf i.e. wool.

"...For they did not put on raiment soft to touch or beautiful to behold, to give delight to the soul. They only clothed themselves to hide their nakedness contenting with rough-hair cloth and coarse wool..."

(Valiuddin, 1996: 2)

If the derivation from $sūf$ (wool) be accepted for the word $Sufi$, then the word is correct and the expression sound from an etymological point of view. In the same way, according to Arabic lexicon the word 'Taṣawwafā' means 'he donned woollen dress' and 'taqammasa' means 'he put on a shirt' (Valiuddin 1996: 2). Ibn Khaldun confirms this viewpoint that the word $Sufi$ is derived from the word $sūf$. But, he points out, it is necessary to remember that it is not merely because of putting on rough hair-cloth and coarse wool that one is called a $Sufi$.

Jean-Louis Michon indicates that according to generally accepted etymology, the word $Sufi$ itself is derived from $suf$ meaning 'white wool' because the clothing made of white wool, which was particularly liked by the prophet (p.b.u.h.) and by early disciples who wished to follow his example, very soon became a symbol
of ascetic renunciation and orientation towards the contemplative life (Jean-Louis Michon in Nasr 1987:267).

In early Islam the wearing of wool was characteristic of the very lowest classes of society and consequently when adopted by the earliest Ṣūfīs symbolized humility. The earliest Ṣūfīs themselves accepted this explanation of the term as do the majority of scholars (Baldick 1992: 31, Schimmel 1975: 114, Nicholson 1970:3, Nasr 1987:267, Valiuddin 1996: 2, Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World: 102)

Baldick (1992:31) goes on further to say that "this etymology might seem then to be indisputable and exclusively correct were it not for a long neglected counter argument." The argument referred to, was one put forward in 1893, by Adalbert Merx. He insisted that Ṣūfī could not originally have meant "wearer of wool" because logically an Arabic word formed in this way would have to mean 'a man made of wool' or 'a seller of wool'. Merx supports the below mentioned source:-

(f) Greek 'sophos' meaning 'wise' or 'sophia' meaning 'divine wisdom' rather as Greek 'philosophos', 'philosopher' became Arabic 'faylasuf'. Merx based his argument on the basis that Greek 's' corresponds to an Arabic sad as well as the fact that the word Ṣūfī appeared at the same time as the translation of Greek philosophical works into Arabic. Opposing this, Baldick holds that Merx did not take into account that Ṣūfī could not have meant 'wearer of wool' as a word formed originally in the spoken, colloquial language and then transposed into literary Arabic, without being correctly informed in the latter (Baldick, 1992:31). Schimmel (1975:14) emphatically rejects the derivation from Greek 'sophos' saying it is philologically impossible.
One aspect which must be given attention to and which Schimmel (1975:13) aptly brings to light is the tendency of the Arabs to "play with words". The Arabic language – built upon trilateral roots lends itself to the developing of innumerable word forms following almost mathematical rules. Schimmel (1975:13) cites an almost "magical interplay of sound and meaning, which contributes much to the impressiveness of a sentence in the Islamic languages and which is lost in translation."

Further rejection of the derivation from Greek *sophos* is based on the following grounds:-

1. In which case they become *sophists* and not *Sufis*
2. *Sufi* and *Sufism* as an expansion of the religion on Islam has no connection with either Greek or Aryan influences and
3. In the first and second centuries of the Islamic Era the Muslim intellectuals were far too occupied in furthering their own system of ethics and had neither the inclination nor any impetus to desert what was their own in order to learn a foreign culture.

(g) *Ain Sof*, a Hebrew cabbalistic term meaning "the absolutely infinite" (Shah, 1971:15). It is said, with all the authority of the Jewish Encyclopedia, that though Hebrew experts regard the Cabala and the Hasidim, the Jewish mystics, as originating with *Sufism* (Jewish Encyclopedia vol. x1 pp. 579 – 581) the *Sufis* themselves deny that it is derivative, affirming that it is an equivalence of the Hermetic, Pythagorean and Platonic streams.

In conclusion, from an etymological point of view as well as from the viewpoint of the earliest *Sufis* – the derivation of the term *Sufi* from the root word "şuf" meaning ‘to wear wool’ is the one most accepted and the one which for the purposes of this dissertation would be accepted. The definition of *tasawwuf* would now be examined.
2.3 Definition of *Tasawwuf*

It is interesting to note that the author of *Awārif al-Ma'arif* Shaykh ShihAbūddin Suḥarwardī, (632 A.H) is of the opinion that the term *‘Tasawwuf’* did not come into existence for two hundred years after the Prophet Muhammad's (p.b.u.h.) death. We admit that the term *‘Ṣūfi’* or *‘tasawwuf’*, may *not explicitly* appear in the Qurān nor is the concept used by the Prophet of Islam, and in fact Hughes states that:

"...The word does not occur in the celebrated Arabic dictionary, the Qamus, which was compiled in 817 A.H., nor in the Sihah (Hadith collections), B393 A.H." (Hughes, 1885:628). It must of necessity be pointed out however that reference is to the term *“tasawwuf”* only and *not its practices*. Anne Marie Schimmel (1978:3), describes the phenomenon of *Tasawwuf* (Islamic Ṣūfism) as one which is so broad and its appearance so protean that nobody can venture to describe it fully. Schimmel likens its varied definitions to the *blind men* in Rūmi's story – when they were made to touch an elephant, each described it according to the part of the body his hands touched so that to one the elephant appeared like a throne, to another like a fan or like a water-pipe or like a pillar.

None was able to imagine what the whole animal would look like – So it is with defining the concept of *‘Tasawwuf’*

Nicholson (1970:25) uses the same example of the elephant in Rūmī's Maśni in an attempt to define Ṣūfism concluding that the chief importance “lies in showing that Ṣūfism is the undefineable”. (Nicholson 1970:25) This said, any attempt to define Ṣūfism is an expression of what each individual has felt. There is no formula per se that will comprise every shade of personal and intimate religious feeling. However, since these various definitions illustrate with convenient brevity certain aspects and characteristics of *Tasawwuf*, a few specimens are given:-

i. To Abū Alli Qazwīnī, "Ṣūfism is good manners" (Valliuddin, 1996:5).
ii. Janayd’s (the undisputed leader of the Iraqi school of mysticism, d.910) contemporaries emphasized the ascetic side of Sufism and defined Sufism as: “Sufism is to possess nothing and to be possessed by nothing” (as Sufi al lazi lā yamlīka wa lā yamlaku) (Schimmel, 1978:15). The author of this phrase was referring to a complete break with ‘the world and egotism’.

iii. Abū l Hasan Nūrī says: “Sufism is the renunciation of all selfish pleasures” (at Tašawwufu taaku kulli hazzin nafsī) (Valliuddin, 1996:4) In other words, it is the giving up of unlawful carnal pleasures.

iv. Dhūn Nūn Miṣrī says that “a Sufi is one whose speech accords with his behaviour and whose silence indicates his state and who discards worldly connections”, (Ṣufī iza nataqa biana nutqīhi min al haqayiqi wa an sakata nutqata anhul jawarih biqatil alayiq) (Shah, 1979: 19).

v. Sometimes a definition of Sufism was given by Sufi saints with the explicit intention of shocking its audience, one such example is that of Shiblī (d.945) when he asserted: “Sufism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of the ‘other’ and ‘other’ does not exist”, (Schimmel,1978:16). Here Shiblī attacks the ascetic who closes his eyes to the created world and wants to concentrate exclusively upon God.

The reader will perceive that tašawwuf is a word uniting many divergent meanings, differing mostly in their emphases on certain aspects. It must be borne in mind that in sketching the main features and thereby definitions of tašawwuf one is obliged to make a sort of composite portrait which does not represent any one particular definition.

One of the most comprehensive definitions of tašawwuf is that outlined by Nasr (1987:243) which states:

“Mysticism is a teaching about the Divine Reality and a method of realization that permits that seeker to reach it in one way or another. In Islam, that teaching revolves around tawḥīd which is the central doctrine
of both the Qur‘ān and Sunnah. The method of realization has always been “the remembrance of God” (dhikr of Allāh), which has no doubt many general meanings, going from the simple recitation of Qur‘ānic verses to the permanent invocation of a Divine Name, particularly Allāh. The essence of the Islamic Faith is to be found in tawḥīd and dhikr. To mystics, tawḥīd and dhikr, are not different in kind from those of the ordinary Muslim throughout the ages, but they are different in degree and quality, and that is precisely what constitutes the distinction between the exoteric and the esoteric view of things.”

It is with this definition of Taṣawwuf in mind that the discussion regarding the proliferation of Sufi Orders in the greater Durban area will be considered. However, a greater extrapolation of the concept of Taṣawwuf is necessary. Ṣūfīsm speaks essentially of three elements—

i. The nature of God
ii. The nature of man and
iii. The spiritual virtues.

The first element, the nature of God pertains to the metaphysical aspects of Taṣawwuf. It delineates the Oneness of the Divine Essence, which alone “is” in the absolute sense and prior to which there is nothing. This is the doctrine of unity or tawḥīd which forms the axis of all Ṣūfī metaphysics. Thus, it refers to the realization of the essential Unity of Being. It is, as Nasr states “the misunderstanding of this cardinal doctrine that has caused so many Orientalists to accuse Ṣūfīsm of pantheism” (Nasr, 1991: 45)

Concerning the second element, man is composed of body, mind and spirit and each needs to be integrated on its own level. Successful integration leads to a state of wholeness and contentment. Nasr (1991:45) contends that the role of Ṣūfī doctrine in the integration of man “can hardly be emphasized.” Thus, the
becoming of man is no more than a continuation of the journey on this earth to another level of existence, a spiritual level – This is on the basis of the advice of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) of “die before you die.” It is made possible by ‘dying’ to the life of the lower or carnal soul (al- nafs al- ammārah). Such qualities as arrogance, conceit and pride are expressions of the lower carnal soul. Sūfi doctrines provide the means whereby these attributes of the carnal soul can be renounced.

The third element is the spiritual virtues. It is the inculcation of these spiritual virtues which make possible the realization of God. To assist in their inculcation, certain methods such as the initiation into tariqah, invocations, litanies, adhkar, spiritual retreats (khalwa) are practiced. These practices remove all separation from the Divine and man achieves Tawhīd or Unity of Being. Hence the discussion on Tasawwuf will consider the extent to which the above mentioned elements are operative in the greater Durban area in the proliferation of the Sūfi Orders.

2.4 Origin of Tasawwuf

Tasawwuf has its origins in the Qurʾān and the Sunnah (practical model) of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) This would be the stand point adopted throughout this dissertation. It is an essential point of Islamic orthodoxy that the Qurʾān itself means ‘recitation’. The revealing of a text to be recited necessarily amounts to the inauguration of a form of mysticism since to recite such a text is to undergo a Divine interference.

The Qurʾān (7: 172) refers to an original covenant between God and man,

“...And when your Lord took from the sons of Adams, from their loins, their seed, and made them bear witness against themselves – ‘Am I not your Lord?’ – They said ‘Yes, we bear witness’.”
This passage is central to all Ṣūfī doctrine and it relates to two aspects. Firstly, it relates to the “innate knowledge” of man – known as the spiritual, transcendent knowledge prior to man’s physical manifestation. This innate knowledge is embedded in man’s ‘qalb’ (spiritual heart). This passage is of importance because in the physical world man’s spiritual heart must be cultivated and developed in order to awaken this innate knowledge. In this way man would realize his relationship to God, which brings us to the second aspect.

The relationship between God and man is one in which God alone is our Deity (ʿAllāh) – we worship God alone and Him alone we ask for help in our wants and desires. This conviction in the Supremacy and Lordship of God Almighty purifies a man of all the baser attributes and embellishes him with all the nobler qualities.

In the light of the Qurʾān and Sunnah, Ṣūfism refers to “the knowledge of the nearness of God” (ʿilm-i-qurb) and we now turn to several instructive texts from both sources that describe the origins and ideals of Ṣūfism.

- In one of the earliest surahs (chapters), Surah LVI, WAAQI A in the Qurʾān, the Islamic community is classified into three groups:
  i) the companions of the right hand (aṣḥāb al- maimanā)
  ii) the companions of the left hand (aṣḥāb al- mash’amā)
  iii) those nearest to God (Muqarrabūn)

The companions of the Right – Handed are those who have rightfully fulfilled their religious duties. These are, no doubt the generality of believers since they are described to be “many among the earlier generation and many among the later generations” (Qurʾān, LVI 27-40)
Those of the Left - Handed are those who reject faith. The Qur'an describes them as 'those who bartered guidance for error' and 'have lost their true direction'. The classification of these two groups is, thus, according to the knowledge out of which their action takes place.

As concerning the third group, the 'Muqarrabûn', they are not just Companions of the Right-Hand or else they would not be placed in a separate category. They are a select group who are drawn near to God' for they not only believe in their Creator (God) as their only Deity but know too the true relation which exists between them and their Creator. The great Sûfi Shaykh Shih Abûdîn Suhrawardî in his famous Sûfi Compendium 'Awârif al-Ma'ârif' holds that 'though the term Sûfi is not used in the Holy Qur'ân, the word "Muqarrab" connotes the same meaning which is expressed by the term 'Sûfî' and further "... know that by the word Sûfîs we imply, "Muqarrabûn" only, those whom God draws nearer to himself (Valiuddin, 1996:10).

Islam is spoken of in general throughout the Qur'ân as "the way of God" i.e. the path ordained by God which includes both exoterism and esoterism. Only in two Surahs (chapters) the way to God is mentioned, one of these being Surah al-Muzzamil (Qur'ân : LXXIII:19) which states:

"... Surely this (the revelation) is a Reminder: so let him who will, take unto his Lord a way'.

For Nasr (1980:223) this "way to God" is clearly the esoteric path. The causality here is strengthened by the word 'Reminder' - that which produces remembrance (dhikr) which is itself the essence of Sûfîsm.

Throughout the Qur'ân there exists a theme of 'nearness to God'. The verse "Prostrate thyself and draw nigh (to God)" (Qur'ân, XXX111:21) refers to the ritual act of prostration which is an extremity of self-effacement for without it, it
is not possible to 'draw nigh'. The idea is again taken up by the verse: "We (God) are nearer to him (man) than his jugular vein" (Qur'an, L:16). Several other verses, not quoted here, are in a similar vein. It is further elaborated upon in the following Prophetic Tradition: "My slave ceaseth not to draw nigh unto me with devotions of his free will until I love him; and when I love him, I am the Hearing wherewith he heareth, and the Sight wherewith he seeth; and the Hand wherewith he smiteth, and the Foot whereon he walketh" (Bukhari, Riqâq:37).

Thus, it may be said that God becomes the hands, feet and ears of a Sufi. In all probability the same meaning was expressed by Junayd al- Baghdâdi when he said "God causes you to be dead to yourself and makes you alive in Himself" (Valiuddin, 1996:12).

Moreover, the Qur'an speaks of a selective, privileged class of people, referred to as the "friends of God" (awliyâ' Allâh) which reads: "Beware, verily the friends of Allâh have no fear (of the future) nor do they bear sorrow (of the past)..." (Qur'an, X:62)

Accordingly, these friends of God are accorded special status and are referred to as 'saints' or 'waliyullâh'.

The Qur'an frequently and repeatedly emphasizes upon the act of 'remembrance of God' (dhikr). Below are several examples:-

"Invoke in remembrance the name of thy Lord" (Qur'an, V:91)

"Only those are believers whose hearts thrill with awe at the remembrance of God" (Qur'an, VIII:2)

"...those who remember God much" (Qur'an, XXXIII:35)
"...those who remember God standing and sitting and reclining upon their sides" (Qur'an III:191)

These verses command man to remember God constantly and to invoke God's name – 'dhikrullah' often. In addition to these injunctions in the Qur'an, the Prophetic Tradition (Hadith) is replete with such recommendations. Amongst the well known Prophetic traditions in support of the remembrance of God (dhikrullah) is a narration by Tirmidhi which says: "Remember Allāh until the hypocrites will say that you are ostentatious." It has been narrated that the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) used to remember Allāh at every moment (al-Tirmidhi, 1983:6/120)

However, an important point needs to be noted here: the recitation of the Qurān as well as the engagement in dhikr (remembrance of God) is by no means confined to Sūfis. A distinguishing factor is the methodic regularity of the recitations and their quantity coupled with the mystical intent that bestows on them their quality which is observed by the Sūfis. I am in agreement with Danner when commenting on the origination of Taṣawwuf in the Qurān, and sunnah when he so aptly states:

"Although neither the Qurān nor the messenger of Islam seems mystical to the outsider, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, this is not because there are no esoteric truths objectively present in them. Rather, it is because of the subjective veiling of the outsider... and will not be intuited save by a person of contemplative intelligence." (Danner, 1989:242).

Thus, it stands to reason that one's outlook will determine how one interprets the sacred Qurānic text. This brings us, albeit briefly, to the viewpoints of many eminent scholars who allude to non-Islamic origins of Ṣūfism.
These range from E.H. Palmers’ viewpoint that Sufism is the development of the Primaeval religion of the Aryan race, to the importance placed on Neoplatonic influences, as well as strong Indian influences in the likes of Max Horten, Arend Jan Wensinck and Asin Palacious who tried to link the origin and practice of Sufism with Christianity. However, these allusions to the non-Islamic origins of Sufism, are most succinctly refuted by Nasr when he states:

“Such theories were not uncommon regarding the origin of Sufism as being non-Islamic or borrowed from anything between Neoplatonism, Christian monasticism, the Aryan reaction to semetic religion, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, Hinduism, Buddhism and practically every other conceivable source” (Nasr, 1980:128).

But, what cannot be argued is the natural phenomenon of cross-cultural interaction between Islam and the many and diverse cultures it came into contact with.

Nasr (1980:xxi) extols that the knowledge of God is the goal of all Islamic injunctions and the purpose of creation, which is in accordance with the famous Hadith:

“I was a hidden treasure; I wanted to be known; therefore I created the world so that I would be known” (Nasr, 1980:xxi).

This knowledge of God is the ultimate goal of spiritual life and both the basis and fruit of Islamic spirituality.

Dr. R.A. Nicholson has dismissed the allegations of foreign influence on Sufism because of similarity of spiritual experiences by saying:
"Our data is not yet sufficient to let us trace with certainty the derivation of the Sufi Doctrine. Such an attempt would in any case be accompanied by insuperable difficulties. The identity of two beliefs does not prove that one is generated by the other - they may be the result of a like cause. Even where connection is assured, it may be impossible to show which is the ancestor, and which is the descendant.

Moreover, since all manifestations of the mystical spirit are fundamentally the same, in so far as each is not modified by its peculiar environment and by the positive religion to which it clings for support, we shall not be astonished to encounter in remote lands and different ages of the world one set of principles variously combined." (Rabbani, 1988:113)

Later still, Nicholson modified in favour of the pro-Islamic theory by asserting in his "Idea of personality in Sufism" that:

"Apart from the fact that Sufism like every other religious movement in Islam, has its roots in the Qur'an and Sunnah and cannot be understood unless we study it from the source upwards... I am going to take for granted what has often been doubted or denied, the sincerity of Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and the reality of his prophetic inspiration partly because it is a point on which all Muslims are agreed and also because with no other hypothesis can the origin and early history of Islam be accounted for." (Rabbani, 1988:114)

He goes on to say:

"Be that as it may, there are many things in the Qur'an which constitute a real basis for Sufism." (Rabbani, 1988:114)
What Nicholson has said is nothing but more or less that which other fair-minded orientalists like Massingnon, Arberry and Stoddart have reiterated.

