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Waikato Islamic Studies Review

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A Pound of Flesh: A Short History of the Origins of Halal Certification in New Zealand

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Mr Drury holds an MPhil from the University of Waikato's Studies in Religion Programme. His research focus is the history of Islam in New Zealand with a particular interest in the Halal meat sector. He is also a Research Member of the University of Waikato Islamic Studies Group.

Abstract: *This paper surveys the development and evolution of Halal slaughter and certification within New Zealand over the 1970s and 1980s. This history is not widely known despite the significance to the economy. Almost all halal certification inside New Zealand is undertaken by the national Muslim organisation - the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ). A smaller but historically noteworthy player was a commercial enterprise called the New Zealand Islamic Meat Management (NZIMM). The subject of Halal slaughter and certification has generated disagreements regarding the correct schema and much was learnt by observing overseas experiences.*

Introduction

The aim of this essay is to examine the history of the Halal meat industry in New Zealand from the 1970s to the 1980s. The export of Halal meat from New Zealand currently earns approximately NZ\$380 million per annum and is an integral part of this country's \$1.1 billion export market. It is estimated that the international halal food trade is worth well over US\$150 billion annually. Critically, over 1.5 billion Muslim consumers around the globe value formal Halal certification as an important prerequisite for recognition of the veracity of halal food. Almost all halal certification inside New Zealand is currently undertaken by the national Muslim organisation - the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ). The Federation earns approximately half a million dollars from this relationship with the freezing works and much of this money invested in mosques and Islamic activities like youth camps and Quran recitation competitions. A smaller but historically significant player is a commercial undertaking entitled the New Zealand Islamic Meat Management (NZIMM). The Halal slaughter and certification schema have not been without

problems, faults or criticisms. Periodically there have been disagreements regarding both within and outside the resident Muslim community.

The subject of the evolution of the Halal meat trade in New Zealand may seem an easy topic to write about, but in fact it presents unique difficulties. Apart from Dr William Shepard, importantly, no other author in any academic field has really tackled the subject matter in its entirety.¹ Instead the student may find relevant data by various authors and writers scattered throughout a myriad of books and journals. Chun Foo-Yuen's chapter on the dynamics of the Halal meat trade up to 1987, although dated, must remain axiomatic reading for serious students.² There are several contributing factors to this conundrum but the most salient point is that this is recent history - with all the incumbent issues connected to contemporary (and indeed ongoing) social, societal, communal, minority and commercial interests and actors. Both FIANZ and the NZIMM were at loggerheads for decades over the Halal issue. The meat industry, composed entirely of non-Muslims, has also been involved although they will invariably emphasize their neutrality and strictly commercial objectives.

For those interested in documentation all of these parties (and others) have muddied the waters over this time frame with conflicting press releases, public statements,

¹ William Shepard, 'The Muslim Community in New Zealand', Chapter 5, *Indians in New Zealand*, ed. K.N. Tiwari (Wellington: Price-Milburn, 1980); William Shepard, 'Muslims in New Zealand', *The Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Riyadh), 4/1-2 (1982), pp.60-81; William Shepard, 'The Islamic Contribution: Muslims in New Zealand', *Religion in New Zealand Society*, Second Edition, eds Brian Colless & Peter Donovan (Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press, 1985), pp. 181-213; William Shepard, 'Australia and New Zealand', *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Vol. 1, pp. 154-5; William Shepard, 'Muslims in New Zealand', *The Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Riyadh), 16/2 (1996), pp. 211-232; William Shepard, 'Australia and New Zealand', authored jointly with Michael Humphrey, *Islam Outside the Arab World*, eds. David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999, pp. 278-294; William Shepard, 'Muslims in New Zealand', *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible*, eds., Yvonne Y. Haddad and Jane I. Smith, Walnut Creek, etc.: Altamira Press, 2002, chapter 13; William Shepard, 'New Zealand's Muslims And Their Organisations', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 8, 2 (December, 2006): 8-44; William Shepard, 'Introduction: Muslims In New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 8, 2 (December, 2006), pp. 1-7.

² Chun Foo-Yuen 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp.149-176.

policies and so forth. Furthermore, in the opaque name of ‘commercial sensitivity’, much paperwork remains hidden or obscured from the public domain and beyond the access of historians or researchers. Overlaying these points is the fact that the word ‘Halal’ is a real flashpoint for Muslim sentiment. In many respects the introduction of traditional Halal slaughter techniques along modern commercial-industrial lines was a new idea to many Muslims - as indeed it was for non-Muslims when this schema was developed in the 1980s. The system can still baffle newer migrants and refugees. There were few guidelines initially and, surprisingly, no books in English or Arabic. A lot was learnt by observing experiences and lessons from Australia and other Western lands where Halal slaughter techniques were introduced from the 1970s onwards.

In the following essay, I do not claim to provide a definitive answer or authoritative history of the entire Halal meat trade, but rather I want to provide a framework for a better comprehension of the subject and address the multi-dimensional problematic conundra: What exactly is Halal and what precisely is Halal certification? How has this developed and how has this, in turn, affected the Muslim minority in New Zealand? It is vitally important to identify with great precision exactly what were the defining features and characteristics of Halal slaughter and certification over the last 40 years.

Genesis

What is Halal? In the most reductivist sense it is an Arabic word that means ‘permitted’ or ‘lawful’ and refers to items that Muslims may partake according to Islamic law (the Shariah) and / or Islamic theology. Halal meat and foods are those that Muslims are allowed to consume provided the animals involved have been slaughtered according to Muslim rites. In particular, the slaughter must be undertaken by a practising Muslim who must cut the animals throat and windpipe (including the

esophageus and trachea) with one cut using a non-serrated blade knife whilst the animal is conscious, saying aloud *Bismillah* (in the name of God) and *Allahu Akbar* (God is great). There are further criterion - the blood from the veins must be drained afterwards and some Muslims insist the slaughterman must be facing Mecca. Halal meat should not come into physical contact with non-Halal meat. The total opposite of 'Halal' is 'Haram' and this word is used for pork and carrion. The Quran states: 'He has only forbidden you dead meat, and blood, and the flesh of swine, and that on which any other name hath been invoked besides that of Allah.' (2:73). This basically makes it mandatory for Muslims to restrict their diet to Halal food and in turn makes the word 'Halal' a 'vital marketing tool.'³

The history New Zealand meat export industry need not detain us too much. Starting from the 1880s it rapidly outpaced wool and timber exports to become this country's largest commercial enterprise by the 1970s, although entirely reliant upon exports to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and their economic wax and wane. However when Britain joined the EEC in the 1970s, the New Zealand Meat Producers Board was obliged to find serious alternative export markets. The Meat Board was a powerful statutory body set up in the 1920s to represent the commercial interests of farmers but by the 1970s proved unable to cope with changes to the global economy. In the 1990s it transmogrified into two agencies - Meat New Zealand and the Meat Industry Association.

