Journal
for
Islamic Studies

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Scholars of the Circles:
Training of Qāḍīs and Transmission of Islamic Scholarship Along the East African Coast from the mid-19th century to the 21st century

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Abstract

Since the mid-19th century, darsa has played a significant role in shaping Islamic scholarship along the East African coast. This article discusses, firstly, the methodology adopted in darsa teaching and the influence of chuo (Qurʾān School) on the orientation of Qāḍīs. Islamic learning was based on a comprehensive syllabus (manhaj) that incorporated various disciplines to train Qāḍīs for their future career. Secondly, the syllabus and its role in training Qāḍīs are examined. Towards the turn of the twentieth century, a formalised system of Islamic learning was established in form of a madrasa, and the older syllabus was modified. The final part of the article illustrates the role of Qāḍīs in the transmission of Islamic learning over generations through an intellectual chain.

Qāḍīs can be regarded as the main actors in disseminating Islamic knowledge along the East African coast. In the course of their training, Qāḍīs were educated in *halaqa* (learning circles) held in mosques that was preceded by early childhood learning in *chuo* (Qurʾān School). In this article, I will discuss the influence of early education in the training of Qāḍīs and the role played by Qāḍīs in advancing Islamic knowledge. I will particularly focus on the syllabus, its change during the course of the 20th century, and the generations of Qāḍīs involved in this process.

Qāḍīs, including other ʿulamāʾ, were educated in local centres of Islamic learning held in mosques in the form of *halaqa*. Mosques have played a significant role in establishing traditions of Islamic learning in the East African coast and can be regarded as pioneer centres of Islamic education in the region. The *Riyāḍa* Mosque-Madrasa in Lamu serves as an example of these centres. Prominent scholars were linked to centres of Islamic learning established in mosques. For instance, Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī (d. 1947), Chief Qāḍī of Kenya (1937-1947), studied at the *Riyāḍa* Mosque-Madrasa. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Badawī Jamāl al-Layl (d. 1987), Chief Qāḍī of Kenya in 1948, taught at the *Riyāḍa* Mosque-Madrasa.

Darsa was held in mosques either in a group or individually between the teacher and his student. Students would learn from various scholars in their respective specialisations. The method and time of teaching would vary according to the availability of the teacher and the needs of students. Usually, *darsa* was held in the mosques after prayer times. Sometimes individual students would go to the teacher's residence and request to be taught a particular discipline.[1] Normally a competent student would be

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[1] El Zein noted that in Lamu, teachers divided knowledge into two parts; one given during the day to laymen and the other given secretly to the chosen elite at night. See Abdul Hamid M. El-Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town,* Northwestern University Press, 1974, p. 34. Teaching family members at night seemed to be a common practice in places such as Lamu. Extra coaching was given to family members and *murīds* (followers). The reason behind these 'late night' tutorials appears to be an effort to maintain intellectual dominance of a certain family or tradition within the society. In my interview with Sayyid Alwy Aḥmad Badawī Jamāl al-Layl (Mzee Mwenye) (d. 2008), he informed me that his father and Sheikh ʿAlī al-Māwī used to study at their teacher's residence (Ḥabīb Ṣaliḥ Jamāl al-Lyl) from 12 midnight until 2 a.m., except Fridays, for almost eight years. Interview conducted in Lamu on 24th

asked to read the text (*matn*) and the teacher would follow with a commentary (*sharḥ*). In some cases, the master would dictate the text with a commentary and the students would write it down.[2] It was during commentary time that students interacted with their teacher in discussion. Through this system of learning in a study circle, the oral tradition of transmitting Islamic knowledge "helped to establish the authority of teachers who were to follow and it served as the criterion to distinguish one student from another as far as his closeness to the master".[3]

Although mosques have significantly contributed in educating Qāḍīs along the East African coast, there was an important early stage of their learning that was conducted in private houses. These 'private schools' were referred to by different names, depending on the region: *chuo* in East Africa, *katatib* in the Sahara, and *duksi* in the Horn of Africa. Learning in these traditional Islamic schools was similar to that which took place in nursery schools, which focused on teaching the child the basics of the Arabic alphabet and recitation of Qurʾān. Normally, the children were taken to *chuo* at a very early stage and taught the Arabic alphabet through a common syllabus adopted almost entirely throughout the East African coast. *Qāʿida al-baghdādiyya*[4] was the basic text used in *chuo*. The text contained reading exercises on the Arabic alphabets and the last chapters of the Qurʾān. Once children were conversant with reading the Arabic scripts, they were gradually taught the recitation and memorisation of the Qurʾān. Memorisation of the Qurʾān at an early stage oriented children for future memorisation of the religious texts in various disciplines. Nasr noted the significance of oral tradition and memory in the transmission of knowledge in that they

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2   R. L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 150.

3   Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 'Oral Transmission and the Book in Islamic Education: The Spoken and the Written Word', *Journal of Islamic Studies,* 3, 1, 1992, p. 2.

4   Despite the popularity of the *Qāʿida al-baghdādiyya* and its importance in early childhood learning, the name of the author is neither mentioned nor known.

"affect the whole of the Islamic intellectual tradition and educational system".[5]

In addition to the recitation of the Qurʾān, children would be exposed to some local religious rituals such as *maulidi* (celebration of Prophet Muḥammad's birthday). The famous text used widely during *maulidi* celebrations was *Barzanjī* in the name of its author Jaʿafar b. Ḥassan b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Hadmi b. Zayn al-ʿAbidīn al-Barzanjī (d. 1180/1765). Other texts recited during the *maulidi* ceremony included *Ṣimṭ al-durar fī akhbār maulid khair al-bashār* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshi, *al-Burdah fī madḥ al-Nabi* and *al-hamziyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* by Sharaf al-Din Muḥammad b. Saʿid al-Būṣiri (d. 694/ 1294).[6] The reason for this early orientation of the child to these rituals was that most of the *waalimu* (teachers) who studied in local centres of Islamic learning were influenced by Ṣūfī traditions. It was through these rituals in early Islamic education that gave children a 'Ṣūfī touch' that oriented them towards Ṣūfī orders such as the ʿAlawiyya (*masharifu*).

Manhaj (syllabi) for training Qāḍīs

Training of Qāḍīs in mosques or a scholar's residence followed a comprehensive syllabus that incorporated various disciplines in order to equip learners with the necessary qualification in their future careers. The syllabus was fairly common across the region from Zanzibar to Lamu and beyond. The mode of teaching along the East African coast was influenced by centres of Islamic learning such as *Ribāṭ* in Tarim, established in 1887. The syllabi were based on texts written between the 13th and 18th centuries. Texts were imported from Haḍramawt and Egypt following the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. The adoption of Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in the East African coast was influenced by Haḍrami scholars, particularly the ʿAlawiyya from Haḍramawt, which was regarded as "a blooming centre of Shāfiʿī Islamic scholarship and jurisprudence".[7] Most of these texts

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[5] Nasr, 'Oral Transmission,' p. 1.

[6] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 5 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943), vol. I, p. 308.

[7] Ulrike Freitag, 'Hadhramaut: a religious centre for the Indian Ocean in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries?' *Studia Islamica*, 1999, p. 165.

were reprinted in Singapore and India in the latter part of the 19th century and early 20th century. The extension of the ʿAlawiya networks spanning the East African coast and the islands of Singapore and Indonesia made communication easier and printing of these texts more economical than in the Arab world. Another factor that cemented the links between Africa and Asia was the prevalence of Shāfiʿī *madhhab.* I will document the various disciplines and texts[8] taught in the local centres of Islamic learning.[9]

Al-Tajwīd (Recitation of Qurʾān)

The Qurʾān contained significant portions of verses that related to rules which Qāḍīs would need in their career. It was therefore imperative for Qāḍīs to study and understand the Qurʾān. Due to its significance, it was given priority over other disciplines. Before studying recitation *(al-tajwīd)*, the learner would be expected to have undergone early training in childhood, as noted above. Syllabi for *al-tajwīd* emphasized proper pronunciation and recitation.

The following texts were used:

1. *Hidāyat al-mustafīd fī aḥkām al-tajwīd* by Muḥammad al-Maḥmud al-Najjār, famously known as Abu Rima.[10] The book contains basic teachings of the science of recitation (*ʿilm al-tajwīd*).[11]

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8   Martin mentioned some of the texts presented in these syllabi. See B.G. Martin, 'Notes on some members of the learned classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the nineteenth century', *African Historical Studies,* Vol IV, 3, 1971, p. 541. See also C.H. Becker, 'Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa', translated and edited by B.G. Martin, *Tanzania Notes and Records,* 68, 1968, pp. 31-61.

9   I have noted in my interviews with Qāḍīs in Zanzibar and Mombasa that the sequence and names of texts may vary from one place to another, but in most cases it will adopt the manner that I have presented below. I have mentioned dates and places of publication as footnotes. In cases where date of publication is not mentioned, I have indicated (n.d.) to mean 'date not known'. It should be noted that texts mentioned have been printed in several places and times. Therefore most of the dates of publications provided do not correspond to the dates when the original texts were written.

10   The author was a teacher of *al-Madrasa al-Tahdhībiyya* in Hamah, Syria.

11   The book was published in Mombasa by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya

2. *Al-Burhān fī tajwīd al-Qurʾān* by Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq Qamḥāwī.[12] It provides the learner with various topics on pronunciation and recitation of Qurʾān (*ʿilm al-tajwīd*) in a question-and-answer format using simple Arabic language. The book was written according to *Ḥafṣ* recitation (*qirāʾa*) adopted by Shāfiʿī *madhhab*.

