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The Prophet as Fountainhead:
The ʿAlawī Order and Common People in the Islamic Revival of Zanzibar

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Abstract

This paper investigates the contextual factors of the Sufi order's rise in popularity in the face of criticism within the global Islamic revival movement. In recent years, Muslim societies worldwide have experienced a resurgence in religious values, which has often been interpreted as a return to the fundamental principles of Islam, given the pronounced emphasis on Islamic norms. Sufi orders, which once played a significant role in the process of Islamization, have become subjects of criticism in the contemporary religious revival trend due to their historical absence during early Islam. Therefore, they have been regarded as losing their relevance in Islamic society.

Nonetheless, findings from surveys conducted by the author in Zanzibar, East Africa, show that alongside the revivalist movement, there is also an active presence of folk Islam, which occasionally deviates from strict norms. Notably, a Sufi order known as the ʿAlawī order has forged a robust connection with the local Muslim populace. An in-depth analysis of the rituals and doctrinal aspects of this order reveals that the seemingly paradoxical behaviors observed in Zanzibari society are legitimized through reference to the Prophet Muḥammad, the founder of Islam. This study aims to portray the phenomenon of Islamic revival as a manifestation of diverse orientations within an awakening of religious consciousness.

Keywords

Zanzibar, Sufi order, Sayyid, Ghazālī, folk Islam

1. Introduction

In recent years, regions with Muslim-majority populations have witnessed a resurgence of Islamic values driven by increasing religious awareness. This phenomenon, observed simultaneously across the world, is commonly referred to as the Islamic revival by researchers. It is conceptualized as a social movement that seeks to return to the foundational principles of early Islam (Kosugi, 2006). In contrast to Christianity, Islam lacks a centralized missionary organization. However, historically, Sufi orders(1) have played a key role in

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the propagation of the faith (Akahori, 2008). In the context of the Islamic revival movement, though, Sufi orders and their rituals have faced criticism due to their absence during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, which has cast doubt on their legitimacy (Ohtsuka, 2005).

Figure 1. Zanzibar and the Indian Ocean

The author's research, conducted in the Tanzanian archipelago of Zanzibar (Figure 1), challenges the findings of previous studies. Zanzibar is home to an Islamic city that represents the Swahili Coast of East Africa, where nearly the entire population identifies as Muslim. The spread of Islam in this region can be largely attributed to the efforts of Sufi orders that came from outside between the 17th and 19th centuries (Asada, 2007). In Zanzibar, a reevaluation of Islamic values has been unfolding in response to the secularization that prevailed during the latter half of the 20th century. Following a global trend, advocates calling for a return to Islamic roots have emerged in the area. These actors have critiqued Sufi orders as *bidʿa*.(2) Still, as their Islamic consciousness is awakened, the broader Muslim populace increasingly engages with such orders (Asada, 2018).

Why is it that Sufi orders, which face challenges in the Islamic revival movement, are gaining popularity in East Africa as Islamic consciousness awakens among the people? In contrast to what is the case for religious intellectuals, the life of ordinary people may involve an Islamic way of being that does not necessarily entail a return to the religion's origins. This alternative approach may thrive as societies transition from secularization to a renewed religiosity. To comprehend the social transformation prompted by the Islamic revival, it is necessary to analyze the dynamic relationship between Sufi orders and the broader Muslim population.

Therefore, this article focuses on a specific Sufi order known as the ʿAlawī, which has garnered substantial support in contemporary Zanzibari society. The article investigates how this order has tried to legitimize itself and integrate into the religious lives of the Muslim populace despite facing accusations of being *bidʿa*. This investigation is conducted from the perspective of the order's activities and its underlying ideological framework.

2. Survey Period and Methodology

This paper is grounded in extensive fieldwork carried out intermittently in Zanzibar from 2005 to 2018. Data collection consisted of interviews with leaders and members of active Sufi orders in the region, immersive participant observation of the rituals practiced by these orders, and the meticulous examination of pertinent documents and manuscripts. This study is a preliminary inquiry that lays the groundwork for research scheduled to take place after 2024. It includes the analysis of cases related to the phenomenon of Islamic revival over the past decade. The data, which come from my field notes, had not previously been compiled into a formal research project.

3. Zanzibar and the Swahili Coast

First, I shall provide a concise summary of fundamental details pertaining to the research site. My primary area of investigation was Zanzibar, a cluster of islands situated in the United Republic of Tanzania in East Africa. This locale constitutes an integral segment of the Swahili Coast along the East African shoreline, which is renowned for its cultural consistency. In the following subsections, I delve into the geographic milieu, the demographic composition of the inhabitants, and the religious and sectarian composition of Zanzibar, which has historically been a significant hub of Islamic culture along the Swahili Coast.

3.1 Geographic Background

In the Indian Ocean, people used to embark on long-distance voyages by harnessing the monsoon winds, which undergo biannual directional shifts. These winds blow from the southwest during the summer and reverse their direction in winter. Therefore, since ancient times, the East African coastline and its islands have held a significant position in the intricate web of maritime trade routes that crisscrossed the Indian Ocean.

The Swahili Coast spans approximately 2,000 kilometers along the East African shoreline; it stretches from northern Mozambique to Mogadishu in Somalia and faces the Indian Ocean. The term "Swahili" has its etymological roots in the Arabic word *sawāḥil*, the plural form of *sāḥil*, which means coast or boundary (Yajima, 1993, p. 312). As implied by sawāḥil, the Swahili Coast marked the outer edge of the trading domain of Arab merchants operating in the Indian Ocean. Simultaneously, it served as a bridge to the Bantu culture of the African hinterland. This dual role facilitated the establishment of Islamic cities along the coast, which fostered cosmopolitan societies and a distinct cultural milieu.

Zanzibar, the focal point of my study, is an archipelago of islands located tens of kilometers offshore from the coastline of the United Republic of Tanzania, an East African nation that faces the Indian Ocean. The central island of the Zanzibar archipelago is Unguja, which has a land area of 1,493.86 km².(3) Owing to its historical significance, this island is at times independently referred to as Zanzibar Island. However, the administrative demarcation of Zanzibar encompasses not just Unguja but also the islands of Pemba and Tumbatu, which are situated to the north of Unguja, in addition to numerous smaller islets.

3.2 Ethnicity of Residents

The 2022 census indicates that the population of Zanzibar is 1,889,773 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2022). Although the latest census does not break down this number by ethnicity, the archipelago's ethnic composition can be broadly divided into African, Arab, Indian, and other groups.

