

SHAYKH ḤASAN B. ‘AMAYR AL-SHIRĀZĪ  
(1880-1979)

ISSA ZIDDY

In recent decades, the °Alawī tradition of Islamic learning in East Africa has attracted the bulk of academic attention of the region.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, non-°Alawī traditions of learning have been rather neglected, at least by western academia. Still, these traditions of learning, often connected with the Sufi brotherhoods of the Qādiriyya and Shādhiliyya exist and have also considerably contributed to the development of Islamic learning in East Africa. A major personality in Qādirī networks of scholars in the twentieth century was Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr al-Shirāzī (1880-1979) from Makunduchi, Zanzibar. This article will focus first on his life and career, then on his works.

*The life and legacy of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr<sup>2</sup>*

Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr died on October 8, 1979. He was undisputedly one of the most eminent scholars, *muballighs* (preachers), educationists and Muslim writers in East and Central Africa. He is remembered with an ever smiling face and pleasant manners among his students and the Muslims

- 1 See Anne Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea*, London 2003; R.L. Pouwels, ‘The East African Coast, c. 780 to 1900’ in N. Levtzion & R.L. Pouwels (eds.), *The History of Islam in Africa*, Athens, OH 2000, 251-348; *ALA*, III (forthc.), etc.
- 2 The first part of this article, on the life and legacy, was presented at The University of Bayreuth, Germany, in the conference of Islamic Education and Muslim Scholars in East Africa, 28-29 May, 2003

of the region. People who wanted to shake his hand or kiss him or discuss current views of Islamic education surrounded him everywhere he went. His reputation extended beyond the boundaries of East Africa, from Egypt in the North and South Africa in the South, to Burundi, Rwanda and Congo, where he conducted *darsas* (lessons) now and then, when his Headquarter was in Dar-es-Salaam at the Ngazija/Comorian mosque, before he was deported to Zanzibar in 1968. His name, conduct and ideas on Islamic education spread to every corner of Tanganyika and East Africa on account of his work as a *muballigh* in the 'East African Muslim Welfare Society' (EAMWS) from 1945 to 1968. According to Nimtz, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was 'perhaps the most popular teacher in terms of numbers of students in Tanzania (at least after 1940, when he moved there from Zanzibar). ... His popularity stems from his having traveled extensively throughout East Africa to teach. He eventually settled in Dar es-Salaam, where he opened his well-patronized Madrasat al-Shirazi in the Comorian Mosque'.<sup>3</sup>

Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr b. Manzi b. Khaṭīb (Abū 'l-Mubārak) was born in 1880 (1300 AH) into a well-distinguished family of religious scholars, in a village known as Mteгани in Makunduchi, South Unguja, Zanzibar. He was born during the reign of Sayyid Barghash b. Sa°īd (1870-88), a time marked by considerable economic and social transformations that were to affect, of course, the education of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr and his colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

At the age of five, he started to follow his brother, Hāfīz b. °Amayr, to the local Qur°ānic School (*kuttāb*). Despite his age, Shaykh Ḥasan liked to learn and when his parents realized that, they sent him to Mwalimu Majaaliwa to

3 August Nimtz, *Islam and Politics in East Africa*, Minneapolis 1980, 23.

4 I.N. al-Ismaily, *Zanzibar kinyang'anyiro na utumwa*, Masqat 1999, 14-15.

memorize the Qurʾān. The *kuttāb* of Mwalimu Majaaliwa was praised for teaching the Qurʾān in Makunduchi. Shaykh Ḥasan finished (*hitimu*) reciting and memorizing the Qurʾān at a very young age.

After having memorized the Qurʾān, he helped his fellow students in their efforts of learning by writing *sūras* of the Qurʾān on a *lawḥ*, the writing board that was used for teaching instead of books or pamphlets. After completing Qurʾānic schools, Shaykh Ḥasan went to Dunga Kiangale in the Central District of Zanzibar, in the early years of the twentieth century, to study the sciences of Qurʾān (*ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*) with Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Barwānī. After that, he went to Upenja in the Northern District of Unguja/Zanzibar, to study *aḥkām al-tajwīd* (the rules of reciting the Qurʾān). His eagerness for education made him always look for new Islamic books and other Zanzibari *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars). He loved reading both *ʿilm al-naql* (criticism, glossary, summarizing, writing composition, essays, etc.) and *ʿilm al-ʿaql* (logic, research, comprehension, philosophy, etc.). Also he started to purchase Islamic books and established his own library when he was still very young. While his age mates engaged in leisurely activities, he used most of his time revising and following the teachings of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

After completing his studies in Upenja, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr continued his *ṭalab al-ʿilm* and studied in the Ukutani *darsa* (school) in Stone Town, Zanzibar. Also, he continued to study while he was working as a clerk in several *qāḍī* offices in Unguja and Pemba or while he was working as a teacher in Zanzibar government schools. The scholars he studied with in this period of time were, amongst others, well known shaykhs such as Shaykh Ḥamdān b. Abī Bakr al-Qaḥṭānī, whose *darsa* (class) Shaykh Ḥasan visited every evening;<sup>5</sup> Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmūr al-ʿAzrī, the

5 ʿAbdallāh Ṣāliḥ al-Farsy, *Bādhi ya Wanavyuoni wa Kishafi wa Mashariki ya Afrika*, Mombasa 1944/1972, 65.