As far as we can determine the earliest actual Halal slaughter inside New Zealand was undertaken by members of the Kara family from the Gujarat, who settled in Canterbury in the 1920s and slaughtered sheep and chickens for their own

³ Chun Foo-Yuen 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp. 156, 174.

consumption.⁴ In Taumaranui, arriving around the same time frame, Mehar Din from the Punjab ‘always insisted on killing his own sheep in order to ensure that his mutton would be halal.’⁵ The first identifiable commercial export of Halal meat took place in 1962 when Abbas Ali, an ethnic Indian from Fiji, came to work at Borthwicks freezing works in the North Island. Travelling to Singapore he obtained a certificate and a stamp from the Mufti of Johore in Malaysia, formalising halal slaughter in New Zealand. Similarly, Hajji Mohammed Hussein Sahib, also from Fiji, was recruited to work at Affco at Ngaruawahia, near Hamilton, in 1969. He secured his Halal stamp and a certificate from authorities in Pakistan.⁶

There had been very little trade between New Zealand and the Middle East before 1970. Writing on the subject for the official government diplomatic newsletter in 1983 Ted Woodfield, Deputy Secretary (Trade) in the Department of Trade and Industry, quoted from a 1961 document that stated that New Zealand’s export trade with the Mediterranean and Middle East was then ‘averaging about 850,000 pounds a year or less than 0.3 per cent of our total exports.’⁷ Following changes to the management and commercial exploitation of oil resources in the 1970s, the Middle East suddenly became important to New Zealand exporters and there was an explosion in trade. As Woodfield reported in his 1983 article: ‘Overall meat shipments to the Middle East have grown from just 300 tonnes in 1970-71 to about 160,000 tonnes in 1980-81.’⁸ There was a stream of visitors from Asia, the Middle East, Iran and North Africa throughout the 1970s, plus reciprocal Ministerial visits and tours by New Zealand politicians eager to access the new oil wealth there. The focus entirely on economic opportunities rather than cultural exchanges or educational opportunities.

⁴ Jacqueline Leckie, ‘They Sleep Standing Up: Gujeratis in New Zealand to 1945’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Otago University, 1981), p. 325.

⁵ W.H.McLeod, *Punjabis in New Zealand*, p. 136.

⁶ Abdullah Drury, ‘Halal’s place in NZ’, *The Nelson Mail*, 15 September 2007, p. 14.

⁷ Ted Woodfield, ‘Marketing in the Middle East’, *NZ International Review*, Volume VIII, Number 2 (March/April 1983), p. 22.

⁸ ‘Meat Exports to the Middle East’, *New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review* Volume 31, Number 2, April-June 1981, p. 77.

Interestingly, before the Iranian revolution of 1979, there was never any official mention of Halal slaughter at all. An official publication stated the point quite succinctly in a 1974 article focusing on the region:

The Middle East is an area New Zealand has neglected in the past - because there was no obvious political or economic reasons for involvement.⁹

Typical of the shabby intransigence (and to some extent dishonesty) of New Zealand government officials and the Meat Board towards the Halal issue, and Muslim consumers, can be discerned in a curious 2004 story in the *Christchurch Press*. Journalist David McLaughlin was trawling through documents related to a 1974 visit to Libya by Phil Holloway, the New Zealand Ambassador to Rome (and accredited to many Mediterranean lands). It seems Holloway was surprised and disconcerted that street signs in Tripoli were in Arabic and not English. A telex dated 15 July 1974 told Holloway in no uncertain terms that the meat presently being exported to Libya was categorically not Halal but that this should not be mentioned to the Libyans.¹⁰

A large part of the problem, as identified by Foo-Yuen, was that there was no real co-ordinating agency, office or framework. To be blunt there was neither a great public demand from Muslim consumers at the time to ensure meat imports were Halal, nor was there much literature on the subject (for either Muslim or non-Muslim readers). In the 1970s the Egyptian embassy in Wellington 'in conjunction with individual meat exporters was authorised in the issuance of halal certificates to meat destined for Egypt.' Saudi Arabia obtained 'meat via [their] embassy in Canberra in association with the New Zealand Chamber of Commerce.'¹¹ Consequently there was a growing plethora of individuals and groups involved in issuing halal certificates for their own

⁹ 'New Zealand's Developing Relations with the Middle East', *New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 24, Number 2, February 1974, p 20.

¹⁰ David McLaughlin, 'Libya 'deceived' over halal meat shipment', *The Press* (11 August 2004), p. A8.

¹¹ Chun Foo-Yuen, 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), p. 151.

particular needs and purposes, and short term contracts. Few of them were especially concerned with religious, theological or spiritual sensitivities.

Mazhar Shukri Krasniqi, a Kosovar-Albanian businessman in Auckland involved in the New Zealand Muslim Association, took an active interest in the Halal issue in the 1970s. He met with Phil Holloway on several occasions, but with little results. Essentially the Meat Board was happy with the chaos and reluctant to collaborate with the resident Muslim community. These characters had observed the brittle and inchoate vagaries of the development of the Halal meat industry in Australia - and the complicated and truculent certification fee wrangles with various Muslim groups - with great alarm and paranoia. They did not want a repeat of that experience in New Zealand.

