1. Introduction

On the Swahili Coast of East Africa people who lived around the Indian Ocean traded actively by monsoon. Therefore people from different backgrounds came to live and marry, resulting in the formation of a unique, Bantu based culture.

Zanzibar, which is one of the Swahili islands, is located in Northeastern Tanzania, 35 kilometers from the Tanzania mainland. It consists of Unguja, Pemba, and tens of other smaller islands. The area of the islands is 2,460km², and the population is approximately 984,600 [Tanzania National Website 2002]. The majority of the population is Muslim.

In the nineteenth century, Zanzibar, which was also a thriving center of commerce, became the capital of the Al-Bu Said Dynasty, the present Oman Sultanate, which held power among the countries of the Indian Ocean Rim.

Consequently Zanzibar developed as one of the centers of Islamic studies in East Africa and many traders, Islamic scholars, and Sufis visited its shores. Among them, the Sufis contributed the most to the Islamization of East Africa. Until then, Islam had spread only among the elite class, which consisted of Arab Omanis, Arab Hadhramis, Comorians, and Indians. However, because of the tariqas’ doctrines were tolerant of regional customs, they played an important role both historically and politically [Nimtz 1980: 56]. Therefore, the tariqas flourished along the coast and the trade routes leading inland. According to Nimtz, more than one-third of Tanzania’s population is Muslim, and an estimated 70% of these Muslims are members of tariqas.

Although, tariqas have played an important role in the Islamization of East Africa, there is very little research on current tariqas and their activities are not well known. Trimingham is one of the earliest researchers of Islamic studies in East Africa and his work is still the most important material to which the present activities of the tariqas can be compared. He mentioned some tariqa practices, but he said that it was difficult to estimate the influence of the orders among the Swahili [Trimingham 1964: 97]. Thus saying, he appears to have overlooked their importance. Moreover, the information on each tariqa’s activity and their historical content are not sufficient to describe their general characteristics. Nimtz’s study provided details with respect to the tariqa leaders’ political activities concerning the development of Tanganyika (the present Tanzania) [Nimtz 1980]. However, he scarcely elaborated on the activities of the tariqa members or their regular practices.

As mentioned above, preceding researchers have mentioned the tariqas’ historical and political events, but they could not sufficiently grasp the general perception of the tariqas. Therefore, it is...
difficult to examine their present condition. Through this paper, I wish to investigate the present condition of Zanzibar’s tariqas based on my field research and also examine what tariqas are like in contemporary Zanzibar.

This paper is structured as follows. In the second chapter, based on the preceding research, I will elaborate on (1) the fundamental elements that form tariqas and (2) the previous perception of the tariqas in Zanzibar. In contrast, in the third chapter, I will elaborate on the various tariqas in present Zanzibar based on my field research. In the fourth chapter, I will compare previous perceptions with today’s perceptions of the tariqas, and I will also examine what tariqas are like in Zanzibar today.

2. Tariqas in Preceding Research

In this chapter I will first focus on the fundamental elements that form tariqas. Second I will examine the tariqas in Zanzibar as discussed in preceding research.

2.1. The Fundamental Elements of a Tariqa

When considering a tariqa, the following three aspects are important and regarded as their fundamental elements.

- silsila
- eponym
- dhikr

Of the three fundamental elements of a tariqa, the most important is silsila. Tariqas stress the relationship that exists between a master and his/her pupil [Hamada 1994: 261, Horikawa 2005: 161]. Tariqas acquire and pass on the spiritual essence of their eponym. They maintain their unity through this common silsila.4)

Tariqas are usually named after the eponym [Hamada 1994: 261]. One of the aims of the tariqa is to continue the doctrine of the master. Therefore it is natural to use the name of the eponym as the name of the tariqa.

Dhikr refers to the practice in which the members of a tariqa recite God’s names repeatedly to concentrate their spirit in a gathering. Since “dhikr” is known as “zikr” in Swahili, I will use the word zikr throughout this paper.

These three aspects are the fundamental elements that form and sustain tariqas.

2.2. Tariqas in Preceding Research

In this section, I will elaborate on the tariqas of Zanzibar based on preceding research. According to previous research, the tariqas that existed in Zanzibar were al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya, al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhilīya al-Yashrutīya, al-Ṭarīqa al-Rifāʿīya, and al-Ṭarīqa al-ʻAlawīya.5)

al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya

Three branches of al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya were introduced in East Africa. The most well-known branch was the one introduced by Uways (Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī, 1847-1909) in 1884.