Ibādī *qādī* in Chake Chake in Pemba, with whom he studied until he became the scholar that he was known to be.<sup>6</sup> Other teachers were Shaykh Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Dahmān, Shaykh Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh b. Wazīr, Shaykh °Alī b. °Abd Allāh b. Mundhirī,<sup>7</sup> Shaykh °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥmūd al-Washilī, Shaykh °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hassan, Shaykh Muḥammad b. °Alī b. Khamīs al-Barwānī, Shaykh °Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī (the Ibādī chief *qādī*), and Shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Sumayṭ (the Sunni chief *qādī* of Zanzibar) who gave him a special certificate (*ijāza*) for teaching Shāfi'ī law and *tawḥīd*, as well as, finally, Shaykh Sayyid Sālim b. Hāfiẓ b. Shaykh b. Abī Bakr b. Sālim who also gave him an *ijāza* for teaching Shāfi'ī law and *tawḥīd* as well.<sup>8</sup>

After 1910, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was employed in the Department of Education after he had successfully passed the teacher training course organized by the Department of Education under the Azhari scholar Shaykh °Abd al-Bārī al-°Ajīzī who had started to teach Arabic language and Islamic studies in government primary schools in 1905. Also, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was taught how to read and write Kiswahili in Roman script by the first Director of the Department of Education, Rivers-Smith. In 1910, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr, thus, became a teacher in the government school of his village, Makunduchi, as well as in the Government schools of Muyuni and Kiembe Samaki, as well as later, in the Government school of Chake Chake/Pemba.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Shaykh Ḥasan also served in different courts of Zanzibar as a clerk. It was during this time that he came in contact with some famous 'ulamā', especially Sayyid Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Sumayṭ (1861-

6 Al-Farsy, *Bādhi ya Wanavyuoni*, 65.

7 On the Mundhirī family, see Lorenzo Declich 'Zanzibar: Some Nineteenth-Century Arabic Writings on Healing' in S.S. Reese (ed.), *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, Leiden 2004, 266f.

8 Salmin Hafidh Ameir, *Shaykh Hassan bin Ameir*, Makala 2000, 2.

1925, the Shāfi'ī Chief *qādī*).<sup>9</sup> Shaykh Ḥasan also did clerical work with *qādī* Burhān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Amawī (1861-1935), from whom he gained a lot of experience and political expertise. In addition, he got the opportunity to work with Shaykh Ṭāhir b. Abī Bakr al-Amawī (1877-1938), another chief *qādī* of Zanzibar. All these scholars added to Shaykh Ḥasan's strong *shakṣiyya* (personality) as they introduced him to different Islamic sciences.

Besides mastering the teachings of Islam at his Madrasa al-Shirāziyya in Misufini (Ng'ambo, Zanzibar Town), Shaykh Ḥasan also penetrated deeply in Arabic grammar and poems and he wrote and published a number of works.<sup>10</sup> The intellectual performance of Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr in secular education was equally impressive. When Zanzibari citizens hesitated to send their children to the newly established government schools, which were opened since 1907, Shaykh Ḥasan was instrumental to convince them by joining in seminar and teacher training courses himself. He also sent all members of his family to these schools.

*Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr: the dā'ī of Islam in East Africa*

In 1940, Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr left Zanzibar and went to live in Tanganyika for the purpose of *da'wa* and *tablīgh* (preaching of Islam). Alas, when Shaykh Ḥasan came to Dar es-Salaam in 1940, he quickly realized that the Colonial Government did not give Muslims many chances to acquire education and that there were only Christian missionary schools. Muslims were, however, afraid to join these schools because they feared that they would change their religion. Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr's aim was, thus, to spread Islam in these mainland regions as his students from there had told him about the importance of *da'wa* in those places. In his efforts of *da'wa*, Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr relied on his

9 For him, see Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea*,

10 See below.

connection with the Qādiriyya Sufi brotherhood. As a shaykh of the Qādiriyya, he had students from all over East Africa, among them more than 50 famous students from Zanzibar, Dar es-Salaam, Mafia island, Burundi and other parts of the region.

During his first journey of *da<sup>c</sup>wa*, he visited Burundi, Rwanda, Congo and returned to Tanganyika via Kigoma (South-West Tanganyika), Dar es-Salaam and Kilwa district, where he settled in the village of Somanga. He married in the village of Mbwera in the district of Kilwa, but finally settled down in Dar es-Salaam, where he established his *madrassa* and *da<sup>c</sup>wa* institute, the so-called ‘Ḥasan b. <sup>◌</sup>Amayr Missionary East Africa Institute’ which had branches in all East African countries as well as in the Great Lakes countries where Bujumbura was to become the headquarters for his Dāwa for some time.<sup>11</sup> Even after the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, he continued his educational activities in Tanzania, but the times and society had started to change quickly with independence.

*The EAMWS and Shaykh Ḥasan b. <sup>◌</sup>Amayr’s role in independent Tanganyika*

A major problem for the development of independent Tanganyika was the question as to which role Muslims would play in this new and changing society. Thus, Muslim organizations such as the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS, established 1945) or *al-Jāmi<sup>c</sup>a al-Islāmiyya fī Tanganyika* (Muslim Association of Tanganyika) and *al-Da<sup>c</sup>wa al-Islāmiyya* (Muslim Call Association) tried to provide Muslims in Tanganyika with *irshād* (correct guidance) with respect to life in general and questions of Muslim education, in particular. Shaykh Ḥasan b. <sup>◌</sup>Amayr was to play a major role in these organizations as well as in the

11 Hafidh, *Shaykh Hassan bin Ameir*, 4.

debates about the role of Muslims in independent Tanganyika, as he was not only a leading member of these organizations but also as he was the mufti of Tanganyika (from 1961 to 1968). Among these Muslim associations, the EAMWS was the most important.

However, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was not only active with respect to the development of Muslim organizations in Tanganyika, but also worked for the establishment of an Islamic university in Tanganyika. In 1964, he was, thus, among the Muslim scholars of the EAMWS who visited Islamic countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, in order to ask for support in educational matters. On 20 May 1964, they returned home with the good news that the Egyptian government would donate 55 million Egyptian pounds to build an Islamic university in Dar es-Salaam. But the political situation had changed, and because of that, 'Shaykh Ḥasan was convinced by his friend and closest student, Shaykh Mzee b. °Alī, a Comorian living in Kariakoo in Dar es-Salaam, to change the content and method of delivering his *khuṭbas* [sermons] and *darsas* by not touching political issues any more'.<sup>12</sup>

Now, many sources, even Muslim texts, magazines, newspapers, audio and videocassettes as well as books written by missionaries claim that Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was a politician. Also his name and pictures appeared more than once in the documents of the Tanganyika archives on the activities and struggles lead by the first political party of Tanganyika, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) as well as the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) as Mohamed Said was able to show.<sup>13</sup> Said also maintains in this context that the cause of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr's deportation to Zanzibar in 1968 was political. However, some students and *murīdūn* (followers) of Shaykh Ḥasan

12 Conversation with Bi Bahia bt. °Abd al-Raḥmān, October 2002.

13 See Mohamed Said, *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968)*, London 1998.

such as Shaykh Amūr b. Ḥasan b. °Alī and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Kombo reject this interpretation of a strong political inclination of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr. They rather claim that he was not a politician and that his aim was the struggle for Muslim education, Muslim rights and unity. He is said to have always refused to become a minister or even a local *sheha* (chief): ‘Shaykh Ḥasan did not involve himself in politics, but some of his students were politicians. They invited him sometimes to say the *Fātiḥa* at the end of their political meetings. Also some of them sought his advices, as in the context of the TAA memorandum [with respect to Tanganyika’s independence]’.<sup>14</sup>

According to Said, Muslim unity in Tanganyika started to collapse after independence.<sup>15</sup> Thus, a well known student of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr, Shaykh °Abdallāh Chaurembo, who used to teach Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr’s students during his visits to his other centres, started a conflict with Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr on account of political questions. Due to these internal conflicts among Tanganyika’s Muslims, the plans to start an Islamic university came to nothing and the EAMWS came to an end as well, although Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr tried to support this umbrella organization of Tanzania’s Muslims. In this period of time, they were essentially divided into two different groups: one that supported government ideas without questioning whether these ideas were *ḥalāl* or *ḥarām* according to Islamic points of view; and one that supported government policies only when they were *ḥalāl*. On account of these political problems, many shaykhs were imprisoned under the ‘Preventive Detention Act of 1962’, while Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was deported to Zanzibar in 1968.<sup>16</sup>

It is clear that Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was very influential in Tanganyika politics, although his primary concerns

14 Conversation with °Alī Mzee, 2002.

15 Said, *Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes*, 368.

16 Said, *Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes*, 368 & 370.

were education and development for all Muslims of East Africa. His thought also concentrated on the question how to strengthen the unity of Muslims. Thus, his students came from different *madhāhib* (Islamic legal schools) and he did not discriminate between Shīʿa, Sunni, Ibādī or other groups such as Sufis or Ansār as-Sunna (Wahhābī-oriented Muslims), but rather accepted all students. On account of this principle, he was also an active member of al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya and al-Daʿwa al-Islāmiyya as well as the East African Muslims Welfare Society (EAMWS). By joining and supporting these societies, Shaykh Ḥasan was able to visit many countries and to practice *daʿwa* for Muslims as well as non-Muslims. A student of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr, Shaykh Ramaḍān b. Jaʿfar, thus told me that Shaykh Ḥasan had actually converted 7 million (*sic*) people to Islam.<sup>17</sup> This insistence on the importance of education was to continue, according to his students, until his very death.

However, after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the EAMWS started to split. Some Muslims such as Shaykh Adam Nasibu of the Bukoba district office of the EAMWS even said that socialism as proclaimed in the Arusha Declaration was equivalent to the teachings of the Qurʾān. The nationalist newspaper, *Uhuru*, as well as the government-controlled Radio Tanzania/Dar es Salam praised this group of Muslims for their progressive minds.<sup>18</sup> Yet, other Muslims rejected this interpretation. As a result, conflicts between Muslims spread and although Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr tried to preserve the union and the work of unification as achieved by him and other scholars, he became older and was not able any more to influence these changes in society, that had been introduced after independence.

In 1968, the Muslims in Dar es-Salaam became even more divided. Thus, instead of having one centre for *mawlid* celebrations (for the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad), as

17 Conversation with Shaykh Ramaḍān b. Jaʿfar, 2002.

18 Said, *Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes*, 328.

in the colonial times, they now held *mawlid* celebrations in two different places, namely Mnazi Mmoja and Ilala. This dispute gave their enemies the chance to exploit their divisions. In the course of 1968, the EAMWS disintegrated even further, when the leaders of the Bukoba district of the EAMWS left the organization to be followed by the Tanga and Iringa regions. The EAMWS headquarters tried to fight this escalation, but the promises the government made to the opponents of the EAMWS made these efforts with respect to the unity of the EAMWS futile. The EAMWS dissidents who left the organization with government support, thus said that if the EAMWS was to be re-structured it should be done under their own conditions. These conditions were not only difficult to meet but also quite controversial as they violated against basic principles of Islam as well as against Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr's ideas. Some of these conditions were:

1. The EAMWS was to be reserved for Tanzanians only and should exclude other East Africans.
2. The Aga Khan was to be regarded as a foreigner, and thus not acceptable as a patron of the EAMWS.
3. The Secretary General of EAMWS should be a black African and not an Indian (as this position was held, at that time, by an Ismāʿīlī Indian, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khaki).
4. The sources of funds and expenditure of the EAMWS should be clearly shown.
5. The leaders of the EAMWS should be supporters of TANU's political objectives and ideologies.

These conditions were sent to the EAMWS headquarters by Shaykh Adam Nasibu, Muḥammad Zharia and Khamīs Kayamba<sup>19</sup> and an emergency meeting of the EAMWS was held on 14 November 1968 to discuss the situation, whilst at that time three Tanganyika regions had already left the organization. Great efforts were made to save the situation and to

19 Said, *Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes*, 330-5.

maintain the unity of the society, but the opposition was too strong and the work of a committee of investigation that had been formed to stop the disintegration of the EAMWS did not get the opportunity to complete its work. Also, the efforts of two prominent Muslims, namely Bibi Titi and Tewa Said Tewa, who were members of the TANU, to save the society, came to naught. Finally, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr undertook some last efforts to secure public solidarity for the unity of the EAMWS by advising its members not to break with EAMWS on account of its benefits for Muslims, for their country as well as future generations, and maintained that preserving unity was as important as worship.