Reverting to the main theme of this dissertation, namely the proliferation of Sufi Orders in the greater Durban area, in a strict phenomenological sense, in order to discuss the emergence of the Sufi groups, it is irrelevant to determine in depth the origin of Taṣawwuf and or whether it is a result of inter religious cross-cultural interaction or not. Suffice it to say as does Nicholson that it is “a native product of Islam itself” (Nicholson, 1914:124)

2.5 Historical Development of Taṣawwuf

The difficulty experienced in treating the history of Taṣawwuf derives from the need for expressing in a reasonable coherent fashion the development and organization of a movement of the spirit which was not orderly. It is here that I echo the sentiment expressed by Hendricks (2005:41) when he quotes Schimmel saying that a more accurate understanding of the historical development of Taṣawwuf can only be arrived at after more detailed studies, particularly that of the earlier Sufi personalities, are made available. This said, however, the historical development of Taṣawwuf is outlined using a combination of categories employed by Schimmel (1978:23-77) and Baldick (1992:50-85) with the adoption of the chronological arrangement as devised by Hendricks (2005:42). To this end the following structure is adopted: the “Period of Formation” in which the earliest Sufis is outlined; the “Period of Consolidation” during which emerged several theoretical works; the “Period of Organisation” during which the major Sufi Orders emerged and the “Revivalist Period” during which new Sufi Orders emerged.

2.5.1 The Period of Formation (From Hasan al- Başri (d.728) to Al- Hallaj (d.922))

Initially for the first two centuries Sufism remained a spontaneous individual phenomenon. Some of Prophet Muhammad’s (p.b.u.h.) companions referred to
as 'the people of the bench' (mentioned earlier in the dissertation) were regarded amongst the first Šūfīs. Of these, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī appears as the prototype of the true faqīr, the poor person who possesses nothing but is totally possessed by God (Schimmel, 1978:28). Salmān al-Fārisī, a Persian-born barber, taken into Prophet Muḥammad’s (p.b.u.h.) household became a model of spirituality, and his spirituality was later considered a decisive element in the history of Persian Šūfīsm and Shiʿah thought. The individual that became the prototype of the inspired Šūfī guided solely by divine grace is that of Uways al-Qarānī of Yemen. It is said he knew of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) without outward physical contact and the Prophet knew of his piety. Schimmel expresses the famous words of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) with reference to Uways as “The breath of the Merciful (nafas ar-Rahmān) comes to me from Yemen” (1978:28). Ḥasan al Baṣrī (d.728) is one of the central distinguished figures of this ascetic period, attributed to his chief link in the initiatic chains of transmission (siṣiṣas) between the Prophet’s (p.b.u.h.) companions and later Šūfī Orders. The main characteristics of this period of asceticism was the condemnation of worldly pursuits, purification of the heart through renunciation of worldly desires and remembrances of God’s name, love of God for God’s sake and no other purpose, and the condemnation of the idea of Paradise and Hell as an obstacle in the way of God. These ideas were aptly reflected by the sayings of Ḥasan al Baṣrī, one of which is “Beware of this world with all wariness; for it is like a snake, smooth to the touch, but its venom is deadly...For this world has neither worth nor weight with God” (Sharda, 1974:15). In early Šūfīsm, worldliness was connected to evil and renunciation of the worldly pleasures was the first and foremost condition for a Šūfī novice. Nicholson views the earliest Šūfīs as ascetics and quietists rather than mystics, being driven by an “overwhelming consciousness of sin, combined with a dread of Judgement Day and the torments of Hell-fire.” (1979:4). Such belief, according to Nicholson, ends in quietism, complete and unquestioning submission to the Divine Will. He believes that eighth century Muslim religious life was dominated by fear, however its opposite motive – that
of love made its influence felt. This was manifested by Rābi‘a al-‘Adawīyyah (d.801) a woman saint of Basra who wanted to “burn the Paradise and cool down the fires of hell” (Sharda, 1974:12). One of her most famous prayers says “O God, if I worship Thee in fear of hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine everlasting beauty” (Sharda, 1974:12). Rābi‘a is considered by Nicholson to be “one conspicuous example of truly mystical self-abandonment” (1979:4). Rābi‘a’s love of God was absolute. During the course of the 2nd/8th and the 3rd/9th centuries, the Muslim religious intelligentsia tended to become divided into two groups: the ‘Ulamā’ or pure theologians and those who gave to religion a more personal basis in religious devotion. The development of the doctrine ‘trust in God’ led to the central Sūfi concept of the relationship between man and God – one of love and grace, fused into one sentiment. Ma‘rūf al- Karkhī (d.200/815) another important Sūfi of this period said “Love is not to be learnt from men, it is a gift of God and comes of His Grace” (Rahman, 1979:130).

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al- Mūhāsibī (d.243/857) is a great figure often classed among the Sūfis. Based on the work of Joseph van Ess, Baldick classes him as “neither a Sūfi nor a mystic” (1989:34). He did not belong to any group, and his importance lies as an expositor of a number of aspects which the Sūfis absorbed and used. Central to his doctrine was the inspection of the lower, carnal soul, nafs and the avoidance of any ostentatious display of piety.

Early 3rd/9th century saw a tendency towards speculative mysticism. Dhūl-Nūn al- Misrī (d.245/859) of Egypt was a Sūfi leader and the originator of important concepts, that of the mystic’s direct knowledge (ma‘rīfā, gnosis) of God, and the stations (maqāmāt) and states (ahwāl). However, Baldick refutes these saying “there is no proof of this at all” (1989:35). By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the Sūfi doctrines of annihilation (fānā’) i.e. the soul passing away in God emerged. This doctrine is associated with Ṣūfī Abū Yazīd al- Biṣṭāmī (d.260/874).
Ecstatic utterances such as “I am your Lord, Praise be to me: how great is my majesty” are attributed to him (Rahman, 1979:135). In these ecstatic utterances the mystic gives voice to his most intimate experience. However, these utterances which multiplied among the Sufis were explained away as ‘non-responsible’ and spoken in a ‘state of intoxication’ (Rahman, 1979:135).

Tustari (d.896) was one of the founders of Sufi doctrine based on the Qur’an. Among his teachings are that the blessed will enjoy baqa’ (survival) with God in the next world and not in this world, the soul (nafs) is a lower soul inciting evil as well as the vehicle for God’s secret conversations with man, and the theme of God’s Uniqueness is closely bound with that of the original Covenant. Abū Saïd al-Kharrāz (d.286/899) ranks alongside Tustari as one of the two founders of Sufism in their time. Kharrāz wrote the Book of Truthfulness (Kitāb al-ṣidq) designed for the wider public followed by Epistles (Rasā'il). Hākim al-Tirmidhī (d.295/908), a Sufi was most important for his doctrine of friendship with God and his idea that there is a Seal of the Friends (khatm al-awliyā), although he leaves the question of, who is the seal of the friends, unanswered. Junayd al-Baghdādi (d.297/910) is often regarded as the greatest of all Sufis and the most respectable. He is regarded as the formulator of orthodox Sufism bringing the legalistic and Sufic ethos of Muslim religious intelligentsia previously in opposition to one another, much closer to one another. Junayd subjected Sufi claims to an acute criticism in terms of their experiences and their overt practices. He disallowed to the Sufi ‘states’ any objective validity and declared that Sufis, including al-Bistāmī died “prisoners of their imagination” (Rahman 1979:138). No discussion of the early Sufis would be complete without mention of that most controversial personality of Manṣūr al-Hallāj (d.309/922). He was sentenced to death by crucifixion for his famous words “‘anā L-Haqq, “I am the Absolute Truth” (Schimmel, 1978:66). This sentence became the most famous of all Sufi claims. Al-Hallāj became the centre of much debate amongst scholars but for Sufism, al-Hallāj represents the culminating point of early Sufism.
2.5.2 The Period of Consolidation (From Abū Sa'īd Ibn al- A'rābī (d.341) to Abū Hāmid al- Ghazālī)

The 4/10th century witnessed the preservation of the teachings of Ṣūfī masters and for the first time significant histories of Ṣūfīsm was documented. This indicated that the Ṣūfī movement was established enough to be capable of description. In order for the Ṣūfī movement to continue to be an effective force, as well as to quell the campaign of the legalists against the Ṣūfīs, books needed to be produced. This period was fraught with a surge of literary works on Ṣūfīsm.

Abū Sa'īd 'Ibn al- A'rābī, a learned jurists wrote his Tabaqāt al- nussāk (Classes of the Pious) which did not survive. However, according to Arberry (1963:66) what we do know of it by quotation makes it clear that the author gave a full account of the lives and teachings of the great Ṣūfī masters. The oldest surviving general valuable account of Ṣūfīsm is the Kitāb al- Lumā (The Book of Illuminations) of Abū Nasr al- Sarrāj (d.378/988). Written on a pattern of theological treatises, it describes and analyses the practices and doctrines of the Ṣūfīs. It is regarded as the first comprehensive book on different states and stages, giving long quotations from Ṣūfī prayers and writes about the behaviour of the Ṣūfīs at home and on their journeys. This book is regarded as having great value to the student of Ṣūfīsm. Sarrāj's contemporary Abū Ėlib al- Makki (d.386/996) in his effort to prove the orthodoxy of Ṣūfī doctrine and practice provided his famous work, the Qūt al- qulūb (Nourishment for the Hearts). It contained less quotations and somewhat more of a careful argument. The ritual practices of Islam were discussed from a mystical viewpoint. This book was later carefully studied by al- Ghazālī and it exerted a considerable influence on his thinking and writing.

Following on this latter work, a third fundamental treatise on Islam was written by Abū Bakr al- Kalābadhī (d.390/1000) who composed a book on traditions, called Kitāb al- Ta 'arruf li-madhhab ahl al- taṣawwuf (Book of Inquiry into the
Doctrines of the *Sūfis*. In this book, Kalābādhi links the essential elements of Islamic theology with the ideas held by the *Sūfis*, using *Qur’anic* quotations to prove his points. Interestingly though, Arberry considers al Kalābādhi’s works as... “still more frankly apologetic than his predecessors’ works had been...” (1963:69).

A student of Sarraj, ‘Abū ‘Abd al- Raḥmān al- Sulami (d.421/1012) is best known for his biographies of *Sūfis*, the *Tabaqāt al Sūfiyin*. It was the basis of ‘Abd Allāh al- Ansari’s (d.481/1088) *Tabaqāt al Sūfiya* (Generations of the *Sūfis*) composed in the Persian dialect, which in turn provided the basis upon which the poet Jāmī (d.898/1944) constructed his *Nafahāt al- uns* (Breaths of Intimacy). Al- Sulami also wrote a commentary of the *Qur’ān* from the *Sūf* standpoint. Al- Sulami’s student, Abū ‘l- Qāsim al Qushayri (d.465/1072), produced al- Risālat al- Qushayriyya (The Epistle of al- Qushayri). It gives a complete general account of the theoretical structure of *Sūfism*. It became highly esteemed and popular and became the principal study for all later scholars. Almost contemporary with al- Qushairi is the earliest formal study of *Sūfism* in Persian, the *Kashf al- maḥjūb* by ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al- Ḥujwiri (d.450/1057), along a similar vein to the *Risāla*.

The last quarter of the 4th/10th century witnessed several *Sūfis* like Sarraj, al- Makki, al- Kalābādhi, to name a few, who produced influential literary works to plead the cause of a moderate *Sūfism* with an ideology consistent with Orthodoxy. Arberry believes that the classical formulation of *Sūfī* doctrine on the mystical side has always been held by the *Sūfis* “to have been and finally accomplished by al- Qushairi” (1963:74). Its reconciliation and assimilation with orthodox Sunni theology and religious law was the monumental life-work of Abū Ḥāmid al- Ghazālī (d.505/1111). The influence of al- Ghazālī in Islam is incalculable (Rahman, 1974:140). He is credited with reconstituting orthodox Islam, making *Sūfism* an integral part of it as well as being a reformer of *Sūfism*, cleansing it of all un-Islamic elements and placing it at the service of orthodox
religion. It was through his influence that *Sufism* received the consensus of the community. Al- Ghazālī wrote several short books, his most famous the *Iḥyāʾ* is divided into four parts. The first quarter is entitled *ʿibādāt* (Matters of Worship and Service) which deals with rituals like purity, devotional prayers, etc. Each prescription is preceded by Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic traditions. The second part deals with "customs" e.g. how to eat, how to lead a married life. A central chapter is devoted to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and his qualities. The third section deals with "Things leading to Destruction" and the final part "Things leading to Salvation". Al- Ghazālī teaches in his chapters how man should live in accordance with the sacred law, by understanding its deeper meaning. It was a work which conveyed profound mystical experience as well as ethics and conduct. Baldick, with reference to al- Ghazālī does not believe that he reconciled *Sufism* with orthodoxy, preferring to say "there is no such thing as orthodoxy in Islam" (1995:66). In a concluding statement I would like to quote Hendricks when he says that little which was significantly new in terms of *Sufi* content and doctrine was introduced in this period except perhaps the classification and systematization of the *Sufi* way (Hendricks, 2005:51). During the Formation and Consolidation periods, *Sufis* were not identified in terms of specific Orders, these came later. However, potential disciples would gather around a *Sufi* master, partaking of his immense knowledge and piety.

2.5.3 The Period of Organisation: The Establishment of *Sufi* Orders

The 6th/12th marked the formalisation of the *Sufi* Orders and marks an important juncture in the history of *Sufism*. However, first a brief word on Muḥammad Muḥy al- Din ibn ʿArabi (d.560/638/1165-1240), a controversial figure in the history of *Sufism*.

2.5.3.1 ibn ʿArabi

Baldick is of the opinion that Ibn ʿArabi's system is really a combination of classical *Sufism* with neo-platonism and Islamic theology (1995:83). His central
theory was called *wahdat al-wujūd* (The Unity of Existence). Ibn 'Arabi declared that there is only one ultimate Reality in Life, monistic surely enough but not the same as monism, which maintains that there is only one entity (Baldick, 1995:83). His concept did not involve continuity between God and Creation. He maintains a transcendence across categories, including substances in his thought. In his view, God manifests Himself only by means of the names, not His essence. He saw God as becoming the mirror in which the spiritual man contemplates his own reality and man in turn becomes the mirror in which God contemplates His Names and Qualities. Schimmel indicates that a correct interpretation of Ibn 'Arabi's thought is difficult, admitting however that his influence on the general development of Sufism can “scarcely be overrated” (1978:263). Ibn 'Arabi produced an enormous amount of works, of which *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya* (Meccan Revelations) with five hundred and sixty chapters, and the *Fusūs al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Divine Wisdom) were the most popular. He claimed the ‘Meccan Revelations’ were dictated to him by God and the ‘Bezels of Divine Wisdom’ were inspired by the Prophet (p.b.u.h.).

2.5.3.2 Origin of the Most Prominent Sufi Orders

2.5.3.2.1 The Qadiriyyah Order

One of the first Sufi Orders to emerge was the Qadiriyyah Order of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilāni (471-561/1077-1166). Born in Jilān in Persia, 'Abd al-Qadir migrated to Baghdad at the age of seventeen to study Hanbali juris-prudence. He began to preach regularly in 521/1127 and many flocked to hear his sermons, attracted by the reports of the miracles he was said to perform. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilāni, however, did not establish the Qadiriyyah Order. After his death in 561/1166, his two sons more especially, 'Abd al-Razzāq, was responsible for its establishment. The Sufis called themselves Qadiris after his name. The Qadiriyyah Order found followers in numerous parts of the world as far afield as North Africa and Indonesia, in fact wherever Islam was prevalent. It was especially powerful in India, where its influence is widespread to the present day (Trimingham,
Spiritual meetings always open with a collective recitation in a loud and rhythmic voice.

The *wird*, sometimes called the *hizb* or *wazīfah*, which is the litany proper to the brotherhood is made up essentially of a series of formulas taken from the Qur'ān, which individually are repeated a certain number of times - 3, 7, 10, 29, 33, 100 or 1000 times (Trimingham, 1973:214). Although the *dhikr* formulas or litanies may differ, the *wird* of the *Qādirīyyah* always includes at least one hundred repetitions of the following formulas --

(i) the plea for forgiveness (*istīghfār*).
(ii) the prayer upon the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon Him (*salat 'alā al-nabī*).
(iii) the testimony of faith (*Shahādah*).

These formulas correspond to fundamental spiritual attitudes which each aspirant to *Sūfism* must assimilate:

(i) the station of fear of God (*makhfāfah*) implying repentance (*tawbah*) and renunciation of worldly pleasures (*zuhd*).
(ii) the station of love (*maḥabbah*) which implies patience (*sabr*) and generosity (*karam*), qualities that were united in an exemplary fashion in the person of Muhammad (p.b.u.h.).
(iii) the station of gnosis (*ma'rīfah*), that is, of discernment (*furqān*) and of concentration on the Divine Presence (*muḥādarah,* *Dhikr* is engaged in both collectively and individually. Adherents to this Order are still to be found all over the world and it remains one of the most powerful and widespread Orders.

2.5.3.2.2 The *Suhrawardiyyah* Order

The *Suhrawardiyyah Order* emerged at more or less the same time as the
The Qādiriyah Order. The Order, traced to 'Abdul al-Qādir Abū Najīb as-Suhrawardi (d.563/1168), was established after his death in North-Western Iran. He was a disciple of the ecstatic Ahmad al-Ghazālī, Imam Ghazālī's younger brother and an academic lawyer.

Abū Najīb as-Suhrawardis' greatest influence came through his book, Ādāb al-muridin meaning "The manners of the Adepts", a classic that is unique, in that in it Sūfism is surveyed only from the standpoint of rules of conduct (Trimingham, 1973:86). The book has been translated into the different Islamic languages and has often been imitated. Abū Najib's nephew, Shihabuddin Abū Ḥafs 'Umar as-Suhrawardi (539-632/1145-1234) was responsible for enhancing the influence of the Suhrawardiyyah Order to other parts of the Islamic world, especially in India. A teacher by profession, he entered upon a political career as well. He became the Shayk ash-shuyūkh (the master of all masters), the title of the official Sūfī master of Baghdad. He was under the caliph an-Nāṣir at a time when the last Abbasid dynasty sought to revive the stagnant spiritual life as well as unite Islamic rulers in defense against the Mongol threat. Abū Ḥafs served as the caliph's ambassador. Through his activities and rigorous insistence on expanding his uncle's rules of conduct to include every possible aspect of Sūfī behaviour Abū Ḥafs' Umar Suhrawardi founded the international brotherhood of Suhrawardi. Abū Ḥafs' treatise on Sūfī theories, 'Awārif al- ma 'arīf, became one of the standard works taught in Indian madrasas in courses on Sūfism (Schimmel, 1978:245). This enhanced the influence of the Suhrawardiyyah Order. Notwithstanding the fact that this is an internationally recognised Order and one whose influence had spread as far afield as India, and Pakistan, it was not a popular Order.

The Suhrawardis were best known for perpetually reciting the formula 'There is no God but God' (La ilāha illa Allāh) the Shahādah, until the remembrance of the tongue becomes a remembrance of the heart. This constant remembrance was a
noteworthy feature of affiliation to the Suhrawardi brotherhood. The Surhawards also included in their adhkār the words: Allāh, Huwa; Ya Ḥaqq (O, Truth); Ya Ḥayy (the Living); Ya Rahmān (the Merciful); and Ya Rahim (the Forgiving).