The African component comprises native Zanzibaris, freed slaves, and migrants from the continental mainland (Ingrams, 1967, pp. 28–30). The indigenous Zanzibaris are commonly referred to as Swahili people, although it remains challenging to precisely assign them to a specific ethnic group.(4) Among the indigenous population, some also claim Shirazi origins, which suggests a historical link with Iran. According to this tradition, in ancient times, rulers from Shīrāz in southern Iran arrived on the East African coast on seven ships, each of which established an Islamic city (Fukuda, 2018). Those who claim descent from these Shīrāz settlers are known as Shirazi. Today, though, there are no noticeable physical differences between these people and other Africans.

The Arab population of Zanzibar can be divided into two main groups: Omanis and Hadhramis. Zanzibar was under the rule of the Omani Sultanate from the early 19th century to the mid-20th

century, which led to significant Omani migration to the archipelago, both as rulers and laborers. The Hadhramis originate from the Hadhramaut region of Yemen. Although known as Hadhramis, they are more commonly referred to as *Washihiri* (singular *Mushihiri*)[5] in Zanzibar. This group arrived earlier than the Omanis, either as religious figures or economic refugees. The process of their settlement along the Swahili Coast is discussed in a subsequent section.

The Indian population likely traces its origins to Gujarat in western India, as indicated by their religious affiliations, trade connections, and cultural ties. A portion of immigrants comes from Goa, an Indian region with a strong Christian presence.

Zanzibar is also home to migrants from the Comoros Islands, who played a role in introducing certain Sufi orders to the archipelago, as detailed in a separate article by the author (Asada, 2007).

Among the Asian residents are the Chinese, who initially arrived during Tanzania's socialist phase and were often observed operating small noodle businesses on the outskirts of urban areas. In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of Chinese individuals residing in the area for development projects associated with China's Belt and Road initiative.

3.3 Religions and Denominations

Religious demographic data for Tanzania is not available through official statistical sources. According to the 2020 estimate by the Pew Research Center, Islam constitutes 34% of the population, Christianity 63%, and other religions 5%.[6] However, when focusing specifically on Zanzibar, an overwhelming 99% of its inhabitants follow Islam (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2022). There are churches in Zanzibar, but Christianity is practiced by small groups of Africans and Indians. In recent years, there has been an increased influx of Christian immigrants from mainland Tanzania, known as Tanganyika, supported by the Tanzanian government. This has led to tensions and conflicts with the Muslim community in Zanzibar.

Most Zanzibaris practice Islam, but there are variations in the Islamic denominations and legal schools they follow, often tied to people's ethnic backgrounds. The Shāfiʿī school of Sunna constitutes the largest segment of the population, which encompasses Hadhramis, Africans, Comorans, and some Indians. Within the Arab community, it is noteworthy that the Omanis predominantly adhere to the Ibāḍī faction of Islam, which has its origins in the Khawārijites, although some have transitioned to the Shāfiʿī school. Among Indian Muslims, individuals who do not adhere to Sunnism are primarily affiliated with Shīʿa beliefs, with the majority following Twelver Shīʿism and a minority observing Ismāʿīlism.

4. Hadhrami Arabs

In 1964, Zanzibari society underwent a significant transformation referred to as the Zanzibar Revolution. In this context, the Arab inhabitants were subjected to oppression by both activists and the revolutionary regime; as a result, they now constitute a numerical minority (Asada, 2017). Nonetheless, as previously indicated, Zanzibar functions as an Islamic society rooted in the Sunna Shāfiʿī school of law. Arab migrants, particularly the Hadhramis, and Sufi orders have substantially contributed to the shaping of this society. This section discusses the process by which the Hadhramis integrated into Zanzibar, the intricate social hierarchy found in their community, and a distinct cohort with unique social standing.

4.1 Settlement in Zanzibar

Hadhramaut, the native land of the Hadhramis, is a geographic region located in Yemen in the

southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. It shares borders with Oman to the east, the Arabian Sea to the south, and the al-Rubʿ al-Khālī desert to the north. Dominated by a substantial plateau, its habitable enclaves primarily encompass the basin of Wadi Hadhramaut—an arid river coursing through the valley—and the coastal sectors overlooking the Arabian Sea. In the vicinity of the wadi, one encounters the urban centers of Tarīm and Shibām; notably, the former has historically served as the epicenter of the Shāfiʿī school of law. Along the coast stand the well-established port cities of Shiḥr and Mukallā.

The industrial landscape of Hadhramaut is constrained, particularly in times of natural calamities, such as droughts and floods. Consequently, a portion of the populace, which cannot be sustained by agricultural output, has sought livelihoods abroad (Arai, 2000a, pp. 243–244). An inclination toward mobility has been postulated as a causal factor in the Hadhramis' maritime engagements and migrations (Yajima, 1993, p. 353). Despite their diverse backgrounds, the Hadhramis share a collective predisposition for transregional mobility, and they have consistently embarked on migrations to the distant corners of the Indian Ocean.

The Hadhrami diaspora is present in Western Asia, India, Southeast Asia, and other reaches of the Indian Ocean expanse. Among its principal migratory conduits featured the Swahili Coast of East Africa. The 19th century ushered in revolutionary modes of transportation, exemplified by the institution of regular steamship routes traversing the Indian Ocean. This invigorated Hadhrami migration endeavors (Arai, 2000b, pp. 179–180). In contrast, the conventional dhow[7] represented the main vehicle for migration in East Africa. During the reign of the sultan of Oman, Zanzibar emerged as a coveted settlement destination for a substantial contingent of Hadhramis, who were drawn to the archipelago by commercial prospects (Asada, 2017).

4.2 Hadhrami Stratification

Lineage and origin hold profound significance within the Hadhrami community, and both these elements are intricately interwoven with the social fabric of Hadhramaut, the ancestral land. Hadhramaut is characterized by a pronounced social hierarchy and is commonly segmented into four strata, though some scholars disagree with this view (Bang, 2014).

The lowest level of this structure encompasses the marginalized, who are referred to as *masākīn* (singular *miskīn*), and the vulnerable, known as *ḍuʿafāʾ* (singular *ḍaʿīf*), who include slaves, their progeny, and migrants of untraceable heritage. The intermediate class comprises individuals from tribes[8] designated as *qabāʾil* (singular *qabīla*), who often ascend to secular leadership roles, such as sultans. The upper class is made up of lineages of saints and scholars recognized as *mashāʾikh* (singular *shaykh*), who wield considerable religious power (Arai, 2002, pp. 217–220). In the 10th century, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsāʾ, commonly referred to as al-Muhājir (d. 955–56), a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad, migrated from Basra, a city in southern Iraq, to Hadhramaut. The subsequent ascent of his progeny to a position superior to that of the *mashāʾikh* as religious scholars culminated in the formation of the highest stratum, known as the *sāda* (singular *sayyid*) (Bang, 2014, pp. 12–13).