Yet, in early December 1968, a special committee under the chairmanship of a well known student of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr, Shaykh ʿAbdallāh Chaurembo, was formed, with Shaykh Adam Nasibu as the secretary general, in order to obstruct the work of the EAMWS. By 3 December 1968, it was obvious that the union of the Muslims in East Africa was defunct. The group that had separated from EAMWS was ready to take over the high Islamic leadership of Tanganyika by any means. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the presence of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr in Dar es-Salaam as the Muslims in the whole of East Africa respected Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr as their spiritual leader. Thus, the time had come for the Tanzanian government to use its power to complete the task of destroying the EAMWS, by forcefully deporting Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr to Zanzibar.

Shaykh Ḥasan had, thus, lived outside Zanzibar for more than 24 years. In 1968, the government of Tanzania returned him against his will to Zanzibar, where he now continued to work in the court of reconciliation in Raha Leo/Ng'ambo.<sup>20</sup> In Zanzibar, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr

20 Hafidh, *Shaykh Hassan bin Ameir*, 5. For further information on the reasons of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr's deportation see Said, *Life and*

continued to live for more than ten years in the circle of his family, his students as well as other famous scholars, till the end of his life. He died on a Monday, 8 October 1979, in Michenzani/Zanzibar, block number 8, house number 40, and was subsequently buried in his home village of Makunduchi. His funeral was attended by the largest crowd ever seen in Makunduchi, among them some prominent people from Tanzania and other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. Thus, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr may have died, but his ideas, writings and books are alive.

*The works of Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr*

Although Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr worked for many years as a teacher in Zanzibar Government Schools, he also had his own *darsas* (Islamic classes) that were attended by students from many towns of East Africa. His most famous *darsa* was the Madrasa al-Shirāziyya in Misufini, Zanzibar, and his *darsa* in Ngazija mosque in Dar es-Salaam. Yet, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr became known not only for his work as a teacher, but also for his scholarly works that have so far remained rather unknown in academic circles. However, some of his followers have maintained that many of his books are being used as a part of the teaching curriculum at al-Azhar in Cairo as well as in other Islamic countries such as Malaysia.

According to al-Farsy, he started to write in 1914.<sup>21</sup> His urge to educate and enlighten people also influenced the focus of his various texts that had a strong pedagogic character. Also, he discussed the difficulties the young generation had in his time as they usually had to study the various Islamic sciences through the *matn* (text) only without being able to have recourse to a commentary (*sharḥ*). When he started to write, Hassan b. °Amayr, thus, wanted to write his

---

*Times of Abdulwahid Sykes.*

21 Al-Farsy, *Baadhi ya Wanavyuoni*, 65.

books in Kiswahili, but was advised by some scholars such as Ṭāhir b. Abī Bakr al-Amawī, the *qādī* of Chwaka (Zanzibar), to write them in Arabic so that his students would not disregard the language of the Qur'ān and the sources of Islamic knowledge on which all Muslims depend until today. Altogether, Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr wrote nine books, among them some commentaries (*sharḥs*) such as the *Wasīlat al-najā'*, a *sharḥ* on the *Safīnat al-rajā'*. Only six of these books were published, however. The last book to be reprinted was the *Wasīlat al-rajā'*, financed by Dr. Salmin Amour (the President of the fifth government of Zanzibar), in 1997.

We will here present the published books by Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr. Also, the texts will be briefly analyzed with respect to their topics, that is, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tawḥīd* (theology), *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) or others. The books written by Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr are:

1. *'Iqd al-iqyān 'alā mawliḍi al-jaylānī*.<sup>22</sup> Shaykh Ḥasan finished writing the manuscript of this book in 1943 (1362 AH). The Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī press of Cairo published it in 1946 (1365 AH). He was told to write this book on the life of Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Umar Qullatayn al-Nadhri, a *khalīfa* of the Qādiriyya Sufi brotherhood in Zanzibar and a good friend of Shaykh Ḥasan. In the introduction of this book of 40 pages, Shaykh Ḥasan is characterized as a man who is close to God and should be regarded as somebody 'who knows God' (*al-'ārif bi'llāh*), and as somebody who guides Muslims on the path to God (*al-dāll 'alayhi*). In the introduction, Shaykh Ḥasan is identified as: Hassan b. 'Amayr al-Shirazi, from Makunduchi, of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* (school of law), of Ash'arī orientation, and of Qādirī *ṭarīqa*. This personal identification Shaykh Ḥasan was very important at that time, at least in Tanganyika, as people were discriminated against just because they came from a certain social group or

22 On these titles, see also *ALA*, III B, forthc.

because they had recently come to Tanganyika (as Shaykh Ḥasan had done in 1940). Also, he wanted his students to know him and his religious orientation.

The main objective to write this book was to reveal the history and biography of Sayyid °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, which had extended widely in Eastern Africa from the late nineteenth century. The style and language of the text is very poetic, and follows the established type of rhyming in Arabic *shiʿr*. Thus Shaykh Ḥasan was not only at home in Kiswahili but also mastered the Arabic language very well.

On page two, Shaykh Ḥasan underlines his respect for his own teachers, especially those in Qādiriyya and quotes Shaykh °Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barawī, one of the founders of the *ṭarīqa* in East Africa,<sup>23</sup> who had been visiting Baghdad, the place where Shaykh °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī lived. In addition, Shaykh Ḥasan relates the *silsila* of the Qādiriyya from the Prophet Muḥammad through Shaykh °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

In this book, Shaykh Ḥasan presents the family tree of Shaykh Sayyid °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and he recounts his life, education, his pilgrimage to Mecca, his various adventures and the things that happened to him, how he was revealed to establish the Qādirī *ṭarīqa*, how he was venerated by the people, while he separated himself from the people in the desert of Iraq, and that he was walking on the water of the river Tigris. Starting on page 35, Shaykh Ḥasan reproduces one of the central prayers that should be recited by a human being to be nearer to God.