---


5) Besides Tringham mentions al-Ṭarīqa al-Dandarāwīya as found in Zanzibar, Somalia, Northern Kenya, Comoro Islands, and a few coastal centers, but it is not very popular [Tringham 1964: 102]. I will not mention the order any more because I couldn’t find it in my fieldwork and unrelated to the analysis of this paper.
Uways was born in Southern Somalia and had succeeded in spreading his tariqa there. Zanzibar’s Sultan, Barghash (Bargash b. Sa’īd, reign: 1870-1888) invited him to visit Zanzibar [Nimtz 1980: 57-59]. Even the sultans that succeeded Barghash helped Uways economically and made it easy for him to engage in spreading his tariqa [Nimtz 1980: 72-73].

One of the orders that derived from Uways’s tariqa was the Kirama. Shauri (Shauri b. Hajji Mshirazi, d. 1913), who was born on Tumbatu Island, the northern island of Zanzibar, received the ijāza (license to teach) from Uways and founded his own Kirama order [Trimingham 1964: 100; Nimtz 1980: 58; Pouwels 1987: 159].

al-Ţarīqa al-Shādhilīya al-Yashrutīya

Al-Ţarīqa al-Shādhilīya al-Yashrutīya was established in Acre, Palestine, in 1862–1863 by ʻAli Nūr al-Dīn (ʻAli Nūr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maghribī al-Yashruṭī al-Shādhīlī al-Tarshiḥī, ca. 1804-91). Muḥammad Maʻrūf (Muḥammad Maʻrūf b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr, 1853-1905) brought the order from the Comoros to Zanzibar at the end of 19th century [Martin 1976:154]. After studying al-Qur’ān and tariqa in Jeddah and Zanzibar, Muḥammad Maʻrūf returned to the Comoros and met with ʻAbd Allāh Darwīsh, who was the leader of al-Ţarīqa al-Shādhilīya al-Yashrutīya in the Comoros. Muḥammad Maʻrūf had served as ʻAbd Allāh Darwīsh’s khalīfa. When Muḥammad Maʻrūf faced oppression from the colonial government and the kingdom because of his public criticism of their policies, he had to flee the Comoros and began traveling around East Africa, spreading his order wherever he went [Nimtz 1980: 60; Bang 2003: 52-53]. In contrast to al-Ţarīqa al-Qādirīya, this tariqa is centralized and has an extensive network. Their international head office, which is in Acre, disseminates important information to heads in each area [Nimtz 1980: 60].

al-Ţarīqa al-Rifāʿiya

This tariqa is said to be one of the oldest orders in East Africa. It was brought to the East African Coast from Aden [Nimtz 1980: 62]. This order is known as “Maulidi ya Homu”, the mawlid of the monsoon, especially in local areas. Moreover, it is the only order that allows the use of drums, and its practitioners tend to recite their poetry in Swahili rather than in Arabic [Trimingham 1964: 101].

al-Ţarīqa al-ʻAlawīya

This tariqa, established by Muḥammad b. ʻAlī (d. 1255), is an influential order in Hadhramaut. The order has spread widely among the people who have resided around the Indian Ocean. In East Africa, Lamu Island, Kenya, is its center. Its members are exclusively descended from the Ḥusayn’s branch of the Prophet Muḥammad’s family residing in Hadhramaut. A feature of this order is the transmission of mystical knowledge in the genealogical chain [Bang 2003: 15-16].

3. Tariqas in Present Zanzibar

In the previous section, I elaborated on the tariqas’ fundamental elements and explained the condition of tariqas in Zanzibar as discussed in preceding research. In this section, I will discuss the activities of the present tariqas in Zanzibar based on my fieldwork.

3.1. Outline of the Fieldwork
I undertook fieldwork in Zanzibar twice, from April 16th to May 16th in 2005 and from September 18th to December 18th in 2006. This research mainly involved interviewing leaders from each tariqa (see the table, the end of the paper). As for the tariqas’ names I will use the names by which the Zanzibaris call them now.

3.2. The Present Tariqas in Zanzibar

Here, I will talk about the results of the interviews and then describe the features of each order.