Sayyids, who are direct descendants (occasionally including collateral kin) of the Prophet Muḥammad, stand as a distinctive category. While Arab genealogy predominantly follows patrilineal lineage, an exception arises due to the untimely demise of all the Prophet's male offspring. Hence, the descendants of his daughter Fāṭima (d. 633) and

ʿAlī (d. 661), a legitimate caliph, are exceptionally recognized as the Prophet's lineage.

Diverse regional variations exist in designating the Prophet's family, with the terms sayyid and *sharīf* commonly employed. Furthermore, the honorary title *ḥabīb* is bestowed upon a revered and virtuous sayyid, and an individual who is highly admired may occasionally be referred to as *ḥabībī*.

The presence of hierarchical divisions in Hadhramaut, primarily rooted in tribal dynamics, underscores the challenge of leading a normative social existence without the patronage of one's affiliated clan. Still, the abovementioned strata gradually dissolved during the Hadhrami migration throughout the Indian Ocean. In Zanzibar, the divisions they entailed have been streamlined. What is important in Zanzibari society is whether one bears the status of a sayyid or not.

4.3 Sayyid and the ʿAlawī Family

Encountering sayyids in various regions of the Islamic world is not uncommon. However, this group has historically been distinct from the broader Muslim community, often being labeled as "aliens within" due to their aforementioned unique lineage (Morimoto, 2005, p. 246). The presence of sayyid families is also notable in Islamic cities along the Swahili Coast, including Zanzibar. An essential factor that sets them apart from other Hadhramis is the existence of meticulously maintained family trees. Sayyid families can trace their ancestry back to the Prophet Muḥammad, with certain individuals capable of reciting the entire lineage from memory.

Notably, the preservation of Hadhrami sayyid family trees is an internal family practice that is complemented by an exhaustive collection of sayyid-related materials available in published form. This fervent attachment of Hadhrami sayyids to their genealogical roots is also evidenced by the issuance of a "pedigree book" by Rābiṭa ʿAlawiyya, an institution founded in 1928 in Jakarta, Indonesia (Asada, 2017). This book serves as an official certificate of sayyid lineage. It contains a detailed genealogical account from the Prophet Muḥammad to the present owner, complete with a photograph and an ID number, which resembles a passport (Figure 2).

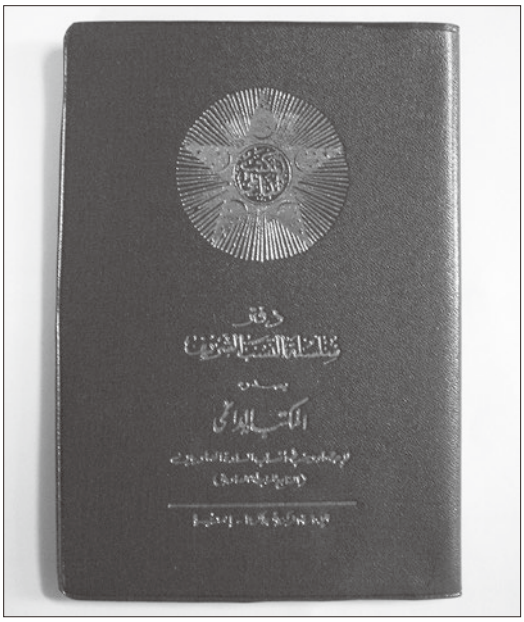

Figure 2. A Sayyid Pedigree Book

In contrast, ordinary Hadhrami immigrants typically lack detailed family trees and often have limited knowledge of their older generations. The author's research shows instances where the ancestral names of these immigrants can only be traced back to their grandfathers.

In Zanzibar, Hadhramis who diverge from sayyids' strong inclination to preserve their ancestral heritage are termed *qabīla*s. Intermarriage between these two groups is exceedingly uncommon. An illustrative example, although not from Zanzibar, was the case of a cross-national controversy due to the marriage between a female sayyid—a *sharīfa*—and a non-sayyid male (Arai, 2002, pp. 230–232). The title of *shaykh/mashāʾikh*, which was previously

indicative of hierarchical stature in Hadhramaut society, has shifted and now means scholars possessing religious knowledge, irrespective of their origins in Zanzibar.

As previously mentioned, all Hadhrami sayyids trace their lineage back to al-Muhājir, an immigrant from Iraq. They are collectively identified as Bā-ʿAlawī, where "Bā" signifies clan. The namesake of the family is al-Muhājir's grandson, ʿAlawī, and individual members are also addressed as ʿAlawī. The subject of this article is the ʿAlawī order, which is a Sufi religious community that originated and flourished as part of the Hadhrami sayyid ʿAlawī family.

5. The ʿAlawī Order

A Sufi order denotes a congregation of religious practitioners centered around Sufi leaders, who embody the essence of Islamic mysticism. The term *tarika* is employed by the Muslim populace of Zanzibar to denote this type of religious order. In its original Arabic form, *ṭarīqa* meant "path" or "way." This semantic root led to its use in denoting methodology and doctrine. When Sufi mystic practitioners began structuring themselves into organized groups, these collectives became also known as ṭarīqas (Trimigham, 1971).

Ṭarīqas are believed to have played a key role in the dissemination and proliferation of Islam along the Swahili Coast (Farsy & Pouwels, 1989, pp. xviii–xviii). This influence is also evident in Zanzibar, where their strongholds are dispersed across different parts of the archipelago, and numerous ṭarīqas remain active. In this section, after explaining the standing of Sufi orders, the origins and activities of the ʿAlawī order will be addressed. Doing so is important because the order has been very prominent in shaping the religious landscape of the Muslim population of Zanzibar.

5.1 What is the Sufi Order?

Islam is characterized by its two primary texts: the Qurʾān, the sacred scripture, and the Ḥadīth, which comprise the teachings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad. The legal framework that emanates from these two foundational sources, based on specific methodologies, is called *sharīʿa*. Etymologically, this term evokes a wellspring or a pathway that leads to a watering place. Thus, sharīʿa provides guidance to Muslims in leading a virtuous life in accordance with divine teachings. The conventional depiction of a devout Muslim who adheres to stringent mandates encapsulates the external facet of sharīʿa.