There are two points of view with respect to the question as to why Shaykh Ḥasan wrote this book. Some people say that he was asked by the *murīdūn* of the Qādiriyya, among them Sayyid Muḥammad b. °Umar al-Qullatayn, to write a book to explain the history of the founder of the Qādirī tradition in a poetic form so that it may

23 ALA, III B, 106.

be read by the *murīdūn* as one of the ways of *tabarruk* (a prayer in praise of the saints and angels that is recited in the context of *dhikr*). Other people such as Shaykh Muḥammad b. Kombo say that *‘Aqd al-aqyān* was written in the context of a special event, namely that Sayyid Haroub, of the Sultan’s family, changed his *madhhab* from Ibādī to Sunni and that he even started to follow Shaykh Ḥasan b. ‘Amayr in Misufuni in order to acquire an *ijāza* of the Qādiriyya. When Shaykh Ḥasan b. ‘Amayr received this information, he went to the Sultan’s palace, accompanied by his brother Shaykh Hāfiẓ b. ‘Amayr, to see Sayyid Haroub. When they arrived at to the door of the palace and explained their aim, Sayyid Haroub came down himself to meet Shaykh Ḥasan. They went upstairs to the sitting-room and, after a long time of talking on social issues and the principles of religion as well as the teachings of the Qādiriyya, Shaykh Ḥasan promised to write a book on the principles and teachings of the *ṭarīqa al-qādiriyya*. He subsequently named the text after the name of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of that *ṭarīqa*, so that it would be of help for Sayyid Haroub and all those who wanted to know more on the Qādiriyya.

2. *Wasīlat al-rajā’*, the full name of this book being *Wasīlat al-rajā’ ‘alā Safīnat al-najā’*, literally, ‘the guide that leads all those who hope to practice and improve their faith by relying on a strong basis such as a *Safīna*’ (the Ark of Nūḥ). In this book, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ‘Amayr provides detailed explanation and commentaries (*sharḥ*) for the analysis and understanding of the book *Safīnat al-najā’* by Shaykh Sālīm b. Samīr al-Ḥudārī of Ḥaḍramawt. Shaykh Ḥasan wrote this text after having been asked to do so by many Muslims. Initially he did not like to write such a text, as Shaykh Muḥammad Nūrī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Qādirī had already composed a *sharḥ* of this book. Yet, when requests for the need of new *sharḥ* became more frequent, he had no option but to accept these requests. According to Shaykh Ḥasan b. ‘Amayr, ‘the association of students in Dar es-Salaam asked me to write an easy *sharḥ* (of this book) which would help

beginners, elders and youth. I accepted it seeking God's love and mercy' (p. 3).

Shaykh Ḥasan subsequently did this kind of work, and explained the basics of *tawḥīd* and *fiqh* according to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, which predominates in this part of Africa. On the cover of the book it says it was published in India in 1997, while on p. 128 it is mentioned that the book was published for the first time in Cairo in 1951, after having been edited and accepted by a committee of Egyptian scholars lead by Shaykh Aḥmad Sa'īd 'Alī. The 1997 edition was published with financial support of Salmin Amour (the President of Zanzibar from 1990 to 2000).

The 1999 edition (on 19x13 cm paper) had 132 pages. From page 1 to 12 the author explains in detail the meaning of the *basmallāh* (i.e., the formula invoking the name of God that is used to begin any kind of action), and other religious invocations such as thanking God (*shukr Allāh*) or the meaning of *ṣallā 'llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam*, the short invocation that is connected with the name of the Prophet Muḥammad. In order to explain these things, he goes back to the respective *āyas* (verses) of the Qur'ān and traditions (*ḥadīths*) of the Prophet in order to prove his argument. In addition he quoted the interpretation of other Islamic groups with respect to these issues, such as the Mu'tazila, the philosophers (*falsafa*) and the Qadiyānīs (i.e., the Aḥmadiyya) and based his argumentation again on several sources of reference such as the *Ma'ānī al-Minhāj* by Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī who says: 'Surely anyone who claims prophecy after Prophet Muḥammad (S.A.W) is *kāfir*, as well as the one who believes in such a person'. In the same chapter he also quotes the words of al-Junayd on the meaning of *ikhhlāṣ* (purity of intention) by saying: '*ikhhlāṣ* is to exclude from your thinking and doing anything that does not refer to God. God knows everything'. Although this book may be small in size it is an important for the knowledge of *ṭahāra* (purification), prayers of any kind, *ṣawm* (fasting), *zakāt*, and *ḥajj* (pilgrimage) and so on.

3. *Fath al-kabīr, sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaghīr*. This book again deals with the basic features of worship according to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*. Thus, it is concerned with questions of 'ibādāt such as purification, all kinds of prayers, matters of marriage, divorce, death, *zakāt*, fasting, *kaffāra* (sacrifice), pilgrimage and others.

The first edition was published in 1955 (1374 AH) by the Mulla Karimjee Mulla Muhammed & Sons company Zanzibar. On p. 4, Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr explains the reasons that made him write this book of 132 pages: 'When I was travelling to preach the Islamic religion in the various parts of East Africa, some of my brothers asked me to write them a *sharḥ* of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaghīr* of Imām Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī that will be useful for all who start to learn about religion'.

The style of the book is rather academic as it operates on the principles of scientific research as is common for teaching at universities where students are taught to respect the sources they use, when they quote and conduct research. In the book, Shaykh Ḥasan wrote about the different values he thought were needed in society, such as mutual support or tolerance in living with other people.