2.5.3.2.3 The Shādhiliyyah Order
The 3rd of the great Orders that came into existence about the same time is the Shādhiliyyah Order, first making its appearance in the Western part of the Muslim world. This Order crystallized around 'Abd al-Ḥasan 'Ali al- Shadhili (593-656/1196-1258). A pupil of 'Abd al-Ṣalām ibn Mashish (d.625/1228), the Moroccan mystic, al- Shadhili enjoyed such a large following in Tunis that the authorities feared his influence and he was compelled to leave. He went to Mesandria. In Egypt, his success was phenomenal and the discipline and ritual which he taught formed itself into a distinctive Order which was named after him. Although he was apparently by no means an intellectual, he possessed an extraordinary insight into the souls of men and a deep mystical fire which he transmitted to the members of the fraternity. The Shādhili Order, unlike other mystical Orders and leaders did not emphasize the necessity of solitary life. The adherent to this tariqah was rather supposed to realize the spirit of the Order in his own life and his own environment in the midst of his duties. The Shādhiliyyah Sūfis were not expected to beg or espouse poverty. This translated into a life which was active within society yet characterized by contemplation and an inner detachment. In contrast to other Sūfis, adherents to this tariqah excelled in their tidy attire. 'Abd al- Shadhili left little written material but he composed a number of aḥzab (litanies). Two of these great prayers are the Ḥizb al- bahr (incantations of the sea) and Ḥizb al- barr (incantations of the land). These litanies are standard recitals of the Shādhiliyya Order (Hendricks, 2005:64). Adopted by the Shadhili too as standard recital is Salāt mashishiyah by the 'Pole', 'Abd al- Salām ibn Mashish. Abū ash - Shadhili also recommended the recitation of al- ḥamdu lillahi (Praise be to God); astaghfir Allāh (I seek
forgiveness from God) and *wa lā hawla wa lā quwwata illā billah* (there is no power and no strength except in God). These are to be recited by the *Shādhili* throughout the day. The *Shādhiliyyah* Order's influence was extended by Abū ash- Shādhilis students, notably Imam Abū 'al- Abbas al- Mursi and his students. The *Shādhiliyyah* Order was especially successful in Egypt, North Africa, Arabia and Syria (Trimingham, 1973:73).

2.5.3.2.4 The *Rīfā 'īyyah* Order

Almost contemporary with 'Abd al- Qādir al- Jilānī and also living in Iraq was Ahmad ar- Rīfā 'ī (499-578/1106-1182), the founder of the *Rīfā 'īyyah* Order. Adherents are known as the 'Howling Dervishes' because of their loud *dhikr* (Schimmel, 1978:248). They are notorious for performing strange miracles, like eating live snakes, cutting themselves with swords and lances without being hurt. Ahmad ar- Rīfā 'ī's religious doctrines were documented, culminating in his "*al- Burhān al- Mu'ayyad*" (*The Solid Proof*).

2.5.3.2.5 The *Chishtiyyah* Order

The origin of the *Chishtiyyah* Order is traced to a Syrian, Khwaja Abū Ỉshāq Chisti, born early in the tenth century. The *Chishtiyyah* Order derived its name from a small village in Afghanistan called Chisht and not from the *Ṣūfī* master Mu 'in al- Dīn al- Chishti, as is often assumed. *Shaykh* Mu 'in al- Dīn al- Chishti (d.1236) a student of *Chishti* master, Khawaja 'Uthmān Harwani and part-time disciple of Abū Najīb Suhrawardi, was a central figure in the establishment and expansion of the *Chishtiyyah* Order. He was instrumental in the Islamization of the central and southern parts of India. This was further expounded by the untiring activities of other *Chishti* saints, mainly *Shaykh* Qutb al- Dīn Bhakhtiar Kāki (d.1236) (student of Mu 'in al- Dīn), *Shaykh* Farid al- Dīn Ganj Shakar (d.1265) (student of Qutb al- Dīn) and *Shaykh* Nizām al- Dīn Awliyā' (d.1325) (student of Farid al- Dīn). The *Chishtiyyah* Order's preaching was simple and unsophisticated, with an emphasis on love of God and one's neighbour. *Shaykh*
Mu 'in al- Din reduced his teaching to three principles, which had been formulated first by Bayezid Bistami, these being:

"a generosity like that of the ocean, a mildness like that of the sun, and a modesty like that of the earth" (Schimmel, 1978:370).

The Chishtiyyah adhere to the Sufi emphasis on tazkiya which refers to the purification of the heart from all negative qualities, the subduing of one's base desires and the pursuit of the adoption of beauty and perfection in character. A defining characteristic of the Chishti is the deliberate courting of the company of the poor to whom they show great respect and generosity. The practice of 'sama' (the spiritual concert or Qawalli) is an activity unique to the Chishtiyyah (Schimmel, 1978:185). It is the melodious recitation of spiritual poetry with or without the accompaniment of musical instruments. Often, their gatherings of dhikr are usually loud. One of the major distinguishing features of the Chishtiyyah is the missionary aspect. In keeping with the sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and his companions, the Sufi Masters often dispatch their students to distant areas where they settle and serve the spiritual needs of the community.

The adherents to the Chishtiyyah Orders utilize a method of breath control called apas - i anfaas in order to facilitate the journey of purification of the heart. The Chishtiyyah Order remained for centuries the most influential Order in the Subcontinent. Today their influence is still very much alive.

2.5.3.2.6 The Naqshbandiyyah Order
The man who gave this Order his name, Shaykh Bahā'uddin Naqshband (717-719/1317-1389) belonged to the Central Asian tradition, which traced its lineage back to Yusuf Hamadhani (d.1140) who had initially established the Order. It is one of the few Orders that traces its spiritual link to the first Khalifa Abū Bakr al-
Shaykh Yusuf Hamadhani's most successful Khalifa besides Ahmad Yasawi was 'Abd al-Khaliq Ghijduwani, who propagated the teachings of his master. The way he taught became known as the ṭariqah-yi-Khwajagan, 'the way of the Khojas, or teachers (Schimmel, 1978:364). He set up the 8 principles upon which the later Naqshbandiyyah was built.

Shaykh Baha'uddin Naqshband (d.1390) derived spiritual succession from Ghijduwani and soon became an active leader of the Khwajaqan groups. His Order established connections with the trade guilds and merchants and his spiritual influence grew so much that he and his followers controlled the Timurid court and meticulously watched over their religious practices. The Order also became very politicized. This Order was extremely successful in Central Asia from whence it spread to Turkestan, Syria, Afghanistan and India. In India, the Naqshbandiyyah established itself shortly before 1600 where Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi (1564-1624) later played a major role in Indian religious and political life.

The Centre of Naqshbandi education is the silent dhikr (dhikr Khati) as opposed to the loud dhikr (dhikr Jali) adopted by most of the other Orders (Schimmel, 1978:366). The second distinguishing characteristic is suhbat, the intimate conversation between master and disciple conducted on a very high spiritual level. They emphasize the education of the heart, spiritual purification instead of the training of the lower soul. With its strict reliance upon religious duties and partly because it is a tradition of the Masters to work entirely within the social framework of the culture in which they operate, the Naqshbandis in the Middle East and central Asia have gained the reputation of being mainly Muslim pietists.

In addition to the major Orders mentioned above, notably the Qadiriyyah, the Suhrawardiyah, the Shadhiliyyah, the Rifa'iyyah, the Chishtiyyah and the Naqshbandiyyah Order, two other Orders, the Kubrawiyyah and the
Mawlawiyyah, played a role in shaping Islamic mysticism. However, these Orders are not existent in Durban.

2.6 Revivalist Sufism

Although Sufic practice and thought became more widespread, the signs of decay began to set up in a few centuries before the 19th century. The history of decline, according to Arberry, varied from country to country according to circumstances (1963:119). Sufism shared in general collapse of learning which preceded the Ottoman Conquest and unreason triumphed over sober contemplation and steadfast piety of the great mystics. The new Sufis made boast of ignorance and magic and assumed an increasing importance in their repertory. The time came when "no man of education would care to speak in their (the Sufis) favour" (Arberry, 1963:122). It is against this backdrop that the Tariqah Muhannadiyyah (focused on Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.)) emerged.

It was initially developed by Shaykh Ahmad al-Sirhindi (1034/1625). Ahmad al-Tijani (1150-1230/1737-1815), a muqaddam of the Khalwatiyyah Order began his own Order, claiming direct instruction to do so from the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) himself. A leading feature of this Order is submission to the establishment of government, and this helped good relations with the French authorities since Algeria was conquered. It became widely accepted and known as the Tijaniyyah Order.

The Sanusiya Order was founded by Sidi Muhammad al-Sanusi (1206-76/1791-1859), a disciple of Ahmad ibn Idris, in North Africa. What is of importance here, is that at a time when Islam was defeated everywhere in the political field and Western power encroached, practically and spiritually, upon the Muslim world, these mystics who founded new Orders called them 'Tariqah Muhannadiyyah' (the Muhammadan Path). Schimmel indicates that the figure of Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) became for them, the centre of strength and it is in Him they trusted.
when they thought of the future of the Muslims (1978:227). This could partly explain the adoption of the name ‘Tariqah Muḥammadīyyah’.

The Tijāniyah and Sanūsiyah are sometimes seen as developments along ‘reformist’ lines (Trimingham, 1971:106). Developing along the ‘traditional’ line was an Order called the Darqawīyyah, initiated by al- Darqāwī, an illuminate who enlivened emotional fervour and encouraged the urge towards the contemplative life among adherents within the Shādhīli Orders. This resulted in a proliferation of branch orders, known as the Shādhīli Darqāwī Order. Reform also took the form of struggle against bi ‘dah (innovations) and reinforcement of the sunnah (practical model of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) in the person of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al- Wahhāb. However, this type of reform aroused the opposition of the ‘ulamā’, yet attacks from the ‘ulamā’ had been persistent, if intermittent throughout the whole history of Ṣūfīsm (Trimingham, 1973:247).

2.7 Chief Characteristics of Taṣawwuf

Before we move onto a discussion of the chief characteristics of Taṣawwuf, an important point needs to be made. This is that the sālik (wayfarer) on his journey to the realisation of God should adhere strictly to the Sharī‘ah. On this point, the majority of the scholars of Taṣawwuf are in agreement (Schimmel, 1978:99; Trimingham 1973:142; Nasr 1972:37; Baldick, 1989:25). These practices of course are obligatory upon every Ṣūfī and are preliminaries to other practices which will be mentioned later. The tariqah, the path on which the mystics walk, is “the path which comes out of the sharī‘a, for the main road is called shar’, the path, tariq” (Schimmel, 1978:98) She further describes it as the “tripartite way” based on a tradition attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) which states:

“The sharī‘ah are my words [aqwālī], the tariqah are my actions [a’mālī] and the haqiqah is my interior states [ahwālī]” (Schimmel, 1978:99).
The relationship between *Shari'ah*, *tarîqah* and *haqîqah* is one of mutual interdependence. The *Shari'ah*, often times referred to as the exoteric outward dimension of Islam, is the basis – in the words of Schimmel (1978:98) "no mystical experience can be realized if binding injunctions of the *Shari'ah* are not followed faithfully first."

The chief characteristics of *Tašâwûf* which we will be considering are the following:

a) The formal initiation, *bây ʾah*

b) Different states (*hâl*) and different 'stations', (*maqâmat*)

c) The rites of remembrance or invocation (*al-dhîkr*)

Let us now turn to a brief outline of the abovementioned characteristics.

(a) *Bây ʾah*, the initiatic pact. An aspirant to the mystical path (the *tâlib*) can ask to be admitted into a *Sûfi* Order by performing an act of obedience to a spiritual master called variously the *shaykh* (literally the old one) *murshîd* (guide) or *pir* (Persian equivalent of *Shaykh*). That which the master confers is the initiatic link, the affiliation with the lineage of masters who have succeeded uninterruptedly since the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), transmitting firstly the influence of *barakah* (blessings) necessary for the *al-jihâd al-akbar* (the greater battle against the inner self) and secondly the spiritual means *appropriate* for this battle.

The ritual of affiliation varies according to the initiatic lineage and *tarîqah*. Most often though it re-enacts the *musâfahah* (handshakes) given by the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) to his companions when they sealed the covenant of *Hudaybiyyah*, promising to remain faithful to their commitment to God and His Prophet. The renewing of this solemn promise is termed *bây ʾah*. This is the first
feature outlining the *shaykh*—disciple relationship. While renewing this promise, the *shaykh* holds the hand of the *tālib* (aspirant) and recites the tenth verse of the *Surah of Victory* (Qur‘ān, XLVIII:10) which reads:-

"Those who swear fealty to thee swear fealty in truth to God; God’s hand is over their hands. Then whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own hurt, and who so fulfills his covenant made with God, God will give him a mighty wage".

This act signifies the aspirant’s initiation into *Taṣawwuf*.

In certain *Sūfi* Orders or paths, the initiatic charge is transmitted using a *khirqah* (cloak), which the *shaykh* drapes over the aspirant’s shoulders. The use of the cloak, according to Tringham, (1971:182) was more favoured in the East. On acceptance of the *bay‘ah* the aspirant is referred to as a *murid* (disciple) of the *Shaykh* and a member of a particular *tariqah* (*Sūfi* Order). The *Shaykh* would now guide his disciple in his spiritual rebirth and transformation. The teachings of the *Sūfi* adepts together with the various *dhikr* forms (invocation), is handed down from *shaykh* to *murid* in a continuous chain of transmission called a *silṣila*. Nasr (1991:57) summed up the *shaykh-murid* relationship thus:-

"... to become initiated into a *Sūfi* Order and to accept the discipleship of a master is to enter into a bond that is permanent, surviving even death"

A second feature of the *shaykh-disciple* relationship is known as the *Talqīn al-dhikr* which is the *shaykh*’s instruction to the *murid* regarding the type and nature of *dhikr* to be performed. A third feature is the *suḥba* which refers to the nature and quality of the *murid*’s companionship with the *shaykh* (Schimmel, 1978:102)

"Be with your *shaykh* like the corpse in the hands of the washer, he turns it over as he wishes and it is obedient" (Tringham, 1973:187) sums up the
relationship between *shaykh* and *murid*. This view of the *murid* being alikened to a 'corpse' in the area of obedience to his *shaykh*, is reaffirmed amongst others by Schimmel (1978:103).

The *Sūfi* were well aware of the dangers of the spiritual path and therefore attributed to the *shaykh* almost unlimited authority. In a quotation from Schimmel, based on a *Hadīth* (Prophetic tradition):

"When someone has no Sheikh, Satan becomes his sheikh and whoever travels without a guide, needs two hundred years for a two days journey" (Schimmel, 1978:103) outlines clearly the need for *shaykh* on the spiritual path.

When he joins a *tārīqah*, the disciple finds apart from the spiritual master, companions and brothers, who like him, walk on the path of God. Later, when we examine the *Sūfi* Orders in Durban in greater detail we shall see how this companionship becomes a source of greater comfort and bonding.

b) *Ḥāl* (state) and *maqām* (stations or stages). Most scholars (Schimmel, 1978:99; Tringham, 1971:139 – 140; Baldick 1989:18, Arberry, 1963:75 and Nasr, 1972:62) distinguish between *ḥāl* (state) and *maqām* (station) with *ḥāl* having a temporary, passing character and *maqām* permanent. In *ḥāl*, the individual transcends his usual state of being.

"States are gifts while stages are acquisitions" (Tringham, 1973:140). The *ḥāl* (state) is a gift from God, which descends into mans heart, without him being able to control it, neither attracting it nor repelling it. The *maqām* (station) is "a lasting stage which man reaches to a certain extent by his own striving" (Schimmel, 1978:99).

Arberry (1963:75) quotes al- Qushayrī, saying “the states are gifts; the stations are earnings” The station is achieved as a result of spiritual discipline. The station is permanent in the sense that the disciple ascends in the scale of being
to a new level of existence and consciousness. Mystical theoreticians, according

to Schimmel (1978: 100) differ in their classification of the states and even the

sequence of the states. Two early classifications show the variability of the

sequence. Dhūn-Nūn speaks of faith, fear, reverence, obedience, hope, love,
suffering and intimacy – classifying the last three stations as confusion, poverty

and union.

Yahyā ibn Mu'ādh speaks of repentance, asceticism, peace in God's will, fear,
longing, love and gnosis.

The manuals of Sūfism enumerate still other stations. However, the first station
is stated to be tauba (conversion; repentance), a view commonly held by the
Sūfs (Arberry 1963:75). It is this self same first station which saw al- Ghazālī,
after achieving a great reputation as a lawyer and theologian, turn away from
formal religious learning and declare himself, a Ṣūfī.

Arberry (1963:75) cites al- Qushayrī who lists forty five stations, beginning with
tauba (repentance) and ending with Shauq (yearning to be with God). In
comparison Al- Sarray (Arberry 1963:75) enumerated only seven stations, these
being conversion, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God,
satisfaction. However, the main steps are always tauba (repentance), tawakkul
(trust in God), and faqr (poverty).

To sum up, the ḥāl is a divine gift, which can come both to the beginner upon

the Path and to the most advanced Ṣūfī possessing a high station. The passing
character of the ḥāl, however, indicates the necessity of persistence and
continuous effort until the disciple reaches the maqām of permanent proximity. A
particular maqām can be surpassed only when it is fully possessed and all
conditions pertaining to the particular station are fulfilled. Moreover, to reach a
higher maqām means to continue to possess the maqām below. Possessing a
"maqām" means not only to experience it outwardly but to be transformed by it and in a sense, to be and live that "maqām." To illustrate, I use the example of "ṣiddq" (truthfulness) one of the highest "maqāmāt" as extolled by the Sūfī Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz who writes:-

"In this way his characteristics and states change and become easy for him and out of every station which he endures and suffers for God's sake, seeking His favour, he gets a like recompense of good. So his character changes and his intellect revives: the light of truth lodges in him and he grows familiar with it, evil desires flee him, and its darkness is extinguished. Then it is that truthfulness and its characteristics become part of his nature: nothing but this finds he good, and with this only he associates, for he is content with naught else" (Nasr, 1972:64)

We now turn to the rites of remembrance "al-ḍhikr" (invocation).

c) "dhikru’-Llah" (the invocation of God) Based on the fact that a rite is an action the very form of which is the result of Divine Revelation, to carry out such a rite is not only to enact a symbol but also to participate, even if only virtually, in a particular mode of being. The Qur'ān, composed in great part of concise formulas with a rhythmical sonority lend themselves to litanies and incantations. For exotericism, ejaculatory practices can have only a secondary importance, outside esotericism they are never used methodically, but within esotericism they constitute a basic method. All repetitive recitation of sacred formulas or speech, whether it be aloud or inward, is designated by the generic term "ḍhikr"

"Wa Ladhikr’ Allāh Akbat" (Qur'ān, XX1x:45) – the dhikr – remembrance, recollection, mention, invocation of Allāh is greater or the greatest thing. With these words the Qur’ān states the primacy of the dhikr in terms of relative value in relation to other ritual prescriptions, the invocation affirmed as the path of
salvation 'par excellence'. Through dhikr the individual becomes aware of his connection with his Creator and this draws him closer to his Creator. As Jean-Louis Michon writes:

"There are, on the one hand ritual practices that are obligatory for all of the faithful. Next comes the supergatory deeds that the most devout Muslims, Sufis or non-Sufis are able to carry out ad-libitum to get nearer to their Lord and finally, in the Sufi cadre, spiritual exercises based on the repetition and contemplative penetration of certain Qur'anic formulas, especially those that contain the Names of the Divinity". (Nasr, 1987:275)

Taṣawwuf makes of invocation, which is dhikr in the strict and narrow sense of the term, the central instrument of its method. Based on the Scriptural foundations of the invocation of the names of God as explained earlier and in accordance with the Qur'anic injunction to multiply the acts of invocation, each tariqah (spiritual way, spiritual order) suggests to its members, according to their level of preparation and individual zeal, a large range of ejaculatory prayers (adhkār, pl. of dhikr).