**Qadiriyya**

The Qadiriyya order has zāwiya s all over Zanzibar and also has the largest number of zāwiya s. There are more than 130 of its zāwiya s in Zanzibar alone. The center is Welezo, 6.4 km from the center of Zanzibar, where Sayyid ʻUmar al-Qullatain, who got ijāza from Uways, was buried. Most of them are derived from Uways’s order. They have their silsilas and maintain a large-scale network. They organize the Tanzania Qadiriyya Association (Jumuiya Zawiyatul Qadiriya Tanzania) and their head office is currently located in Dar es Salaam. In addition, this association has branches in other countries, such as Kenya, Dubai, Congo, and Burundi, and they have even published books related to their tariqa. Their silsilas from Prophet Muḥammad to the shaykh today is also mentioned in their publications.

**Shadhiliyya**

At present, there are only five zāwiya s of the Shadhiliyya order in Zanzibar. They follow a certain hierarchy. Nūr al-Dīn al-Ghassānī, the supreme leader in East Africa, lives in Dar es Salaam. Even their head office in Lebanon retains this form of centralization. They have a silsila that has been recorded from Prophet Muḥammad to Muḥammad Maʻrūf, who brought the tariqa to Zanzibar.

**Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya)**

The Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya) order has neither any zāwiya nor any regular events. They only have their zikri, referred to as Maulidi ya Homu (mawlid of the monsoon). The word “mawlid” commonly means a celebration in honor of the Prophet Muḥammad’s birthday, or an Islamic saints’ birthdays, but in Zanzibar the word “maulidi” has a more specific meaning. Here the word “maulidi” clearly means zikri. People in Zanzibar recognize only the name “Maulidi ya Homu”, not Rifaiyya. According to the leader, their zikri expresses the swing of the sail of a dhow. This tariqa tends to be a group of entertainers. In fact the leader said that they are even willing to travel to any place, provided he is paid for it. Moreover their zikri is regarded as one of Zanzibar’s cultural traditions, and there is a project underway to try and conserve it. According to its leader, the place and year in which the tariqa was established is unknown and the silsila was also nearly lost when it had to face oppression after the Zanzibar Revolution in 1964 (see chapter 5).

**Kirama**

The Kirama order was established in Donge, Northern Zanzibar and they perform their zikri after al-‘ishā’ prayer every Thursday. They said that Shaykh Shauri had started this order, and almost all the people in Northern Zanzibar know his name. His tomb is situated in Donge. According to the leader of the Kirama, the full name of the order is Donge Pangamaua Shadhiliyya Kirama, and the name of the tariqa is Shadhiliyya. Moreover, he stated that Kirama is the name of their zikri. He
further stated that the head office and birthplace of Kirama and Shadhiliyya are located in Donge.

**Kigumi**

Kigumi is an order that is active in Northern Zanzibar. The leader of the order stated that Kigumi is the name of the tariqa. As for the *silsila*, the tariqa was formed in the year 1945 and its *silsila* began in the same year. Therefore, the *silsila* cannot be traced to Prophet Muḥammad.

**Kijiti**

Kijiti is a tariqa that has its *zāwiya* in Northern Zanzibar. The leader of this tariqa stated that Kijiti was the name of its *zikri*. Moreover, he also said that they belonged to the Shadhiliyya order. It was formed in 1942 and their *silsila* was acquired from the progenitor, not Prophet Muḥammad.

**Hochi and Hamziyya**

Hochi and Hamziyya are tariqas, which are active in the northern part of Zanzibar. I could find no information about the location of the activities of them. They were both founded between 50 and 100 years ago and their *silsilas* cannot be traced to Prophet Muḥammad.

The above are tariqas that I interviewed during my fieldwork. Among them, the Qadiriyya are active all over the island; the Shadhiliyya in Southern Zanzibar; and the Kirama, Kigumi, Kijiti, Hochi and Hamziyya in Northern Zanzibar. As for Maulidi ya Homu, they have neither a special event nor places where they practice. In this section, I have revealed that some orders retain a tariqa’s fundamental elements, and some do not.

4. **Features of the Tariqas in Zanzibar**

In the previous chapter, I referred to the current situations of tariqas in Zanzibar based on my fieldwork. In this chapter, I intend to examine the features of these tariqas.