Mazharbeg and FIANZ

Following the creation of the Muslim Association of Canterbury in 1977, members invited representatives of other Muslim Associations in Auckland and Wellington to visit Christchurch and discuss the growing need to create a national organisation. On Saturday, 18 November 1978, a preliminary meeting was held in Christchurch. Abbas Ahmed and Robert Abdul Salim Drake came from Auckland, and Dr Khalid Rashid Sandhu and Abdul Rahman Khan came from Wellington. Although there was no formal organisation, Al Taal (a post graduate student from Gambia) came from Palmerston North. The majority of people at this plenary session and 'talking shop' were, naturally enough, Christchurch residents: Mansoor A. Khawaja, Suliman Ismail Kara, Arifullah Khan, Abdul Razzaq Khan, Nur Nabi, Masud Nourafza, Hazrat Adam, Muhammed Ibrahim, Abdul Jalil Khan, Dr Muhammed Hanif Quazi and many others. Dr Quazi discussed the idea of forming a nationwide federation to regularly represent all of the Muslims of New Zealand to the Government. After several introductory expositions a consensus was reached among the collocutors in principle

on the general structure of the proposed body and it was agreed to meet again the following year. On 6 February 1979 a similar gathering was staged in Palmerston North and the title of the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ) adopted.¹² A tentative Halal Committee was arranged to handle the subject which included Mazhar Krasniqi, Hajji Muhammed Hussain Sahib, Dr Hanif Quazi, Mansoor Ahmad Khawaja and Dr Khalid Rashid Sandhu.

The year 1979 marks a major turning point in the history of the New Zealand Muslim minority. On Sunday, 15 April, Mazhar Krasniqi was appointed the inaugural president of the Federation of Islamic Associations (FIANZ) at an Auckland meeting of Muslim community leaders.¹³ Mazharbeg, as he was popularly called by the 1990s, set up an export company in the 1970s with an eye to exporting New Zealand meat to the Middle East and was pivotal in pushing for Halal slaughter at New Zealand freezing works. In January 2002 Krasniqi was rewarded with a Queens Service Medal recognising his decades of community service.¹⁴

In 1979 the newly created Federation consisted of the Muslim Association of Canterbury, the Wellington-based International Muslim Association of New Zealand (known by the acronym IMAN), and the Auckland-based New Zealand Muslim Association. Immediately following this Muslim Associations were established in Hamilton (Waikato) and Palmerston North (Manawatu) in 1980 and these joined the Federation. The Islamic Federation was embiggened over 1989 to 1996 when it was joined by the South Auckland Muslim Association, the Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand and the Otago Muslim Association. Ideally these disparate components

¹² 'FIANZ in Retrospect', *The Muslim (N.Z.)*, Volume 3, Number 1, June 1985, p. 6.

¹³ 'Moslem Groups Form NZ Federation', *NZH*, 2 May 1979, p. 10.

¹⁴ Ainsley Thomson, 'Mazhar Krasniqi', *NZH*, 31 December 2002, p. A6; Khan, Zohoor Mohammad, 'Mazhar Shukri Krasniqi', *One Hundred Great Muslim Leaders of the 20th Century* (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 2006), pp. 157-160; Abdyli, Sabit R., *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e reve të bardha* (Auckland: Universal Print & Management, 2010), pp. 67-70.

¹⁴ 'The Queen's Service Medal for Community Service, Q.S.M.', *New Zealand Gazette*, 10 January 2003, Issue No.2, p. 83.

of the Muslim population, as representatives of regional Muslims and Islamic organisations, were expected to coalesce into something resembling a coherent singular community.

In any event the Islamic Federation had begun to act earlier than any formal election, official sanction or registration. The issue of 'Halal' meat had been of growing concern to Muslim community leaders across New Zealand for some time. After years of polite agitation and negotiation with the New Zealand Meat Producers Board, Mazhar Krasniqi and the burgeoning Middle East trade had convinced the local meat companies to adopt the Islamic method of slaughter to ensure the meat was Halal.

In March 1979 Dr Quazi, interim FIANZ secretary, publicly articulated a desire to collaborate with the Meat Board to promote the Halal slaughter of meat for export:

New Zealand would be able to secure markets for its meat in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Islamic countries in the Middle East only by confirming to the Islamic ritual known as 'halal', a Christchurch Moslem spokesman said yesterday. Dr M. H. Quazi, of Lincoln, the interim secretary of the Federation of New Zealand Islamic Associations, said the federation would be pleased to assist meat companies so that the halal ritual was acceptable to Moslem importing countries.¹⁵

Dr. Charles Hilgendorf, then chairman of New Zealand Meat Producers Board, arrogantly ignored the public offer and replied that the Board only recognised the 'New Zealand Islamic Society' (which did not exist). 'Hilgendorf said that the Islamic Society worked in co-operation with the ambassador for Egypt who was the only representative in New Zealand of a Moslem country.'¹⁶ This path of hubris also led

¹⁵ 'Moslem Questions Methods of Slaughter in N.Z.', *The Otago Daily Times*, 7 March 1979, p.9.

¹⁶ 'Moslem Questions Methods of Meat Slaughter in N.Z.', *The Otago Daily Times*, 7 March 1979, p. 9.

the meat industry leadership into an entirely predictable collision with the local Muslim minority. Hilgendorf had personally met with the Iranian Shah in 1974.¹⁷ As chairman of the meat board he was quoted in the newspapers stating categorically that ‘New Zealand-slaughtered meat met the requirements of the Koran probably better than in the Islamic countries.’¹⁸ In 1981 Hilgendorf was awarded a knighthood.

New Zealand media has often leaned towards simplistic stereotypes and clichés in relating Muslim communal and personal affairs, and it is worth bearing this in mind when reviewing newspaper (and other) accounts.

In 1979 Mazhar Krasniqi was also quoted by the newspapers on the Halal issue and cited as ‘director of the Middle East Export Co.... a committee member and past-president of the N.Z. Moslem Association.’¹⁹ Krasniqi argued that each freezing works should employ one Muslim slaughterman who was approved by a local Muslim Association and a member of the Trade Union. He emphasized that the New Zealand Muslim Association was prepared to assist with these slight modifications of the existing system on a non-profit basis.

Following his election to the post of president of the Federation, formally representing all Muslims in New Zealand, the conundrum became more heated. In May Krasniqi was interviewed:

President of the Federation of Islamic Societies and director of the New Zealand Middle East Export Company, Mazhar Krasniqi, has been pushing for the last four years for orthodox halal killing in local [freezing] works...Already he claims, the Meat Exporters Council has rejected orders

¹⁷ ‘Visit by the Shah of Iran’, *New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 24, Number 10, 10 October 1974, pp.11-19.

¹⁸ ‘Moslem Questions Methods of Slaughter in N.Z.’, *The Otago Daily Times*, 7 March 1979, p.9.