4. *Madārij al-'ulā, sharḥ Tabārūk dhī 'l-'ulā*. This book was first published on 27 October 27 1962 (1382 AH) by the Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī publishing press in Cairo; again, a special committee which had also supported the publication, edited the manuscript (174 pages on 20x14 cm). On the front cover of the book, Shaykh Ḥasan gave his *laqab* (nick name), namely, Abū 'l-Mubārak Ḥasan b. 'Amayr al-Shirāzī. The work done by Shaykh Ḥasan is that he wrote a *sharḥ* on the *Kitāb al-Tabarrūk* by Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Warrāq. The original name of this widespread book is *Tabārūk dhī 'l-'ulā*, 'Glory to God in the highest'. After detailed explanations and his *sharḥ*, Shaykh Ḥasan renamed the book by calling it *Madārij al-'ulā*, which means 'Ways to reach high glory'. The text of Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Amayr's book, written again in (145) verses,

explains the *Kitāb al-Tabarruk*, by using a simple language enriched with Qurʾānic quotations, *ḥadīths* and poems from other books as well as poems written by Shaykh Ḥasan himself, together with quotations from other authors. In giving the reasons which led him to write this *sharḥ*, he said (p. 4):

There were many petitions, both verbal and written, from all kind of places expressing their desire and need for a simplified version of the *Tabārūk dhī 'l-ʿulā*, which many people of this region [East Africa] use in *uradi* [a kind of prayer that is performed after the compulsory prayers], or after *ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ* [special prayers that are performed after evening prayers in the month of Ramaḍān]; it is then that I decided to accept their petitions so that I may also benefit from God's mercy which may give me success on earth and in the Heavens.

The *sharḥ* of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr expounds on the uniqueness of God by explaining his characteristics, names as well as the principles of the Islamic theology. In his text, Shaykh Ḥasan uses the style of giving *mawāʿiẓ* (advice in writing); he condemns *shirk* (polytheism) and asks people to cultivate good habits by having the example and miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad in mind, as well as those of his companions and to heed the teachings of the Qurʾān which guide all Muslims.

When he was explaining verse 23 of the book, which insists on night prayers, he used the *āya* that explains the importance of exhortations to God, while expecting that our *duʿāʾ* (petitions) will be accepted by God. Notwithstanding, Shaykh Ḥasan asked us to accompany our petitions with obligations, which lead to the acceptance of *duʿāʾ*. This includes the eating and dressing legally from our own gains, not to own anything illegally, not to disturb others, to help those in need, to help our neighbours and to seek religious education and advice. In page 173 he wrote: 'Advice is the medicine for the soul, especially, this time where people are being cheated by the devil's intrigue'.

At the end of his book, he aroused his readers to the

importance of following with actions what they read. It is not correct to have knowledge without practicing. He said:

Hello my brother, may God bless you. That your heart would be extremely hard if after hearing all that God had promised you, including the Heaven with rivers, gardens and various benedictions and permanent leisure that goodness people would benefit for their good deeds on earth, but you still are immersed in the sea of oblivion and swimming in the pools of bad deeds and useless play. I advice you to work for Heaven, don't be fooled by decorations and plays. This is because the world is for work and Heaven for payment and benedictions. Work hard; permanent happiness is for the one who obeys.

At the end of this book, Shaykh Ḥasan prayed to God to save all the Muslims and let them enter in the Heaven.

5. *Maslak al-muḥtāj ilā bayān iṣṭilāḥ al-Minhāj*. In the realization of this book and its author, it is written on page 30 that Shaykh Ḥasan finished writing his manuscript in 1960 at the Mbwera Village in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. His name was mentioned as Abū 'l-Mubārak Ḥasan b. 'Amayr Shirāzī who was the founder of the Muslim Call Society of East Africa. The Egyptian press al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī published the copy I saw, on 19 September 1966. It printed the book after going through its manuscript and saw the benefits it holds and the deep knowledge it contains. On pages 3 and 4 of this book (which has 30 normal pages, 21x14 cm), Shaykh Ḥasan explained the importance of the book of *iṣṭilāḥ* (terminology) he translated, and the words or sentences that he explained in detail, of the *Minhāj* (Open/direct way) of Imām Nawawī, who explained things related to the worship and legal relationship/integration among people. Shaykh Ḥasan has praised this book of Imām Nawawī as the one that bears a strong message that is useful at every time and place, even for those who are not Muslims.

The evidence he produced was how the French and English colonialists who supported the translation and publication of this book, could use its knowledge in the fields of

arguing, giving witness and differentiating between the justice and right and not. Therefore, Shaykh Ḥasan also saw the need for the clarification of that knowledge, even if in brief so people could be more educated and realize the teachings that exist in this book, which includes the foundations of the Shāfi<sup>°</sup>ī school to its followers.

Shaykh Ḥasan recognized that great scholars had made *sharḥs* of this book, such as Ibn Ḥajar, Khaṭīb al-Ramlī, al-Maḥallī and other Shāfi<sup>°</sup>ī scholars. He also accepted that his various teachers spent a lot of their time serving Muslim affairs, among them are Sayyid Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Sumayṭ, who was the chief *qāḍī* of Zanzibar who worked on this book (translating). For that reason, he explained openly his aim of working on this book when he wrote on page 4 that: ‘It is the collection of those pearls (which were scattered by great scholars) that shine from different *sharḥs* of the *Minhāj* and compile them in one clean field, so that every one who is eager of the thoughts and words of Imām Shāfi<sup>°</sup>ī can get them in this book’. Through these explanations, the major work done by Shaykh Ḥasan in this book was to compile sentences and terminology concerning religion and life related to Imām Shāfi<sup>°</sup>ī from various books of the authors who preceded him. This is not an easy task and it needs knowledge and a lot of patience.