Tafsīr al-Qurʾān (Commentary of Qurʾān)

After acquiring a good command of Qurʾān recitation, the learner was then exposed to the commentary of the Qurʾān (*tafsir al-Qurʾān*). The most popular commentary of the Qurʾān used in the East African coast was *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm li al-Imāmayn al-Jalālayn*[13] by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 863/1459)[14] and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), locally referred to as *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Commentary of *al-Jalālayn* is provided in the margins: *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl by* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and the book *Fī maʿrifat al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh* by Abu ʿAbdallah Muḥammad b. Ḥazm. A further commentary on *al-Jalālayn* was written by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī al-Mālikī (d. 1241/1825) *Ḥāshiya al-ṣawī ʿala tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which was used as a complementary text alongside *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Students had to be given explicit permission (*ijāza*) by their teacher to hold *darsa* on *tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. When the teacher was satisfied that his student had acquired the necessary knowledge of Qurʾān and related sciences, he would allow him to hold a *darsa* at mosque in the presence of other scholars. If no objection was raised by any of the scholars present, the student would be regarded as qualified to hold *darsa* on his own.

Ḥadīth (Sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad)

The main sources for the discipline of *ḥadīth* were texts written by Imām al-Nawawī. Reliance on al-Nawawī's texts in *ḥadīth* reflects the preference of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It was part of the canon to use texts

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[12] The author was a teacher of Qurʾān recitations (*qiraʾāt*) at al-Azhar University. The book was written in 1375/1955.

[13] Published in Singapore by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Suleiman Marʿi (n.d.).

[14] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. I, p. 681, ff. 15.

interchangeably between disciplines. For instance, *Bulūgh al-marām* was taught in *hadīth* sessions as well as *fiqh*. The main texts used in *hadīth* were:

1. *Riyaḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* by Abu Zakariya Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī al-Dimashqī (d. 676/1277). Other texts used included *al-Adhkār al-muntakhaba min kalām sayyid al-abrār* by the same author.

2. *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām* by Abu Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad B. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni (d. 853/1449)[15] together with its commentary *Subul al-salām sharh bulūgh al-marām* by al-Amīr Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil al-Ṣanʿāni (d. 1203/1789).[16]

3. *Al-Aḥādith al-Mukhtāra al-jāmiʿa li miʾat wa thalāthina ḥadīthan nabawiyyan fi al-ḥikmat wa al-ādāb wa al-akhlāq al-marḍiyya* compiled by Al-Amīn (b. ʿAliʾ) al-Mazrūʿī (d.1947). This was used in the coastal part of Kenya.

Fiqh (Jurisprudence)

Freitag noted the significance of *fiqh* and the "weight which was laid on jurisprudence and the training of future judges and muftis".[17] Jurisprudence was regarded as the core subject that Qāḍīs would rely on in their career. The syllabi of jurisprudence seemed to be the most extensive ones in comparison with those of other disciplines. The syllabi taught in jurisprudence demonstrated a system of gradual learning that would take the student from basic texts (*mabādiʾ*) to major references (*ummahāt al-kutub*). In the field of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the following sequences of texts were used:

1. *Al- Risāla al-jāmiʿa wa al-tadhkirat al-nāfiʿa al-mushtamil ʿala mā la budda minhu min al-ʿaqāʾid wa al-ʿibādat wa al-ādāb*[18], by Aḥmad b. Zayn al-ʿAlawi al-Ḥibshi (d .1145 /1733).[19] The text was

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15   Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. II, p. 80 .

16   Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. II, p. 74, ff. 19.

17   Freitag, 'Hadhramaut', p. 171.

18   Published by Shamsudin Haji Ahmed & Co., Mombasa (n.d.) and Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Suleiman Marʿī, Singapore (n.d.).

19   Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. II, p. 814.

known as Risāla and was compiled from Imam al-Ghazālī's books on Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. The book was also taught in other countries adopting the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, such as Indonesia. A.K. Bang noted that ʿAlawis in Batavia (Jakarta) translated *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* into Malay in 1875 for teaching children in the Madrasa.[20] The text covered basic teachings of Islam for beginners, including rules for ritual purity such as ablution (*wuḍuʾ*). It further provided brief details on the pillars of Islam. The final part explored the means of protecting the heart and other parts of the body from sins.

Al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa was complemented by *Irshād al-muslimīn li aḥkām furuḍ al-dīn mufatahan bi bāb jalīl al-miqdār fī bayān mā jāʾa fī ittibāʿi al-ʿilm wa faḍl al- ʿulamāʾ al-abrār,* [21] also known as *Babu mā jāʾa.* The text has a brief introduction on the etiquettes of learning and rewards (*faḍl*) of scholars. It focuses on ritual purity and provides details of ablution (*wuḍuʾ*), complete ablution (*al-ghusl*) and conditions of prayer (*ṣalāt*). Abu Bakar b. Sumayṭ (d. 1290/1874) wrote an Arabic commentary *al-Tiryāq al-nāfiʿi min al-ʿama sharḥ mā jā fī ittibāʿi al-ʿilm wa faḍl al-ʿulamāʾ* in 1283/1867.[22]

2. *Matn safīna al-najāḥ fī usūl al-dīn wa al-fiqh ʿala madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī* [23] by Sālim b. Samīr al-Haḍrami.[24] *Safīna al-najāḥ* follows the format of *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* focusing on rituals (*ʿibādat*), such as purification (*al-ṭahara*) and prayer (*ṣalāt*) with more detailed information. Commentaries used include:

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[20] Anne K. Bang, 'Intellectuals and Civil Servants: Early 20th Century Zanzibari Ulama and the Colonial State', in Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (ed.), *Islam in East Africa: New Sources (Archives, Manuscripts and Written Historical Sources, Oral History, Archeology)*, Proceedings of International Colloqium, Rome 2-4 December 1999 (Rome: Herder, 2000), p. 23.

[21] Despite its popularity on the East African coast, the author of *Irshād al-muslimīn* and its place of origin are not known.

[22] Published in Delhi by Maktaba Ishāʿat al-Islam (n.d.).

[23] Published in Mombasa by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya (n.d.).

[24] Flourished around 19th century. Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. II, p. 651, no. 4c.

a) *Nail al-rajā sharḥ safinat al-najāḥ* by Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Shaṭiri from Ḥaḍramawt.[25]

b) *Wasīlat al-najā ʿala safinat al-najāḥ* written by Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr (d. 1979).[26]

3. *Al-Durar al-bahiyya fī mā yalzimu ʿala al-mukallaf min al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya* by Abū Bakar b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭa al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1310/1893).[27]

4. *Al-Riyāḍ al-badīʿa fi uṣūl al-dīn wa-baʿḍ furuʿ al-sharīʿa*, by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasaballah, an Egpytian scholar who lived in Ḥijāz.[28]

   The student at this stage was expected to have learnt the basic rituals and thereafter was exposed progessively to matters of *muʿāmalāt* (transactions).

5. *Matn al-ghāya wa ʾl-taqrīb* by al-Qāḍī Abū Shujāʿ Aḥmad b. al-Husayn al-Aṣfahāni (d. 500/1106).[29] The text was referred to as *Matn Abū Shujāʿ* in the name of the author. The book starts with purification (*al-ṭahara*) and pillars of Islam.

There are various commentaries of *Matn al-ghāya*, which included:

a) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā fatḥ al-qarīb* by Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī (d. 1277/1861).[30]

b) *Kifāyat al-akhyār fī sharḥ al-ghāya wa al-taqrīb*, by Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr al-Ḥiṣni al-Dimashqī (d. 829/1426).[31]

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[25] The commentary was written in 1355/1936.

[26] The book was written in Zanzibar and published in Cairo in 1379/1951.

[27] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. II, p. 650. The book was written in 1303/1886.

[28] Hasaballah flourished in the 19th century. Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. II, p. 651, no. 6.

[29] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. I, p. 492, no. 23.

[30] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. I, p. 677, ff. 2.

[31] Ibid., vol. I, p. 492, ff. 23.

6. *Al-Muqaddima al-haḍramiyya fī fiqh al-sāda al-Shafiʿiyya*[32] by ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman Bā Faḍl al-Haḍrami [33] also known as *Rubʿu al-ʿibād.*

7. *ʿUmdat al-sālik wa ʿuddat al-nāsik*[34] *by* Imām Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Naqīb al-Miṣrī (d. 769/1367).[35] Among the commentaries used for *ʿUmdat al-sālik* was *Anwār al-masālik sharhu ʿumdat al-sālik* by Muḥammad Al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī.

8. *Fatḥ al-qarīb al-mujīb*[36] by Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/ 1512).[37] Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg noted in his preface to the edition of *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* that "from year to year European control over Moslem peoples is extending, so it is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of rendering the two works [*Fatḥ al-qarīb* and *Minhāj al-ṭalibīn*] that form the basis of the legal literature of the school of Shafii accessible, not only to a small number of Arabic scholars, but also to magistrates and political agents".[38]

9. *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn bi sharḥ qurrat al-ʿayn bi muhimmāt al-dīn* by Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Malībarī (d. . 974/1567).[39]

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[32] The book was written in 1367/1948 and published in Singapore by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Suleiman Marʿī (n.d.).

[33] Brockelmann noted that the author flourished in the 10th/16th century. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. II, p. 555, no. 1c.

[34] Published in Cairo by Maktaba wa maṭbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa aulādihī bī Miṣr in 1368/1948.

[35] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. II, p. 104, no. 12a.

[36] Published by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Suleiman Marʿī, Singapore (n.d.).

[37] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. I, p. 492, no. 23.

[38] E.C. Howard, *Minhaj et Talibin: A Manual of Muḥammadan Law According to the School of Shafii,* translated into English from the French Edition of L. W. C. van Berg by E. C. Howard (London: W. Thacker & Co. 1914), p. 5. The French translation was published in 1882 in Batavia by the Government of the Netherlands.

[39] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. vol. II, p. 604, 2.