4.1. **Tariqas’ Origins**

The following are the tariqas that I discussed in the previous chapter:

- Qadiriyya ★
- Shadhiliyya ★
- Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya) ★
- Kirama ★
- Kigumi
- Kijiti
- Hochi
- Hamziyya

Among them, the tariqas that were referred to in preceding research are the four orders that I have marked with ★. Qadiriyya, Shadhiliyya, and Rifaiyya are the tariqas that can be found in the other parts of the Islamic world. With respect to the Kirama, some previous research mentions that it is derived from the Qadiriyya [Trimingham 1964: 100; Nimtz 1980: 58; Pouwels 1987: 159]. However, in my interviews with them, they claimed that they were one of the Shadhiliyya branches, and that they did not recognize themselves as a branch of the Qadiriyya as mentioned in preceding research.
As for Rifaiyya, it is known as Maulidi ya Homu today. Common people, even the members of the tariqa except the leader do not recognize the name Rifaiyya. Therefore, the two orders, Kirama and Rifaiyya are now quite different from those examined in preceding research.

When I researched these tariqas, my important sources were Muhammad Idris, who is familiar with the tariqas in the East African Coast, and Khalifa Ali Aboud, who is the supreme leader of Shadhiliyya in Zanzibar. They explained the tariqas as follows:

- Qadiriyya
- Shadhiliyya
- Rifaiyya
- Kirama
- Kigumi (derived from Qadiriyya)
- Kijiti (derived from Qadiriyya)
- Hochi (derived from Qadiriyya)
- Hamziyya (derived from Alawiyya)

According to their opinions, the tariqas that previous research had not referred to are derived from the Qadiriyya and Alawiyya. However, it is inappropriate to state that there are only four tariqas because the members of the tariqas do not recognize their groups as belonging to Qadiriyya or Alawiyya. Moreover, the features of these groups are now different from those that they were originally derived from. In the next section, I will analyze these tariqas focusing on the fundamental elements of tariqa, which have been described in 2.1, and I will try to explain their characteristics.

4.2. Silsila

The tariqas that have *silsilas* are Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya. The *silsila* of Qadiriyya is mentioned in their publications and everyone can see it. The *silsila* of Shadhiliyya was recorded from Prophet Muḥammad to Muḥammad Maʻrūf. As for other tariqas, some have lost their *silsilas*, and the others are unaware of the concept of *silsila*. Some have *silsilas* that cannot be traced back to Prophet Muḥammad, but only to shaykhs of a few generations before.

4.3. Eponym

The tariqas that derived their names from their eponyms are Qadiriyya, Shadhiliyya, and Rifaiyya (Maulidi ya Homu). Although, the name Rifaiyya was derived from that of its eponym, it is commonly known by the name of its *zikri*—Maulidi ya Homu. About Hamziyya the name is considered to derive from the title of the poetry, which was written by Būṣīrī (Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saʻīd al-Būṣīrī, 608/1212-696/1296), who was a member of the Alawiyya. They use this text when they do *zikri*, so they are called Hamziyya.

According to Khalīfa Aboud, Kirama derives its name from *kirām*, the plural of *karīm*, which means ‘tolerant’ in Arabic. The leader of the Kirama stated that Kirama is the name of its *zikri* and that the name of the order is actually Shadhiliyya. Moreover, he stated that Donge is the birthplace and the head office of the Shadhiliyya. However, Muhammad Idris and Khalīfa Aboud contradicted this view and stated that since the personal name of the present leader includes the name “Shadhili”, the leader had referred to his tariqa as the Shadhiliyya.
The origin of the name “Kijiti” is unconfirmed. Moreover its leader also stated that Kijiti is the name of their zikri and that the order is derived from the Shadhiliyya. Muhammad Idris pointed out that since the name of the leader includes Shadhiliyya, as was seen in the case of Kirama, its leader has recognized Shadhiliyya as the name of their tariqa. Moreover, its members recognized the name of their tariqa as Kijiti.

Concerning the Kigumi and Hochi, the origins of their names are unconfirmed. Their leader states that Kigumi and Hochi are the names of the tariqas, not the name of their zikri. However, the names of their progenitors seem to be neither Kijiti nor Hochi. Therefore the names of these tariqas are not from the eponyms.