However, construing Islamic practice merely through sharīʿa oversimplifies the religion as a legal structure, thereby disregarding the intricate spiritual dimensions it embodies. Within Islam, individuals discover profound spiritual solace to navigate the diverse secular challenges encountered in their daily lives (Akahori, 2005, pp. 23–24). This spiritual dimension is epitomized by the internal approach, which ranges from popular beliefs such as the veneration of saints to the meticulously organized mysticism known as *taṣawwuf*.

During the zenith of the Abbasid Dynasty in the 8th and 9th centuries, *ʿulamāʾ*, erudite scholars trained in Islamic studies, undertook the systematization of sharīʿa, which eventually supported state authority. The establishment of sharīʿa prompted some to perceive a drift toward formalistic faith, which incited an alternative pursuit of Islam from a spiritual perspective. This began with ascetic practices (Tonaga, 1993, pp. 71–75). The proponents of this perspective adopted an approach termed Sufism in academic discourse. Some Sufis emphasized the inner journey to the extent of sidelining sharīʿa, which led to frictions with the ʿulamāʾ during their early years. Nevertheless, by

the 12th century, organized Sufism was supported by theoretical underpinnings and became part of the orthodox ideological framework of Islam (Tonaga, 1993, pp. 75–77).

After the 12th century, Sufism grew considerably. This expansion can be attributed to the evolution of the mentor–disciple dynamic into Sufi orders and the inclusion of new lay adherents, who were often engaged in worldly occupations alongside their spiritual commitments (Horikawa, 2005, pp. 161–166). The mystical journey of inner introspection within Islam, termed ṭarīqa, progressively became a collective pursuit. This order revolved around a Sufi leader known as the *shaikh* and was also called ṭarīqa. These popularized Sufi orders significantly contributed to the geographical spread of Islam.

5.2 Introduction to Zanzibar

The major ṭarīqas arrived in Zanzibar predominantly during the late 19th century (Farsy & Pouwels, 1989, pp. xiv–xviii). For instance, the Qādirī order was introduced by Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī (d. 1909) from Somalia, with support from Sultan Barghash b. Saʿīd al-Bū-Saʿīdī of Oman (reigned 1870–88), who held dominion over the Islamic cities of Zanzibar and the Swahili Coast (Martin, 1976, p. 152). Similarly, the Shādhilī order was brought to the region by Muḥammad al-Maʿrūf (d. 1905) from the Comoros in the late 19th century during French colonial rule (Boulinier, 1987, p. 15). In contrast, the ʿAlawī order's introduction to East Africa can be traced back to Hadhrami sayyids in the 17th century at the latest, which makes it the most ancient ṭarīqa in the area (Farsy & Pouwels, 1989, p. xvii).

The founder of the ʿAlawī order was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as Faqīh al-Muqaddam (d. 1255), a prominent member of the ʿAlawī family. The prevailing belief is that the leaders of these ṭarīqas inherited their spiritual teachings from the Prophet Muḥammad. The transmission of the master–disciple relationship from the Prophet to the order's leader is preserved in a genealogical structure known as *silsila*. Faqīh al-Muqaddam was also linked in the chain of the teacher–disciple relationship that goes back to the Prophet.

Faqīh al-Muqaddam underwent the ṭarīqa initiation rite through a disciple of Shuʿayb Abū Madyan (d. 1179), a Sufi hailing from the Maghreb region of North Africa. Notably, Abū Madyan was affiliated with the Shādhilī silsila, which makes the ʿAlawī order an offshoot of the Shādhilī one.

The ʿAlawī order was initially a local ṭarīqa in Hadhramaut, Yemen, but it extended its reach to several locations in the Indian Ocean region thanks to the Hadhramis' migration. As already mentioned, the prevalence of the Sunna Shāfiʿī school in the Islamic societies of the Swahili Coast, including Zanzibar, can be attributed to the migration of Hadhrami adherents of this jurisprudence. The ʿAlawī order played a key role in Islamizing the region.

Prominent members of the sayyid-affiliated ʿAlawī family became religious authorities for Islamic jurists, such as *qādī*s and ʿulamāʾ, in the regions where they resettled. Notably, during the 19th century, the administration of the Swahili Coast was under the rule of Omani Ibādīs, although the majority of the populace in the territories they governed adhered to the Shāfiʿī school of law (Farsy & Pouwels, 1989, p. xv). One of these influential figures was Aḥmad (d. 1925), who belonged to the Ibn Sumayṭ family. Together with his son ʿUmar (d. 1976), they molded the character of the ʿAlawī order currently found in the region through their extensive teachings to the Muslim population and their contributions to Islamic literature, including works on Sufism.

5.3 Birthday Celebration of the Prophet

In Zanzibar, the members of the ʿAlawī order regularly engage in a variety of rituals; the most significant one is the *Maulidi*, which commemorates the birth of the Prophet. The term "Maulidi" has its roots in the Arabic *mawlid*, a polysemous word that can refer to the place of birth, the day of birth, or the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad or other revered saints. The texts recited during these festivities are also referred to as mawlid.

The 12th day of the third month in the Hijra calendar[9] is considered the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad. Interestingly, this day corresponds to the date of the Prophet's demise, but it is celebrated as his birthday across various regions of the Islamic world. The start of the Mawlid tradition is traced back to Egypt during the Shiite Fatimid dynasty (909–1171); the tradition continued during the Sunni Ayyub dynasty (1169–1250). Over time, the Mawlid became intertwined with the ṭarīqas, which transformed the celebration into a popular festivity (Ohtsuka, 2000, pp. 146–149).

In contrast, the Maulidi's origins in the Swahili Coast can be traced not to other Arab countries such as Egypt but to Lamu Island in Kenya during the 19th century. The Maulidi is founded on the rituals performed by the ʿAlawī order at the Riyāḍa Mosque, which serves as the focal point of the island's activities (Bang, 2014, pp. 148–150).

In Zanzibar, a stage is erected in a square or hall to mark the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. During this event, a poem venerating the Prophet, known as a *qaṣīda*, and a prose text narrating his life are recited with an accompaniment of musical instruments (Figure 3).

The Maulidi is a prominent example of the influence exerted by the ʿAlawī order on the Muslim community in Zanzibar. In addition to the central role played by the order's members, the Maulidi includes the participation of nearby residents, who engage both as performers on stage and as spectators in the audience. Furthermore, even after the 12th day of the third month, which marks Muḥammad's birthday, Maulidi gatherings continue to take place at various locations around the islands. Therefore, the Maulidi festival, rooted in the ʿAlawī order, draws in nearly all segments of Zanzibari society in some capacity, irrespective of age or gender (Asada, 2023).