¹⁹ ‘Islamic Meat Trade’, *The Otago Daily Times*, 12 March 1979, p. 1.

from the new regime in Iran for 10,000 tonnes of lamb worth \$14 million.²⁰

On 3 August, he issued a press release via telex: 'Anger is mounting within the New Zealand Muslim community over a statement made on 1 August concerning the New Zealand delegation leaving for Iran.' The one page missive lambasted the Meat Board and repeated proposals for Halal accreditation and certification.²¹ This telex was reported extensively in media across the country the following day:

Multi-million dollar deals with Islamic nations have been threatened because meat exporters have not bothered to consult with New Zealand Muslims. That was the implication contained in a Press statement issued today by the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand. The statement, signed by the federation's president (Mr M S Krasniqi), said anger was mounting in the local Muslim community over the meat industry's attitude²²

Basically, Krasniqi argued that it was critical that the federation be consulted as it was the only Muslim organisation in New Zealand capable of certifying that the meat was being slaughtered correctly, with or without Halal slaughtermen. The beleaguered but undaunted president persevered and throughout the decade one can detect the spirit, ideas and/or leading hand of Krasniqi within FIANZ.

Throughout the 1980s the meat board embraced a distinctly hostile position against FIANZ, suspecting the Federation would prove expensive, unreliable and unprofessional. Foo-Yuen observed: 'Meat companies who have yet to, or are planning to, trade with Muslim nations, have been quietly advised by such officials to shy away from FIANZ in preference for the New Zealand Islamic Meat Management

²⁰ Warren Berryman and John Draper, 'Meat exporters resist costly Islamic crusade', *National Business Review*, Volume 9, Number 16 (Issue 333), 9 May 1979, p. 1.

²¹ Mazhar Krasniqi, 'Press Release', 3 August 1979.

²² 'Muslims Raising Meat Deal Snags', *The Evening Post*, 4 August 1979, p. 8.

(NZIMM) owned by Mr. Muhammad Abdel-Al.²³ The New Zealand government, unhelpfully, refused to get involved or help under either National or Labour parties. This effectively left the Meat Board officials with a free hand and a distinct advantage as overseas visiting Muslim delegations always met firstly with Foreign Affairs Departmental figures and other government agencies, and often took the biased voice of the Meat Board at face value.

The first public appearance of Dr Al Haj Mohammed Abdel-Al and the New Zealand Islamic Meat Management company (NZIMM) was in a 1979 newspaper article where he was arguing against Mazhar Krasniqi and the creation of the Islamic Federation.²⁴ Abdel-Al was born in Egypt, in 1940, to a Turkish mother. 'He gained his interest in business agriculture from his father, an Egyptian agricultural engineer.' Educated at Alexandria University where he obtained a bachelors' degree in business administration, Abdel-Al 'was seconded by the Egyptian Army under an Egyptian Government aid scheme to advise Colonel Gaddafi soon after the Colonel's coup. He spent two years there till 1971.' Abdel-Al met his New Zealand wife when she was working as a nurse in a Harley Street Clinical hospital and the couple relocated to Wellington. The Egyptian immigrant obtained New Zealand citizenship in 1975.²⁵ To cut a long story short, Abdel-Al effectively undercut FIANZ by creating his own agency to issue Halal certificates for export meat (and other foodstuffs) but under the auspices of private enterprise rather than communal benefit. The NZIMM was formally registered on 15 April 1983 and served entirely as 'a company established to work for the Meat Board and owned by Mohammed Abdel-Al and his family.'²⁶ In 1983 he was quoted in the *National Business Review* dismissively 'suggesting FIANZ

²³ Chun Foo-Yuen, 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), p. 154.

²⁴ 'Islamic Row May Could Trade Deal', *Waikato Times*, 15 August 1979, p. 18.

²⁵ 'Egyptian now a dedicated Kiwi', *Dominion-Sunday Times*, 19 February 1989, p.38.

²⁶ 'Arabs lift ban on NZ halal meat', *NBR*, 11 June 1984, p.2.

was largely a group of Fijian labourers.²⁷

To be fair the Meat Board had some legitimate concerns about their constructional competence. FIANZ was essentially a new organisation, hamstrung by limited financial resources and poor English language skills, whose senior members were elected by various constituents new to the country. Even the sympathetic Foo-Yuen confesses the Federation was essentially 'an amateur religious body' populated by immigrants from a bewildering variety of countries.²⁸ The meat board may have apprehended that such a fluctuating social milieu were not ideal partners in a multi-million-dollar export orientated industry.

In the wake of the confusion surrounding Khomeini's demand, Mazhar Krasniqi, the first president of FIANZ, claimed that New Zealand was losing millions of dollars in the meat trade on the grounds that Muslim customers would only buy if New Zealand meat was halal. Upon Krasniqi's offer to the meat industry of FIANZ's readiness to assist in halal certification, what started off as a co-operative gesture turned into a long and sour relationship between the Meat Board and FIANZ. The Meat Board has continually tended to see FIANZ solely as a money-making organisation.²⁹

From early point FIANZ has perceived itself as the sole legitimate representative and voice of NZ Muslims and Islam inside this country. For example, in an introduction letter to the New Zealand Meat Producers Board in May 1984, the Federation proclaimed boldly: 'The FIANZ is the national policy making body of the Muslim community in New Zealand.'³⁰

²⁷ Warren Berryman, 'Insensitivities created halal meat difficulties', *National Business Review*, 19 December 1983, p. 13.

²⁸ Chun Foo-Yuen, 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), p. 155.

²⁹ Chun Foo-Yuen, 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), p. 156.

³⁰ 'The Proposed Scheme for Supervision and Certification of Meat Halal by the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ)', 7 MAY 1984.