On page 29 of this book, Shaykh Ḥasan explained the real meaning of Islam and belief when he wrote: ‘Islam is the work of the parts of the body to obey, such as to utter the two *shahādas* by using the tongue, to pray, to surrender *zakāt*, to fast in the month of Ramaḍān, and to go to the pilgrimage for those who able, but also there must be the *imān* (faith) in God. Therefore Islam cannot be separated from the Belief’. At the end of the book, Shaykh Ḥasan insisted again the aim of writing this book when he said on page 30 that: ‘This is what I wanted to write down from the words of great *imāms* of the *ahl al-sunna wa’l-jamā<sup>°</sup>a*, which are in the speech of *Minhāj*, a book of Imām Muḥyī ’l-Dīn Abū Zakariyā b. Sharaf Al-Khuzā<sup>°</sup>ī, “This good book

is useful to the society that cares for good human habits”.’

6. *Īdāḥ al-imān al-asmā'*, *sharḥ Aṭyab al-asmā'*. The theme of this book, as the title says, deals with the plea using the Names of the praised God, the carrying out of the *tawassul* (to use intermediaries) through the archangels, prophets and kind people such as the *mawālī* (saints, page 98).

In explaining the importance of this book, we see on the same page, Shaykh Ḥasan quotes some of the verses of Qur'ān that insists on a plea to God using His Names. He also revealed the knowledge and education of the author of the text of the book *Aṭyab al-asmā'* (The most excellent / holy names), Shaykh Sa'ad, by using the style of poems of about 102 verses. As is the practice for Shaykh Ḥasan in his books, he did not ignore the reasons that led him to write this book. On page 4 Shaykh Ḥasan said:

After the book of my *sharḥ*, the *Madārij al-<sup>ᶜ</sup>ulā* had spread and being accepted in East Africa and elsewhere, many requests appeared from my friends asking me to write *sharḥ* of the *Aṭyab al-asmā'*. And hoping for the benedictions of God and benefit for the Muslims, I accepted their call and I wrote this book which I named *Īdāḥ al-imān al-asmā'* (Explanation of the meaning of Names).

In this book, Shaykh Ḥasan mentioned the reference books he used when working on this *sharḥ*. On page 4 he insists that: ‘My work was only collecting the words of those genius scholars of Islamic education, may God bless them all’. Maybe the reasons of mentioning the reference books in the beginning are due to the ambiguity of translating the names of God. Some people say that they should be taken as they are without putting *ta'wīl* (translating them) while others say that they can be translated. There is also ambiguity in the context of *tawassul* through the archangels or *mawālī*. The reference books that he relied on in this work, among the others were *Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* (Explanation of the holy names) of al-Ghazālī, *Lawāmi<sup>ᶜ</sup> al-ayān* (Glints of evidence) of al-Rāzī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, (Précis) of Maḥmūd Sāmī

Bēk, and *al-Durr al-manthūr* (The scattered rubies) of °Abd al-°Azīz Yaḥyā.

Shaykh Ḥasan explained and showed the source of every word he translated or even the way he divided various groups of words. For example, on p. 7 he divided the names of God in the following three groups: (1) nominal words, such as *Allāh*, (2) adjectival words such as *al-Laṭīf* (the Polite) and (3) verbal words such as *al-Khāliq* (the Creator). For the clarification of this division, he asked his readers to refer back to al-Rāzī in the chapter of Names of God. This means that Shaykh Ḥasan did not want to contradict people of different ideologies or other religious sects. To avoid this, he used scientific research methods in his writing. Shaykh Ḥasan was a very cautious person who liked unity.

This book was also published in Cairo by a publishing house called al-Fikr al-°Arabī, of P.O. Box 130. It does not say when the first edition was published but the edition I saw was that of 1987, which has 98 pages, of 20x14 cm, and not more than 21 written lines per page. The name given to Shaykh Ḥasan on the cover of this book is Abū 'l-Mubārak Ḥasan b. °Amayr Shirāzī.

### *Conclusion*

According to Nimtz, Shaykh Ḥasan b. °Amayr was ‘until his departure [for] Zanzibar in 1968 ... recognized as the leading shaykh in mainland Tanzania’.<sup>24</sup> His contribution to Islamic education was enhanced through the publication, in Arabic language, of a number of books in different fields of Islamic sciences such as *fiqh*, *°aqīda*, as well as *taṣawwuf* and *°ibādāt*. Also, he was the first prominent scholar from the Ng’ambo and Shamba areas (that is, the non-urban areas of Unguja outside Stone Town, Zanzibar) to write and publish books such as the *Wasīlat al-rajā’ °ala 'l-Safīna al-*

24 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 23.

*najā'* or the *Madārij al-ʿulā, sharḥ Tabāruk dhī 'l-ʿulā* and others. In addition, he wrote a number of manuscripts that have not been published. These manuscripts, that may be found in the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr in Makunduchi, are, unfortunately, in a very bad condition as they were not well preserved.

In the course of history, Zanzibar may, thus, have produced many well-known scholars in the different fields of learning, religious as well as secular. Yet, western historians and academia forgot many of these scholars, such as Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr, although they wrote famous books and worked even within the colonial administration. Although Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr came from the seemingly marginal village of Makunduchi, he studied in the centers of Islamic learning in Zanzibar and, thus, shows, that there was no real separation between town and 'shamba' scholars, and that this division of Muslim scholarship is a rather artificial one that may be due to a Western emphasis in research on 'town' scholarship. Also, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr was to play a major role in spreading Islam in Tanganyika and East Africa, and, may thus, again be seen as an example of a 'shamba' scholar rising to the very top of Muslim scholarship in East Africa.