Figure 3. Qaṣīda with Percussions Called Duff

5.4 Ghazālī's *Awrād*

In contrast to the elaborate festivities of the Maulidi, the daily rituals disseminated and exemplified by the ʿAlawī order in the Muslim community are notably unadorned. These everyday routines are referred to as *uradi* in Swahili, a term derived from the Arabic word *awrād* (singular *wird*). While Muslims are obligated to engage in prayer five times a day, uradi concern the utilization of the remaining hours. Within the framework of ʿAlawī uradi/awrād, the day is divided into twelve segments, and there are guidelines on how each should be spent (Table 1). This paradigm is rooted in the teachings of the philosopher Ghazālī, who was born in 11th-century Iran.

Ghazālī, known as Algazel in medieval Europe, was a prominent figure among the ʿulamāʾ who practiced the Sunna Shāfiʿī school, and he was also a Sufi. Thanks to his efforts, the external and internal

Table 1. Uradi/Awrād of the ʿAlawī Order in Zanzibar

#	Time	Activities	Books
	al-Fajr	Morning prayer	
1	After *al-Fajr* before sunrise	Morning private worship	*al-Maslak al-Qarīb: al-Wird al-Laṭīf* (pp. 88–99), *Wird al-Nawawī* (pp. 99–108)
2	Early morning	Recitation of *al-Qurʾān*	*al-Qurʾān* (one *juzʾ*)
3	Up to 8 a.m.	Teaching at home or in the mosque	
4	Morning	Taking a nap (*al-Qaylūla*) [if holding *Qiyām al-Layl* late at night]	
5	Before *al-Ẓuhr*	Forenoon prayer (*Ṣalāt al-Ḍuḥā*) [when waking up from a nap or before going to work: two *rakʿa*s]	
	al-Ẓuhr	Midday prayer	
6	Afternoon	Lunch and rest	
	al-ʿAṣr	Afternoon prayer	
7	After *al-ʿAṣr*	Visit to the tomb of Aḥmad Ibn Sumayṭ (*al-Rawḥa*: on Fridays)	*al-Qurʾān: Sūra Yāʾsīn, al-Adhkār wa-l-Awrād: Rāṭib al-ʿAṭṭās*
8	Until sunset	Teaching and counselling at the mosque, recitation of *rāṭib* (on Tuesdays and Fridays)	*al-Adhkār wa-l-Awrād: Rāṭib al-ʿAṭṭās* (on Fridays), manuscript (on Tuesdays)
	al-Maghrib	Evening prayer	
9	Evening	Teaching and counselling at the mosque, recitation of *rāṭib*	*al-Adhkār wa-l-Awrād: Rāṭib al-Ḥaddād*
	al-ʿIshāʾ	Night prayer	
10	After *al-ʿIshāʾ*	Recitation of *rāṭib* (if not practiced in the evening)	*al-Adhkār wa-l-Awrād: Rāṭib al-Ḥaddād*
11	Night	Going to bed	
12	After midnight	Midnight private worship (*Qiyām al-Layl: Ṣalāt Tahajjud*) [at least one hour before dawn]	*al-Maslak al-Qarīb, al-Qurʾān* (one *juzʾ*)

facets of Islam, which were previously perceived as conflicting, were harmoniously integrated into a unified orthodox doctrine. Ghazālī's scholarship culminated in a comprehensive four-quarter work titled *The Revival of Religious Studies*, which systematically addressed both the external rituals and the internal path to salvation that Muslims should pursue. The tenth book in the first quarter contains an exhaustive discussion of the concept of awrād and their rituals.

While some disparities exist in terms of time divisions and ritual content between the uradi practices of the ʿAlawī order in Zanzibar and those of Ghazālī, a fundamental parallelism is evident. Central to the ritual is the recitation of the qaṣīda to praise the Prophet Muḥammad, a practice also found in the Maulidi, as well as the performance of *duʿāʾ*, a supplication to God. Furthermore, the practice of *dhikr*, the repetition of prescribed phrases extolling Allāh, serves to eliminate distractions and stimulate a profound memory of God. This bears a similarity to Christian liturgical litanies.

These texts are compiled in prayer books known as *rāṭib*. Various types of rāṭib, each named after its compiler, are readily available at affordable prices from street vendors near the Friday mosque[10] and from bookstores specializing in religious literature. Although the rāṭib serves as the prayer book of the

ʿAlawī order, it is accessible to the general Muslim population, including those not affiliated with the order.

Uradi/awrād essentially function as a daily schedule in the Ghazālī way and are intended as a guiding framework for every Muslim's life. Therefore, the extent to which an individual adheres to uradi is a matter of personal discretion. Generally, individuals with higher religious status, such as sayyids or ʿulamāʾ, tend to observe their uradi with greater stoicism. Also, in Zanzibar, certain uradi sessions led by the ʿAlawī order are conducted collectively in mosques.

5.5 Ties between the Prophet and Muslims

Mosques primarily serve as places of prayer, a mandatory practice for Muslims. They also host various supplementary activities during non-prayer hours, including Islamic education for children, study groups for adult Muslims, and other communal engagements. Members of the ʿAlawī order utilize these spare hours to conduct public activities, which allows them the opportunity to recite the rāṭib collectively.

The recitation of the rāṭib in mosques as part of the uradi follows a predetermined sequence. The program outlined below (Table 2) is the public recitation done at *Masjid Jibrīl* in Stone Town, Zanzibar. In the table, the term *al-Fātiḥa* corresponds to the initial chapter of the Qurʾān, a concise yet key section that comprises seven verses. This chapter is of profound significance as it encapsulates the core teachings of God as recorded in the Holy Book. Muslims consistently recite it during their obligatory prayers, and within the rituals of the ʿAlawī order, it is offered as a form of prayer to honor the family of the Prophet Muḥammad.

During the rest of the time, participants engage in the dhikr, qaṣīda, and duʿāʾ activities mentioned earlier, while also taking a scheduled coffee break. Coffee and cookies are distributed to all attendees; this fosters informal interactions, with some engaging in conversation and laughter while a seasoned reciter performs his original qaṣīda. In the latter part of the session, the duʿāʾ and al-Fātiḥa are repeated. The session ends with all participants rising to partake in the duʿāʾ, exchange handshakes, and disperse in a friendly atmosphere.