10. *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn wa ʿumdat al-muftīna fī fiqh madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī* [40] by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d.676/1277). *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* was considered to be the basic Shāfiʿī text in jurisprudence. Qāḍīs along the East African coast used it as a reference text in their legal cases. It was translated into English to assist British Judges and Magistrates in dealing with Islamic law cases. According to Howard, it "occupies the first rank for deciding legal cases". [41] The text presents an extensive coverage of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) according to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It explores in detail areas such as rituals (*ibādāt*) that were covered in introductory texts.

The significant part of *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* in training Qāḍīs was the detailed information provided on transactions (*muʿāmalāt*) upon which Qāḍīs based their judgements in courts. The text provided details of transactions such as sale (*al-bayʿ*), sale by advance (*al-salam*), security (*al-rahn*), bankruptcy (*al-taflīs*), partnership (*al-shirka*), agency (*al-wakāla*), loan (*al-ʿariya*), usurpation (*al-ghaṣb*), pre-emption (*al-shufʿa*), farming leases (*al-musāqā*), and hire (*al-ijāra*). On the law of personal status, the text presents regulations of endowment (*al-waqf*), gifts (*al-hiba*), inheritance (*al-farāʾiḍ*), wills (*al-waṣiyya*), marriage (*al-nikāḥ*), divorce (*al-ṭalāq*), and maintenance (*al-nafaqa*). The final part of the text deals with crimes and punishments (*ḥudud*), war (*jihād*), poll tax (*al-jizya*), hunting and slaughtering of animals (*al-ṣayd wa ḍabāʾih*), animal sacrifices (*al-uḍhiya*), oaths (*al-aymān*), vows (*al-nadhr*), administration of justice (*al-qaḍa*), evidence of witness (*al-shahādat*), procedure (*al-daʿwa al-baynāt*) and manumission of slaves (*ʿitq*).

Several commentaries of *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* were used to complement the text, including:

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[40]   Published in Cairo by Maktaba wa maṭbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa aulādihī bī Miṣr in 1338/1920.

[41]   Howard, *Minhaj et Talibin*, p. 5.

a) *Al-Sirāj al-wahhāj ʿala matn al-minhāj* [42] by Muḥammad Al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī. [43]

b) *Al-Ibtihāj fi bayān iṣṭilāḥ al-minhāj* by Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ (d. 1925), written by his son ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ (d.1976). [44]

c) *Fatḥ al-wahhāb* by Zayn al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Ansārī al-Miṣrī (d. 936/1530). [45]

d) *Maslak al-muḥtāj ila bayān iṣṭilāḥ al-minhāj* by Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr (d. 1979). [46]

In addition to the above *fiqh* texts, students would also be taught principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). The main texts used in this discipline were *al-Waraqāt fi uṣūl al-fiqh* by Imam al-Ḥaramayn, Abū al-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Yusuf al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085)[47] and *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt ilā sharḥ tashīl al-ṭuruqāt li naẓm al-waraqāt fi uṣūl al-fiqhiyya* by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Quds b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shāfiʿī.[48]

Another important area of Islamic jurisprudence was Islamic law of Inheritance (*mīrāth*), which Qāḍīs were expected to master. It was normal routine for the learners to memorise the basic text on Islamic law of inheritance, *Matn al-rahbiyya*.[49] The main text used in teaching Islamic law of inheritance (*mīrāth*) was *Matn al-rahbiyya fī ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ wa al-mirāth ʿala al-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*,[50] by Muwaffiq al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallah Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Rahbī

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42 Published in Cairo by Maktaba wa maṭbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa aulādihī bī Miṣr in 1352/1933.

43 The book was written in 1337/1919.

44 The book was written in 1354/1935 and printed in Cairo in 1937.

45 Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* supp. Vol. I, pp. 681, ff. 18

46 The book was published in Cairo in 1386/1966.

47 Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* Vol. I, p. 486, no.12.

48 Ibid, supp. II, p. 814, no.9.

49 In my interviews, I noticed that a number of Qāḍīs in Zanzibar and Kenya had memorised *Matn al-rahbiyya*.

50 Published in Cairo by Dār al-Qāhira li al-ṭibāʿa (n.d.).

(d. 579/1183). In addition to the text, students used a commentary, *Ḥāshiyat Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Baqrī ʿala sharḥ matn al-raḥbiyya fī ʿilm al- farāʾiḍ li al-Imām Sibṭ al-Māridīnī*.[51]

Al- Lugha al-ʿarabiyya (Arabic language)

Learning Arabic language was regarded as a necessary tool that assisted students in advancing their studies on their own after having acquired *ijāza* from their teachers. A good command of the Arabic language served as a sign of competence of the student in holding *darsa*, in particular, in making commentary of Qurʾān. Due to the fact that the Arabic language was the *lingua franca* of their time, Qāḍīs were expected to demonstrate their competence in Arabic. References used in the courts were in Arabic and Qāḍīs were expected to write their court proceedings and judgments in Arabic. Hence, emphasis was put on the Arabic syllabus to ensure that Qāḍīs would have a good command of and eloquence in the language. There were two points of emphasis: Arabic grammar (*al-naḥw*) and morphology (*al-ṣarf*).

Arabic grammar was taught in the following sequence:
1. *Matn al-ājrūmiyya*[52] by Abū ʿAbdallah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, famously referred to as *Ibn Ājrūm al-Ṣanhāji* (d. 723/1323). The text presented the basic teachings of Arabic grammar, including structure of sentences, nouns and verbs.

There were several commentaries on *Matn al-ājrūmiyya*:
a) *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar jiddan ʿala matn al-ājrūmiyya*[53] by Aḥmad Zayni Daḥlan (d. 1304/1886), also referred to as *Daḥlan*.[54]
b) *Al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī mutammima al-ājrūmiyya* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Bārī al-Ahdal.

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51   Published in Cairo by Matbaʿa al-Mashhad al-Ḥusayni in 1393/1973. The book was written in 1146/1734.

52   Published in Cairo by Maktaba wa matbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa aulādihī bī Miṣr in 1367 /1948.

53   Published in Cairo by Matbaʿa al-Maḥmudiyya al-Tijāriyya, (n.d.).

54   The text was written in 1291/1874.

c)   Commentary of *Mutammima al-ājrūmiyya*[55] by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rīnī, famously known as al-Ḥaṭṭab.[56]

After studying the text of *Matn al-ājrūmiyya* and its commentaries, the student was exposed to a more detailed study of Arabic grammar (*al-naḥw*) using the following texts:

2.   *Alfiyyat ibn mālik fi al- naḥw wa al-ṣarf* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah b. Mālik al-Andalusi al-Mālikī (d. 672 /1273).

Commentaries of *Alfiyyat ibn mālik* used include:

a)   *Irshād al-sālik sharḥ alfiyyat ibn Mālik*[57] by ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Sharnūbī al-Azharī.

b)   *Sharḥ ibn ʿaqīl ʿala alfiyyat ibn Mālik* by Qāḍī Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-ʿAqīl (d. 769 /1367).

3.   *Qaṭr al-nadā wa ball al-ṣadā* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallah Jamāl al-Dīn b. Hishām (d. 761/1359).

In the field of morphology (*al-ṣarf*), the basic text used was *Matn al-binā wa al-asās* by Mulla ʿAbdallah al-Danqāri, together with *Matn al-taṣrif* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿImād al-Dīn, famously known as al-Zijāni (d. 655 /1257).

Taṣawwuf (Mysticism)

Taṣawwuf was considered to be part and parcel of Islamic learning. At times, Qāḍīs would receive Ṣūfī teachings aside from their normal darsas. For instance, Fatāwī b. ʿIsā (d. 1987) attended Qādiriyya sessions while receiving Islamic teaching under his teacher ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maḥmūd al-Washīlī (d. 1936) in Zanzibar.[58] Almost all *Taṣawwuf* teaching was

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55   Published in Cairo by Maktaba wa maṭbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa aulādihī bī Miṣr in 1356/1937.

56   The text was written in 1288/1871.

57   Published in Beirut by al-Maktaba al-shaʿbiyya (n.d.).

58   Farsy, ʿAbdallah Ṣaleh Farsy, *Baadhi ya wanavyuoni wa kishafi wa mashariki ya Afrika*, 1972, p. 4.

dominated by al-Imām Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) writings in the field. Of the basic texts used in 'softening the hearts' of the Qāḍīs in training was the *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, incidentally also taught at al-Azhar University. The following sequence of texts by al-Imam al-Ghazālī formed the syllabus for taṣawwuf:

1. *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. The text was divided into two parts. Part one deals with etiquettes of sleeping, ablution and preparation for prayer and fasting, while part two covers topics on avoidance of sins, sins of the heart, and etiquettes of friendship with Almighty God. A commentary commonly used for this text was *Marāqi al-ʿubudiyya ʿalā al-ajwiba al-makkiyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿArabī al-Nawawī al-Jāwī (d. 1888).[59]

2. *Minhaj al-ʿābidīn ilā jannat rabb al-ʿālamīn.*

3. *ʿIhya ʿulum al-dīn.*

Other Ṣūfī texts were used as supplementary material in order to provide specific orientation for the local Sufi orders. The ʿAlawiyya texts were based on the works of al-Ḥabib ʿAbdallah b. ʿAlawī b. ʿAbdallah al-Ḥusayni al-Ḥaddād (d. 1720):[60]

4. *Al-naṣāʾiḥ al-dīniyya wa-al-waṣāya al-imāniyya.*

5. *Risālat al-muʿāwana wa al-muẓāhara wa ʾl-muwazāra li ʾl-rāghibīna min al-muʾminīna fī sulūk al-ṭarīq al-ākhira.*

6. *Rātib al-Quṭb al-Ḥaddād*, which was a collection of supplications (*adʿiya*).

In addition to taṣawwuf, Qāḍīs were also taught the etiquettes of learning by using the text *Taʿlim al-mutaʿallim ṭariq al-taʿallum* by Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (lived circa 600/1203)[61] and its commentary *Sharḥ taʿlim al-mutaʿallim ṭariq al-taʿallum* by Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl.[62]

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[59] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. II, p.651, no. 7.