First is the recitation of the wīrd (access), sometimes called hizb or wazīfah, which is the litany proper to the brotherhood. It is made up essentially of a series of Qur'anic formulas which individually are repeated a certain number of times 3, 7, 10, 29, 33, 100 or 1000 times. The wīrd represents a symbol for the murīd of their connection with the silsilah (initiatic chain or chain of transmission); to recite the wīrd is "in a sense, to renew the pact made with the Shaykh, with the Prophet, and with God Himself" (Nasr, 1987:278). The wīrd is recited twice a day, morning and evening. Additionally, the shaykh can propose that the murīd regularly reads certain litanies composed most often by the founder of the tariqah Jean-Louis Michon cites, amongst the Qādiriyah Order for example, the recitation of the qunūt, which is made up entirely of Qur'anic
verses, and among the *Shādhiliyyah* the \textit{Hizb al- bahr} and the \textit{Hizb al- barr}, of Imam Shādhilī (Nasr, 1987:287) mentioned above.

However, the invocatory practices are those that are based on the systematic repetition of short formulas containing one or more Divine names. Among the numerous formulas employed in invocation, certain ones always found favour among the Sūfis such as the "99 most beautiful Names" (\textit{al- Asmā al- Husnā}) mentioned in the Qurān. The repetition of the first part of the profession of faith, \textit{Lā ilāha illa' Lāh} (There is no Divinity but God) is universally practiced in conformity with the teaching of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) when he said: "the best invocation is ‘There is no divinity but God’" (Jean Louis Michon; Nasr, 1987:277). However, the invocation par excellence is that of the Name, \textit{Allāh}, the unparalleled name of the Divinity, and even among the spiritual orders with a multi form \textit{dhikr}, the Name \textit{Allāh} is considered the best and most complete. The acts of invocation are carried out individually and in groups, called \textit{hadrah} (congregational \textit{dhikr}), and are considered acts of pure devotion which aid the disciple’s spiritual growth.

Once initiated, each member can, and in principle must, attend spiritual meetings of the particular \textit{tariqah} called \textit{majālis}, (sing. \textit{majlis}) which are held at least once a week. Although there are considerable difference among the brotherhoods or \textit{turūq} in terms of rules of meetings, choice of text to be recited and sung and the techniques of concentration practiced, it is usually universal for each \textit{tariqah}.

Later in the discussion specific to Sūf Orders in the Durban area, we shall see how they differ from each other.

No discussion on the characteristics of \textit{Taṣawwuf} would be complete without a brief word on the practice of \textit{Tahajjud}, the voluntary night prayer. “Keep vigil all the night save a little.” (Qur‘ān, LXXIII:2) and “Glorify Him the livelong night” (Qur‘ān LXXI:26) are the Revelations from which the \textit{Tahajjud} prayer originated. As Abū Bakr Siraj ad-Dīn writes:
“This Revelation enjoins upon the Prophet — and therefore indirectly upon his closest followers — an intensity of worship that goes far beyond anything that could be imposed as a legal obligation upon a whole community.” (Nasr, 1987:226)

And

“the Sufis have kept these two practices (dhikr and tahajjud) alive throughout the centuries” (Nasr, 1987:226).

The Sufis, in their quest for nearness to God engage in the voluntary tahajjud (night prayer) prayers, as well as voluntary fasts, additional recitations of the Qur'an and contemplation of God’s greatness.

A concluding point to remember here is that in talking about tariqat as a mystical way one is talking not simply about teachings and actions unrelated to daily existence but rather about a way of life that is embedded in Islam and that which is the heart of the tradition.

2.8 Conclusion
This chapter has dealt in some detail with the origins and meanings of Sufism. Having considered both Arabic and non-Arabic source origins, I have tried to show, from an etymological point of view as well as from the viewpoint of the earliest Sufis the derivation of Sufi from the root word ‘suf’. Next, an analysis of ‘Tasawwuf’ was undertaken with numerous and varied definitions of ‘Tasawwuf’ given. It is here that the words of Schimmel come to light when she says of Sufism, “nobody can venture to describe it fully” (Schimmel 1978:3). Tasawwuf as originating in the primary sources of Islam was discussed. However I am in agreement with Martin Lings, commenting on the origins of Sufism who
maintains that it is not the 'name' which is of importance, but rather the 'thing' itself. The historical development of Taṣawwuf was traced from the earliest individual practicing Ṣūfis to its culmination in the various tariqahs. A discussion of the various doctrines and methods that characterize each Order was given emphasis with a view to establishing their existence within the Ṣūfī Orders in Durban.
Chapter 3

BRIEF HISTORY OF ŞŪFISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

Islam in South Africa is over three hundred and fifty years old. According to many scholars, Islam in South Africa was established under the guidance of Şūfi masters. This chapter outlines the history of Şūfism in South Africa in general, and in Durban in particular.

3.2 Short history of earliest Şūfis in South Africa

The first Muslims arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1667, just 15 years after the Dutch set up their base at the Cape, from the Dutch Asian colonies. Some came as political exiles, others as slaves, fugitives and prisoners till the early 19th century. The majority came from East Indies with some from East Africa and India. During this period these areas were areas which were greatly influenced by Şūfi Orders and the practices of Taşawwuf. Thus Islam practiced was an integrated Islam. According to Gibb, this form of Islam was a universal one.

"... it was mainly due to them (the Şūfis) that the religious frontiers of Islam were steadily extended in Africa, in India and Indonesia, across Central Asia into Turkestan and China and in parts of South Eastern Europe" (Gibbs cited in Mukaddam, 2001:46).

Nasr confirms the development of an integralistic Islam – an Islam exoterically based on the 'Šari'ah’(the Divine Law) and esoterically existent in ‘tarīqah’(The way) “In certain sections of India, South East Asia and in much of Africa, Islam first spread through the personal example of Şūfi masters and the establishment of a Şūfi Order. It is the inner link between the Law and the Way that has made possible the spread of Islam in many areas through the Şūfi master and saints
who have provided a living example of Islamic spirituality” (cited in Mukaddam 2001:46).

The Sufi Orders that were very influential in the East Indies and India at that time were the Qadiriyyah, Chishtiyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Suhrawardiyah, Alawiyyah, Sammaniyyah and the Shattariyyah (Da Costa, 1994:130-131).

The early Muslims, if not very active members of these current influential Orders, brought with them the mental and cultural influences of these Orders. This factor together with the fact that amongst the political exiles and prisoners were several great Sufi masters and saints ensured that the first Muslim community established at the Cape was influenced by Sufi teachings and practices. Historically, the first Muslim community established at the Cape was most probably the one at Constantia Forests, where a group of Malay political prisoners were exiled in 1667. Amongst them were two Shayks from the Qadiriyyah Order, Tuan Mahmud al-Qadiri and Tuan 'Abd al- Rahman Matebe Shah al-Qadiri.

Da Costa writes:

"Despite the few Muslims and the isolation of the exiles it seems highly probable that some of the Muslim slaves (and especially those working in the forest) would have gathered around the exiles, and in the process established a small and very loose structure within which the first tasawwuf rituals (possibly of the Qadiryyah Order) were practiced“ (Da Costa, 1994:130)

Shayk Yusuf of Macassar, aged 68, arrived in the Cape in 1694, by which time it was “quiet possible that some practices of the Qadiryyah Order had already taken root” (Da Costa, 1994:130)
Shayk Yusuf is considered to have made one of the most important contributions to the establishment and development of Islam in South Africa.

In the words of Greyling:

“One of the best known of the exiles to the Cape is Schech Yusuf from Makassar. He is regarded by the Muslims in South Africa as well as other authorities as the founder of Islam in South Africa and his grave at Faure is regarded as one of the Holy places of Islam in this country” (Greyling, 1980 1/11).

Shaykh Yusuf or more precisely, Shaykh Yusuf al- taj-al- khalwati al Maqasari also known as Abidin Tadie Tjoessoep was a learned man and a Şüfi. He was chief of the Khalwatiyyah Order and the author of some fifteen works on Taṣawwuf in Arabic, Buganese and Malayu. (Dangor, 1982:13)

Leibbrandt, in describing how inhabitants viewed Shayk Yusuf, says that he was “worshipped as a saint” and quotes a source who writes that they “most reverentially picked up as a holy relic his sapa or pinang (chewed betel nut) which he spat out, after having chewed it dry” (Leibbrandt, 1887:177; see also Dangor, 1982:33).

Shaykh Yusuf was banished to a farm ‘Zandvleit’ (today known as Faure) and here Shaykh Yusuf, together with the imams, conducted ‘religious services’” (Dangor, 1982:37) at a time when Muslims were not allowed to hold religious meetings openly. Da Costa remarks on Shaykh Yusuf’s activities:-

“there can be little doubt that as a Shayk or murshid of a Taṣawwuf Order, Shayk Yusuf must have continued to practice, at least with those who came with him, the religious rites and ceremonies associated with his Order... what was therefore formed at ‘Zandvleit” was a structure of socio-religious interaction inspired by the Taṣawwuf perspective... (Da Costa, 1994:131).
These activities of Shaykh Yusuf laid the foundations for a Sufi Islam at the Cape. The prayer meetings that are held on 7th, 40th and 100th night after a person’s death comes from this Order, and are still held at the Cape today. Shaykh Yusuf’s shrine, situated at Faure is held in great veneration and he is regarded as one of the earliest Sufis.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of other Sufi masters arrived. After their demise shrines were erected in their honour. It is interesting to note the distribution of the shrines and graves of the early Sufis to the Cape (and South Africa) into what is known as the ‘Holy Circle’. The term ‘Holy Circle’ was formulated in 1934 by K.M. Jeffreys, editor of the Cape Naturalist, a local magazine. Da Costa, quoting Jeffreys writes:

“Old Malay tombs make up the Holy Circle which stretches from Robben Island to the Kramat of Shayk Yusuf on the Macassar Downs...Starting at the old cemetery on the slopes of Signal Hill, just above the quarry in Strand Street, where two saintly men were buried many years ago, the circle continues to two graves on the top of Signal Hill...Hence it goes onto a grave, much revered, situated above Oude Kraal beyond Camps Bay, and sweeps round the mountain to a Kramat at Constantia, on the Tokai Road. From there [The circle continues to]... the Kramat of Shayk Yusuf of Faure, on the farm “Zandvlei”. The circle is completed by an old tomb on Robben Island” (1994:133)

However, Da Costa, a contemporary Khalifa of the Naqshbandiyyah Order, dismisses the idea of a ‘Holy Circle’, as a term invented by Jeffreys himself and argues “that the term did not have local Muslim origins” (Da Costa, 2005:59).
3.3 Short history of earliest Sufis in Durban

3.3.1. Hadrat Shaykh Ahmad Badsha Peer

Shaykh Ahmad, popularly known as “Badsha Peer” (‘Badsha’ meaning ‘King’) is recognised as the first and earliest Sufi in Durban. Unfortunately, there are no primary sources that would enable us to establish more tangible connections regarding his history. According to Hafiz Fuzail Soofie, “His family lineage is unknown, and he was shunned by people during his physical life...” (Soofie, 2005:55) Shaykh Ahmad Badsha Peer came from Madras (Chennai) as an indentured labourer. A number of legends have spawned around his person. One states that he would spend his time in dhikr and murâqaba on the sugar cane-fields instead of doing the task appointed to him. However, the supervisor who would see him ‘asleep’ would return in the evening, and to his amazement the quota of work would be completed (Soofie, 2005:56). Oral tradition, the only recourse to his history, claims that ‘Badsha Peer’ foretold the arrival of a personality (referring to Sufi Saheb) who would “wield the stick of Shari‘ah”.

Saib describes it thus:

“Shortly a beloved of Allah will arrive in this country, and his arrival shall herald an era of Islamic revival in South Africa. Establish your links with him if you wish to attain spiritual benefits” (Saib, 1993:25)

Sufi Saheb located the whereabouts of Badsha Peer’s grave, which was unknown at the time (Dangor, 1995:9). Sufi Saheb thereafter took it upon himself to construct Badsha Peer’s tomb and organized the first ‘Urs (Arabic wedding – to denote anniversary of death) of Badsha Peer to highlight his elevated spiritual status. The tomb of Badsha Peer exists in the Brook Street cemetery in Central Durban and is held in great veneration even to this day, where people of all religions, from all walks of life find solace at his blessed tomb. As an official
symbol of his influence on the people of Durban the area surrounding his tomb has been named ‘Ḥaḍrat Badsha Peer Square’.

3.3.2. Ḥaḍrat Sufi Saheb
Shāh Ghulām Muḥammed al-Ḥabibi, renowned throughout Southern Africa simply as Sufi Saheb, arrived in Durban in 1895. He came to Durban in obedience to his Shaykht’s (Shaykh Habib Ali Shāh) command. It is also in fulfillment of the great tradition of the Chishtiyyah Order, that of embarking upon a hijrah (migration) into the unknown for the sake of God and His Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). At that time the migration of Muslim indentured labourers to South Africa had begun. They would be in need of spiritual guidance, and Sufi Saheb was chosen by his Shaykh to fulfill this responsibility. Sufi Saheb’s first visit to Durban lasted less than a year and he returned to Hyderabad, India. He was appalled by the ignorance and moral laxity of the Muslim labourers, especially amongst the indentured class. They were “Grossly ignorant about the fundamental teachings of Islam and negligent in the fulfillment of their obligations” (Dangor, 1995:10). In addition, there was a problem with communication, as Sufi Saheb’s mother-tongue was Urdu and many of the labourers spoke Tamil. Soon he returned to Durban, given new strength by his Shaykh, Habib Ali Shāh. He returned on 17 March 1896 accompanied this time by his second son, Shāh ‘Abd-‘Azīz and his brother-in-law, Moulana ‘Abd al-Latīf Qadri. Upon his arrival he established his Khanqah (spiritual retreat) at Riverside. The centre included a masjid (mosque), madrasah (school), yatimkhana (orphanage), public kitchen, residential quarters and a cemetery. In 1901, Shaykh Habib ‘Ali Shāh conferred the Khilāfat (authority to initiate disciples) of twelve Sūfī Orders on Sufi Saheb, including the Chishtiyyah and the Qādiriyyah. Sufi Saheb thus began initiating disciples into the Sūfī Orders in 1901. (Dangor, 1995:10)
The Khanqah at Riverside became the centre for a systematic programme of religious, spiritual, moral and socio-economic upliftment. Although Şufi Saheb was initiated into both the Qadiriyyah and Chishtiyyah Orders, he adhered to the Chishtiyyah tariqah. Those persons who wanted to be initiated into a tariqah, were initiated into either one. In this way, Şufi Saheb was responsible for the introduction and the establishment of both the Qadiriyyah and the Chishtiyyah Orders in Durban.

Of the activities that occurred at Riverside during Sufi Saheb’s time, Dangor writes:

“Şufi Saheb held his majlis between magrib [after sunset prayer] and Isha [late evening prayer] on Thursdays. It was opened with a collective recitation of the wîrd (litany or phrase-patterned devotion). The central focus in the majlis was the Chistiyyah dhîkr which was recited audibly in congregation (hadrah) by all the participants who were seated in a circle. This was followed by the na‘î, or mawlid (poetry or liturgical recital in honour of the Prophet), the Khatm-i-Khawajagan (the seal of the Masters - a prayer sequence recited by both Shaykh and Murid) and the silsilah (the iniatic chain which links a particular master through generations of masters before him to the Prophet).” (Dangor, 1995:14).

In addition the following activities also occurred:- samâ‘ (recital of ‘sacred’ songs), qawwâlî (Şufi poetry accompanied by music), dhikrullah (remembrance of Allah). He also regularly held celebrations of maulid (liturgical recitals in honour of the Prophet) and ‘urs (commemoration of the anniversary of death), on the eve of the demise of various Shaykhs relevant to the Qadiriyyah Order eg. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadîr Jîlânî and Chishtiyyah Orders like Shaykh Mu‘în al-Dîn Chishti, and Shaykh Nizâm al- Din Awliya.

These activities which Şufi Saheb introduced and established exist even up to today (as will be seen later). Şufi Saheb passed away on 29 June, 1911. During
the period 1904 - 1910 he was responsible for the establishment of 13 mosques and religious schools throughout the country, including one in Cape Town, the Habibia Soofie Mosque established in 1905 which till today is a centre for Chishti Šūfi practices (Saib, 1993:1). He lies buried next to his mother in the mazar (shrine) at Riverside which was built by him on the instruction of his murshid, Shaykh Habib ‘Ali Shāh (d.1907). To this date, Sufi Saheb is revered as a Saint and his mazar attracts visitors from all over Africa and the rest of the world. The shrine has been declared a National Monument by the local government and the road leading to the mazar has been named after him, Sufi Saheb Drive. Sufi Saheb had 7 sons. His fourth son, Ghulam Hafiz, popularly known as “Bhai Jaan”, was responsible for the management of the Šūfi complex in Sherwood. He became popular for his herbal cures and faith healing (Dangor, 1995:27). He passed away in 1953 and his mazar (shrine) is at Sherwood. He is also held in high esteem by his disciples and it is a holy shrine visited by many people. Although Ghulam Hafiz cannot by any means be regarded as an “early Šūfi” it is mentioned here simply because apart from the shrines of Badsha Peer, Raja Bawa in Cato Manor and Soofie Saheb in Riverside it is the only other one existing in the Durban area.

In the Durban area and in terms of the introduction of Taṣawwufic practices, Šūfi Saheb is to Durban what Shaykh Yusuf was (is) to the Cape. He introduced, encouraged and established the Taṣawwufic practices of the Qādiriyah and more especially the Chishtiyyah Orders in the Durban area. These practices (as will be seen later) still exist up till this day.

3.4 Conclusion

A discussion of the earliest Šūfis in South Africa and Durban was undertaken to establish the roots of the present day Šūfi practices. It is here that I attempted to show that the initial Islam practiced was an integrated Islam with adherence to Šūfi Orders and Šūfi practices.
4.1 Introduction
This chapter outlines the research methodology and approach used in the survey of the Śūfi groups in Durban.