4.4. Zikri

Regarding zikri, all of the tariqas I researched recite it. Some of the tariqas’ names are not derived from the names of their progenitors. In certain cases, the names of the zikri have become the names of these tariqas.

5. Conclusion: What is Tariqa in Zanzibar?

The aim of this paper is to investigate the indispensable elements of the tariqas in Zanzibar, based on my fieldwork. In the second chapter, first I pointed out the general theory of tariqa’s three fundamental elements: silsila, eponym and zikri. Then I explained the tariqas in Zanzibar according to the preceding research, i.e. al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya, al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhilīya al-Yashrutīya, al-Ṭarīqa al-Rifāʿīya, and al-Ṭarīqa al-ʻAlawīya. In the third chapter, based on my own fieldwork, I explained the tariqas in contemporary Zanzibar. I found that there are two types of tariqas: one type places importance on the relationship between a master and his/her pupil. For example Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya and Shadhīlīyya are in this category. These can be understood as a common type of tariqa similar to those found in the other parts of the Islamic world. However there is another type of tariqa as for example the Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya), Kirama, Kigumi, Kijiti, Hochi and Hamziyya. They lack one or two fundamental elements of tariqa, which I mentioned in the second chapter. Here we should pay attention to the fact that all tariqas of these two types retain zikri rituals. In the case that tariqas lack silsils and eponyms, the names of their zikris become the tariqas’ names themselves. This implies that their practice of zikri is the most important factor for them and that they utilize these practices to create the identity of their tariqas.

Moreover, the most important thing to understand is how the members of the tariqas identify themselves. As I mentioned above, the members identify themselves as a tariqa. People in the communities also regard them as a tariqa. Therefore we can safely say that they are tariqas even if they lack some of the fundamental elements that are normally found in the tariqas of the other parts of the Islamic world.

In my fieldwork I found that cases where tariqas lack some of the fundamental elements are common in Northern Zanzibar. The late Shaykh Shauri from Tumbatu Island (Northern Zanzibar) is well known because his tariqa, the Kirama, played an important role in Northern Zanzibar. Muhammad Idris pointed out that many tariqas in Northern Zanzibar, which lack a tariqa’s
fundamental elements, derived from this Kirama order. If these tariqas derived from the Kirama order they inevitably lack the tariqa’s fundamental elements.

Why do some tariqas lack fundamental elements? I can point out two reasons. The first reason is a change in the leadership. In the 19th century the sultans of Zanzibar invited many ulamas from Hadhramaut and the other areas of East African Coast. The ulamas who lived in the center of Zanzibar had many students and conducted regular classes. They taught higher Islamic knowledge, such as Islamic law, the Qur’an, Arabic grammar, poetry, Sufism and so on. However, the students who could study from them were mostly Arabs. To become one of the ulamas one must learn such knowledge. Therefore it was difficult for non-Arab Zanzibaris to become ulama.

At the end of the 19th century some tariqas came to Zanzibar and contributed to Islamizing East Africa, even penetrating deeply into the inland areas. In Zanzibar the leaders who brought tariqas to Zanzibar were not Africans, but they gave ijāza to Africans. Consequently some African Zanzibaris became Islamic leaders. Through these native leaders many ordinary people got to know of and began practicing Islam.

The second reason was the Zanzibar Revolution in 1964. Zanzibar became independent of Great Britain as the Sultanate of Zanzibar at the end of 1963. The Arabs had continued to have hegemony politically, but in January 1964, the people brought revolution with their leader John Okello from Uganda. As a result they established the People’s Republic of Zanzibar. Many Arabs were killed and fled to the Tanzania mainland and Kenya seeking the help of their relatives. Therefore the traditional Muslim scholarly and devotional leadership was weakened. Established lines of transmission of both sufi piety and Islamic studies were disrupted. Some tariqas died out because of the situation after the revolution, but some have survived, while inevitably losing some of their fundamental elements. In 1972 the strict autocracy was ended by the assassination of the Zanzibarian president Abeid Amani Karume. After that oppression against Islamic leaders was gradually eased, so the tariqas, which had survived became active again. They have changed their styles, adapting to the political and social situation flexibly.

References

---

6) The Islamic sect of the Oman rulers was Ibadi while most of Zanzibaris had belonged to Sunni under the influence of Hadhrami scholars. The rulers hadn’t forced people to change their sect, rather, they invited Sunni scholars from Hadhramaut. The origin of many scholars from East African Coast was also Hadhramaut.