Table 2. Public Recitation of Rāṭib at Masjid Jibrīl

#	Time	Author
1	Al-Fātiḥa	ʿUmar al-ʿAṭṭās
2	Dhikr	ʿUmar al-ʿAṭṭās
3	Al-Fātiḥa	ʿUmar al-ʿAṭṭās
4	Dhikr + duʿāʾ	Aḥmad Ḥusayn
5	Duʿāʾ	Aḥmad Ḥusayn
6	Al-Fātiḥa	Aḥmad Ḥusayn
7	Duʿāʾ	Aḥmad Ḥusayn
8	Coffee break + qaṣīda	n/a
9	Qaṣīda	Aḥmad Ibn Sumayṭ
10	Al-Fātiḥa + duʿāʾ	n/a
11	Duʿāʾ	n/a
12	Handshakes	n/a

Collectively, the rāṭib, whether in the form of a prayer or a poetry recitation, is fundamentally devoted to the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants, the sayyids, with a particular emphasis on Bā-ʿAlawī among Hadhramis. It serves as a reaffirmation of the Prophet's normative status and underscores the reverence accorded to the sayyids, who are his lineage. In the rāṭib prayer book, one can discover numerous expressions of praise for the Prophet Muḥammad and his family.

When the rāṭib is performed collectively in mosques as part of the uradi, mechanisms are in place to foster camaraderie among participants, such as coffee breaks, social interactions, and handshakes. It has been observed that some individuals who remain in the mosque after the obligatory prayers opt to join the uradi, thus unintentionally becoming

involved in the activities of the ʿAlawī order. Evidently, the uradi are founded on reverence for the Prophet Muḥammad and his family, which serves to fortify the bonds of the Muslim community.

6. Between Holiness and Popularity

As stated in the introductory section of this article, contemporary Zanzibari society is currently experiencing an Islamic revival, in line with trends observed in various other regions of the world. In this global movement, activist groups advocating for a return to the foundational tenets of Islam have garnered significant public attention. These proponents are commonly referred to as Salafists(11) due to their reverence for the early Islamic generation known as the Salaf. Zanzibar also hosts activists(12) who espouse Salafism and, at times, endeavor to bring about radical transformations in the state of Islamic society. They critique the Sufi orders(13) because they did not exist during the early Islamic period.

Although the people of Zanzibar do not subscribe to the radical social reforms urged by some Salafists, they are also not satisfied with the status quo. A prevailing perception among them is that society has strayed from Islamic principles due to the secularization of Zanzibar in the latter half of the 20th century. Consequently, the two groups appear to share an understanding of the situation, and they believe it is imperative to return to the correct teachings.

At first glance, it may seem that Zanzibari society as a whole is reverting to its foundational values. However, this raises the question of why the Sufi orders have experienced widespread popularity in the archipelago. The previous section examined the significant rituals of the ʿAlawī order, including the Maulidi, the festival celebrating the Prophet's birth, and the uradi/awrād, the daily routine, both of which involve various segments of the Muslim population. How, then, can one reconcile the call for a return to the roots of Islam with the current popularity of the ʿAlawī order? This section will perform an ideological analysis of the nature of the ṭarīqa associated with the ʿAlawī order.

6.1 *Ẓāhir* and *Bāṭin*

In Islamic thought, *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* are two fundamental concepts. The former pertains to the outward or surface aspects of phenomena, while the latter concerns their inner dimensions. To be more precise, ẓāhir encompasses the realm of practical application, which is exemplified by the adherence to sharīʿa (Islamic law), while bāṭin regards the domain of contemplative thought and is often associated with Sufism. However, it is important to note that Sufism transcends mere ideology and includes practices, as evidenced by the development of the ṭarīqa. This means that mysticism inherently comprises both ẓāhir and bāṭin.

In the specific context of the ṭarīqa, ẓāhir corresponds to the realm of behavioral norms visible on the surface, including rituals, whereas bāṭin pertains to the underlying ideology and philosophy upon which the ṭarīqa stands. In the case of the ʿAlawī order, ẓāhir aligns with the teachings of Ghazālī, while bāṭin is linked to the teachings of Shādhilī.(14)

When examining the practical aspect (ẓāhir) of the ʿAlawī order, which comprises various rituals and studies,(15) it is essential to clarify the meaning of *Ṭarīqa Ghazāliyya*. This term does not refer to an order established by the philosopher Ghazālī; rather, it denotes living in accordance with the path laid out by him. Ghazālī holds a significant place in the silsila, the teacher–disciple relationship of the ʿAlawī order, and his writings serve as foundational sources for its members. As detailed in the previous section on awrād, in his work *The*

Revival of Religious Sciences, Ghazālī presents a comprehensive program for daily Muslim life. It is believed that the ʿAlawī order, as Ṭarīqa Ghazāliyya, centers on practicing this program and striving day and night to achieve its goals.(16)

The spiritual aspect (bāṭin) of the ʿAlawī order revolves around the truth told by the Shādhilī. Both the ʿAlawī and Shādhilī orders share a common approach to God, which is influenced by the teachings of Abū Madyan, as already mentioned. This approach, known as *Uchamungu*, incorporates the dual notions of fear of God and hope in God, which serve as the central tenets of the ʿAlawī order in Zanzibar.(17)

Uchamungu comprises the Swahili terms *ucha* (fear) and *Mungu* (God), thus signifying a profound awe of God. The adherents of the ʿAlawī order attest to a constant awareness of God's presence within them.(18) This state of filling one's heart with God's consciousness and perceiving God in all aspects of life is referred to as *murāqaba*, and it is facilitated through the practice of dhikr. Furthermore, the adherents are aware that they are continually observed by God, who is all knowing, which reinforces the need for self-discipline and vigilant conduct. This state of consciousness, wherein the followers of the ʿAlawī order engage in a direct and unceasing connection with God, is captured by the term Uchamungu.

The followers of the ʿAlawī order perceive their relationship with God as a two-way interaction akin to that of a teacher and a student or a parent and a child. Their bāṭin awareness leads them to both see God and be seen by God, which motivates them to lead conscientious lives in terms of ẓāhir practices, such as the observance of awrād. It is within the framework of the ʿAlawī order that individuals find the means to uphold these principles.(19)

6.2 The Prophet as Fountainhead

How should humanity approach awe-inspiring divinity? During the course of this research, the author was fortunate to receive a thought-provoking lecture from one of the ʿulamāʾ who was born into an ʿAlawī family. This lecture delved into the intricate interplay between God and humanity, as well as the distinctive position held by the order and the Prophet. The man's long argument was as follows:(20)

> *"If you wish to gain an audience with the king, you must follow the right path. Certainly, you could send a letter to the king, but it would take an exceedingly long time. Alternatively, you could attempt to see the king in person, but there's a risk of being intercepted at the entrance. To attain our objective, we must select the right path. To meet the king, you'd need to go through the minister, which would significantly enhance your chances of success. The minister consistently meets with the king, and the king holds him in high esteem. The Prophet fulfills a similar role; he will guide us toward God."*

In this analogy, God is the king, and the Prophet Muḥammad is the minister. What this sayyid refers to as "the right path" is the ʿAlawī order. The underlying message is that the only means to approach God is through *ʿibādāt*, the practice of manifesting one's devotion to Him, a path exemplified by the Prophet in his teachings to Muslims.