4.2 Research Instrument
Interviews and participant observation were the instruments used to collect data.

4.3 Identifying the Research Sample
The advantages of sampling are that it is less time consuming; it costs less and is the only practical method of data collection. To provide a sound basis for generalization, the sample had to be representative and be carefully chosen to mirror the characteristics of the target population, as well as be large enough to inspire confidence in the result. The researcher was interested in all available Śūfi Orders and groups in the Durban area, and to this end the sampling was non-probability and the samples' were:

i) The representative head (Amīr) of the Śūfi Order.
In the newly emergent Śūfi Groups, the groups were small in number and had one representative head of the group (Amīr) which was the sample ‘head’ for that group. In larger, long established Śūfi Order groups, there was more than one group, situated geographically apart with their own individual representative head (Amīr). In these cases the head of each group was the sample. The inclusion of all Śūfi representative heads (Amīrs) was important, more especially in helping to determine the numbers as well as their growth over the years. This sample consisted of the following sixteen ‘heads’ of Śūfi Orders to which the questionnaire was administered:
• 3 Amīrs of the Chishti Nizami Habibiya Order - 3 Amīrs were selected as the membership of this group is very large and each has its own group, members and centre for its activities.

• 2 Amīrs of the Qādiri Razviya Order - 2 Amīrs selected as the membership of this group is large.

• 1 Amīr each of the following Ṣūfī Order groups:
  - the Naqshbandi (Mohamadi)
  - the Naqshbandi (Tunahan)
  - the Naqshbandi (Siddique)
  - the Qādiri Rifāʿī
  - the Qādiri Shādhili Darqāwī
  - the Qādiri Sarwari
  - the Chishti Sābirī
  - the Chishti Ashrafi
  - the Chishti Ziaee
  - the Muridīyyah
  - the Tijāniyyah

The criteria of selection for the study included:

• The individual had to be the appointed representative head of that particular Ṣūfī Order
• He must have had members and/or an association of people in the group i.e. an organized group
• And the group had to be an active group

ii) Participating members of the Ṣūfī group.

As is the norm with all Ṣūfī Orders everywhere in the world, over and beyond the members who have accepted ‘initiation’ into the Ṣūfī Order, there are always individuals, for whatever reasons, associated with Ṣūfī Orders. As the researcher was interested in the reason for association both ‘initiated’ members of Ṣūfī
groups and 'non-initiated' individuals were chosen as samples in the study. The criterion for selection was association with the particular Ṣūfī Order. The samples drawn from each group were proportionate to the size of the group. From smaller groups, fewer were selected and from larger groups, more were selected. This was to ensure that the samples were representative of the Ṣūfī groups. Generally more men are associated with Ṣūfī groups than women and this is reflected in the sample selection. However, wherever possible, women have been included. The total number of samples from 'associating members' of the Ṣūfī groups for this study was forty individuals: comprising of twenty-seven men and thirteen women.

![Number of Respondents](image)

FIGURE 1: Number of respondents from each Ṣūfī group
4.4 Selection of Participants

As a researcher I first began amassing information about the location of Şūfī groups. To this end I talked to people, scanned local neighbourhood newsletters and using my abundant informal network of friends and acquaintances gained information about where the Şūfī Centres were as well as their valuable telephone numbers. I then telephoned the Amir (Head representative) of the Şūfī Order and explained the purposes of research and requested his participation in the study. An appointment was then set up. According to strict Islamic rule, women are not allowed to be in the company of men (other than their husbands or men who fall within the prohibited degrees of marriage) without a ‘mahram’ (guardian). On this issue, some are strict, others flexible. During the conversation over the telephone, it was determined whether the researcher needed to be accompanied by a male. If the answer was yes the researcher’s husband accompanied her. In this way access was gained to religious heads of Şūfī Orders who would not converse with a woman (researcher) alone. Once the initial interview was completed, the researcher requested permission from the Amir to attend one of the weekly sessions. This was to observe the group as well as a means of accessing individual members to partake in the study. Permission was readily granted; in fact, oftentimes the researcher was invited to attend. On three occasions the researcher was offered telephone numbers of individual members whom the Amir felt would gladly partake in the survey. This was valuable to the researcher especially since access to the men was sometimes limited. In the latter case, the researcher took along her husband, who mingled amongst the men and located subjects willing to partake in the study. Subjects were telephoned and an appointment made which was convenient for the respondent. In all instances, excepting one, the researcher went to a location specified by the respondent to fill in the questionnaire. With the Şūfī Amir it was usually at the Şūfī Centre. With the individual members it varied, either at their home or at the Şūfī Centre. The researcher did not interview two Amirs. One refused to see a woman. However I was referred to his secretary to fill in the
questionnaire to be followed by a telephonic interview with the Amir. This worked well. The second Amir, due to work and personal pressures, could not see the researcher. However, a telephonic discussion was held with him.

4.5 Profile of the Respondents

Gender
Of the forty (40) respondents, thirteen (32.5%) were women and twenty seven (67.5%) were men.

This variable is important to the study as it would indicate whether or not women are associating with Sufi groups.

Age
In choosing age as a variable, the researcher provided age categories but failed to provide a category for the under twenties. On reflection the researcher actually should have made provisions for this.

![FIGURE 2: Age categories of respondents](image)
The analysis showed two (5%) under twenty years (sixteen and eighteen years old), five (12.5%) in the 20-35 age category, three (7.5%) in the 56-65 age category, and the overwhelming majority, thirty (75%) were in the 36-55 years age category.

This variable is considered important, as it would indicate the age at which the individuals are most likely to associate with *Sūfī* groups. In addition, in the normal course of life, the age category of 36-55 years is important as it is usually the age by which one has settled into their marriage, is raising a family and usually wants to be a good role model for one's family. It is also the age category in which one, if not spiritually at peace, begins to question the meaning of life.

**Marital Status**

This variable would reflect the emotional stability of individuals as well as indicating whether membership to *Sūfī* groups held more appeal to single, divorced or married persons.

Six (6) of the respondents were single, two (2) were divorced, none were widowed, and the majority thirty two (32) were married.

**Education Level**

Education was an important variable in terms of group membership, especially where the members have accepted 'bay'ah' as it entails understanding the entire process. However at the same time, being a member of a *Sūfī* group and partaking in 'urs, dhikr, maulid-un Nabi, etc does not require a high education level nor literacy as participation requires recitation and even most illiterate persons can successfully partake.
Of the respondents, one (1) was still at school, two (2) were University students, sixteen (16) indicated that Matric was their highest education level, two (2) had diplomas, thirteen (13) had University degrees and six (6) had medical degrees.

Field of Employment
Although field of employment was one of the variables chosen, on reflection it was not a necessary variable for this study. In addition, researcher erred by not including a category for ‘housewife’ which I found later was a relevant one. However this was accommodated for in the “other” category.

The field of employment of the respondents varied considerably and was as follows:

![Pie chart showing fields of employment](image)

FIGURE 3: Fields of employment of respondents

4.6 Duration of the Research
Data for this study was collected over a period of seven months from June-December 2006. During this period the researcher:
completed questionnaires with Amīrs of Ṣūfī groups.
completed questionnaires with individual members of different Ṣūfī Orders in the greater Durban area.
attended Ṣūfī gatherings at the Ṣūfī Centres.
attended major celebrations held by the Ṣūfī groups.

4.7 Location of the Research
The study covered the geographical area of the greater Durban area. To the best of my knowledge, all Ṣūfī groups existing in this area were incorporated into the study. The areas covered incorporated Durban central extending to Phoenix in the North of Durban, Westville to the West of Durban and Isipingo to the South of Durban.

4.8 Data Capturing
4.8.1 Interview/Questionnaire
Data was collected using interviews with a questionnaire (Annexure 1 and Annexure 2). Sixteen interviews with heads of Ṣūfī Orders and forty interviews with Ṣūfī group members. The average duration of the interviews were one and a half hours. Interviews are a qualitative method of data collection. The type of interview that was considered most suitable was the semi-structured interview with a questionnaire. In this type of interview the researcher has a guideline, which consists of the questions and themes that are relevant to the research questions. According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) unstructured and semi-structured interviews facilitate the elimination of unnecessary questions and the reformulation of ambiguous ones. They allow for the discovery of new aspects of the problem by exploring in detail the explanations supplied by the respondents. The advantage of this method with a questionnaire is that there is provision for systematic collection of data and at the same time important data is not forgotten. The interview method is very open and flexible which needs many on-the-spot decisions i.e. does the interviewer follow up on new leads, or stick to
the questionnaire? This therefore requires that the interviewer plans prior to the interview exactly what information is needed and guides the interview in order to achieve the relevant data. In this research, the interview with questionnaire was used since the response rate is much higher than a mailed questionnaire. De Vos (1998:81) suggests that the response rates to interviews are generally much higher – they are of the order of 80%.

Closed- and open-ended questions were used. The closed-ended questions related to personal data of the respondents and to questions which required a YES/NO response. Open-ended questions were used which allow for discussion and clarification. The open-ended questions gave the respondents an opportunity to explain views concerning many aspects regarding the Sūfi groups and its membership. This was in line with Kvale's (1983:172) definitions of the qualitative research interview as "an interview whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewer with respect to interpretations of the meaning of the described phenomena". Probes and prompts were used with open-ended questions to clarify what the respondents' answer meant without biasing the response. Closed-ended questions were also used in this study to obtain factual information about the respondents and the Sūfi groups.

Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) caution that many factors must be taken into account when conducting interviews. The most salient are listed as follows:

i) The influence of the interviewer can be considerable. It is important that the researcher does not influence the informant in any way to bias results. In the present study, the researcher's skills and professional training enabled the researcher to be as objective as possible thus, eliminating subjectivity in the project.

ii) The researcher ensured that the answers were recorded correctly. Improper recording can result in incomplete and subjective information. In this study face-to-face interviews were conducted. The
researcher asked the questions designed to elicit responses relevant to the research problems. Reliability of the study was maintained as only one researcher conducted all the interviews. However, the limitation of using the interview-questionnaire is that it is generally very time consuming. Whilst one part of the research was aimed at the Amīr (Head) of the Šūfi Orders in order to establish factual information about the group, its membership and growth another part was aimed at the individual members from the different Šūfi Orders in order to determine their perceptions and reasons for association with their respective groups. The non-verbal responses of the respondents can be of great significance in an interview-questionnaire situation (Grinnell, 1988). This was especially relevant in respect of the individuals’ reasons for association with Šūfi groups. It allowed the researcher to observe non-verbal reactions to the questions.

4.8.2 Observation

In this study, observation of two types was used. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) define simple or non-participant observation as the recording of events as observed by an outsider. This method was used in gathering information about the groups’ activities and their social behaviour. Another form of observation used was that of the modified participant observation, which according to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) restricts the researcher to participation only in major events, or ceremonies. The researcher participated in the weekly ‘dhikr’ meetings and ‘Urs’ held by the Šūfi groups in order to gain valuable information about the group, its members and their activities. Observation as a method of data collection, cites Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) has some major limitations, which tailored to this study was:

i) it is costly and time-consuming
ii) it cannot be applied to many aspects of social life
iii) it cannot directly observe attitudes or reasons for a particular action
iv) subjectivity of the observer can bias the study

Taking into account the above limitations, it is partly for these self same reasons that an additional technique of data collection by way of the interview-questionnaire was adopted.

4.8.3 The units of analysis were:
(a) Head of Şūfī Orders
(b) Members of Şūfī Orders
(c) The Şūfī groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Tool</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Units of Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview – Questionnaire</td>
<td>To identify Şūfī Orders in existence 10 years ago</td>
<td>Head of Şūfī Orders in Durban Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Refer to Appendix 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview – Questionnaire</td>
<td>To investigate the reasons why individuals joined Şūfī Groups</td>
<td>Members of Şūfī Orders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Refer to Appendix 2)</td>
<td>To assess the activities of the Şūfī Groups</td>
<td>The Şūfī group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observation</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 4: Unit of Analysis

- One set of questionnaires was administered to the representative heads of the Şūfī Orders to gain the following information:
  - the name of the Şūfī Order, details of its origin and its activities
- the current membership of the Sufi Order and its growth in the last decade
- the reasons for the growth in membership

• Another set of questionnaires was administered to individual Sufi group members to ascertain:
  - their level of involvement in the Sufi group
  - their active participation in community activities organized by the Sufi group and/or participation in community activities not linked with the group
  - the reasons for their association with the Sufi Order

• Observation: Direct observation of the non-participant and participatory kind was undertaken to:
  - observe the group and its activities
  - observe the group dynamics

4.9 Data Analysis
Each questionnaire was first carefully read. Thereafter the data was examined using the system outlined by de Vos (1998). De Vos (1998) outlines various strategies for data analysis in qualitative research. The strategy relevant to this study is inductive reasoning. Here the researcher attempts to discover relationships or patterns through close scrutiny of the data. The Huberman and Miles Approach in de Vos (1998) appeared suitable for this study. This approach consists of three linked sub processes:

i) data reduction: from field notes and transcriptions, themes and categories are identified

ii) data display: data is displayed in an organized manner so that conclusions can be drawn and

iii) conclusion drawing and verification
For the section of the research dealing with the members of the *Sūfī* groups and their activities, the responses were captured using the Microsoft Access software package. This enabled the formulation of broad themes much easier to identify and analyze. Then the data is displayed using graphs, tables, and pie graphs. Qualitative analysis of data is interpreted according to specific theme and categories which were identified. In addition to the above, the 'Grounded Theory' approach is utilized where the approach allows for greater latitude for discovering the unexpected – some regularity or disparity totally unanticipated by the concepts which might compose a particular theory or hypotheses (Babbie, 1998:283).

Reasoning adopted was of the inductive kind.

4.10 Limitation of Study

1) The number of female respondents was limited. However this did not invalidate the findings.

2) It was sometimes difficult (being a woman in an Islamic milieu) to gain direct easy access to male respondents. The researcher however was successfully able to overcome this.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the method I as researcher considered to be the most suitable approach for the subject under study.
Chapter Five

FINDINGS OF A SURVEY ON ŞÜFI ORDERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the presentation and analysis of the data obtained from firstly the Amīrs of the Şüfi groups (Head representatives) and secondly from the members of the Şüfi groups in Durban.

The analysis is presented by means of graphs, pie charts, interpretations and illustrations. The discussion at the end covers similarities of responses between the Amīr (Head) and the members, and the differences between them.

There is a clearly recognizable expression of 'Şüfi Islam' or more precisely, Taṣawwuf, in Kwa-Zulu Natal in general. Our aim here is to identify such practices. The specific area of this chapter will concentrate on Taṣawwuf as it surfaces in:

- the existence/establishment of Şüfi Orders in Durban
- their 'sacred' practices and activities
- their growth over the past 12 years

The reason for assessing the growth of the Şüfi Orders over the last twelve years is to determine whether there is any relation between their proliferation and the advent of the new democratic Order in South Africa in 1994.

5.2 Şüfi Orders established in Durban prior to 1994

5.2.1 Chishtiyyah and Qādiriyyah Orders

As mentioned previously, the Chishtiyyah and Qādiriyyah Orders were initially the first Şüfi Orders to be introduced into the Durban area by Sufi Saheb upon his arrival from India in 1895. The presence of the Chishtiyyah Order was almost
immediately apparent with the erection of the very first *Khanqah* (Spiritual Centre) of the *Chishtiyyah* silsilah at Riverside. The *Qādiriyah* Order, as an organized *Ṣūfī* Order, began flourishing later, *in the nineteen sixties*. Twelve years ago, these were the only two *Ṣūfī* Orders existing in the Durban area. Reverting to the *Chishtiyyah* Order, the *masājid* that Ṣūfī Saheb was instrumental in establishing in the following areas:

i) Riverside
ii) Springfield
iii) Westville
iv) Overport
v) Kenvilie
vi) Sherwood

...continued to function as centres of spiritual education after the demise of Ṣūfī Saheb. These are managed largely by Sufi Saheb's descendents, adherents too of the *Chishtiyyah* Order. The *masājid* continued to be focal points for *majīls* to perform *dhikr*, *talim* (education), 'urs and *mawlid*. These practices ensured the continuation and expansion of the *Chishtiyyah* Order in Durban and presently, these practices still exist. Ten-twelve years ago the presence of the *Chishtiyyah* Order was very prominent; in fact it was the single most dominant *Ṣūfī* Order. The *Qādiriyah* Order was the only other *Ṣūfī* Order existent in Durban then. What ought not to escape our attention however is that while the *Chishtiyyah* and the *Qādiriyah* Orders were the only existing prominent organized *Ṣūfī* Orders in Durban, there were individual adherents to other *Ṣūfī* Orders. The *Chishtiyyah* silsilah and the *Qādiriyah* silsilah, following in the footsteps of other *Ṣūfī* ḥarqahs, later ramified, treelike into a number of different suborders. These suborders tended to be named after a *Shaykh* or *wali* of that particular silsilah who was instrumental in further developing the methodology or principles of the order, and who was responsible for taking it in a different direction based on the needs of the time. These suborders are represented in South Africa. In some...
cases, major Ṣūfī Orders merged with one another, combining selected doctrines and practices from separate, individual Orders and making it their own.

5.2.1.1 The Chishtiyyah and Qadiriyyah suborders
The Chishtiyyah and Qadiriyyah Ṣūfī Orders with their suborders as they existed in Durban 10-12 years ago are depicted in Figure 5 below. Crucial however, to our understanding of the establishment of the Ṣūfī Orders in Durban is an appreciation of the personalities that impacted on the shaping of the Ṣūfī Orders in these areas in the first place.

![Diagram of Chishti and Qadiri suborders](image)

FIGURE 5: Orders and sub-orders established in Durban prior to 1994

(a) Chishti Nizami Habibiya
The Nizami Habibiya branch of the Chishtiyyah Order derived its name after Ḥaḍrat Khwājā Nizām ad-Dīn Auliyā combined with that of Khwājā Habīb Ali Shāh, hence the name ‘Nizami Habibiya’. Both personalities were major Khulafāʾ (successors) of Ḥaḍrat Baba Farid ud- din Masʿūd Ganj e-Shakar. This suborder was introduced and established in Durban by Ḥaḍrat Ṣūfī Saheb and ten-twelve years ago, it was the most prominent one.
(b) **Chishti Sabiri**

The Sabiriyyah branch of the Chishtiyyah Order came into existence after the name of Ḥadrat Khwāja Sayyid Makhdooom 'Alā ud- dīn 'Ali Aḥmad Sābir Kalyari, a senior Khalīfah of Ḥadrat Baba Farīd ud-dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj e-Shakar. Those who are associated with the order that flows after him are known as 'Chishtiyyah Sabiri'. A chain of Sāfī masters of the order continues after him, until it reaches the Chishti Sabiri Jahangiri branch, named after Ḥadrat Khwāja Sayyid Muḥammad Jahangir Shāh Chishti Sābirī Kambal Posh of Ajmer, who passed away in 1924. The Chishti Sābīrī Jahangiri Silsilah was brought to Durban by Janaab Ebrahim Madari Chishti Sabiri in 1944, under the instruction of his Pir-O-Murshid, Ḥadrat Khwāja Sayyid Muḥammad Iqbal Shāh Chishti Sābirī.

(c) **Chishti Ashrafi**

The Ashrafi branch of the Chishtiyyah Order was named after Ḥadrath Makhdooom Sultan Auhaduddin Meer Sayad Ashraf Jahangir Sim nani from India. Moulana Shāh Muḥammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, a Chishti Ashraf Shaykh, an outstanding scholar of Islam was instrumental in the expansion of the Chishti Ashrafi Order in Durban in the 1940's. He also established the International Islamic Service Centre in Durban, which published the then popular journals, "The Muslim Digest", "The Ramadaan Annual", "The Five Pillars" and the series of Islamic books known as the 'Makki Publications'. The Chishti Ashrafi silsilah was encouraged and its spirit kept alive.