[60] Ibid., supp. vol. II, p.566, no. 4.

[61] Ibid., supp. vol. I, p.837, no. 17.

[62] The book was written in 996/1588 and dedicated to the Ottoman Sulṭān Murad III. See Becker, *Materials for Understanding of Islam,* p. 47.

⁽Aqīda/tawḥīd (Theology/Monotheism)

Teaching of theology did not attract much attention. The reason for this may have been the complexity of the subject itself that was mainly based on philosophical debates and sectarianism. Therefore, teaching of theology was based on the particular tradition of the student. For instance, the ⁽Alawiyya used ⁽Umar b. Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ's *Hidāyat al-ikhwān,* a commentary of *aqīdat al-imān.*[63] Another text used in teaching theology was *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* by Abū al-Imdād Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. ⁽Alī al-Laqqānī (d. 1041/1631).[64]

Ijāza (Permission)

Upon completion of the structured syllabus and demonstrating good command of the disciplines, the Qāḍī was awarded an *ijāza* (certificate) by his master. Normally the *ijāza* was given in writing, although sometimes it was awarded verbally. Writing of *ijāza* was a well-known practice along the East African coast by ⁽ulamā⁾ and Qāḍīs but its nature and format differed from one scholar to the other. In some cases a student would be given specific *ijāza* (permission) in teaching a particular book or discipline. The awarding of the *ijāza* signified recognition among the student's peers and permission from the master to teach and hold *darsas.* The *ijāza* would also be used by the student to support his academic standing and avoid any embarassment since without it "his academic bonafides might be questioned".[65]

Students also travelled to prominent scholars to obtain certification: "intellectual and academic convention demanded that leading scholars be pursued wherever they were … and even few sessions with them would improve the *ijāza* of the student".[66] In cases where people could not travel to pursue studies and meet the scholar, they would request

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[63] Author of *Aqīdat al-īmān* is not known.

[64] Brockelmann, *Geschichte,* vol. 5, p. 436.

[65] Martin, 'Notes on some members,' p. 540.

[66] F. H. Elmasri, 'Al-Amīn b. ⁽Alī al-Mazrū⁽i and the Intellectual Tradition in East Africa', *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs,* 8, 2, 1987, p. 229.

the *ijāza* from him through other colleagues. Bang gives an example of Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ (d. 1935) receiving a coveted *ijāza* from Ḥaḍramawt scholar ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥibshi. This was jointly issued to both Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ and ʿAbdallah Bākathīr while travelling to Ḥaḍramawt in 1897.[67] Besides signifying academic recognition, *ijāza* also served to entrench the tradition of the scholar who issued it. Depending on the affiliation of the scholar, in most cases the *ijāza* would reflect the transmission of a particular tradition, whether Ṣūfī or otherwise, from the scholar to his student. The tradition of awarding *ijāza* was institutionalised, in the sense that recipients of such *ijāza* over time awarded them to their own students. This ensured the continuity of this tradition for generations, as in the case of Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ's *ijāza* which "brought not only a licence, but also the power to give licences to others whom Ḥabīb Salīḥ might feel were qualified".[68]

The first *ijāza* (fig. 1) represents the traditionalist Ṣūfī order from Fatāwī b. ʿIsā (d. 1987), while the second (fig. 2) reflects the reformist tradition from ʿAbdallah Farsy (d. 1982). Fatāwī's *ijāza* emphasised that his student should revise the prominent texts by Ṣūfī scholars such as al-Ghazālī, al-Shaʿrānī and al-Ḥaddad. The *ijāza* also highlighted the importance of Ṣūfī *adhkār* (supplications) and *istighfar* (repentance), and urged the *murīd* (follower) to associate himself with these rituals. It illustrates the power given by the mentor to his *murīd* by stating: "I have permitted to the bearer to grant *ijāza* to whoever deserves to be granted".

[67]   Anne Bang, *Sufi and Scholars of the Sea. Family Networks in East Africa, 1860-1925* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 145.

[68]   El Zein, *The Sacred Meadows,* p. 134.

Figure 1: *Ijāza* from Fatawi b. ʿIsā (d. 1987)

Translation of Fatāwī's *ijāza* to his student Hadhar bin ʿAbdallah

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CERTIFICATE (*Shahada*)

This certificate has been issued by al-Madrasa al-Shiraziyya

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent

Praise is to Allah who has taught Adam the names and achieved testimony from His Lord the Creator of Earth and Heaven, and to whom the Angels have submitted and prostrated to His command. And praise and prayers be upon our master Muhammad companion of the miracles and his companions.

The disciplined and dedicated student and one of the Qāḍīs of Zanzibar, Brother Sheikh Hadhar b. ʿAbd Allah Hadhar, has spent his efforts in pursuit of knowledge from renowned scholars including Sheikh Mūsā bin Qāsim and Sheikh Muḥammad bin Ḥasan in various disciplines such as commentary of Qurʾān, sayings of the Prophet and jurisprudence, and in Arabic language such as Arabic grammar and morphology, and part of mysticism. It has come to my mind to award him certificate from what I have taught him with justice from those disciplines and I grant him *ijāza* to read and guide the people and learn from various scholars as I have been granted *ijāza* by my renowned teachers, particularly my master and teacher al-Imām who is conversant in all disciplines and knowledgeable of Allah and former Mufti of Zanzibar [Ḥasan bin ʿAmīr]. I have permitted the bearer to grant *ijāza* to whomever deserves to be granted and to continue studying the Holy Qurʾān and associating himself with *awrād, adhkār, adʿiya* (supplications) and *istighfār* (repentance) and I have advised him to fear Allah and revise books, specifically books of the three Imāms after revising jurisprudence (*fiqh*) books, and these are books of al-Imām al-Ghazālī, al-Imām al-Shaʿrānī and our master al-Ḥaddad. And I have reminded him

not to forget me in his supplications. And Allah will take us and him under His care and will not deny us seeing Him in the name of Muḥammad and his companions, and praise of Allah be upon our master Muḥammad and his companions.

Written by the needy for the mercy of Allah Fatāwī bin ʿIsā al-Shirāzī al-Shāfiʿī al-Qādirī may Allah forgive them (*āmīn*) written in *Rabiʿi al-awwal*.[69] (I have granted to this brother whatever has been granted to me by my teacher Ḥasan bin ʿAmīr.)[70]

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[69] The year when the *ijāza* was written is not mentioned.

[70] I am thankful to Sheikh Hadar b. Abdallāh Hadar who kindly gave me a copy of the above *ijāza* during my interview with him at his residence in Kizimkazi, Zanzibar on 19th June 2005.

Figure 2: *Ijāza* from ʿAbdallah Ṣāleh Farsy to his student Mwinshehe who was Qādi in Zanzibar.
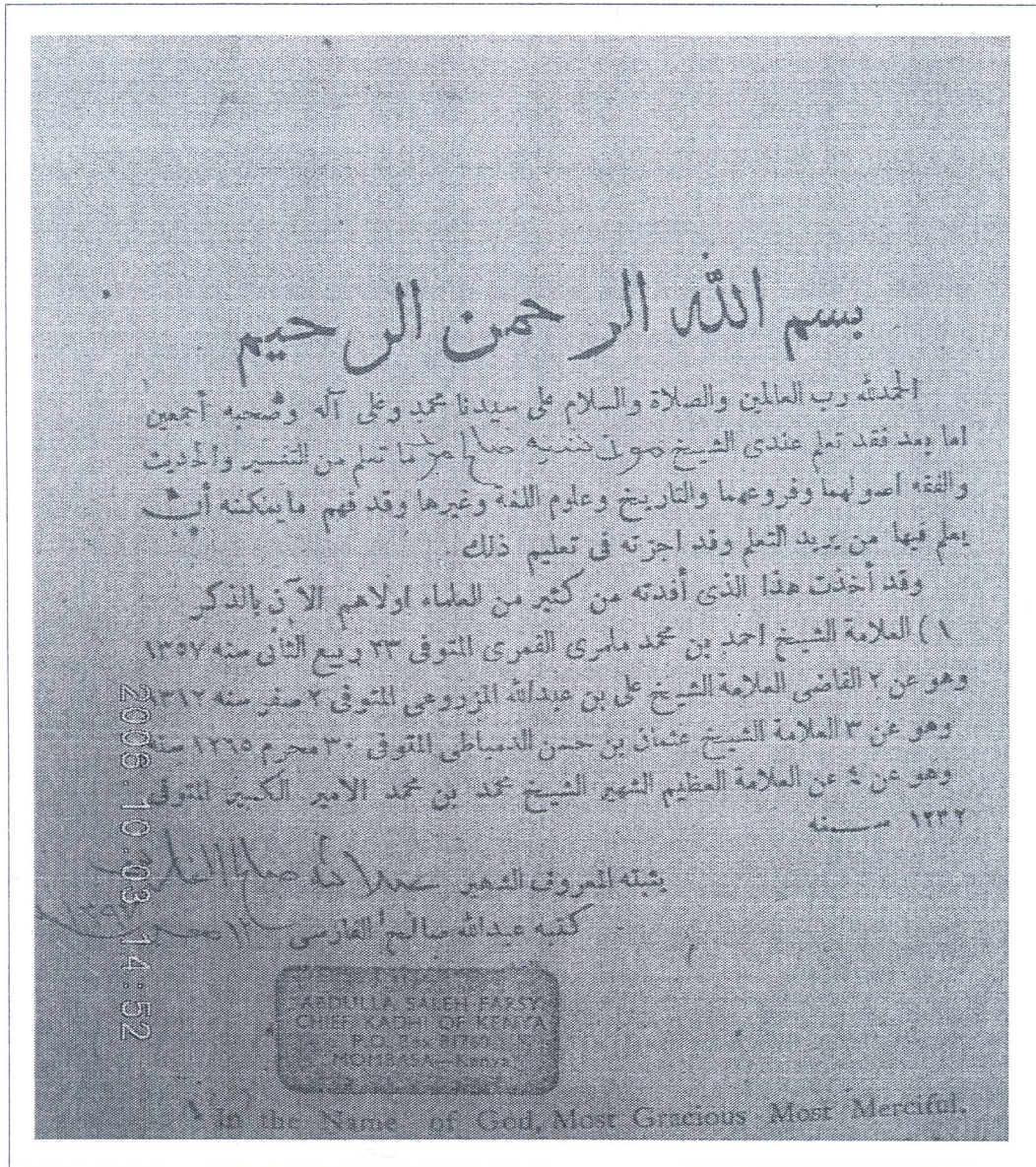
Figure 3: English Version of Farsy's *Ijāza*
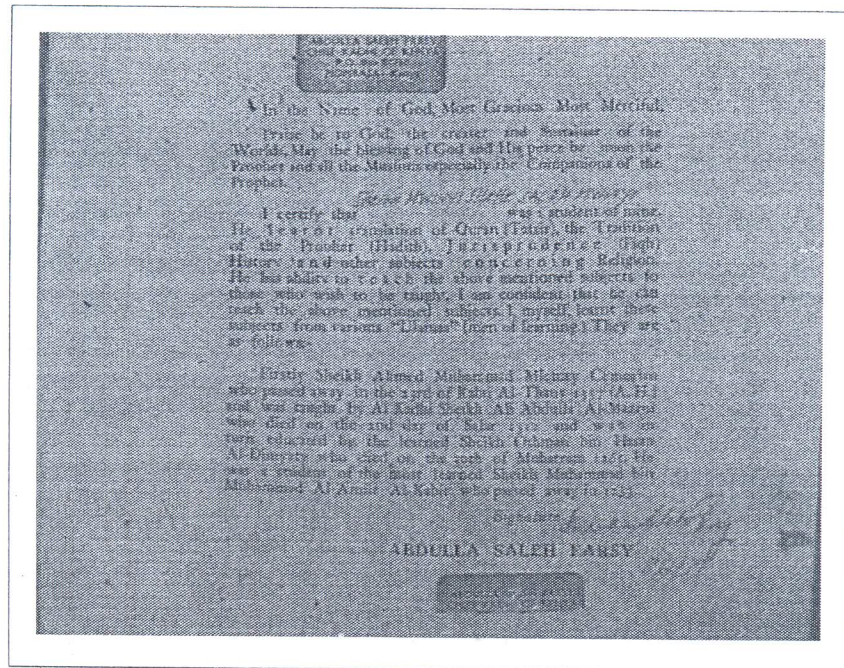
In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Graceful
Praise be to God the Creator and the Sustainer of the Worlds,
May the blessing of God and His peace be upon the prophet
and all the Muslims especially the Companions of the Prophet.