Every facet of the framework of the ʿAlawī order has its origin in the Sunna(21) of the Prophet. This foundational concept underscores that all the activities within the ṭarīqa are deeply rooted in the practices of the Prophet, which calls for adherence to the ways of Muḥammad.

The expressions of dhikr, the supplications of duʿāʾ, and various texts found in the rāṭib are attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad. It is said that his teachings encompass not only matters pertaining to this life and the hereafter, which constitute the core worldview of Islam, but also a wide array of human activities, including politics and medicine—domains extending beyond the conventional boundaries of religious discourse.(22)

When offering the supplications (duʿāʾ), the ʿAlawī order often implores that they may be guided toward the Prophet. This practice stems from the belief that the Prophet Muḥammad serves as the conduit to God; he also holds the position of forefather in the sayyid ʿAlawī family. The Prophet's sacred attributes are thought to have been inherited by his descendants, including the founder of the ʿAlawī order, Faqīh al-Muqaddam. The significance of these genealogical ties within the ʿAlawī order, as well as the context linking the origin of its activities to the Prophet, may be attributed to the fact that this ṭarīqa was established in a specific family, the Bā-ʿAlawī, which is endowed with a holy lineage.

6.3 Two Silsilas

In the previous section, it was mentioned that leaders within the ṭarīqa tradition typically possess a genealogical record known as a silsila. This lineage serves as a linear historical account of master–disciple relationships, including their own connections. Tracing this silsila backward through previous generations ultimately leads to the Prophet Muḥammad. Consequently, ṭarīqa leaders are believed to have inherited mystical abilities and divine grace, known as *baraka*, through successive generations of mentors and disciples, with the ultimate source being the Prophet. In essence, the silsila transcends its role as a mere record of the master–disciple connection and substantiates the authority of ṭarīqa leaders by illustrating the transmission of holiness.

In the case of the ʿAlawī order, the silsila holds particular significance. Within this order, two distinct types of silsila exist: a spiritual one, signifying the mentor–disciple relationship, and a genealogical one, rooted in lineage. The former bears resemblance to the Shādhilī order, as both Faqīh al-Muqaddam, the founder of the ʿAlawī order, and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), the eponymous founder of the Shādhilī order, were disciples in the great-grandson generation of the Maghreb Sufi Abū Madyan. Therefore, the names of the same individuals appear in the generations preceding Abū Madyan within the silsila of the mentor–disciple relationship in these two ṭarīqas.

The silsila centered around the lineage of the ʿAlawī order aligns with the family line of the sayyid Bā-ʿAlawī. It commences with the Prophet Muḥammad; ʿAlī, the caliph and cousin of the Prophet; and his son Ḥusayn (d. 680). It then continues with al-Muhājir, the emigrant to Hadhramaut; his son ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 992–93); and ʿAlawī, al-Muhājir's grandson and the namesake of this sayyid family. In this way, it reaches Faqīh al-Muqaddam.

Between the two genealogies, the silsila of the bloodline assumes paramount importance in the ʿAlawī order. According to ʿAlawī doctrine, even the silsila of the bloodline maintains a mentor–disciple relationship, and due to its sanctified lineage, it is deemed more valuable than the spiritual silsila of Abū Madyan.(23) During the recitation of the rāṭib, which the ʿAlawī order conducts in mosques with congregants, the silsila of this lineage is recited sequentially. At each mention of the names of the key figures in it, al-Fātiḥa, the opening chapter of the Qurʾān, is offered.

This emphasis on the Prophet Muḥammad and the sanctity attributed to him serves as a potent

rebuttal to Salafist criticism, which contends that the ṭarīqa constitutes a bidʿa—a deviation—because its tradition did not exist during early Islam. By demonstrating its historical continuity with the Prophet, the ʿAlawī order also responds to societal demands for a return to Islam's origins in a manner distinct from that of the Salafi movements.

6.4 Baraka and Popularity

While the holiness emanating from the Prophet serves to establish the legitimacy of the ʿAlawī order, a question arises regarding the motivations of the common individuals who engage in the order's activities. It would be simplistic to assume that all participants are stoic seekers and philosophers. In reality, the source of its folk popularity also derives from the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad.

As previously discussed, the Maulidi festivals start on the 12th day of the third month in the Islamic calendar and last for several weeks across Zanzibar. However, the celebration of Maulidi is not confined to this time. Indeed, similar events are conducted on various significant occasions in the lives of Muslims, including the 40th day following the birth of a child, weddings, inauguration ceremonies, and the anniversaries of ṭarīqa leaders' deaths. Given that Maulidi fundamentally serves as a commemoration of the Prophet's birth and that the texts recited during these festivals exalt Muḥammad, the fact that the celebration is held in unrelated contexts may appear peculiar. Still, it remains intricately tied to the ʿAlawī perspective on the Prophet and baraka.

The concept of baraka signifies divine favor and is closely intertwined with the Islamic veneration of saints. Individuals who have garnered the respect of the people and attained high spiritual standing, such as the leaders of ṭarīqas, are referred to as *walī*s and are believed to be close to God. These walīs are bestowed with baraka by God, which empowers them to perform extraordinary miracles. Zanzibar has a legend of a saint, Sharīf Mūsā (date of death unknown), who is said to have walked on water through the power of baraka. The belief persists that this potency endures in the relics and graves of saints even after their demise. Within folk Islam, it is thought that saints intercede with God when supplicated. For these reasons, Muslims seeking divine grace continue to hold festivals at the graves of saints in various regions of the Islamic world, including East Africa (Figure 4).