(d) **Chishti Qadiri Ziaee**

The Chishti Qadiri Ziaee suborder is a typical example of the blending of two major Sūfī Orders into one. The basic doctrines and principles of this suborder incorporates practices from both the Chishtiyyah and the Qadiriyyah Orders. It emerged in Durban in 1978 when Shaykh Sayyed Hasin-ud-Dīn of Pakistan visited and accepted disciples. The Chishti Qadiri Ziaee Order was sustained by
the efforts of the late Hajji Rajmahomed who was a Khalifa of Shaykh sayyed Hasin-ud-Din.

(e) Qādirī Shādhilī Dārqāwī

The Qādirī Dārqāwī Order is a branch of the Shādhilī ṭariqah. As mentioned elsewhere in the dissertation, the Dārqāwī Order emerged at a time of the 19th Century revival of Sūfi Orders and general reform of Islam. The traditional line of revival was derived from the efforts of an ecstatic leader in the Shadhili-Zarrūqī succession, Abū Ḥāmid (Ahmad) al-ʿArabī ad-Darqāwī (1760-1823). Ad- Darqāwī enlivened emotional fervour and inspired contemplative life among the Shadhili adherents to a degree that he was recognised as a mujaddid (renewer) of the 19th century (Glasse, 1989:94). After ad- Darqāwī’s death his movement became a distinctive way. Ad-Darqawī stressed non-involvement in the affairs of this world yet his own order became “notable, even notorious for its politico-religious movement” (Trimmingham, 1973:III). The adherents of the Dārqāwī Order adhered strictly to the practical model provided by the last Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) in their devotions. These 2 aspects, the socio-political leanings and the following of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) in every way would again become apparent in the devotions and activities of the Durban Dārqāwī group as we shall see later. The Shadhili Qādirī Dārqāwī Order was brought to Durban from the United Kingdom, in the person of Shaykh Dr ‘Abd al- Qādir Sufi in 1988. Dr ‘Abd al- Qādir Sufi visited Durban to give lectures. This was the beginning of a small group of Dārqāwī adherents who are better known as the ‘Murābitūn’.

(f) Qādirī Razviya

The Qādirī Razviya established itself in South Africa and more specifically in Durban through the efforts of the late Al- Haj Ḥaḍrath Maulana Muḥammad Ibrahim Khushtar Siddiqui Qādiri Razviya. His arrival in Durban during the 1960’s marked the beginnings of this Sūfi suborder. Hundreds of Muslims were initiated by him into the Qādirī Razviya Order. By his propogation of the works of Imam
Ahmad Rida al-Qadiri, many of the then local students were motivated to pursue an Islamic education (Aalim course) in Bareilly, India at the famous Darul Uloom Manzare Islam University. Many graduated and returned to Durban spreading the teachings and practices of Taṣawwuf (Ṣūfism) that had such a major impact on them during their studies overseas. Two such graduates are Maulana 'Abd al-Ḥāmid Palmer and Maulana 'Abd al-Ḥādī, who are extremely active in the maintenance and expansion of the Qādiriyah Razviya Order in Durban.

(g) Qādiri Sarwari
The Qādiri Sarwari group is alternatively referred to as the Sultan Bahu group. It took root in South Africa, firstly in Gauteng by the efforts of Shaykh Sayyid Ali Chopdat, a murid and khalīfa of Ḥaḍrath Faqir Noor Muḥammad in Pakistan. It spread to Durban in the late 1980's with the establishment of a small group. Over the years this Ṣūfī Order has spread extensively.

5.3 Ṣūfī Orders established in Durban after 1994
The last decade saw the emergence and establishment of new Ṣūfī Orders in the Durban area. This occurred co-incidentally, at a time of political and social transition. Thus, the turbulent post-apartheid period saw the rise of many new Orders. For the sake of convenience we shall refer to the Qādiriyah and Chishtiyyah Orders as “established” Orders and the newly-founded Orders as “emergent” Ṣūfī Orders.

The below-mentioned “new” Ṣūfī Orders emerged subsequent to 1994. Figure 6 indicates these Orders and the years in which they were established as fully-fledged organized Orders in Durban.
5.3.1 The Qadiri Rifai 'I Order

The Qadiri Rifai 'I Order, a combination of two separate Orders, the Rifai 'I and the Qadiriyyah was established in Durban in the year 2000. It began with just 4 members who were initiated into the Order over the telephone by Es-Seyyid Es-Shaykh Taner Ansari al-Qadiri er-Rifai 'I in California, United States of America. In 2000, Shaykh Taner Ansari visited Durban to meet with his disciples and they formally organized themselves as adherents of the Qadiriyyah Rifai 'I Order.
5.3.2 The **Naqshbandiyyah Order**

The **Naqshbandiyyah Order**, a major international *Sūfī* Order, emerged in Durban between 1999-2003. However there are three different **Naqshbandiyyah Sūfī** groups, each with a distinct *silsilah*. Due to the fact that its members recognize this "separateness", they would be discussed as three, separate *Sūfī* groups.

5.3.2.1 **The Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order**

In 1998 the Haqqani foundation of South Africa was established in Cape Town by Shaykh Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī, a United States of America based Khālīfa of Maulāna ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Nazīm ʿĀdil al- Ḥaqqānī. Shaykh Nazīm al- Ḥaqqānī is the grand Shaykh of the worldwide **Naqshbandiyyah Order**. In the latter part of the year 2000, Shaykh Nazīm al- Ḥaqqānī visited Durban. Hundreds of people, both men and women accepted *bay āh* at his hands. This marked the introduction of the **Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order** into the Durban area. However, it was in the year 2001 which saw Shaykh Nazīm al- Ḥaqqānī’s disciples gather themselves into an organized *Sūfī* group and begin their spiritual sessions as a group.

5.3.2.2 **Naqshbandi-Tunahan**

Adherents to the **Naqshbandi-Tunahan**, whose *silsilah* continues from Shaykh Suleman Hilmi Tunahan (d. 1959) from Turkey surfaced in Durban in 2003. The **Naqshbandi ṭariqahs** generally have a strong culture of identifying their *Naqshbandi* affiliations wherever they may be or settle – believing in “*barakah* (blessings) in association”. This, combined with their commonality of being Turkish emigrants provided the impetus for the formation of a highly organized **Naqshbandi-Tunahan Sūfī** group. Thus, almost immediately upon settling in Durban from Turkey, the **Naqshbandi-Tunahan Sūfī** Order was established.
5.3.2.3 Naqshbandi-Siddique

Ḥadhrat Ṣūfī Muḥammad Siddique Naqshbandi of Pakistan always had individual disciples in Durban. In 1999 in fulfillment of the requirements of a true Khalīfah, the local Amīr of the Naqshbandi-Siddique began holding congregational dhikr sessions. The group was further consolidated by the right of the Amīr to initiate murīds (disciples) into the order.

5.3.3 The Muridiyyah Order

Post 1994 saw a large influx of Muslims from all over Africa into South Africa and Durban as well, introducing the local Muslims to their Ṣūfī Orders. The Senegalese Muslims, disciples of Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba (1854-1927) upon settling in Durban were very active, founding Ṣūfī Centres, called Dāirahs from whence they practiced their spiritual teachings. The Muridiyyah Order was established in Durban in 1997.

5.3.4 The Tijāniyyah Order

The Senegalese also established the Tijāniyyah Order in the Durban area in 1998. The disciples of Shaykh Sidi Ahmed ben Muḥammad ben Al- Mukhtar ben Salem at-Tijani (d.1150/1737) established a Ṣūfī Centre which formed a central point for their devotions and spiritual teachings.

Discussion

The well-established Ṣūfī Orders in Durban, namely the Chishtiyyah and the Qādiriyyah continue to exert their influences at the present time. However, we have seen many other Ṣūfī Orders, previously unestablished in Durban emerge. These are notably the Qādiri Rifāʿī Order; the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order, the Naqshbandi-Tunahan of Turkey, and the Naqshbandi-Siddique Order. Added to this were the Ṣūfī Orders of the Senegalese Muslims, the Muridiyyah Order and the Tijāniyyah Order.
5.4 The Growth of the Sufi Orders in Durban

The number of adherents belonging to various Sufi Orders has grown over the last 12 years. This not only translated into individuals being initiated into one or other of the new emergent Sufi Orders but encompassed individuals being initiated into and becoming part of one of the established orders.

Special mention needs to be made of a group in Asherville, a suburb of Durban. Group sessions of dhikr were introduced by the Amir in 1994. The Amir of this group has ijaza (permission) to initiate disciples into any one of the four major Sufi Orders, namely the Chishtiyyah, the Qadiriyyah, the Naqshbandiyyah and the Shadhiliyyah. Based on the Amir's assessment of the individuals' personality and his own needs, an initiation into a particular Order was selected. For this reason, the growth of this group has been incorporated within the relevant existing Sufi Orders.

The expansion and growth of the Sufi Orders in the Durban area would be examined as it presented itself firstly in the established Sufi Orders and secondly, in the emergent Sufi Orders.

5.4.1. Growth of the established Sufi Orders

Figure 7 below indicates the number of adherents belonging to a particular Sufi Order 12 years ago and the situation as it exists at the present time. It must be borne in mind though that the figures quoted indicate the number of persons, both male and female who are affiliated with the Sufi Order as disciples (murids) of that Sufi Order. However, all murids do not partake of all activities of a Sufi Order at all times. Participation, although encouraged, is dependent to a greater degree on the individual. Thus, some individuals may attend 'dhikr' sessions, 'urs' regularly while others may partake or attend only once a year. An interesting point of note is that while the Amir of a Sufi Order is aware of the extent of its
growth, no database is kept of names of individuals accepting *bay 'āh*. The figures reflected in Figure 7 are those given to the researcher by the *Amīrs* of the group. There is no way of verifying this and the researcher had to accept these as a true reflection of the growth of the orders. In addition, they claimed that these numbers represented the minimum. As is the practice with most *Ṣūfī* Orders there always are a collection of individuals on the ‘periphery’ so to speak who associate with a particular *Ṣūfī* Order in order to partake of its ‘barakah’ (blessings) without actually accepting initiation into that particular Order. Some individuals are actually quite regular at the *dhikr* sessions as would be discussed later.

Due to the fact that members of sub-orders view themselves as belonging to the main order, when reflecting the growth in the established orders, they are grouped under the main Order. Adherents of *Chishti Nizami Habibiya, Chishti Sabiri, Chishti Ashrafi* and *Chishti Ziaee* are grouped together under the *Chishtiyyah* Order. Likewise, with the *Qadiriyyah* sub-orders, followers of the *Qādiri Shādīlī Darqāwī, Qādiri Razviya* and *Qādiri Sarwari* are grouped together as the *Qadiriyyah* Order. This grouping is also preferred by the *Amīrs* when discussing the growth of the *Ṣūfī* Orders in Durban. However, all points of special significance relating to the sub-orders would be given attention.
Discussion

The *Chishtiyyah* Order in Durban had an increase in growth of 50%. It stills remains the most dominant *Sufi* Order in Durban with a total of 15,000 members. The *Qadiriyah* Order showed an increase in membership of between 65% and 100%. Both the *Chistiyyah* and *Qadiriyah Sufi* Orders, well established in the Durban area, have shown considerable increase in their membership.

The *Qadiri Sarwari* (Sultan Bahu group), exhibited tremendous growth as depicted in Figure 8 below, with an increase from an initial membership of 50 to 1000 at present.
Of special mention is the *Qadiriyyah Shadhiliyya Darqawi* Order which had a membership of ten. Today the number remains the same. However the researcher learnt that although the numbers remain the same, the constituency of its members changed. In the apartheid years, this *Sūfī* Order with its emphasis on social, political and economic justice and equality held some measure of appeal amongst the Black community. The post-apartheid period saw greater interest in and participation from the “non-Black” community, that is, the Indians and Coloureds and a decrease of interest from persons of the “Black” community.

5.4.2. **Membership of the emergent *Sūfī* Orders**

The number of adherents at present which belong to one or other of the newly emergent *Sūfī* Orders in Durban is depicted in Figure 9 below:
FIGURE 9: Membership of emergent Sufi Orders

Although some of the orders, for example, the Qadiriyyah Rifai and the Naqshbandi (Tunahan) have only 12 and 14 members respectively, the groups are highly structured and organized.

5.5 Practices and Activities of Sufi groups

5.5.1 Chisti Nizami Habibiya

This Sufi Order has six Sufi centres which are centres of Sufi practices. These are the Sufi mosques in 45th Cutting (Sherwood), Lockhat building (in Central Durban), Alpine Road, Kenville, Westville and Riverside. The mosques in Sherwood (45th Cutting) and Riverside are used as main centres for the distribution of clothing and food to the poor and needy. Each mosque holds its own Sufic practices with its members. However, there is a tremendous amount of sharing and support for each other. Usually, dhikr takes place in each mosque.
on Thursday night as well as on all sacred nights e.g. the Islamic New Year which is celebrated on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Mu<text>ḥ</text>rām of the Islamic lunar calendar. Women are permitted and separated from the males, with the exception of Sherwood, which does not permit women. At the Westville centre a discussion on Taṣawwuf is held once a week in the evenings. These are open to both members of the Habibiya Orders as well as non-members. The Ṣūfī Centre in Central Durban (Lockhat building) holds a pre-dawn programme everyday where the members who wish to attend join their Shaykh, meet and read the Tahajjud, make dhikr and read the pre-dawn prayer, the Fajr. This group makes a congregational dhikr twice a week, on Thursdays and Sunday evenings. In this way the members are given opportunities to join their Shaykh in prayer and other devotional acts as well as to consult with him on a personal level. Both men and women are included, with women being accommodated separately. At all the Ṣūfī Habibiya centres, members are free to arrange consultations with their Shaykh.

All the Chishti Habibiya centres engage in community activities geared towards the upliftment of the Muslim community by way of Islamic instruction (madaris), memorization of the sacred Qur'ānic text (Hifz classes). Efforts are also undertaken to alleviate the plight of the poor.

5.5.2 Chishti Sabiri

The Sabiri group members (men only) meet once a week on a Sunday between Asr and Maghrib to make dhikr. They congregate in a flat specifically allocated for the use of the group and its members. The flat is in Jhaveri Building in Cathedral Road, Central Durban. They also meet four times a month – on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of every Islamic month to honour their deceased saints. The format followed is the same as the ‘Urs’, however it is on a smaller scale. Although individual members in their own capacity are involved in community upliftment wherever possible, no activities are engaged in collectively as a group.
5.5.3 *Chishti Ashrafi*

This *Ṣūfī* group is based at a mosque in Newlands West, called Masjid-e-Sufi Subhani. Members engage in *dhikr* once a week at the mosque, as well as on all auspicious days. The *Ashrafi* group has a very organized women’s division which is very active in community projects. These women meet once a week on a Thursday morning. A pre-arranged structured programme is followed (see Appendix 6) in terms of *Qur’ānic* recitations and *dhikr*. They are involved in fund raising, and use the monies to upgrade their own facilities at the mosque, as well as to improve the conditions of the poor in other areas, especially the Black communities in KwaMashu, Westridge, Lindelani and Marianhill. They assist with the education of reverts to Islam, providing them with basic Islamic education and Islamic clothing. As they are extremely structured and organized they have identified their goals for 2007 in terms of upliftment programmes and this is shown in their newsletter (see Appendix 7).

Of special importance to the ladies is the ritual of “Rampies Sny”. This unique ritual is performed on the eve of the *Maulid un Nabi*. Women and young girls gather together, dressed in their best and read poems venerating the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) while they cut up orange leaves scented with rose essence. Small sachets of these fragrant leaves are made and given to the men to keep on their person when they attend the *Maulid un Nabi* celebrations. A female guest speaker is invited to give a talk. This ladies function is attended by about 200-250 women each year.

5.5.4 *Chishti Ziaee*

This *Ṣūfī* group is based at the mosque in Unit 2, Phoenix, North of Durban. It is called the Noor-ul-Islam Society of Phoenix. The members (men only) gather together on a Thursday evening to make *dhikr*. The *Shaykh* manages a centre attached to the mosque. Here he supervises the *Qur’ānic* education (*Hafiz*) of the resident young boys. The ladies group, a small group of 10 women, meet once a
week on a Thursday morning to make dhikr. They have plans of being more active in 2007 by providing basic Islamic education to women in the area 3 times a week for 2 hours each. The ladies assist the poor in the community as and when the need arises.

5.5.5 Qādirī Shādhīlī Dārgāwī
This group has 10 members. They meet once a week to make dhikr. Their venue varies. They sometimes gather at the home of one of the members or they make arrangements to hold their dhikr at different mosques. When it is held in the home, females are included, though accommodated separately. Only children who have reached puberty are allowed as it is believed that partaking of such intense dhikr may invoke emotions which the child would not be able to cope with. The group members keep strictly to the Sunnah of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and believe that he did not engage in community work. However, they advocate defending Islam and propagate the religion of Islam.

5.5.6 Qādirī Razviya
The Qādirī Razviya group has two Shaykhs in Durban, each with their own membership. Disciples attend dhikr groups according to their preference. Qādirī disciples of other Shaykhs who are stationed overseas attend the Qādirī Razviya dhikrs. The one group holds dhikr sessions on Thursday evenings in Spencer Road mosque in Clare Estate and the other at the Flower Road mosque in Clairwood. Their weekly programme consists of a dhikr after which there is a short lesson or discussion pertaining to the inculcation of Islamic values. At the moment, women are not included as facilities do not allow for their accommodation separately. However, in future they intend to include women once facilities are in place. Members are encouraged to partake in community upliftment projects in their personal capacity.
The *Razviya* group has a central office, the Raza Academy in Victoria Street, Central Durban, from where Islamic information and books are made available. The books are written by Maulana ‘Abd al- Hādī. Many of the books are works translated from the original Urdu into English.

### 5.5.7 *Qādiri Sarwari*

The *Sarwari* group members meet three times a week. Thursday evening is the main occasion for *dhikr*. The venue is rotated between four homes in Isipingo, one in Chatsworth, two in Central Durban and four in the Overport area.

On Monday evening the members of close physical proximity (two homes in Overport; two homes in Central Durban) gather together to perform two *‘Khathums’*, the recitals of specific *Qur’ānic* verses in a set order a specific number of times. This is performed for the blessings of Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and for the blessings of Shaykh ‘Abd al- Qādir al- Jīlānī, the *Sūfi* Saint of Baghdad.

On Tuesday evenings those members who are in close physical proximity to each other meet at one of the homes in their area in order to “concentrate” and “meditate” on Allah and His Prophet (p.b.u.h.). It is a guided meditation in which thoughts of all else are discarded and the concentration is on Allāh, and then the Prophet Muḥammad. To aid the concentration the words ‘Allāh’ and ‘Muḥammad’ in the Arabic script are projected onto boards through light. This becomes the focus of the meditation. After meditation, the members “write”, in an imaginary form the words ‘Allāh’ all over their bodies and visualize themselves surrounded by, and in, God’s light. This group is very active in community work. It is at present engaged in the building of a mosque.
5.5.8 **Qādiri Rifāʿī**

This group meets once a week on Friday evenings at the home of the *Amīr*, Nishaat Siddiqi, in Reservoir Hills.

A distinguishing feature of this group in Durban is the inclusion of women in the *dhikr* group. The group forms a closed circle with men to the right of the *Shaykh* or *Amīr* and women to the left. It is ensured at the point of contact in completing the circle that the men and woman are biologically related e.g. husband/wife; son/mother. The *dhikr* meetings are characterised by holding hands at some point, a lot of body movements (swaying backwards and forwards) and the use of a *daffa* to accompany the *dhikr* at certain times.