In November 1980 FIANZ issued an internal ‘Halal Meat Report’. It acknowledged the procedural model already set up by AFIC and *Rabitah Al-Alam Al-Islami* to be used as a basis for this project and went on to outline the Shariah method and basic rules of and surrounding Halal slaughter, the qualifications of Halal slaughtermen, the application of Halal stamps and certificates and the possible fees envisioned.³¹

The First Halal Contract

In 1981 it transpired that Amalgamated Marketing Ltd., had been issuing Halal certificates under the entirely bogus title of ‘The New Zealand Federation of Islamic Societies’ and using some sloppy Arabic. Ross Finlayson of the Meat Board sneakily described their origin and legitimacy as a ‘trade secret’ but ultimately FIANZ leaders opted not to pursue the matter legally as a gesture of goodwill (largely ignored and unreciprocated).³² In 1983 Kuwaiti authorities banned New Zealand meat imports via the Kuwait Municipal Law 46/83 of February. They issued a telex dated 9 February confirming FIANZ as the only acceptable Halal certification agency. Curiously the telex relays the information that the meat companies had refused FIANZ halal certification on the grounds that it only operated in Auckland. In June the Kuwaiti authorities also gave notice that they would send back a 70 tonne shipment and reiterated a ‘notice that FIANZ was the only body in New Zealand which they were prepared to recognise as the sole certifier of Kuwaiti meat.’³³

In November 1983, a Kuwaiti delegation visited New Zealand led by Mohammed Nasser Hamdhan al Otaibi, under-secretary to the Minister of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, Hani Al Mazidi, general controller of Food Imports in the Kuwait Municipality, Al Muatire from the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, Waleed Al

³¹ FIANZ, ‘Halal Meat Report’, 22 November 1980.

³² ‘Exporters resolve halal doubts’, *NBR*, 12 December 1983, p. 3.

³³ Chun Foo-Yuen, ‘The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia’, *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp. 158-9.

Rowaie, the Trading Deputy manager of Kuwait Finance House, and Dr Ali Saud Al Matrood, Head of Animal Production Section Kuwaiti Agricultural Affairs. The visit aimed 'to inspect the New Zealand food industry with particular reference to Islamic (halal) slaughter.'³⁴ They repeated that they wanted FIANZ to take over all halal certification for meat destined for their country. Ross Finalyson of the Meat Board stated publicly that 'Krasniqi is now winning the battle.'³⁵ Curiously two days before the Kuwaitis arrived Allan Frazer, the Meat Board's Group manager, personally telexed another Albanian refugee in Auckland named Bajram Murati inviting him to meet up them at the Board's offices on Lambton Quay in Wellington on 8 November in a vain effort to 'shore up' some localised Muslim faces for the impending overseas visitors.

In December 1984 Jassim Darwish, Secretary-General of the UAE Municipalities, also led a six-man delegation to New Zealand at the invitation of the New Zealand government and the meat and dairy producers' boards.³⁶ Warren Berryman of the *National Business Review* was fairly blunt:

Religious insensitivity, ethnocentric arrogance and racism, common stupidity and cupidity have contributed to jeopardise our meat trade with the Islamic world... The Meat Board and the industry didn't want local Islamic groups involved in Halal certification. ... Private meat companies, many of which have invested a lot of time and money developing Middle Eastern Markets, are outraged at the lack of consultation with the Meat Board and what they see as the Meat Board's 'hamfisted attempts to play Arab politics.'³⁷

Early in 1984 four shipments of New Zealand meat were refused entry into the UAE

³⁴ *New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 33, Number 4, October-December 1983, pp. 37-38.

³⁵ 'Exporters resolve halal doubts', *NBR*, 12 December 1983, p.3.

³⁶ *New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 33, Number 4, October-December 1983, pp. 37-38.

³⁷ Warren Berryman, 'Insensitivities created halal meat difficulties', *National Business Review*, 19 December 1983, p. 13.

and Kuwait. An ultimatum was issued ‘that meat arriving in their ports after 31 May would be rejected unless certification of the meat had been authorised by FIANZ and no other party.’³⁸ The New Zealand Meat Producers Board reluctantly sought the help long offered by FIANZ and the local Muslim leadership sent a telex asking that the shipments be allowed entry on the basis that negotiations had started between the Meat Board and the Federation. Clearly the Meat Board ‘would be happier to continue the present arrangement, which is for certification by New Zealand Meat management Ltd., owned by Mohammed Abdel-Al, and set up to carry out certification for the board.’³⁹ The Board asked FIANZ leaders for a written proposal but they were initially ‘reluctant to do so precisely because the Meat Board had merely requested a proposal without any serious commitment to involve FIANZ.’⁴⁰ At the 28-29 April 1984 FIANZ AGM inside the Wellington Islamic Centre Dr Hanif Quazi, the outgoing president of FIANZ, reported on the progress made with halal negotiations.

Mr. Mazhar Krasniqi expressed the hope that it would be possible to retain the services of Dr Qazi [sic] on issues such as negotiations on halal meat certification. He suggested that perhaps the constitution could be amended to allow co-option of past year's President to allow continuity.⁴¹

Dr Ashraf Chaudhary was elected Federation president at this gathering and a formal Halal meat committee appointed including himself (*ex officio*), Mazhar Krasniqi, Dr Hanif Quazi, M Hanif Ali and A. Rahim Khan.

The UAE authorities asked the New Zealand Meat Producers Board to bring FIANZ officials with them to the UAE to finalise the deal – four members of Federation Halal Committee went on 25 May including Mazhar Krasniqi, Dr Chaudhary, Abdul Rahim

³⁸ Chun Foo-Yuen, ‘The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia’, *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp. 159.

³⁹ ‘Emirates Threaten Meat Exports’, *NZH*, 14 February 1984, p.1.

⁴⁰ Chun Foo-Yuen, ‘The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia’, *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp. 159.

⁴¹ Minutes of the FIANZ AGM, 28-29 April 1984.

Rasheed and Dr Hanif Quazi. The same New Zealand delegation included Allan Frazer, Bruce Jenkinson representing the Freezing Companies Association, Eric Commell of the Meat Exporters Council, and D. Kininworth of the Department of Trade and Industry. A satisfactory agreement was reached and FIANZ became sole Halal certifier for the UAE. The same trip resolved the Kuwaiti impasse and led to the substantive 20 July 1984 Kuwait-Meat Board emendation – also giving FIANZ exclusive Halal rights. Thus, the Islamic Federation established a ‘foot-hold in the New Zealand economy.’⁴²

Over 23-24 June 1984 a FIANZ Special General Meeting was held at the Newtown Islamic Centre in Wellington. The FIANZ president Dr Ashraf Chaudhary discussed recent events including the 7 May meeting with the New Zealand Meat Producers Board, followed by two further meetings on 20 and 23 May. Dr Chaudhary summarised the main points of the deal – FIANZ would supervise Halal slaughter in ten meat plants on an ‘at cost’ basis. The Meat Board would reimburse the Federation for travel expenses to the UAE and Kuwait, and arrange a regular consultative committee that would have first scheduled meeting on 3 July at the Bowen State Building in Wellington. He also reported that whilst in the Middle East, FIANZ officials had taken opportunity to fundraise and had garnered \$11,000. The SGM then discussed a proposed budget for Halal supervision. It was generally agreed that the Office Manager should be paid between \$23,000 and 30,000; and the supervisors between \$19 to 22,000 depending on their area and number of freezing works. It was proposed that a clerical assistant be engaged at \$15,000 p.a. The total budget was \$169,000.