### *Bibliography*

In the context of my fieldwork and data collecting activities, I visited different parts of Unguja, Pemba and Dar es-Salaam. During this time, I became acquainted with numerous individuals who graciously assisted me in my work and fed me with important knowledge about Shaykh Ḥasan. I take this chance to thank all of them. In particular, I would like to mention Mwalimu Madafu, *ustāz* Muhammad Jaafar, Shaykh Ramadhan b. Jaafar, Mwalimu Salmin Hafidh Ameir, Bwana Haji Hafidh Ameir, Shaykh Ali Haji, Shaykh Yussuf Kajengwa, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Kombo, Shaykh

Amour Ḥasan Ali, Bi Bahia bt. Abdulrahaman, Ali Mzee Komori, Shaykh Khamis b. Ali, Shaykh Kassim Fatawi b. Issa, Bwana Muhammed Said, Hamza Zubeir Rijal, Mwali-mu Makame Hemed, Shaykh Mussa Makungu, Shaykh Habib Ali Kombo, Shaykh Khamis Abdulhamid, and Mwali-mu Hilal Omar.

*I. Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAmayr's books:*

1. *ʿIqd al-iqyān ʿalā mawlid al-Jilān*. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1946.
2. *Wasīlat al-rajāʾ*. Cairo 1951 (Reprinted India 1997).
3. *Fath al-kabīr, sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaghīr*. Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Muhammed 1955.
4. *Madārij al-ʿulā, sharḥ Tabārūk dhī ʿl-ʿulā*. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1962.
5. *Maslak al-muḥtāj ilā bayān iṣṭilāḥ al-Minhāj*. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1966.
6. *Īdāḥ al-imān al-asmāʾ, sharḥ Aṭyab al-asmāʾ*. Cairo: al-Fikr al-ʿArabī 1987.

*II. Secondary Literature:*

- Bang, Anne. 'Intellectuals and Civil Servants: Early 20th Century Zanzibar ʿUlamāʾ and the Colonial State', in B. Scarcia Amoretti (ed.), *Islam in East Africa: New Sources*. Rome: Herder 2001, 59-98.
- *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea. Family networks in East Africa, 1860-1925*. London: Routledge 2003.
- Chande, Abdin. 'Radicalism and Islamic Reform in East Africa', in N. Levtzion & R.L. Pouwels (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press 2000, 349-69.
- Dechlich in S. Reese (ed.), *Transmission in ...* Leiden 2006.
- al-Farsy, ʿAbdallah Sālih. *Baadhi ya Wanavyuoni wa Kisha-fi wa Mashariki ya Afrika*. Mombasa 1944/1972.
- *Seyyid Said b. Sultan*. Zanzibar: Mwongozi Printing Press, 1942.
- Hafidh Ameir, Salmin. *Shaykh Hassan bin Ameir*. Makala

2000.

Hollingsworth, L.W. *Zanzibar under the Foreign Office, 1890-1913*. London: Macmillan 1953.

Ingrams, William Harold. *Zanzibar: Its History and its people*. London: Frank Cass 1967.

Al-Ismaily, I.N. *Zanzibar kinyang'anyiro na utumwa*. Masqat 1999.

*Journal of the EAMWS. Souvenir of the activities of ten years of the East African Muslim Welfare Society*. Mombasa 1954.

Jumbe, Aboud. *The Partner-ship, Muungano wa Tanganyika na Zanzibar, miaka 30 ya Dhoruba*. Dar-es-Salaam: Amana 1995.

Lacunza-Balda, Justo. 'Translations of the Qur'ān into Swahili and Contemporary Islamic revival in East Africa', in Eva Evers Rosander & David Westerlund (eds.). *African Islamic and Islam in Africa*. London: Hurst 1997, 95-126.

Lodhi, A.Y. 'National Language, Culture and Identity: The role of Kiswahili in the Context of Zanzibar'. Paper, International Conference on the History and Culture of Zanzibar, Zanzibar, 14-16 December 1992.

— 'African settlements in India'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, i, 1, 1992, 83-7.

— 'Muslims in East Africa: Their past and present'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, iii, 1, 1994, 88-99.

— 'A note on the Baloch in East Africa', in Carina Jahani (ed.). *Language in Society, Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi*, Uppsala 2000.

Mapuri, O.R. *Zanzibar. The 1964 Revolution: Achievements and Prospects*. Dar es-Salaam: Tema 1996.

Mbiku, Fr. D. H. *Historia ya jimbo kuu la Dar es-Salaam*, Dar es-Salaam: Benedictine publications 1985.

Pouwels, Randall L. 'The East African Coast, c. 780 to 1900', in N. Levtzion & R.L. Pouwels (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press 2000, 251-348.

- Purpura, Allyson. 'Knowledge and Agency: The social relations of Islamic Expertise in Zanzibar Town'. Ph.D. thesis, The City University of New York 1997.
- Nimtz, August. *Islam and Politics in East Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1980.
- Said, Mohamed. 'Mkutano wa Taifa wa Waislamu 1968'. An-nuur paper no. 284, 223 & 373.
- *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968). The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle Against British Colonialism in Tanganyika*. London: Minerva 1998 (trans.: *Maisha na Nyakati za Abdulwahid. Historia iliyofichwa kuhusu Harakati za Waislamu dhidi ya Ukoloni wa Waingereza katika Tanganyika*. Nairobi: Phoenix Publishers 2002).
- Sendaro, A.M. *Slavery and Slave Trade: The Perspectives of Christianity and Islam*. Kampala: Crane 1997.
- Sivalon, J.C. *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953-1985*. Dar es-Salaam: Benedictine Publications 1992.
- Thani, Fairouz Amani. *Ukweli ni huu Kuusuta uwongo*. Dubai 1995.
- 'Historia ya Uislamu baada ya Khalifa wa nne hadi leo'. An-nuur paper no. 7, August & September 2002.
- Wilson, Amrit. *Uhasidi wa Marekani kwa Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar, Siku 100 za kuundwa Muungano wa Tanzania*. Zanzibar: Al Khayria.
- Ziddy, I.H. 'Arabic Language Curriculum for Junior Secondary section, Study and Evaluation between 1995-1997'. M.A. thesis, International University of Africa, Khartoum 1998.
- 'The Effectiveness of Islamic Studies Curriculum to the Secondary School Students between 1964-1999, Study of Students Religious Behaviour'. Ph.D. thesis, IUA, Khartoum 2001.