The group is small (12 members) and the *‘Urs* of the grand *Shaykh* is celebrated with all members attending at the same venue. However, on those evenings the *dhikr* is longer than usual and if the deceased *Sūfi* Saint had a preference, (e.g. the grand Shaykh Es-Muhyidin Ansari liked sweets) then the group members partake of sweets on that evening. A meal is also served as part of the *Urs* celebration. In this group the practice of ‘*rabita*’ (heart-connection) to the *Shaykh* is given special emphasis. In fact, according to members, the practice of ‘*rabita*’ is superior to *dhikr*. The disciple is urged to make a deliberate, thoughtful connection to his heart upon every undertaking in his daily life. The disciple is taught to make the mental assumption that it is not he, but his *Shaykh* who is performing the action. This practice is designed to help the disciple renounce the notion of self-involvement. The mature student of *Taṣawwuf* realizes that in making *rabita* to his *Shaykh* he is in truth making ‘*rabita*’ to Allah. In this way, he is excercising the central tenet and true meaning of Islam, which is surrender to Allāh.

The members as a group are involved in various community based upliftment programmes preferring not to duplicate services but rather support existing
services. One such project is participation in a Pietermaritzburg based skills empowerment programme for disadvantaged women.

5.5.9 *Naqshbandi Mohamadi*

This group meets once a week on Thursday evening at a Drug Rehabilitation Centre in Westville called ‘Minds Alive’ where *dhikr* is performed together with the patients who are non-disciples of the *Naqshbandi* Order. Taking the *dhikr* to the patients is viewed as a community service as the members thereafter briefly socialize with the patients and share refreshments with them. Women are included in the *dhikr* but are accommodated for separately. Children are also permitted to join in the *dhikr*. It is followed by a brief reading from a book concerning Islam and its practices. The ladies group, made up of 8 women, meet once a week on Thursday mornings to make *dhikr*. Non-disciples are welcome to attend. The venues vary, followers sometimes going to a private home, often to the mosque and once a month to an old-age home for women. On Sunday mornings the disciples go to a Black township to perform *dhikr* as well as to assist the Black community e.g. through a feeding scheme.

5.5.10 *Naqshbandi Tunahan*

This group is comprised almost exclusively of Turkish persons. This group meets three times a week. Women are excluded from the *dhikr* sessions. *Dhikr* is always held at their centre in Sparks Estate. *Dhikr* is of the silent type (*dhikr khafi*). Community work and service to humanity is the cornerstone of this *Sufi* Order. All members are involved in community work.

5.5.11 *Naqshbandi Siddique*

This group meets once a week to make *dhikr*. The venue is always the same – the home of the *Amir* in Sherwood where a separate section of the house is used exclusively for *dhikr* and other group devotional practices.
5.5.12 *Murīdiyyah Order*

This group is made up almost exclusively of Senegalese persons. They meet at their own premises in Central Durban once a week on a Saturday evening. Their *dhikr* sessions are extremely long – lasting 2 ½ to 3 hours. Women are included and sit at the back of the hall. On auspicious days e.g. the commemoration of their Shaykh Ahmadu's exile to the equatorial forests of Gabon, they spend day and night in various religious practices. On these days and nights they do not go to work, neither do they sleep. This group is a very supportive group, providing financial and material support to members of the Order when they first arrive in Durban. Apart from helping their own members, however they do not engage in any community work.

5.5.13 *Tijāniyyah Order*

This group meets once a week to make *dhikr*. They meet at their own premises in Central Durban, rented especially for this purpose. Women are included. The members are almost exclusively Senegalese and apart from helping and providing support for fellow *Tijāniyyah*, members are not involved in community upliftment projects.

**Comparison of groups' activities**

- The following graphs indicate the participation in rites and ceremonies in various *Sūfī* groups
FIGURE 14: Practising silent dhikr

FIGURE 15: Practising loud dhikr
FIGURE 16: Practising dhikr accompanied by daffa, with swaying movements of body

FIGURE 17: No involvement in community projects
FIGURE 18: Minor/major involvement in community projects

FIGURE 19: Performing dhikr in mosque/home/other or own centre
5.6 Practising *Tasawwuf* privately/publicly

Some *Amirs* immediately upon establishment of the Order, began practising *Taṣawwuf* openly and publicly. Other *Amirs* initially practiced individually and privately.

![Diagram showing 25% privately and 75% publicly](image)

FIGURE 20: *Taṣawwuf* being practiced privately/publicly

The analysis shows that 25% of the *Amirs* initially practiced *Taṣawwuf* privately and 75% of the *Amirs* practiced *Taṣawwuf* publicly from the very beginning of the inception of the group.

5.7 Reason for *Amirs* 'going public"

The researcher wanted to establish the motivation or reason why the *Amirs* practising *Taṣawwuf* in private chose to "go public".
The analysis shows that 50% of the Amirs indicated that it was a direct instruction from the Shaykh to practice publicly and 50% indicated that there was a need for it. The need for public practice was:

- To curb the vices and decadence in Muslim society
- To fulfill a demand by the murids

5.8 Participation of non-murids (non disciples) in the activities of the Sufi groups

Some Sufi groups are comprised exclusively of murids (those having taken ‘bay ‘ah) while other groups permit non-murids to attend or participate in their activities.
The analysis shows that 69% of Sufi groups allowed individuals that were non-
muřids to attend or participate in their activities, while 31% allowed only their
muřids to attend the group sessions.

5.9 Reasons for increase in membership
Upon examination of the responses, the reasons for the increases in Sufi group
membership as furnished by the Amīrs fall into one of the following categories:

- Islam is being attacked globally
- Individuals seek peace, meaning and fulfillment in their life
- Individuals feel a need to return to basic Islamic values and principles as
  opposed to the adoption of Western values
- Social change makes individuals feel insecure
5.10 Introduction to the Šūfi Order

An important point to establish was how individuals were introduced into a Šūfi Order or to participate in its activities.

It was found that seven (17.5%) respondents automatically adopted a Šūfi Order membership because their parents were members. Interestingly though, it was those of Turkish and Senegalese origin who adopted this approach. In both cases, their Shaykh is deceased. Five (12.5%) were introduced to the Šūfi Order.
when a visiting Shaykh came to Durban where he delivered lectures and held dhikr sessions. These were 4 men and 1 woman, all in the 36-55 year age category, 1 was single, 4 were married, including 1 couple (husband and wife). Six (15%) joined the dhikr sessions held after salah (prayers) on Thursday nights at one of the mosques in Durban and later became more involved in the group. All of these were men, one in the 56-65 age category, the other five in the 36-65 age category. One (2.5%) joined a Sufi Order after reading literature pertaining to that Order. This was a married male, medical doctor in the age category of 36-55 years. However, the majority, twenty one (52.5%) joined through the influence of close friends and relatives (husbands, parents). It was interesting to note that of the 13 females in the survey, 8 were women whose husbands were Sufi disciples as well. 2 were related to a parent or uncle in the group. 7 of the 8 women were influenced by their husbands to take bay'ah. Of the 7 women, 3 were housewives. Educational status of the women did not seem to matter. In five cases there were whole families belonging to the same Sufi group (that is husband, wife and children). It appears that the influence of immediate family members, for example of husband, was most relevant to influencing their partners. In one instance in the Naqshbandiyyah Order there was a complete family which had accepted bay'ah, including children of eight and eleven years.
5.11 Motivation for taking 'bay 'ah'

Taking 'bay 'ah' (initiation – oath of allegiance) to a particular Shaykh and into a specific tariqah also implies a “stronger” bond and closer relationship to the Šūfi Order than if an individual has not accepted bay 'ah.

Having found in the analysis of the groups that 31% of the Šūfi groups comprise exclusively of disciples i.e. those who have taken 'bay 'ah, identifying the motivation for accepting 'bay 'ah was important.

Of the respondents five (12.5%) were not disciples (i.e. did not accept bay 'ah). For this factor, only the responses of those who are 'murids' i.e. have taken bay 'ah would be examined.

Of the thirty five (35) responses analyzed, the following results emerged:
• The ṭariqah path gives more meaning to the shari'ah – four (4), 11%. This number included one woman (university educated, health field, in 20-35 age category), and 3 men (1 in commerce, 1 in education, 1 in health field, all in 36-55 age category with tertiary education).

• To get spiritual guidance one needs a Shaykh – twelve (12), 34%. 4 male medical doctors, 2 in commerce (male and female), 2 housewives, 1 male in religion, 2 in education field (male and female), 1 male at university. More educated respondents felt that a shaykh is needed for spiritual guidance.

• Encouraged by changes viewed in others – six (6), 17%. There were 2 housewives, 1 female scholar, 1 retired male, 2 in commerce (male and female). Thus more were influenced when they viewed positive change in others.

• To find peace, meaning in life – ten (10), 28.5%. There were 2 medical practitioners, 3 in commerce (1 female), 1 in the science field, 2 in the health field (male and female), 1 retired male, 1 male in education. All were in the 36-55 age category. Persons who appear to have stressful working lives in the 36-55 age category seek peace and to find meaning in life. All these have a tertiary education. More educated respondents seek peace and fulfillment.

• Guided to take bay'ah through dreams – three (3), 8.5% - these were all married females, two with university degrees in the 36-55 age category. It was interesting to see that the “educated” women’s action was directed by dreams.
The majority, 34% indicated that it was to get spiritual guidance from the Shaykh and so become more spiritual. By doing this the individual, in agreement with Khwajah Ansaris viewpoint would experience the 'sacred'.

The second highest number of respondents (28.5%) indicated that it was an action undertaken in order to find peace and meaning in their lives. This point coincides with Max Webers' social action theory that human action is directed by meanings.

5.12 Reasons for association with Sufi groups

When analyzing the reasons for association with Sufi Orders and Sufi groups, the following results were obtained.

![Pie chart showing reasons for association with Sufi groups]

FIGURE 25: Reasons for association with Sufi groups

Of the forty respondents, twenty-eight, (70%) indicated that their association with a Sufi group provided them with a sense of peace and fulfillment. This 70% included both men and women, over all the age categories and educational levels. The majority, however, 18 out of 28 respondents were in the 36-55 year
age category, lending weight to the idea that it is in these years that an individual seeks peace and contentment. Four, (10%) said it was a vehicle for service to humanity. Of this, one was a husband-wife team, and one married female whose husband does not belong to any Şüfi group, and one married male in the medical field. Three, (7.5%) said it gave them a sense of belonging and regarded the group members as ‘their family’. Two out of the three were women, one housewife and one scholar. The other was a single male in the 56-65 age category. Four, (10%) felt that it strengthened them in their faith. These were three males, all with university degrees in the 36-55 age category and one female, a housewife. Only one, (2.5%) indicated that alignment with a Şüfi group made life easier. This was a married male in the commerce field and he felt that his life and means of subsistence was made easier since he accepted bay'ah and attributed this to the influence of his Shaykh.

5.13 Impact of tariqah on personal life
Of those who have accepted bay'ah (thirty-five out of the forty respondents), all indicated that being a murid and having a Shaykh, have impacted positively on their lives. The variables of age, marital status, education and gender had no influence on the findings. Here are some of the comments on of its effect on their lives.

- I wish I found this path ten years ago.
- I am a better person.
- I now mix freely with others of a different race.
- I do more for the underprivileged.
- It is easier to perform my religious duties.
- We are closer as a family.
- We now adhere more closely to an Islamic lifestyle.
- I feel closer to God.
On the last comment, “closer to God” – all the respondents said, that belonging to a Śūfi group had the effect of making them feel closer to God. This they attributed to the connection with an influence of the Shaykh. Reverting to an Islamic lifestyle comment came from men and women but mostly the women (10 out of 13), educated ones and housewives felt that following a Śūfi Order made them more conscious of following an Islamic lifestyle in terms of dress code and adherence to Islamic laws. It can be said that gender played a role as there were more women than men who felt that the Śūfi group impacted on their change in behaviour and dress code.

5.14 Encouraging others to join the Śūfi path
When asked whether they encourage others to the Śūfi path, 80% (22 men and 10 women), encouraged others. However, of the women (10 out of 13) it was mainly because they would’ve liked others to experience what they have experienced. Of the three women who did not encourage others, two were university educated persons, who felt it was a “private matter”, the other a scholar who said “my friends are not ready to join”. Amongst the men however, it was the university educated ones who considered it their “duty” to expand the Śūfi groups and make belonging to Śūfi Orders more accessible. The occupation of respondents did not affect the results.

5.15 How association with a tariqah is viewed by outsiders
When asked how others outside of the group perceive their association with a Śūfi group, the answers varied considerably. The greatest consensus was among the well educated males (13) and 2 females in the 36-55 year age category who indicated that their association with a tariqah was positively viewed by others outside of the group. This is possibly due to the fact that ‘educated’ people can better explain their association with the Śūfi groups. In this instance, education made a difference.
The remainder of the responses was as follows:

- The 2 very young respondents, 1 male and 1 female, 16 years and 18 years respectively said that people are very surprised at their involvement in Sufism. However, the older respondents did not receive this reaction from outsiders.

- 3 respondents indicated that people are suspicious of the groups and avoid talking about it.

- 4 respondents did not know how outsiders viewed them.

- Just 1 respondent was told that the reason why people associate with a tariqah is because they believe that the shaykh solves all their problems.

- According to 4 respondents, Sufi groups were given a healthy respect.

- 2 respondents indicated that responses of members of the public depend on their particular viewpoint.

- At least 5 respondents received both positive and negative reactions to their association with a tariqah.

- Only 3 respondents experienced a totally negative reaction for choosing to belong to a tariqah.

- For 1 respondent, public perceptions did not matter since he was not closely aligned with a tariqah.
There was such a diverse and wide distribution of responses that measuring them against the variables was considered unnecessary. It would have yielded no pattern. What is significant, though, is that only 15 out of the 40 respondents perceive that outsiders view their association with a *tariqah* in a positive light.

5.16 Perception of socio-economic and political changes

When the 40 respondents were asked whether the changes in South Africa past 1994 have been beneficial, the answers were:

- Yes and No = 3 females, married 36-55 age category all having no post-matric qualifications. They cited the high crime levels, legalization of abortion, and the legalization of same-sex marriages as the negative aspects.

- No = 1 female, university educated, 36-55 age category, married. She considered the present situations as "out of control".

- Yes = 36 respondents, across the board, said the changes are positive.

Generally, the majority of the respondents saw the changes as changes in the right direction. The more educated individuals (with the exception of the female quoted above) felt it was an opportunity to interact with people of other race groups. This viewpoint was especially relevant where the groups were involved in community work with Blacks, e.g. *Naqshbandi Tunahan* and *Naqshbandi Moḥammadi*.

The changes which members were not happy about fell into the following broad categories:

- High level of crime
• Moral issues – gay rights, gambling, abortion laws, general degeneration of morals.
• Black affirmative action.

Interestingly, 12 out of the 13 females considered moral issues as the changes they are most unhappy about. These included all ages (even the 16 year old), all educational levels, as well as single and married females. Three of these women work for religious NGO’s. Of these 3, one respondent fell in the 20-35 age category, and is single. All three women in the older category of 56-65 years felt unhappy about moral issues (1 was retired, 1 divorced and 1 was self-employed, married, and in the educated field).

The majority (15) of the men (2 at university, 3 in education, 6 in health, 1 in law, 1 in religion, 2 in commerce) also indicated the moral issues as negative changes. However, those in the commerce (6/10) sector viewed crime as the change they are most unhappy about. Only one man and one woman cited affirmative action as the most unsatisfactory development.

Our analysis reveals that the majority of respondents, irrespective of age or educational level felt the moral degeneration issues were the areas they were most unhappy about.

5.17 Conclusion
This chapter has dealt with the following: identification of the Şūfi Orders, their membership in terms of growth and size, the nature of their activities, reasons for Amirs “going public”, participation of non-murids in these activities, manner of introduction of adherents to the Şūfi Order or Amīr, their reasons for joining or associating with an Order, impact of the tariqah on personal lives of adherents, encouraging people to join the Şūfi path, how participants in tariqah activities are
viewed by outsiders, and the responses by Ṣūfī followers to socio-economic and political changes in South Africa. A summary of the findings are presented in the conclusions.

Upon reflection, in examining the group members for the research, some variables were more relevant than others. Perhaps if I had included more questions relating to members’ families I would have been able to establish to what extent whole families are involved in Ṣūfī groups. It was found that 52.5% had joined Ṣūfī groups through the influence of relatives and close friends. It was interesting to find that 75% of individuals associating with Ṣūfī Orders were between the ages of 36-55 years. It is usually at this time of one’s life when one begins to question its meaning and looks towards more spiritual fulfilment.
Chapter Six
CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction
The objectives of the study were to identify the established and the emerging Sufi Orders in the greater Durban area, to determine why new Sufi Orders emerged, to document the characteristics and activities of the Sufi groups and to ascertain why individuals are drawn to these Sufi Orders and groups.

6.2 Discussion
In 1994 only two major Sufi Orders were in existence in the Durban area. These were the Qadiriyyah and Chishtiyyah. If we include the suborders, they number seven. These are:

- Chishti Nizami Habibiya
- Chishti Sabiri
- Chishti Ashrafi
- Chishti Ziaee
- Qadiri Razviya
- Qadiri Sarwari
- Qadiri Shadhili Darqawi

Four new Sufi Orders have emerged in the last twelve years, though one is split into three suborders. These are:

- Naqshbandi (Mohamadi)
- Naqshbandi (Tunahan)
- Naqshbandi (Siddique)
- Qadiri Rifai 'I
- The Muridiyyah
- The Tijaniyyah
The Naqshbandi (Tunahan), the Muridiyyah Order and the Tijāniyyah Order emerged when foreigners, the Turkish and the Senegalese Muslims respectively settled in Durban. Upon settling here, as per requirement of their Sūfī Orders, they immediately set up Sūfī centres and began practicing Ṭasāwwuf. The Naqshbandi (Siddique) Sūfī Order was established on direct orders from the Shaykh. The Naqshbandi (Mohamadi) Order took root when an overseas based Shaykh visited Durban and initiated individuals into his Sūfī Order. The members then began regular practices. The Qādirī Rifa‘ī Order was founded after four individuals were initiated over the telephone by a Shaykh in California.

It is of interest to note that 75% of Sūfī groups began practicing Ṭasāwwuf openly and publicly from the beginning of their inception. However, 25% of the Amirs initially practiced individually only and in private, but later went public. Of the latter, 50% indicated that the reason for practicing in public was either to curb the vices and decadence in Muslim society or to satisfy a demand from individuals seeking to become more spiritual and wanting a structure in order to achieve this. This aspect gives credibility to Khwajah Ansari’s postulation of individuals seeking to ‘return to the sacred’.

As high as 68% of the Sūfī groups had members participating in their activities who were not ‘murids’. This shows that groups allow for non-murids to gain exposure to their activities hoping, perhaps, that they would be influenced to become formal disciples.