It was noted that FIANZ would only approve halal slaughtermen, and not employ them. However, given the level of unemployment among Muslims, FIANZ would

⁴² Chun Foo-Yuen, ‘The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia’, *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch 1987), pp. 160.

insist at the Consultative Committee meeting that local Muslims be employed first before importing slaughtermen from other countries.⁴³

Since then the precise figures for the Halal Fees have ebbed and flowed. In 2001 the Fees earned by the Federation were \$543,031 and by 2002 were up to \$601,243. The Muslim Associations affiliated to the Federation were entitled to \$12,000 per annum as a grant and certainly the money was not spent on extravagant staff salaries. According to the May 2005 FIANZ annual report the Halal Fees rose from \$560,389 in 2004 to \$587,720 in 2005 for example.

On 27 June 1984 FIANZ advertised application forms for the jobs of Office Manager, Halal Supervisors and Halal slaughtermen and Mazhar Krasniqi could now be quoted in the newspapers: 'The war between the Meat Board and FIANZ is over.'⁴⁴ On 3 July 1984 Dr Ashraf Chaudhary, Mohammed Hanif Ali and Sheikh Khalid Hafiz representing the FIANZ Halal Committee, met formally with members of the New Zealand Meat Producers Board. As of August 1984, it was reported that 'only three meat works – at Waitara, Feilding and Oringi – use the FIANZ system but this will be extended to other works in October.'⁴⁵ The first FIANZ Halal stamp was also arranged at this point. The logo featured the full title of the Islamic Federation spelt out in Roman letters forming a circle. Inside the circle was the formula *Bismillah* (in the name of God) above a crescent moon, with *Allahu Akbar* (God is great) below this. At the bottom, it read in Arabic *halal*.

Conclusion

To sum up, I believe that much of the Halal meat industry in New Zealand rests upon the ideological edifice built by Krasniqi and his able team of localised immigrant

⁴³ Minutes of the FIANZ Special General Meeting, 23-24 June 1984.

⁴⁴ 'Arabs lift ban on NZ halal meat', *NBR*, 11 June 1984, p.2.

⁴⁵ 'Halal Kill shunned by workers', *NBR*, 13 August 1984.

Muslims over the 1970s and 1980s. That the first secular leader of the entire Muslim population should spearhead the development of the Halal food issue (a point so very central to the Islamic religion and the Muslim community) should therefore be expected. The immediate literature of the period are axiomatic to understanding the context of the development of the Halal meat trade and the ongoing religious acclimatization. Foo-Yuen identified three main obstacles to the participation of FIANZ in halal certification in the 1970s and 1980s. Firstly there was a significant failure by an aging generation of Meat Board officials accustomed to the old system of safely exporting to Britain: these folks genuinely could not comprehend how long term, widespread and important halal slaughter would become to New Zealand in the future. Second their ignorance of Islam in general and halal slaughter in particular, prohibited the development of a good working relationship with local Muslims at an early stage. Fortunately for New Zealand officials the old Meat Board was split in two in the 1990s, allowing a new cohort of figures to distance themselves from their institutional predecessors. It could be noted, of course, that their arrant disregard for religion was in fact a typically New Zealand social weakness that remains today.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Chun Foo-Yuen, 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia', *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch, 1987), pp. 157-158.

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Notes on Themes in Some Selected Sufi Poetry in South-Western Nigeria

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Abstract: *Sufi poetry constitutes important literary compositions used to express, eulogize, educate and revere teachers believed to have contributed significantly to the spiritual and educational growth of Sufism. This poetry has largely been written in Arabic and kept in the custody of their authors or relatives who have little or no knowledge of the importance and significance of the poetry to Sufi practice. At the present time, academic scholarship on the texts is lacking in Nigeria. It against this background that this study highlights the themes in some selected Sufi poetry in Southwestern Nigeria to the contribution of knowledge on the Sufi Islamic tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa. A total of eight (8) Sufi poems were purposely selected from Ilorin, Ede and Ogbomoso in South-Western Nigeria. The poems were mainly from the Tijanniyyah brotherhood. The poems were selected for their use and demonstration of panegyric discourse, instructional discourse and requestive discourse based on Sufi doctrines and explanations of the Islamic religious belief system. Sufi poetry found in Arabic were utilised to characterise the themes of the study. The themes related panegyric discourses manifested in heavenly support and ideological and doctrinal eulogy, instructional discourse highlighting the religious and doctrinal consciousness and requestive discourse accounting for heavenly support from Allah. Sufi poems provide fresh data and perspective on poetry in Arabic among the Yoruba in Sub-Saharan Africa. Documenting Sufi poetry is imperative so as to guarantee their permanency and enhance intellectual development on Sufi literary activity in Nigeria.*

Introduction

Sufi poetry is an important genre of literary composition among Muslim teachers. They are used to preserve records of vital historical episodes and events as they occur in the life of the community. The distinguishing characteristic of this poetry is that they were written in Arabic by non-Arabs who profess Islam as their religious faith. This poetry appeared in written text on paper and black ink and were often not processed or published as a literary text. According to Andrea Brigaglia the purpose of these writings are either didactic (used as a support for teaching the classical corpus of Islamic knowledge) or devotional (recited privately during night devotional vigils, or

publicly at communal religious occasions). Moreover, this genre largely mirrors the life of the Sufi beliefs and Islamic doctrinal ideology.¹