7) In those days most of the intellectuals like ulamas were Hadhramis and they educated their relatives more than others.

8) The first president Abeid Amani Karume (1905-1972) exiled Okello from the island after he became president of Zanzibar. In 1964 Zanzibar united with Tanganyika and formed United Republic of Tanzania.


The Result of the Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The name of the tariqa</th>
<th>Qadiriyya (Stone Town)</th>
<th>Qadiriyya (Welezo)</th>
<th>Qadiriyya (Tumbatu)</th>
<th>Shadhiliyya Yashrutiyya (Stone Town)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The place of the activity</td>
<td>(near Stone Town) Mkuazini, Mrandege, Makadara, Sartean</td>
<td>Welezo</td>
<td>(Northern Zanzibar) Chwaka, Tumbatu, Chaanti, Shangani, Matemwe, Bumbwini</td>
<td>Bumbwini, Chukwani, Choumbeurasi, Mwembe, Víkokotoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of members</td>
<td>200 (Chwaka)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The shaykh doesn’t know because of no record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts for the members</td>
<td>Tarbiya al-Murīd</td>
<td>Zimām al-Sâlikîn fī Ādâb Ṭarīqa, Sirr al-Asrâr wa Maẓhar al-Anwâr, Ḥujja al-Dhâkirîn</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Qâdir fi Ḥjdbc al-Taṣawwuf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ījâza (related rituals)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√ (a cup of water)</td>
<td>√ (a cup of water)</td>
<td>√ (a cup of water, handshake with shaykh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The name of a progenitor, place, year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship with other tariqas</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√ (with Shadhiliyya)</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship with tariqas out of Zanzibar</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√ (Comoro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sîksila</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The name of the tariqa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Maulidi ya Homu</strong> (Rifaiyya)</td>
<td><strong>Kirama</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kigumi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kijiti</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The place of the activity</strong></td>
<td>× (any places where they were invited)</td>
<td>Donge Pangamaua (head office), Chaani, Kichagani, Jongowe, Bumbwini, Tazari, Welezo</td>
<td>Bumbwini (head office), Uvivini, Mbalungini, Jongowe,</td>
<td>Kokoni, Tazari, Kilimani, Potoa, Bwereo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of members</strong></td>
<td>Zanzibar 40, Pemba 40</td>
<td>more than 200</td>
<td>more than 100</td>
<td>140 (Kokoni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Events</strong></td>
<td>no special event.</td>
<td>zikri event (6 times a year)</td>
<td>the anniversary of the foundation, the anniversary of shaykh’s death, Prophet Muḥammad’s birthday</td>
<td>The day in memory of the founder, Prophet Muḥammad’s birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Texts for the members</strong></td>
<td>qaṣīda (written by the leader)</td>
<td>× (orally)</td>
<td>Barzanjī, text written by shaykh</td>
<td>Tabāruk Dhū al-ʻAlā, Barzanjī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ijāza (related rituals)</strong></td>
<td>× (in the old days: a cup of milk and recite duʿā’).</td>
<td>a cup of water</td>
<td>donation</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The name of a founder, place, year</strong></td>
<td>Sultān b. Malik</td>
<td>Haji b. Ali, Bumbwini, 1945</td>
<td>Athman bin Ali, Lamu (Kenya), 1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The relationship with other tariqas</strong></td>
<td>×</td>
<td>√ (especially with Qadiriyya, and Shadhiliyya)</td>
<td>√ (especially with Kirama, Kigumi, Hamziyya)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The relationship with tariqas out of Zanzibar</strong></td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The name of the tariqa</th>
<th>Hochi</th>
<th>Hamziyya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The place of the activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of members</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>Ramadhani 16 Shaabani 26 Prophet Muḥammad’s birthday</td>
<td>Shaabani 22 Prophet Muḥammad’s birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts for the members</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamziyya, Barzajī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥājda (related rituals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The name of a progenitor, place, year</td>
<td>Bakari Makame Omar, 1958/59</td>
<td>100 years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship with other tariqas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship with tariqas out of Zanzibar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silsila</td>
<td>Bakari Makame Omar → Khamis Nyange → Makame Shauri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>