I certify that SHEIKH MWINYI SALEH MWINYI [written in upper case letters] was a student of mine. He learnt translation of Quran (*Tafsir*), the Tradition of the Prophet (*Hadith*), Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), History and other subjects concerning Religion. He has ability to teach the above mentioned subjects to those who wish to be taught. I am confident that he can teach the above mentioned subjects. I, myself, learnt these subjects from various "Ulamaa" (men of learning). They are as follows:-
Firstly, Sheikh Ahmed Muhammad Mlomry Comorian who passed away in the 23rd of Rabii Al-Thani 1357 (A.H.) and was taught by Al-Kadhi Sheikh Ali Abdulla Al-Mazrui who died on the 2nd of Safar 1312 and was in turn educated by the learned

Sheikh Othman bun Hassan Al-Dimyaty who died on the 30th of Muharram 1265. He was a student of the most learned Sheikh Muhammad bin Muhammad Al-Amiir Al-Kadir who passed away in 1233.

Signature
Abdulla Saleh Farsy [signed]
8/2/77
Stamp:
Abdulla Saleh Farsy
Chief Kadhi of Kenya

Development of *Darsa* to *Madrasa*

The training of ʿulamāʾ, including Qāḍīs, along the East African coast took place in the *darsa* in mosques. However, in the early twentieth century, *darsa* developed into a more formalised system of Islamic learning. This 'formalisation' resulted in the establishment of institutions in the form of *madrasa*, and in the development of a new syllabus.

The establishment of *madrasa* education influenced two main areas of Islamic learning: *darsa* and *chuo*. Lienhardt's history of *Riyaḍa* Mosque-Madrasa in Lamu illustrates the development from *darsa* to *madrasa*.[71] Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ (d.1935) first held *darsa* in *Bilād* Mosque, and then built a hut that served as a *Musalla* (praying place). Later, with the assistance of the local people, he built *Riyaḍa* Mosque and established a *madrasa* within the courtyard of the mosque, which he named *Ribāṭ al-Riyaḍa* in 1900.[72] The *madrasa* adopted new methodologies of teaching that were practised in Tarim where "students studied as a group following common syllabi in a structured way ... and lasted for a

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[71]   Peter Lienhardt, 'The Mosque College of Lamu and its Social Background', *Tanzania Notes and Records,* 1959, p. 231.

[72]   Ibid., 234. See also Ahmed Bin Sumeit, 'The Role of the Riyaḍah Mosque-madrasa in enhancing the Islamic Identity in Kenya', in Mohamed Bakari and Saad S. Yahya (eds.), *Islam in Kenya* (Kenya: Mewa Publications, 1995).

prescribed period of four years".[73] In 1955 another *madrasa* was established near *Riyaḍa* mosque with the name *Madrasat al-Najāḥ al-Islamiya*.[74] Another example of *darsa* that became a *madrasa* was the *Ukutani madrasa* in Zanzibar. ʿAbdallah Muḥammad Bakāthīr bought a house from an ʿAlawiyya family (Al-Husaynī) in the Ukutani quarter in 1909, and held *darsa* in the courtyard of the house. This *darsa* developed into the *Madrasa Bā Kāthīr*. As with the *Riyaḍa* Mosque-Madrasa in Lamu, *Madrasa Bā Kāthīr* was influenced by ʿAlawiyya institutions in Ḥaḍramawt. Parallel to the establishment of *Madrasa Bā Kāthīr* was the expansion of the *Barza* mosque into the *Madrasat al-nur* near Ukutani.[75]

Another development of formalised education was the establishment of the Muslim Academy in Zanzibar in 1952. The Academy was meant to be different from the traditional Islamic learning offered in mosques and *madrasa*. In 1952 the British Administration established the Academy based on an Indian model that had been introduced to Sudan in the 1930s and then to Nigeria in the late 1940s.[76] It seemed to the British that Islamic learning provided in both mosques and *madrasa* could not provide graduates suitable for colonial administrative and judicial structures. The British Resident elaborated on the main objective of establishing the Muslim Academy: "(it) would provide for education in Moslem law, religion and culture for a limited number of pupils. Besides being of value here, it would assist us in the provision of kadhis both here and on the mainland".[77] When the Academy opened in 1952, teaching

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[73] Freitag, 'Hadhramaut', p. 171.

[74] *Madrasat al-Najāḥ al-Islamiya* was officially inaugurated by ʿAlawiyya scholar ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b.ʿAlī al-Ḥibshi on Tuesday 6 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1375/22 November 1955.

[75] Forthcoming, Roman Loimeier, *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in Zanzibar in the 20th century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). I thank Loimeier for providing me with the draft and allowing me to quote from it.

[76] Ibid. Example of institutions built by the British are the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh, India, and the Law school in Kano, Nigeria, established in 1934.

[77] Zanzibar Archives/AB62/150/27, Letter from the British Resident, Zanzibar to H. H. Sir Reginald Champion, dated 3 April 1948.

was based on a five-year study programme that covered Islamic subjects and Arabic language. Additional subjects offered were calligraphy and English language, as optional subjects from third year. In 1957, elementary mathematics was included. After the revolution in 1972, the syllabus was extended to incorporate subjects such as Kiswahili, Geography, Physics, Chemistry and Biology. After a long history of intellectual contribution, the Muslim Academy was closed down in 2007 by the Zanzibar government.[78] Most of the Qāḍīs in Zanzibar and Pemba studied at the Academy under the patronage of renowned ʿulamāʾ of the region. Students from neighbouring countries also studied at the Academy that "became a beacon of the new system of Islamic education for the whole of Eastern Africa".[79]

The *madrasa* also had an impact on *chuo* education. As noted above, the sequence of Islamic learning began for a child in the *chuo*, proceeding to the *madrasa* and the *darsas* in the mosques upon reaching puberty (*tamyīz*). This sequence of Islamic learning was altered with the introduction of *madrasa*, whereby children were taken directly to *madrasa*. While the emphasis of *chuo* was on learning the Qurʾān, *madrasa* education exposed children to a wider syllabus of Islamic religious teaching. Parents preferred sending their children to the *madrasa* for the comprehensiveness of the *madrasa* syllabus and its pedagogical methodology.

The *darsa-madrasa* development was followed by an expansion of the syllabus. As stated above, transmission of Islamic learning was based on texts taught in mosques. However, towards mid-twentieth century, new texts were introduced. For instance, in the field of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the teaching text used in *madrasa* was *al-Mabādiʾu al-fiqhiyya ʿalā madhhab al-Imam al-Shāfiʿī*[80] by an Egyptian author,

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[78] Loimeier devotes a whole chapter on the Muslim Academy in his forthcoming book, *Between Social Skills*.

[79] Bakari, 'Sayyid Omar Abdalla,' p. 378.

[80] The series was first published in Cairo in 1935.

ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Jabbar. The text comes in a series of four books that takes the learner gradually from matters of purity (*ṭahāra*) to detailed issues of transactions (*muʿāmalāt*). Another discipline that was influenced by new texts was Arabic language, in which the text of *al-Naḥw al-Wāḍiḥ* by the Egyptian authors ʿAlī al-Jārim and Muṣṭafa Amīn was introduced.[81] The text is divided into two categories: one for primary level (*al-madāris al-ibtidāʾiyya*) in the form of two books, and the other for secondary level (*al-madāris al-thānawiyya*) in three books. The series is structured in a simple way to assist the learner in studying the essentials of Arabic grammar. Before introducing a principle (*qāʿida*) of Arabic grammar, it first provides examples of how to use the principle with a brief explanation and then gives exercises to implement the principle. The series also provides guidelines for teachers. The simplicity of these texts seems to have appealed to *madrasa* teachers in preference to the older texts.

The establishment of *madrasa* education and syllabus development were influenced by an influx of graduates from higher learning institutions in the Muslim world in the 1980s. Upon their return, these young graudates established *madrasa* and imported syllabi from their respective institutions of higher learning abroad. Some from Gulf countries were employed by religious organisations to propagate Islam. Most of these graduates were absorbed in the *madrasa* teaching. Other graduates who came from less affluent countries were employed in the civil service and some were recruited as Qāḍīs in Zanzibar and Kenya. The new generation of young graduates trained by various Islamic universities seemed gradually to replace locally trained teachers. This trend not only changed the intellectual climate along the East African coast but also influenced the institutional framework of centres of Islamic learning and their syllabi.

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[81]   The series was published in Cairo by Dār al-Maʿārif in 1956.

[82]   For the life history of Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ, see Bang, *Sufi and Scholars*.

The transimission of Islamic learning through intellectual chain of Qāḍīs

Transmission of Islamic learning along the East Afrcian coast formed a network of ʿulamāʾ. Qāḍīs were the main actors in establishing the intellectual tradition. For instance, Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ taught many students in addition to producing his various scholarly writings.[82] Interaction between students in the centres of Islamic learning exposed them to this network and opened avenues for recruitment in their future careers. Whenever a vacant position for a Qāḍī arose, the teacher/mentor would recommend (*tazkiya*) his potential students to be recruited as Qāḍīs. Martin noted that "The East African ʿulamāʾ class was also closely knit … they knew each other personally, and many posts and positions were reserved for recruits from within their own groups."[83] Students regarded their teachers as spiritual mentors as well as career advisors.

Karl Mannheim notes that most generation theories tend "to establish a direct correlation between waves of decisive year-classes of birth."[84] In my classification of the generations of Qāḍīs, I have instead considered the year of death that seems to be commonly shared by Qāḍīs in a particular generation. For this purpose, I have selected Qāḍīs whose years of death run from 1869 to 2006. To demonstrate the continuity of the intellectual chain of transmission of Islamic knowledge, contemporary Chief Qāḍīs have been included in the chain. The other factor that I have considered in grouping Qāḍīs into various generations is the teacher-student relationship that qualifies as a common criterion for distinguishing Qāḍīs in their respective generations. This intellectual tutelage, however, did not necessarily imply that all the generations adopted similar traditions. Mannheim pointed out that certain factors could bind members of a generation, as in the case of teacher-student relationship in my classification, although such factors did not necessarily result in establishing a concrete group.[85] Following

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[83] Martin, 'Notes on some members', p. 530.

[84] Paul Kecskemeti, (ed.) *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968), p. 311.

[85] Ibid., p. 292.

Mannheim's argument, I will attempt to show that although Qāḍīs were connected through an intellectual chain running across generations, their orientation reflected diverse traditions within the generations.

Factors that cemented the link between generations of scholars included the zeal to learn under reputable and saintly scholars. Family ties also strengthened the connection between generations. Transmission of Islamic knowledge through family links was a common phenomenon throughout the East African coast. It was a normal practice for ʿulamāʾ to 'manufacture' future scholars from within their families. For instance, we find a father Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ (d. 1874) mentoring his son Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ (d. 1925), who in turn teaches his son ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ (d. 1976). This demonstrates that "scholarly connections and religious education developed along with family ties".[86] Non-family members were accommodated in the process of learning through other factors, such as traditions, ethnicity and locality.

Generations of Qāḍīs from the mid-19th century to the 21st century

I have classified Qāḍīs into eight generations from the mid-19th century to the 21st century according to their year-classes of death. I have only mentioned a few Qāḍīs who were linked through the teacher-student connection. The eight generations of Qāḍīs presented in the figure (No. 4) are limited to a few examples reflecting the teacher-student link between Mombasa and Zanzibar. The aim of presenting the generations is to demonstrate the mode of transmission of Islamic knowledge from the teacher to his student through an intellectual chain, and to trace some of the intellectual traditions since the end of the 19th century. I have mentioned only Shāfiʿī Qāḍīs based on Farsy's *Baadhi ya wanavyuoni wa kishafi wa mashariki ya Afrika*. Ibāḍi Qāḍīs are not included in the generations although there are a significant number of Ibāḍi scholars who interacted with their Shāfiʿī colleagues in the transmission of Islamic learning, particulary in Zanzibar and Pemba.

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[86]   Kai Kresse, *Philosophizing in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 87.

Qāḍīs of the first generation can be regarded as the 'pioneer Qāḍīs' of Zanzibar and Mombasa. They share a common feature in that both were born outside Zanzibar: Muḥyiddin al-Qaḥṭānī (d. 1286/1869) was born in Barawa, Somalia, while Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ (d. 1290/1874) was born in Ḥaḍramawt. Both travelled widely. Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ travelled in the Indian Ocean as an experienced sea captain and merchant.[87] Muḥyiddin al-Qaḥṭānī worked in Mombasa and Lamu before settling in Zanzibar during the reign of Seyyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān. Muḥyiddin al-Qaḥṭānī differed from his contemporary in that the former engaged in political campaigns, siding with the al-Mazrūʿi at the time of conflict between al-Mazrūʿi and Seyyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān. The influence of Muḥyiddin al-Qaḥṭānī on his kinsmen can be seen in Barawa ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī (d. 1314/1896), and in Comorian students such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Moroni, (d. 1307/1890). Similarly, Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ taught his son Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ. In addition to transmitting knowledge, the two 'pioneer Qāḍīs' also disseminated Ṣūfī orders of their home countries. Muḥyiddin al-Qaḥṭānī represented the Qādiriyya tradition while Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ was a leading figure of the ʿAlawiyya order. Through their teachings, both scholars inculcated Ṣūfī traditions in their students which passed on to later generations.

Qāḍīs of the second generation adopted the trend established by their predecessors of confining the transmission of knowledge within family or ethnic boundaries. In Zanzibar, ethnic affiliation such as that between Barawa and the Comorians influenced the transmission of knowledge, as in the case of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Amawī who taught his son Burhan b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Amawī (d. 1935) and the Comorian Abdul Rahīm al-Washili (d. 1936). Although family connections influenced the process of transmission of knowledge in Zanzibar, as in the case of the Sumayṭ family, this trend was also dominant in Mombasa with the al-Mazrūʿī family. The influence of Qāḍīs of the second generation within

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87   Bang, Sufi and Scholars, p. 45.

family boundaries can be seen in the case of ʿAlī ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī whose main students were his son Sulayman and Muḥammad Qāsim al-Maʿāmiri. Transmission of Islamic knowledge within the second generation of Qāḍīs was also confined within geographical boundaries of the Qāḍīs. The intellectual influence of Qāḍīs Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Al-Moroni (d. 1890) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī (d. 1896) was confined within Zanzibar and its environs, while ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah b. Nafīʾi al-Mazrūʿī (d. 1894) was limited to Mombasa, with the exception of his visit to Pemba in 1304/1887.

A remarkable feature of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī's visit to Pemba was his influence in converting some of his students from Ibāḍi to Shāfiʿī. Sulṭān Barghash b. Saʿīd (r. 1870-1888) was disturbed by this, and imprisoned him until his death in March 1888. The limitation of the transmission of knowledge within geographical boundaries seems to have been caused by political conflict between the Mazrūʿīs and Būsaīdīs in Mombasa and Zanzibar respectively. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī were influenced by the prevailing political situation in the mid-nineteenth century. ʿAbdallah b. Nafīʾi al-Mazrūʿī, the father of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī, fled to Mecca with his sons when the Būsaīdī conquered Mombasa and drove out al-Mazrūʿī rulers in 1837.[88] In 1846, ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī returned to Mombasa and offered his support to his cousin Mbārak b. Rāshid al-Mazrūʿī who resisted Būsaīdī rule. In contrast with ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī's opposition against the Būsaīdī in Mombasa, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī in Zanzibar co-operated with Būsaīdī Sultans and was commissioned by the court of the Sultan to attend various state functions outside of Zanzibar. Al-Amawī became a close confidant of successive Sultans and was "more than a Qāḍī: he was almost a minister."[89] Al-Amawī also engaged in

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[88]   R.L. Pouwels, 'Sh. Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi and Islamic Modernism in East Africa 1875-1947', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 13, 3, 1981, p. 335.

[89]   M. Burhan Mkelle, 'A Scholar For All Seasons: Sheikh Abdul Aziz al-Amani (Amawi) of Zanzibar', *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 13, 1, 1992, p. 117.

debating with Christian missionaries in Zanzibar, although in some cases he co-operated with them. He assisted Bishop Steere in 1864 in translating some parts of the Bible.[90]

The third generation of Qāḍīs, particularly Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ, reflects a shift: it extends the local network to a regional and even global one. Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ travelled widely and studied under prominent scholars in Ḥaḍramawt, Mecca and Egypt. Bin Sumayṭ's period coincided with a wave of Pan-Islamism that exposed him to intellectual and political ideas, such as those of the Ottoman Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.[91] Through him, local scholars like al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī were exposed to developments beyond the East African coast. Despite the fact that Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ was based in Zanzibar, he managed to link the intellectual towns of Zanzibar and Mombasa. It is through his efforts that the intellectual chain was connected between the two sides of the Būsaīdī Sulṭānate, Zanzibar and Mombasa. The influence of Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ on his students across the East African coast can be seen in Figure 4. The influence of the Bin Sumayṭ family in general was significant, particularly on al-Mazrūʿī scholars in Mombasa. For instance, Abū Bakar b. Sumayṭ taught Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi, while Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ taught Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi and Al-Amin b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi.