This poetry is broadly categorized based on their intended or implied purposes or usage by the scholars or teachers of the Muslim communities who created them. Thus, historians categorize poetry that were found useful in Arabic that provides relevant information on the subject matter of the study as “unpublished poetry”. For centuries, before the advent of colonialism, written texts found in Arabic were important means of communication and written culture in Sub-Saharan Africa. The spread of knowledge of Arabic texts was transmitted from one generation to another through to commercial interaction, trade networks and religious proselytization of Islam from North Africa from Algeria, Morocco into Senegal and Nigeria. At this point it is instructive to note that the Sufi teachers were the forerunners of those who encouraged and spread the teachings of Arabic into the domains where Islam is found today (especially in Kano, Sokoto and Ilorin), and which later spread to other parts of Yorubaland.²

In this context, Sufi poetry constitute written documents in Arabic that have been manually created and are unedited, as opposed to being printed, reproduced or made known through the commentaries of scholars. These poetries were handwritten compositions on paper that have significant historical and aesthetic value in different languages spoken by local social groups. Sufi scholars who engaged in the development of the poetry do so as poets, teachers of Islam, hagiographers or experts in the Islamic sciences and astronomy. Writing poetry in Arabic is an intellectual activity that is regarded as an indispensable tool of formulating and standardizing Sufi teachings and

¹ Andrea Brigaglia, “Sufi Revival and Islamic Literacy in Twentieth Century Nigeria”, *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue Number 12/1, 2014, pp.102-111.

² John Hunwick, *Literacy and Scholarship in Muslim West Africa in the Pre-Colonial Period* (Nsukka: Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, 1974), pp.1-25.

of edifying the belief system of new converts to Islam, as well as a vehicle to spread the fame of the Sufi saints.³

However, it is instructive to note that the actual literary output of the Sufi saints reflects varying geographical, linguistic and historical contexts. This implies that there is no uniform or standardized pattern for the Sufi poetry. They may be composed of either short or long compositions of history, poetry, and praise poems. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on the content and translation of the literary and discursive text contained within didactic poems, biographies and elegies of saints, panegyrics—including their discourse types and their moral explanations of religious doctrines.⁴

For convenience, the paper is divided into five sections. The first provides the introduction and general background to the study. The second deals with the overview of Sufism and literacy in Africa, the third discusses Sufi poetry in Southwest Nigeria. The fourth highlights the themes in some selected Sufi poetry in South-Western Nigeria. The fifth summarizes and concludes the study.

Sufism and Literacy in Africa

The term Sufism as used in this study embraces those tendencies in Islam which are aimed at direct communion between God and man. It is a sphere of spiritual experience, which runs parallel to the mainstream of Islamic consciousness deriving from prophetic revelations, as comprehended within the Islamic Sharia and theology.⁵ Sufism in Islamic thought is regarded as the highest-level path of knowledge that is both illuminative and unitive, a knowledge whose highest object is the “truth” — namely the existence of God and subsequently the knowledge of things in relation to God.⁶

³ Christine Thu Nhi Dang, “Pilgrimage Through Poetry: Sung Journeys Within the Murid Spiritual Diaspora,” *Islamic Africa*, Volume 4, Number 1, 2013, pp.69-101.

⁴ Christine Thu Nhi Dang, “Pilgrimage Through Poetry: Sung Journeys Within the Murid Spiritual Diaspora,” *Islamic Africa*, Volume 4, Number 1, 2013, pp.69-101.

⁵ J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 1-3.

⁶ Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formation Period*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp.5-7.

Sufism promotes the “heart of Islam”. It perceives itself as the path of spiritual realization within the religion. It is the path prescribed by saints that the individual must remain in a state of purity according to the law. He or she must fast, observe silence, make retreats, repeat the formula ‘*Laillah illah llah*’, be inwardly connected to a Sheikh and reject extrinsic thoughts. Historically they also formed networks for initiatory transmission and spiritual fellowships to suggest a specific route towards God. Little by little, the initiatory, individual “method” thus yielded its place to a spiritual community.⁷

With the introduction of Islam among the Yoruba folk in West Africa, Islamic literacy increased significantly among the population by the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁸ Polemical writings in defence of Sufi doctrines were examined, along with works related to the local history of Sufi order.⁹ Arabic texts on Sufism became force for the revitalization of Islamic intellectual tradition. They attracted more converts to the faith of Islam and changed the tenor of popular piety and religious life.¹⁰ Since the tenth century, Sufi Sheikhs have written treatises on rules of conduct ‘*adab*’ (manners) for the use of novices. These rules strive to shape the correct inner attitudes which aspirants should acquire.¹¹ The genre of Arabic literacy by Sufis reflects the activities of their writers, not only as promoters of particular Sufi group, but also as scholars animating a comprehensive transmission of Islamic knowledge from one generation to another.¹²

⁷ Eric Geoffrey, *Introduction to Sufism- The Inner Path of Islam*, translated by Roger Gaetani, (Indiana: Wisdom World, 2010), p.2.

⁸ K. Mahmud, “The Arabic Literary Tradition in Nigeria,” *Nigeria Magazine*, Number 145, 1983, pp 37-54.

⁹ R.D. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria*, (Iwo: Daru l’Ilm Publishers, 2004), pp.141-142.

¹⁰ R.D. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria*, (Iwo: Daru l’Ilm Publishers, 2004), pp.141-142.

¹¹ Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formation Period*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp.5-7.

¹² Andrea Brigaglia, “Sufi Revival and Islamic Literacy in Twentieth Century Nigeria”, *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue Number 12/1, 2014, pp.102-111.

The literary activities of the Sufi teachers became prominent in Arabic literature in Africa. Among others, the classical Arabic *qasida* (poetry) occupied a central place in several languages-mainly in Arabic but also in other Nigerian languages such as Hausa, Kanuri and Yoruba as mentioned earlier. This poetry includes poems of eulogy and praise of the Prophet Muhammed, Sufi saints such as Shaykh Ahmad Tijani, Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse and other local figures of the order. In these writings, the elegy usually contains biographical information on the scholars concerned. Alongside these poems of elegy and praise are satirical and invective writings provide useful information on local disagreement in which Sufis participated with other Islamic groups.¹³

Literary writings in Arabic style have a special function and purpose. This poetry is either instructive or intended to teach or demonstrate the classical corpus of Islamic literature. Sometimes, they are recited privately during night devotional vigils or publicly at communal religious occasions like Maulud Nabiyy (birthday of the Prophet Muhammed).¹⁴