The nature and activities of the groups, varied. However, all Sūfī groups engaged in Dhikr, ‘Urs, Maulid-un Nabī and the visiting of the shrines. Most groups meet once a week and on an auspicious day relevant to their particular Order, with the exception of the Naqshbandi (Mohamadi) who meet twice a week, and the Naqshbandi (Tunahan) and Qādirī Sarwārī who meet three times a week. It is interesting to note that the Naqshbandi Order advocates “blessings in
association” and to this end, efforts are made to congregate more than once a week. It is during these sessions that members share their spiritual experiences. They discuss the ways in which belonging to the group and the Sufi Order has impacted on their lives. Dreams members have of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and their Shaykh are shared. Newly incorporated members relate the circumstances which led them to become disciples. The sharing of spiritual experiences of this nature serves to bond the members closer to one another. To some Sufi Orders, more especially the Chishtiyyah (except Chishti Sabir), Qadiri Sarwari, and the Naqshbandi (Mohamadi and Tunahan), service to humanity is the cornerstone of their Order and to this end group members are extremely active in community upliftment projects. The Qadiri Sarwari, Tijaniyyah and Muridiyyah Orders do not participate in community projects. However, in the case of the Tijaniyyah and Muridiyyah it can be understood that being foreigners, they are not closely linked with the local community. They do nonetheless, provide a strong support system for fellow Senegalese persons entering Durban. The Qadiri Shadhili Dargawi view their major goal as ‘propagation of Islam’ (daw’ah).

It was interesting to note that 61% of Sufi groups allowed women to partake in dhikr sessions while 23% indicated that they are in favour of it but unfortunately lack the facilities to accommodate women separately. If we accept this as true, it means that an overwhelming majority (84%) of Orders are prepared to include women in their activities and practices.

Three Sufi Order groups, the Naqshbandi (Mohamadi), Chishti Ashrafi and Chishti Ziaee have an active ladies division, which meet during the day to make dhikr and are involved in community projects. The Chishti Ashrafi ladies group is an extremely well structured and organized group which raises funds on a large scale.
Turning to the question of exactly why individuals join Sufi groups (either as murids or non-murids), 62.5% of the Amirs of Sufi groups and 70% of the members indicated that it was in pursuit of peace, contentment, meaning in their lives and spiritual fulfillment. Amirs felt that at the present times more and more individuals are increasingly seeking meaning and fulfillment in their lives. They felt that the world with all its distractions no longer held much appeal to individuals who are seeking more meaningful lives. The group provides an avenue in which Allah could be remembered, giving substance to the Qur'anic verse "In the remembrance of Allāh do hearts find contentment" as well as fulfilling the all important activity of providing service to humanity.

An overwhelming majority of respondents are convinced that having a spiritual guide has impacted positively on their lives. It is not surprising, therefore, that the vast majority encourage people to join a tariqah. No less than 90% of respondents welcome socio-economic and political changes that have occurred in South Africa since 1994, though two-thirds expressed their dissatisfaction at the increase in immorality.

Taking into consideration the above reasons for affiliation with and participation in Sufi Orders and Sufi groups, the postulation of Khwajah Ansari that 'desacralization' occurs when an individual does not experience the 'sacred' and he or she is directed to move in a direction to experience such 'sacredness' holds true. The individuals revert to participation in the 'sacred' through the Sufi Orders. This also coincides with Max Weber's theory of social action which argues that human action is directed by meanings. The group and its association provide meaning and purpose to the lives of disciples and non-disciples and guides their action in that specific direction.

The findings of this survey confirm the hypothesis adopted in this study.
6.2 Recommendations

During the research I found that no database whatsoever is kept of members nor their numbers. Should a database have existed, it would have been much easier to ascertain the exact membership of the Śūfi Orders. I had to rely solely on the information supplied by the Amīrs of the group, and had no way to verify the data.

When conducting the interviews with both Amīrs and members, the issue of Ṭaṣawwuf being an extremely misunderstood concept often arose. Here, reference was made to those who limit Islam to the most outward interpretations of the Shari'ah and reject all that pertains to Ṭaṣawwuf and the whole spiritual dimension of Islam.

I do agree that there is much ignorance concerning Ṭaṣawwuf as an integral part of Islam and would like to suggest an “education drive” in order to educate the community about the esoteric part of Islam which is non other than the practice of Ṭaṣawwuf. It was very pleasing to find that the International Peace University of South Africa in Cape Town has, since 1999 introduced Ṭaṣawwuf as a compulsory subject.

This study, as far as I am aware, is the first study which examines Śūfi Orders and groups in Durban. However, there are many gaps which I have left unfilled. I would like to suggest further research in the following areas: community perception of Ṭaṣawwuf, indepth historical development of Ṭaṣawwuf in Durban, the all important role of Ṭaṣawwuf in influencing the practices of Islam in Durban. Research to examine commonalities between Ṭaṣawwuf and the mysticism of the major world faiths could well be rewarding research.

In the past two decades, extensive interest has been shown by the West in Ṭaṣawwuf. Many books, short stories, poems, etc based on early Śūfic teachings
abound. I do believe that *locally undertaken research in* Taṣawwuf *could be most rewarding. It is therefore essential to increase the number of works of an authentic nature on* Taṣawwuf *in Durban ~ not merely with a quantitative goal in mind but also with the aim of providing greater variety for the different types of seekers of spirituality and of making accessible at least an inkling of the vast fields covered by the traditional teachings of* Taṣawwuf.
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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
SCHOOL OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MASTERS RESEARCH

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Questionnaire for ‘Amir’ (Head) of Şûfi Order

Name of Şûfi Order:

Location:

1. What is the name of your ṭariqah? ________________________________

2. When did you first become a murid? ____________________________

3. Name the shaykh who initiated you into the ṭariqah ________________

4. Who is your current shaykh? ______________________________________

5. When was the ṭariqah first introduced into or established in Durban?

6. Who was responsible for introducing/establishing the ṭariqah in Durban?
7. What were the circumstances under which it was established?

8. When were you given ijazah (permission) to initiate murids (disciples)?

9. When did you begin holding group sessions (halqah or jalsah)?

10. Prior to receiving the ijazah, did you practice ta'awwuf privately and individually?
   (a) Yes ____ No ____ (b) If Yes, for how long? _________________

11. What motivated you to begin practicing publicly?

12. What, in your opinion, attracts people to become murids or attend the halqah?
13. Have you observed an increase in the number of people joining the *tariqah* or attending the group sessions? Yes __ No __

14. What is the average attendance at the group sessions? ________________

15. Are all those who attend the sessions your disciples?
   (a) Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If no, why do you think non-disciples attend?

16. Would you agree that there has been an increase in attendance in the last ten years?
   (a) Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If Yes, what are the reasons for this?

   (c) Do you think that the changes (social, economic, political etc) in South Africa since 1994 have anything to do with the greater participation of people in *tariqah* activities?
   (a) Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If Yes, please explain in what way
17. Do women attend the sessions?
(a) Yes ___ No ___
(b) Provide reasons for your response

18. How often does the group meet?

19. What activities occur during the meeting/session?

20. Do you actively recruit members?
(a) Yes ___ No ___
(b) If yes, explain how

21. Are the murids actively involved with community organizations or social upliftment projects?
(a) Yes ___ No ___
(b) If yes, in what way?
22. Are murids encouraged to be actively involved with community organizations or social upliftment projects?

(a) Yes ___  No ___

(b) Give reasons for your response

(c) If yes, what type of activities?

23. Do you think that people benefit from joining a tariqah or attending group sessions?

(a) Yes ___  No ___

(b) If yes, in which way?

24. General Comments
Thank you for your participation in this study.
APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

SCHOOL OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MASTERS RESEARCH

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Questionnaire for disciples of the Sufi Order

Biographical Data

1. Gender: Male ____ Female ____

2. Age: 20-35 ____ 36-55 ____ 56-65 ____ 66 and over ____

3. Marital Status:
   Single ____
   Married ____
   Divorced ____
   Widowed ____

4. Highest educational level:
   Primary School ____
   High School ____
   University ____
   Other ____

5. Employment:
   Education ____
   NGO ____
Name of Ṣūfī Order (tariqah): ______________________

Location of Order: ______________________

1. What is the name of your tariqah? ______________________

2. When did you join the tariqah? ______________________

3. Have you taken bay'ah (oath of allegiance to a shaykh)?
   a) Yes ___ No ___
   b) If yes, when? ______________________
   c) What is the name/title of your shaykh and where is he based? ______________________

4. What motivated you to take bay'ah?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

5. How were you introduced to the tariqah?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
6. How often do you attend the Sufi group sessions (halqah or jalsah)?

7. Why do you attend these sessions?

8. Do you encourage other people to join the tariqah?
   (a) Yes ___ No ___
   (b) Give reasons for your response

9. Do other immediate family members or close friends attend the sessions?
   Yes ___ No ___

10. Has the tariqah impacted on/changed your life?
    Yes ___ No ___
    If yes, in what way?

11. Do you feel that you benefit from membership of the tariqah?
(a) Yes ___ No ___

(b) If yes, explain how


12. Are you as an individual, involved in any community projects?
(a) Yes ___ No ___

(b) Provide reasons for your answer


13. Are you involved in any community projects as a member of the tariqah?
(a) Yes ___ No ___

(b) Provide reasons for your answer


14. How do you think people outside of the group perceive your association with the tariqah?


15. Do you think that the socio-economic and political changes in South Africa after 1994 have been beneficial?
Yes ___ No ___

Give reasons for your response

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

16. How do you feel about the current situation in South Africa?

________________________________________

________________________________________

17. Are there any changes that you are particularly unhappy about?

(a) Yes ___ No ___

(b) If yes, what are they?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

18. Does belonging to the group make you feel:

(a) closer to God? Yes ____ No ____

(b) closer to your _shaykh_ (master)? Yes ____ No ____

(c) more conscious of your social responsibilities? Yes ____ No ____

19. Any general comments you would like to make?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

_Thank you for your participation in this study_
APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF KWA-ZULU NATAL
MASTERS IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

FIELD RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I, Zoraida Isaacs (Student # 761761908) am presently undertaking my Masters Thesis in Religion and Social Transformation.

My Topic Is: The Proliferation of Şūfi Orders in the greater Durban area.

Conducting an interview with the Amir (Head) of different Şūfi Orders is part of the field research section of the thesis.

The purpose of the interview/study is to examine the possible reasons for membership/association with a Şūfi Order.

Participation in the research is voluntary and with the understanding that:

• Strict confidentiality in respect of each individual will be upheld.
• Any group/person who wishes to withdraw from the research may do so at any time
• Anonymity will be maintained and no names will be used in the final thesis.
• A professional conduct of the highest standard would be adopted by myself (researcher)
• In order to maintain a professional code of ethics on the part of the researcher, the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal requires a 'consent form' be signed by all participants in the research study.

I ________________________, Amir (head) of ________________ Order

Acknowledge that I have read the conditions outlined by the researcher, Z. Isaacs and voluntarily participate in the research.

_________________________________  ___________________________________  __________
Name in print                           Signature                          Date

Contact Number: ______________________
FIELD RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I, Zoraida Isaacs (Student # 761761908) am presently undertaking my Masters Thesis in Religion and Social Transformation.

My Topic Is: The Proliferation of Şūfi Orders in the greater Durban area.

Conducting an interview with the members of different Şūfi Orders is part of the field research section of the thesis.

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• In order to maintain a professional code of ethics on the part of the researcher, the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal requires a 'consent form' be signed by all participants in the research study.

I ____________________________________, member of ____________________ Order

I acknowledge that I have read the conditions outlined by the researcher, Z. Isaacs and voluntarily participate in the research.

_________________________ ___________________ ___________________
Name in print Signature Date

Contact Number: ___________________
The Imam Ahmed Raza Academy (Southern Africa) invites you to the URS SHAREEF of

Ghousal Waqt, Peer-e-Dastageer,
Taaajul Ulema Wal Arifeen,
Mufti-e-Azam, Qube-e-Alam,
Imam Mustapha Raza Khan al-Qadiri Barkaaati Noori (radi Allahu anhu)

INSHA-ALLAH ON SATURDAY 3RD FEBRUARY 2007
(14 MUHARRAM 1428 A.H.)

AT THE RAZA ACADEMY
1ST FLOOR - 92 VICTORIA STREET
DURBAN (ABOVE SIRKHOT BUTCHER)

PROGRAMME:
1. 6.56 P.M. MAGHRIB SALAah
2. KHATAM & QUL SHAREEF
3. NAATHS & MANQABAT
4. SALAATUL ESHA
5. SALAATUS SALAAM
6. NIYAZ (DINNER)

Your presence and Du'as will be greatly appreciated
Phone: (031) 3016-786
Fax: (031) 301-7638
yunusraza@hotmail.com
www.raza.org.za

YOUR HOSTS:
FAQEER ABDUL HADI AL-QAADIRI RADAWI
TRUSTEES & MEMBERS OF RAZA ACADEMY
APPENDIX 6

THE EXILE DEPART COMMEMORATION DAY OF SHAYKH AHMADU BAMBA KHADIM RASSULU LAHI TO GABON 18 SAFAR 1427/ 19 MARCH 2006

Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba
Servant of the Prophet (P. B. U. H.)
(1854-1927)
Founder of the Muridiyya Movement

It will take place on 19 March 2006 at 379 Pine Street, Islamic Centre, Durban

Programme
Reading and recitation of the Holy Quran
Five Daily Salaat
Lectures and speeches on the Sheikh and Islam in Senegal
Listening songs and recitations from Senegal dedicated to the Sheikh

We Welcome Everyone
COMMEMORATION OF THE EXILE DAY

THE 18 OF SAFAR 1427/19 MARCH 2006 IN DURBAN (MAGAL OF TOUBA)

The 18th of Safar 1427, known as the magal of Touba constitutes historically a great step up to the glory of Islam, particularly in West Africa. For many uniformed people this date will undoubtedly mean a little. This although marks the start for deportation to Gabon (fierce equatorial forest) of Africa’s most famous and most dedicated servant of Mohamed (P.B.U.H.), by the colonial oppressor (FRANCE). The French colonizer saw him as a threat to their aim, which was to finish alienating and controlling local people. The French with the help of the church was widely paving a way and this was contributing hugely to the success of the exploitation of the African people and their resources. With the advice of the church leaders, the colonial power decided to exile Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba to Gabon after having failed to physically eliminate him. His disciples were then persecuted, dispossessed and expelled from their houses. He stayed seven years in the equatorial forest with no proper shelter and having as neighbors only snakes, pitons, scorpions (reptiles) and other wild beasts. During all the time that his exile has lasted, he never stopped fighting for justice, fairness and praying for the propagation of Islam in Africa. At numerous occasions his life was attempted, but that was only contributing to upgrade his faith and his love for Mohamed (P.B.U.H.) and his Sahabas.

Ahmadou Bamba was seen and portrayed as a second “EL HADJI OMAR” that’s to say he was viewed as preparing a holy war. And responding to them he said this: “if you say that I am preparing a holy war (Jihad), I fully agree with you, but I am doing it through science and taqua(fear) in God, the Lord for excellence is my witness”. Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba spent nearly 34 years between deportation to deportation and house arrest, but he never stood up to complain about his conditions or to show any sign of weakness. Today more than hundred years have past since he went to Gabon and day-by-day his followers have kept growing. Murides are million and millions around the world. From 1902 this day is being celebrated and nowadays more than 3 millions of people are gathering each year in the holy city of Touba (Senegal) to celebrate the 18th of Safar. Huge amount of money, efforts of work of all kinds are freed by government authorities and people for the success of this event, which is West Africa’s greatest religious gathering. To attend the holy city of Touba his disciples will walk, ride horses and donkeys, travel by cars, by busses, by trains and by planes just to celebrate the 18th of Safar. Safar is a very holy month in the Islamic calendar. The disciples of Cheikh Bamba (Khadimu Rasul) are widely found around the world. They are labeled as good and hard working, honest, humble and very strong character people. The Cheikh used to say regularly: “work as you will never die and pray as you will die tomorrow. In Durban like in any other cities the Murides will celebrate the 18th of Safar (Magal of Tuba) as follow:

-Reading of the Quran 10 to 20 times and more if possible
-Reading of Khasidas
-Praying for all the Islamic UMAH and especially for the brothers and sisters who are being persecuted in Africa, Asia, Europe and America
-Eating and drinking during all the day and night.
As-salaam - u-Alaikum

Greeting to you once again. Alhamdulillah another year has graciously come to an end but a year that was filled with spiritual insights and upliftment as well as services to the community. In this our second edition of our annual newsletter we would like to inform you of the following events that took place this year and which were extremely successful.

We have hosted our annual "Rumpies" (celebration of Prophet Muhammad's (S.A.W) birthday and as was a resounding success with at least 200 women attending this function. We have hosted three events featuring the Aslam Jani Qawwali Group from Pakistan, guest of honour being Saima Rani -qawwali artist and "Nightingale" of Pakistan. The ladies of the Musjid Sufi-e Subani Women's League escorted Saima Rani to all the Mazarars in Durban. Not only was this an unforgettable experience to our guest, it was also a revitalizing trip in terms of our own "Iman". The Women's League presented Saima Rani with a beautiful travel bag as a memento of her trip to Durban.

Our own "nightingale" of Newlands West, Mrs Rehana Bee Khan who renders beautiful naath, is officially accepted for her talent as a Naath Khaan by the Raja Bawa Urs and the Ladies Group of the Soofie Mosque in Pietermaritzburg and she went live on Radio Al Ansaar on the 9th April 2006. Radio Al Ansaar has also invited her to cut a CD for her.

An inspiring talk was given to the ladies of our Zikr group by Farhana Shaik and Hafez Fuzail Soofie.

One of our proud achievements is that we have finally managed to build a Ghusal Khana and Ladies' Dution Block as well as a Ladies' toilet. We have also contributed towards a carpet cleaner for the Musjid.

An ongoing venture is that we are always assisting in cash and kind various areas besides Newlands West, these are the areas of Marianhill, Kwa Mashu, Westrich, Lindelani and Addington Primary.

Our aims for 2007 are that, we with the assistance of Apa Yasmin would like to set up Madressah classes. There are about 20 reverts that we will have to accommodate and assistance in cash or kind will be appreciated viz. kurtas, abayas, scarves, books etc.

We have also been approached by the ladies of Westrich regarding the conducting of various classes like the teaching of skills, computer training, sewing, cooking and baking classes and literacy classes for the underprivileged Muslim community.

Finally we would like to wish Brother Imraan and Sister Hawa Bibi of Bibi's Fast Foods a successful marriage. Insha Allah. May Allah make it "Haj Mahroor" for them.

In conclusion we would like to thank all the ladies of the Women's League for their moral, physical and financial assistance. With such a fine, outstanding group such as ours we can only grow from strength to strength. Once again we would like to make an earnest appeal to all our sisters-in-Islam to support our women's League and become members, encourage our Brothers-in-Islam and youth to attend Zikr on Thursdays. We need to strengthen our "IMAN" and build an invincible "UMMAH" to keep "shaitaan" away and that is what being a "MUSLIM" is all about - we are here but for the Grace of Allah and Beloved Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.)

Blessing you well over Eid - Ul-Adha and the seasonal vacations.

Aims and Duas

Dsiya Aziz & The Musjid-e-Sufi Subhani Women's League
Programme - 2006

Week 1.
Salaatut-tazheeh
Aaseeda Burdah Sharief
Salaam
Dua
(Discussion)

Week 2.
Khatme Khwajegaan
Naath Sharief
Salaam
Dua
(Discussion)

Week 3.
Zikr
Shijra Sharief
Salaam
Dua
(Discussion)

Week 4.
Durood Sharief - (1000) Astagfaar - (1000)
Naath Sharief - Salaam - Dua