

“Tariqas” without *Silsilas*: The Case of Zanzibar

FUJII Chiaki*

1. Introduction

On the Swahili Coast¹⁾ 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.²⁾ 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.³⁾

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. Trimmingham 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 Moreover, the information on each tariqa's activity and their historical content are not sufficient to describe their general characteristics.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

* Graduate School of Asian and African Studies, Kyoto University

1) Swahili Coast geographically means the coast and the islands from the south of Somalia to the north of Mozambique. Cf. Ohtsuka, K. et al. (eds.). *Iwanami Islām Jiten* (Iwanami Shoten, 2002), s.v. “Suwahili”, by S. Kikuchi.

2) In this paper “Zanzibar” means “Unguja Island”.

3) Cf. Esposito, J. L. (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (Vol. 4). (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) s.v. “Tanzania” by A. H. Nimtz.

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 "*zikri*" in Swahili, I will use the word *zikri* 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-Shādhiliya al-Yashrutīya, al-Ṭarīqa al-Rifā'iya, and al-Ṭarīqa al-'Alawīya.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.

4) Cf. Ohtsuka, K. et al. (eds.). *Iwanami Islām Jiten* (Iwanami Shoten, 2002), s.v. "Ṭarīqa", by T. Horikawa.

5) Besides Trimingham 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 [Trimingham 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 (Barghash 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-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya al-Yashrutīya

Al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya al-Yashrutīya was established in Acre, Palestine, in 1862–1863 by ‘Ali Nūr al-Dīn (‘Ali Nūr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maghribī al-Yashrutī al-Shādhilī al-Tarshiḥī, ca. 1804-91). Muḥammad Ma’rūf (Muḥammad Ma’rūf 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 Ma’rūf returned to the Comoros and met with ‘Abd Allāh Darwīsh, who was the leader of al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya al-Yashrutīya in the Comoros. Muḥammad Ma’rūf had served as ‘Abd Allāh Darwīsh’s *khalīfa*. When Muḥammad Ma’rūf 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-Ṭarīqa 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-Ṭarīqa al-Rifā’īya

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-Ṭarīqa al-‘Alawīya

This tariqa, established by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (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 *zāwīyas* all over Zanzibar and also has the largest number of *zāwīyas*. There are more than 130 of its *zāwīyas* in Zanzibar alone. The center is Welezo, 6.4 km from the center of Zanzibar, where Sayyid 'Umar 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 *silsila* from Prophet Muḥammad to the shaykh today is also mentioned in their publications.

Shadhiliyya

At present, there are only five *zāwīyas* 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 Ma'rūf, who brought the tariqa to Zanzibar.

Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya)

The Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya) order has neither any *zāwīyas* 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 *zāwiyas* 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 Ma'rūf. 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 Būṣṣirī (Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būṣṣirī, 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 Khalifa 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 Khalifa 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 Shadhili, 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-ʿAlawīya. 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 Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya 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 *silsilas* and eponyms, the names of their *ziks* 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.⁶⁾ 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'ān, Arabic grammar, poetry, Sufism and so on. However, the students who could study from them were mostly Arabs.⁷⁾ 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 *ijāzas* 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.⁸⁾ 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.⁹⁾ 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.

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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.

9) Cf. *EF*, s.v. "Zandjibār" by J. O. Voll.

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The Result of the Interview

The name of the tariqa	Qadiriyya (Stone Town)	Qadiriyya (Welezo)	Qadiriyya (Tumbatu)	Shadhiliyya Yashrutiyya (Stone Town)
The place of the activity	(near Stone Town) Mkuazini, Mrandeghe, Makadara, Sartein	Welezo	(Northern Zanzibar) Chwaka, Tumbatu, Chaani, Shangani, Matemwe, Bumbwini	Bumbwini, Chukwani, Jang'ombeurusi, Mwembetanga, Vikokotoni
Number of members			200 (Chwaka)	the shaykh doesn't know because of no record
Events	Maulidi: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jirānī, Maulidi: Sh. Uways, Maulidi of the important shaykh at each zawiya.	Maulidi: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jirānī, Maulidi: Sh. Uways, Maulidi: Sh. Sayyid Abū Bakr, Maulidi: Sh. Sayyid 'Umar, Maulidi: Sh. Husayn b. 'Alī	Prophet Muḥammad's birthday, two days before Ramadhan	Maulidi: Muḥammad al-Ma'rūf,
Texts for the members		Tarbiya al-Murīd	Zimām al-Sālikīn fī Ādāb Tarīqa, Sirr al-Asrār wa Maẓhar al-Anwār, Hujja al-Dhākirīn	'Abd al-Qādir fī Iḍāḥ al-Taṣawwuf
<i>Ijāza</i> (related rituals)	√	√ (a cup of water)	√ (a cup of water)	√ (a cup of water, handshake with shaykh)
The name of a progenitor, place, year				
The relationship with other tariqas	√	√ (with Shadhiliyya)		√
The relationship with tariqas out of Zanzibar	√			√ (Comoro)
<i>Silsila</i>	√	√	√	√

The name of the tariqa	Maulidi ya Homu (Rifaiyya)	Kirama	Kigumi	Kijiti
The place of the activity	× (any places where they were invited)	Donge Pangama (head office), Chaani, Kichagani, Jongowe, Bumbwini, Tazari, Welezo	Bumbwini (head office), Uvivini, Mbalungini, Jongowe,	Kokoni, Tazari, Kilimani, Potoa, Bwereo
Number of members	Zanzibar 40, Pemba 40	more than 200	more than 100	140 (Kokoni)
Events	no special event.	zikri event (6 times a year)	the anniversary of the foundation, the anniversary of shaykh's death, Prophet Muḥammad's birthday	The day in memory of the founder, Prophet Muḥammad's birthday
Texts for the members	<i>qaṣīda</i> (written by the leader)	× (orally)	Barzanjī, text written by shaykh	Tabārūk Dhū al-‘Alā, Barzanjī
Ijāza (related rituals)	× (in the old days: a cup of milk and recite <i>du‘ā</i> ’).	a cup of water	donation	×
The name of a founder, place, year	Sulṭān b. Malik		Haji b. Ali, Bumbwini, 1945	Athman bin Ali, Lamu (Kenya), 1942
The relationship with other tariqas	×	√ (especially with Qadiriyya, and Shadhiliyya)	√	√ (especially with Kirama, Kigumi, Hamziyya)
The relationship with tariqas out of Zanzibar	×	×	×	
<i>Silsila</i>	×	Shauri b. Haji al-Shirazi → Shadhili b. Shauri al-Shirazi → Abd al-Samad b. Shadhili	(1) Haji b. Ali → Sharif Ali Haji → Haji Kombo Chum (2) Haji b. Ali → Omari Ali Nguali → Mdungi Hamad	Athman bin Ali → Shaikhe Haji Kombo → Mzee Ali → Machano → Shadhili Ali

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