In the fifth generation of Qāḍīs, Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī represents a modernist/reformist trend. Pouwels regarded Al-Amīn as "the first East African of any social stature to fully embrace modernist Islam, to write about it and to promote it publicly".[92] Al-Amīn studied at *Riyaḍa* Mosque-Madrasa and his early tolerance of ʿAlawiyya tradition can be discerned in his book entitled *Murshid al-ẓarīf ila fawāʾid al-ward al-Laṭīf li al-Imām al-Ḥaddād* (commentary to a book of supplication by Imām al-Ḥaddād). Later, Al-Amīn was influenced by reformist ideas, such

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[90] Valerie J. Hoffman, 'In His (Arab) Majesty's Service: The Career of a Somal Scholar and Diplomat in Nineteenth-Century Zanzibar', in (eds.) Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann, *The Global Worlds of the Swahili*, p. 263.

[91] Bang, *Sufi and Scholars*, p. 78.

[92] Pouwels, 'Sh. Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi', p. 331.

as the Salafiyya tradition from Egypt, through writings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rāshid Riḍa. Due to this exposure, he adopted the reformist agenda and criticised ʿAlawiyya in their claim to religious leadership based on their geneologies. The fact that Al-Amīn studied under Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ, who belonged to the ʿAlawiyya tradition, did not seem to deter him.

ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ and Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr, among Qāḍīs of the sixth generation, reflect a traditionalist trend in disseminating Ṣūfī orders. ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ represented the ʿAlawiyya tradition while Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr was a leading figure of the Qādiriyya order in Zanzibar. ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ reflects the continuity of his father, Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ's legacy in transmitting the ʿAlawiyya tradition. After his father's death in 1925, ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ represented the ʿAlawiyya order along the East African coast where he used to give *ijāza* to his *murids* (followers). Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī, the student of ʿUmar's father, carried the banner of reformist Salafiyya ideology in Mombasa. Despite the polarisation of these two antagonistic traditions, tolerance and accommodation prevailed between them. Kresse, quoting Sheikh Abdillahi Nasir, a renowned scholar in Kenya, mentions an incident where Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī and ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ "had been engaged in an intense intellectual argument yet despite their differing opinions they helped each other into their sandals before leaving the mosque."[93] ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ's intellectual contributions were halted by the Zanzibar revolution in 1964 that forced him to seek refuge in his father's birthplace in the Comore Islands.

Qāḍīs of the seventh generation represent the zenith of intellectual engagements in mid-twentieth century East Africa between the two opposing traditions: the traditionalists represented by ʿAlawiyya and reformists represented by Salafiyya. The reformist agenda initiated by Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī's critique of rituals practised by the ʿAlawiyya was advanced by his leading students, ʿAbdallah Farsy and Muḥammad Qāsim al-Mazrūʿī, in Zanzibar and Mombasa respectively. In Zanzibar, Farsy adopted the reformist tradition despite the fact that his teachers

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[93]   Kai Kresse, *Philosophizing in Mombasa*, p. 177.

were from ʿAlawiyya scholars such as ʿUmar b. Sumayṭ, ʿAlawī b. Abdulwahab b. Abul-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Jamāl al-Layl and Sulaymān al-ʿAlawī. Farsy challenged ʿAlawiyya religious leadership and rejected rituals such *maulid* and *khitma* (Qurʾān recitation for the dead), which he regarded as innovations (*bidʿa*). Similarly, Muḥammad Qāsim in Mombasa followed the footsteps of his mentor and father-in-law Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī in his reformist ideas. Muḥammad Qāsim wrote extensively against traditions practised by ʿAlawiyya in his books *Hukumu za Sharia* (Rules of Sharia) and the newsletter *Sauti ya Haki* (Voice of Justice), which was published every three months from 1972 to 1982. The newsletter covered various social and political issues and served as a forum for criticising ʿAlawiyya practices.

Muḥammad Qāsim appointed Farsy as the *Muftī* of the newsletter. Farsy utilised the forum to air his anti-*bidʿa* campaign against ʿAlawiyya. Before retiring from the office of Chief Qāḍī of Kenya, Muḥammad Qāsim recommended his colleague Farsy to take the post. For Muḥammad Qāsim, Farsy was not only an ally who shared his ideological thoughts, but was also an outsider who could advance the reformist agenda more aggressively along coastal Kenya. Farsy was appointed as Chief Qāḍī of Kenya in 1968. Farsy's eloquence and persuasive speech earned him popularity amongst the youth who flooded his Mosque seminars (*darsa*). Mosques were polarised and used for attacking and counter-attacking between the two antagonist groups, ʿAlawiyya and Salafiyya. ʿAlawiyya adherents branded their rivals as Wahhābīs (followers of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) while reformist supporters referred to their rivals as *Ahl bidʿa* (people of innovation). Attacks transcended controversial matters and were directed to scholarly works, such as Farsy's commentary of the Qurʾān which was rejected by ʿAlawiyya. In Lamu, ʿAlī Aḥmad Badawī represented the ʿAlawiyya tradition. Interestingly enough, he was taught by Al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī. The difference between ʿAlī Badawī and Farsy, who belong to the same generation, reveals divergent trends of traditionists and modernists respectively. Sporadic cross-pollination of traditions between the two opposing trends influenced scholars, including non-Qāḍīs.

Among Qāḍīs of the eighth generation, Ḥammād Muḥammad b. Qāsim Mazrūʿī represents, on the one hand, continuity of Mazrūʿī influence on Qāḍīship in Kenya. On the other hand, his orientation symbolises a different tradition in terms of educational background and approach towards the two opposing trends, traditionalism and reformism. Hammad's appointment as Chief Qāḍī of Kenya re-instated the Mazrūʿī religious leadership in coastal Kenya. After their political defeat by Būsaīdī Sulṭāns in 1837, Mazrūʿīs retreated to economic activities, particularly in property development and educational endeavours, which retained their social status.[94] Mazrūʿī's intellectual prominence in Mombasa was reflected in the appointment of Qāḍīs. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah b. Nafʿīʾi al-Mazrūʿī was the pioneer Mazrūʿī Qāḍī in Mombasa from 1856 to 1870. He was succeeded by Rāshid b. ʿAlī b. Nafʿīʾi al-Mazrūʿī from 1870 to 1875. Later, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī served as a Qāḍī in Mombasa from 1895-1932. He was then appointed as Chief Qāḍī of Kenya from 1932 to 1937. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī taught his kinsman Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī who was appointed Qāḍī in 1932, and later Chief Qāḍī of Kenya from 1937 until 1947. Al-Amīn continued the trend by teaching his son-in-law Muḥammad b. Qāsim who was appointed Qāḍī in 1946 and later Chief Qāḍī of Kenya from 1963 to 1968. To complete the circle, Muḥammad b. Qāsim taught his son Ḥammād who was appointed Qāḍī in Lamu in 1992 and Chief Qāḍī of Kenya in 2003.[95]

Ḥammād's educational background reflects a different orientation compared to that of his predecessors. He was taught by his father and other local scholars such as Sharīf ʿAlawī bin Aḥmad al-Husaini in Malindi and former Chief Qāḍī of Kenya, Sheikh Nāṣir Nahdy. After completing his secondary education in 1968 he joined Egerton College and studied agriculture. Towards the end of 1970 he was appointed as the clerk of ʿAbdallah Farsy until 1975. He received a scholarship to study in Iraq in 1978 and joined the University of Baghdad College of Science. When the the Gulf War broke out, he travelled to Saudi Arabia and joined the Riyaḍ College of Education where he graduated with a

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[94]   Pouwels, 'Sh. Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī', p. 335

[95]   Interview with Sheikh Ḥammad Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Mazrūʿi in Mombasa, 17th August 2006.

Bachelor of Education in Physics in 1984. In 1990 he received a scholarship to the University of Ibadan where he did his Masters. After his return to Kenya, he served as a Qāḍī in various places and was appointed as Chief Qāḍī in 2003. Ḥammād's travels to various institutions and exposure to different cultures seem to have influenced him in his approach towards the two opposing trends, ʿAlwiyya and Salafiyya. Since his appointment as Chief Qāḍī, he has adopted a policy of balancing the antagonistic traditions and has called for reconciliation between them.

Conclusion

In this article, I have shown the transformation of Islamic education along the East African coast from the end of the nineteenth century. Both the form and content of Islamic learning has changed. A detailed exposition of the old and new syllabi illustrate the variety, depth and change of what is being taught. This article has also shown generations of Qāḍīs within which the transmission of Islamic knowledge from teacher to student has been effected. The teacher-student link cemented relationships that established a network, within which future Qāḍīs were recruited. The dissemination of knowledge was confined within family or ethnic boundaries, as in the case of the al-Mazrūʿī family in Mombasa and the Barawa-Comorian tribes in Zanzibar Intellectual traditions of the Qāḍīs were divided between traditionalists represented by ʿAlawiyya and reformists represented by Salafiyya.