Figure 4. ʿAlawī Order Members and Common People at a Saint's Festival

It is those who are close to God who are believed to possess baraka; in this regard, it is the Prophet Muḥammad who holds the utmost proximity to God. The ʿAlawī order further underscores this assertion in its doctrinal framework. The order constitutes the ṭarīqa that accentuates the lineage of Muḥammad and his family, with the Prophet occupying a unique and revered status among its members. According to the perspective of the ʿAlawī order, the recitation of Maulidi texts in isolation is a means of obtaining baraka from God. Celebrating Muḥammad's birth during the arrival of one's offspring implies a desire to shield the child by invoking the baraka that God has bestowed upon the Prophet.(24) In essence, Maulidi has evolved into a popular means to seek divine favor, which transcends its original purpose as a celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad.

7. Conclusion

To date, the Islamic revival has been understood as a movement aimed at returning to the religion's foundational values. This has been primarily due to the prominent actions of Salafi radicals and the implicit notion that religious intellectuals serve as the representatives of Islam. These intellectuals, who are responsible for the "official" aspect of Islam, find their ideals in the early Islamic period, during the time of the Prophet and his immediate disciples. In this regard, their objectives exhibit some overlap with the aspirations of the Salafi radicals. In this trend, Sufi orders have faced criticism; they have been labeled as bidʿa and perceived as now "obsolete" in Islamic society (Takahashi, 2014).

The consensus in previous research is that Sufi orders no longer have significance due to the influence of transformative religious values. However, the case study examined in this article suggests that the impetus behind the reawakening of Islamic consciousness in the common folk does not stem mainly from the intellectual class or reformist activists but from the Sufi orders.

A key indicator of this paradigm shift is the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. Sufi orders, particularly the ʿAlawī order, justify their activities by emphasizing the Prophet as their original source. This approach differs from that of the Salafists, who advocate a return to the early Islamic period. Still, by embracing the Prophet—the founder of Islam—as its point of reference, the ʿAlawī order aims to present an authentic image of the religion while remaining attuned to the prevailing trend of the Islamic revival movement.

The activities of the ʿAlawī order, which are bound to the banner of Muḥammad, currently resonate with the Muslim public, which seeks a more Islamic way of life. In the eyes of strict Salafists, who wish to purify their religious practices, the behavior of the Muslim public, driven by worldly gains, is deemed nothing short of bidʿa. However, the experiences offered by the ʿAlawī order serve as a haven for the religious motivation of the Muslim populace, and this legitimacy is bolstered by the sanctity attributed to the Prophet. This nexus between the order, which aims to permeate society while deflecting criticism, and those who deviate from stringent norms but still aspire to maintain piety, gives rise to a paradoxical dynamic within the Islamic revival.

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Notes

(1) Sufi orders are made up of Islamic mystics known as Sufis and engage in activities rooted in Islamic mysticism. They have gained widespread popularity and are deeply intertwined with the everyday religious experiences of ordinary people. Further details can be found in Section 5 of this paper, as well as in my other study on the topic (Asada, 2020).

(2) This term refers to actions and concepts seen as deviating from the core tenets of Islam. The precise definition of bidʿa varies depending on one's ideological standpoint. However, elements perceived to be absent during the early period of Islam (i.e., when the Prophet Muḥammad lived) are more likely to be classified as bidʿa.

(3) This was calculated by the author by using GIS data provided by the Department of Surveys and Urban Planning in Zanzibar.

(4) For a more comprehensive discussion, see Chapter 3 of my book (Asada, 2017).

(5) As explained later, a significant number of Hadramis entered Zanzibar via the Yemeni port of Siḥr. Their identity cards bore the Siḥr stamp, which led to them being commonly called "the Siḥr people" in Zanzibar. However, some historical records distinguish between Hadhramis and Washihiri (Shelswell-White, 1935).

(6) It may appear unusual that the total exceeds 100%. However, in Zanzibari society, it is not uncommon for individuals to maintain their traditional beliefs alongside a major religion.

(7) Dhows are characterized by their wooden structure and triangular or square sails. They once served as the key trade vessels in the Indian Ocean. Even today, small dhows can still be seen in the western expanse of the Indian Ocean, where they are used for fishing and transporting cargo.

(8) The term "tribe" has been used less often in recent years, particularly in the field of cultural anthropology, due to its tendency to connote primitiveness. For the sake of convenience, I employ the term as a translation of the Arabic *qabīla*.

(9) The Hijra calendar serves as the official Islamic calendar and operates on a lunar basis, which results in a year that is approximately 11 days shorter than the widely recognized solar calendar. Consequently, religious observances that follow this calendar are not synchronized with the changing seasons.

(10) Muslims are obligated to partake in the Friday noon prayer in a communal setting. The Friday mosque serves as a sizable congregation site for this purpose and is often surrounded by street vendors offering religious books and various related items.

(11) It is worth noting that diversity exists also within the Salafi movement. This term encompasses a spectrum of perspectives, which includes at least three distinct groups. The first one comprises individuals who neither endorse the prevailing status quo nor actively advocate for it; for this reason, they increasingly constitute the silent majority within society. The second group consists of those who pursue social change in a moderate manner and are thus innovators among the ʿulamāʾ. The third group seeks radical social change and is often labeled as fundamentalist, although this term is not favored in the field of Islamic studies. Finding common ground between these three factions, aside from their shared reverence for the ideals of early Islami, is challenging, as they tend to hold negative views of each other.

(12) Those who distance themselves from radical movements commonly label these activists as *Wahhābī*s. The term "*Wahhābī*" derives from the name of the leader of the 18th-century Islamic reform movement that originated in the Arabian Peninsula.

(13) As previously mentioned, books pertaining to the ʿAlawī order and other Sufi orders are available in religious bookstores. The author once observed an instance where pressure was applied on such stores to refrain from stocking Sufi-related literature.

(14) Moh'd Salim Awadh Baabde, personal communication, April 16, 2007.

(15) The connection between the ʿAlawī order and education will be revisited in a separate article.

(16) Yunus A. Sameja, personal communication, May 19, 2007.

(17) Moh'd Salim Awadh Baabde, personal communication, April 16, 2007.

(18) Ali Khalifa, personal communication, April 25, 2007.

(19) Yunus A. Sameja, personal communication, May 19, 2007.

(20) Ibrahim Junaid, personal communication, May 25, 2007.

(21) "Sunna" refers to the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad, which are meticulously compiled in the Ḥadīth. It constitutes one of the foundations of Islamic law—sharīʿa—and serves as a guiding compass for Muslim conduct.

(22) Moh'd Salim Awadh Baabde, personal communication, April 30, 2007.

(23) Moh'd Salim Awadh Baabde, personal communication, April 23, 2007.

(24) Syed Farid Alatas, personal communication, September 8, 2006.

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