Figure 4: Transmission of Islamic Learning through Eight Generations of Qāḍīs' Intellectual Chains in Zanzibar and Mombasa
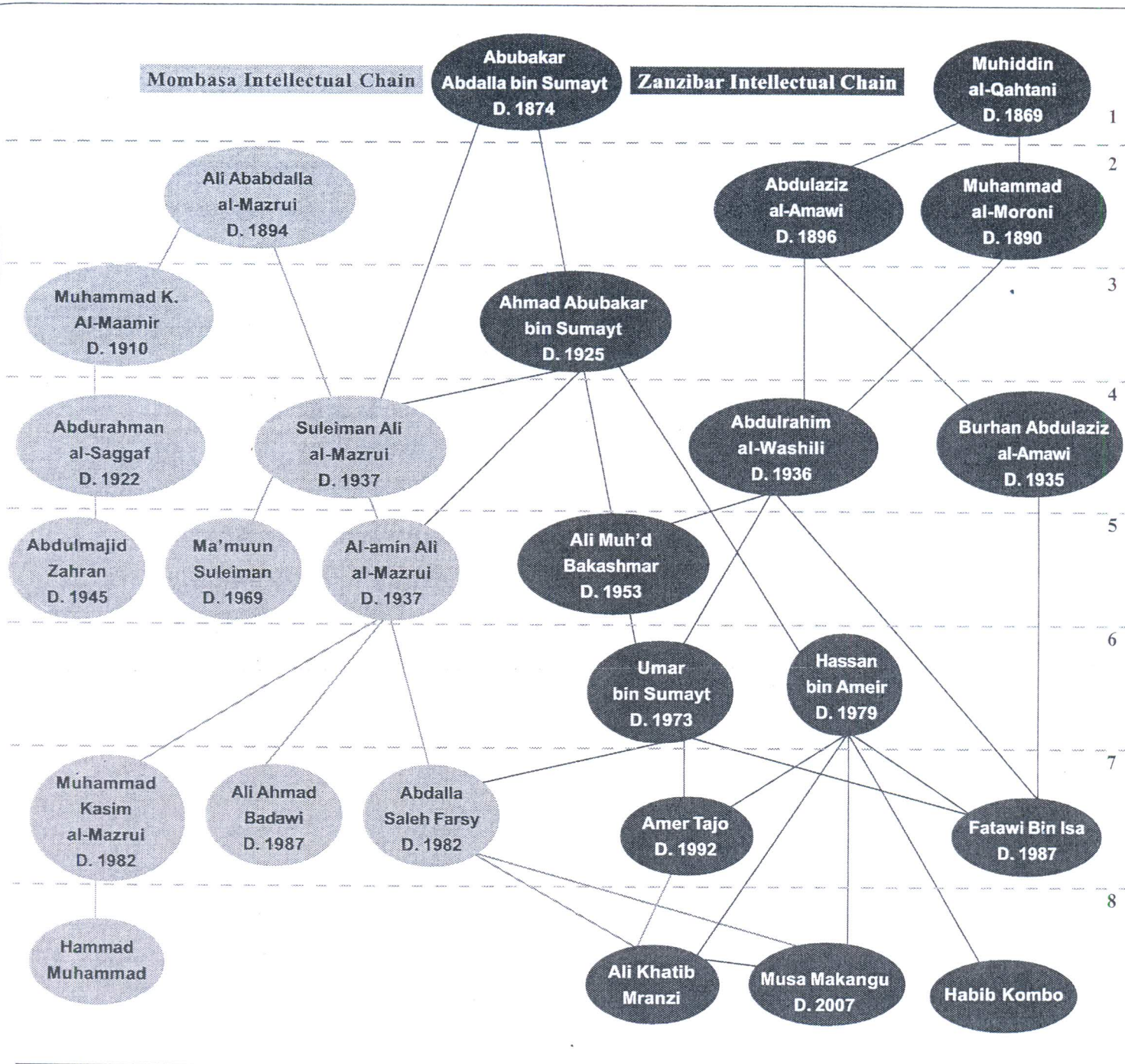
APPENDIX

List of generation of Qāḍīs and their students

Qāḍīs of the first generation
1. Muḥyiddīn b. ʿAbdallah al-Qaḥṭānī (d. 1286 /1869).
    His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Moroni (d. 1307 /1890)
b) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī (d. 1314 /1896)
2. Abū Bakar b. ʿAbdallah b. Sumayṭ (d. 1290/1874). His students who
    were Qāḍīs include:
a) His son, Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ (d.1925)
b) Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī, Chief Qāḍī of Mombasa
    (1932-1937).

Qāḍīs of the second generation
1. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Moroni, (d. 1307/1890).
    His student who was a Qāḍī was ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maḥmud al-
    Washilī Mngazija, (d. 1936).
2. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah b. Nafʿīʾi al-Mazrūʿī, (d. 1312/1894). His students
    who were Qāḍīs include:
a) His son, Sulaymān, b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī
b) Hemed b. Juma al-Mazrūʿī
c) Khalfān b. ʿAbdallah al-Mazrūʿī
d) Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Māʿamirī.
3. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī (d. 1314/1896), Chief Qāḍī
    of Zanzibar from 1832-1896.
    His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) His son, Burhān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Al-Amawī, (d. 1935), Chief Qāḍī
    of Zanzibar from 1907 to 1932
b) ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maḥmud al-Washilī (d. 1936).

Qāḍīs of the third generation

1. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Māᶜamirī (d. 1910). His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) ᶜAbd al-Raḥman b. ᶜUmar al-Saggāf (*Mwenye Abudu*)

b) Al-Amīn b. ᶜAlī al-Mazrūᶜi.

2. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakar b. ᶜAbdallah b. Sumayṭ (d. 1925). His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) Sulaymān b. ᶜAlī b. Khamīs al-Mazrūᶜi

b) Al-Amīn b. ᶜAlī al-Mazrūᶜi

c) ᶜUmar b. Sumayṭ

d) ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maḥmud al-Washilī

e) ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad Bakhashmar al-ᶜAbbāsī, (d. 1953)

d) Ḥassan b. ᶜAmīr (d. 1979) was not a Qāḍī but served as the clerk of his teacher and mentor Qāḍī ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Washilī.

Qāḍīs of the fourth generation

1. ᶜAbd al-Raḥman b. ᶜUmar al-Saggāf (d.1922) famously known as *Mwenye Abudu*. He was the Chief Qāḍī of Kenya (also referred to as *Sheikh al-Islam*) from 1902 to 1922. His student who was a Qāḍī was ᶜAbd al-Majīd b. Zaharan (d. 1945).

2. Burhān b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Amawī, (d. 1935), Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar from 1891 to 1932. His student who was a Qāḍī was Fatāwī b. ᶜIsā.

3. ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maḥmud al-Washilī (d. 1936).
    His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad Bakhashmar al-ᶜAbbāsī

b) ᶜUmar b. Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ

c) Fatāwī b. ᶜIsā

d) Ḥassan b. ᶜAmīr was not a Qāḍī but served as the clerk of Qāḍī ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Washilī.

4. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Khamīs al-Mazrūʿi (d. 1937), Chief Qāḍī of Mombasa from 1932 until his death.
    His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) His son, Maʾmūn bin Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Khamīs al-Mazrūʿi
b) Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi.

Qāḍīs of the fifth generation

1. ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Zaharan (d. 1945).
2. Al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿi (d. 1947), Chief Qāḍī of Kenya from 1937 until his death. His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) ʿAbdallah Ṣāliḥ Farsy
b) Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Mazrūʿī
c) ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Badawī.
3. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Bakhashmar al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1953).

Qāḍīs of the sixth generation

1. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Sumayṭ (d. 1976), Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar from 1942 to 1959.
    His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) ʿAbdallah Farsy (d.1982)
b) ʿAbdallah Aḥmad Bafāḍil.
2. Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr (d. 1979) was taught by a number of Qāḍīs although he did himself serve as Qāḍī. He was the clerk of his teacher and mentor Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Washilī. Ḥassan b. ʿAmīr travelled extensively and had many students on the Tanzanian mainland. His students who were Qāḍīs include:
a) Ḥabīb Kombo, Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar 1974-1985
b) ʿAmīr Tajo (elder) (d. 1992), Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar 1987-1992
c) Mūsā Makungu (d. 2007)
d) ʿAlī Khaṭīb Mranzi, the current Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar since 2007.

Qāḍīs of the seventh generation

1. ʿAbdallah Ṣāliḥ Farsy (d. 1982). He studied under the prominent scholars of Zanzibar who were not Qāḍīs, such as Muḥammad Mlory,

Abū Bakar b. ʿAbdallah Bākathīr, ʿAlawī b. Abdulwahab b. Abul-
Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Jamāl al-Lyl and Sulaymān al-ʿAlawī.

His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) Mūsā Makungu, former Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar

b) ʿAlī Khaṭīb Mranzi, the current Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar since 2007.

2. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Mazrūʿī (d. 1982), Chief Qāḍī of Kenya from
    1963 to 1968. His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) His son, Ḥammad Muḥammad b. Qāsim, the current Qāḍī of Kenya
    since 2003

b) Al-Amīn b. Muḥsin al-Māʿamirī.

3. ʿAlīb. Aḥmad Badawī Jamāl al-Layl (d. 1987), Chief Qāḍī of Kenya iħ
    1948. He studied under his father Aḥmad Badawī and his uncle's son
    Abū Bakar b. ʿAbdallah Bākathīr of Zanzibar. His students who were
    Qāḍīs include:

a) Muḥammad Sheikh al-Wāilī

b) Al-Amīn b. Muḥsin al-Māʿamirī.

4. Fatāwī b. ʿIsā b. Mūsā al-Shirazi, (d.1987), Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar
    from 1964 to 1974.

5. ʿAmīr Tajo (d.1992), Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar 1987-1992.

    His students who were Qāḍīs include:

a) Sayyid Nūr Abd al-Qādir

b) ʿAlī Khaṭīb Mranzi, the current Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar.

Qāḍīs of the eighth generation

1. Ḥabīb ʿAlī Kombo, Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar from 1974 to 1985.

2. Mūsā Makungu (d. 2007) was appointed the Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar
    in 1992 and retired in 2006. His student who was a Qāḍī is ʿAlī
    Khaṭīb Mranzi.

3. ʿAlī Khaṭīb Mranzi, the current Chief Qāḍī of Zanzibar since 2007.

4. Ḥammad Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Mazrūʿī is the current Chief Qāḍī
    of Kenya since 2003.