Most importantly, the Sufi poetry in Yoruba societies showcased not only literary genres of the Sufi scholars and the life of their founders like Sheikh Ahmad Tijani and Sheikh Abd al-Qadri al- Jailani. Sheikh Ahmad Tijani founded the Tijanniyyah Sufi *tariqa* (way). It was established around the principle of ‘Muhammadan way’ (al – tariqa al-Muhammadiya), a spiritual method that that emphasizes the practice of sending invocations of blessings (*salawat*) on the prophet as a means of spiritual realization. Similarly, Sheikh AbdulQadir Jilani founded the Qadriyyah tariq (way) which is also a popular Sufi religious movement in the Sokoto caliphate in Northern part of Nigeria, Pakistan, and Baghdad.¹⁵ The followers of the teachings and the doctrinal ideology of

¹³ Andrea Brigaglia, “Sufi Revival and Islamic Literacy in Twentieth Century Nigeria”, *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue Number 12/1, 2014, pp.102-111.

¹⁴ Andrea Brigaglia, “Sufi Revival and Islamic Literacy in Twentieth Century Nigeria”, *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue Number 12/1, 2014, pp.102-111.

¹⁵ Jamil Abun-Nasr, *The Tijanniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.3-4.

these saints wrote several poems documenting religious activities of members of the order, as well as providing vital and useful information on the socio-cultural and economic activities of Muslims in their community. In the twentieth century, Arabic literacy blossomed more with the introduction of printing press and photocopying facilities in Nigeria. This development triggered the boom in the mass consumption of literacy in Arabic.¹⁶

Authoring Sufi poetry is an independent academic study for members of the Sufi order. It is an academic research activity that is dependent on the acquisition of a complete set of 'craft' skills and a body of practical contacts within the community. Most of the written works by Sufi scholars were based on notes, which sometimes are rarely edited. These authors prepare short mnemonic treatises on very complicated and difficult subjects, especially those related to issues of Islamic religion. According to Shaikh Adam Al-Iluri, The Tijani and the Qadiri scholars were those who spread Arabic culture and from whose hands emerged jurists, literary persons and poets, the like of which is yet to be found among modern university graduates of Arabic and Islamic studies departments in Nigeria.¹⁷

Sufi Poetry in South West Nigeria

The scope of Sufi poetry in Arabic is generally large. It is also known as *qasida* in Arabic. In these writings, the most common elements found in the text were based on religious principles of Islam and Sufi doctrinal practice, as exemplified in the Quran and Hadith of the prophet Muhammad. The *qasida* is described as a piece of writing with intensity in translation, depth of expression and inspiration that is written in stanza and not in prose form.¹⁸

¹⁶ Andrea Brigaglia, "Sufi Revival and Islamic Literacy in Twentieth Century Nigeria", *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue Number 12/1, 2014, pp.102-111.

¹⁷ R.D. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria*, (Iwo: Daru l'Ilm Publishers, 2004), pp.141-142.

¹⁸ John Hunwick, "The Arabic Qasida in West Africa: Forms, Themes and Contexts", (eds.) S. Sperl and

The classic form of *qasida* maintains a single elaborate metre throughout the poem, and every line rhymes. It typically runs more than fifty lines, and sometimes more than a hundred. The genre originates in Arabic poetry and was adopted by Persian poets, where it developed to be sometimes longer than a hundred lines. Arabic *qaṣīda* means "intention" and the genre found use as a petition to a patron. A *qasida* has a single presiding subject, logically developed and concluded. Often it is a panegyric, written in praise of a king or a nobleman, a genre known as *madīh*, translation "praise".¹⁹

In a popular book by Ibn Qutaybah (d.889), as cited by Richard Allen, titled *Kitab al-shi'r wa-al-shu'ara'* (Book of Poetry and Poets), the Arabic literary scholar notes the *qasida* as categorized into three parts. These include, first of all, a nostalgic opening in which the poet reflects on what has passed, known as *nasib*. A common concept in the pursuit by the poet of the caravan of his beloved by the time he reaches their camp site is that they have already moved on. Secondly, there is a release or disengagement, *thakhallus*, often achieved by describing his transition from the nostalgia of the *nasib* to a second section on travel (*rahil*) in which the poet contemplates the harshness of the land and the life away from the tribe.²⁰

The message of the poem here takes several forms in praise of the tribes (*fakir*), satire about other tribes (*hija*) or some moral maxim (*hikam*). Nevertheless, it is instructive to note that not all poets follow this line of tradition in their literary tradition. This is unlike in Persia, where the *qasida* usually opens with a description of a natural event, the seasons, a natural landscape or an imaginary sweetheart. These poems were mainly

C. Shackle, *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), Volume 1, pp.83-98.

¹⁹ Oludamini Ogunnaike, "The Presence of Poetry, The Poetry of Presence: Meditations on Arabic Sufi Poetry Performance and Ritual in Contemporary Dakar", *Journal of Sufi Studies*, Volume 5, Issue 1, 2016, pp.58-97.

²⁰ Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.77.

used for philosophical, theological and ethical purpose of the enrichment of the literary genre of the community.²¹

Five main generic features characterized the poetic writings of the Yoruba Sufi Poets. These includes *baru* (systemic rhythm) *arud* (theology) *nawy* and *sarf* (grammar) *salawati* (prayer invocation). Usually poems contain five to fifteen stanzas or more, depending on the message of the poem and purpose for which it is rendered. Usually poems by Sufi scholars are delivered skilfully with a sonorous voice that is pleasant to listening to.²² These poems were mainly devotional in Islamic-Sufi doctrines and thought. They were composed in a more intimate medium, abounding in terms, phrases and images drawn from Arabic lexis and structure. The predominant theme Sufi *qasida* among the Yoruba society comprises of those praising the Sufi sheikh and while the least common were those centered on admonitory message to persuade or change people's action and inaction. In addition, the poems recited in Yoruba tradition in Arabic, begin and end with a prayer by invoking the blessings of Allah on the prophet Muhammed.²³

Themes on Some Selected Poetry in Southwestern Nigeria

The themes on some selected Sufi poetry have been classified into three broad types of discourse in Sufi literature in southwestern Nigeria in the analysis thus far. These include panegyric discourse, instructional discourse and requestive discourse, which all address issues relating to Sufi doctrines. Panegyric discourse addresses issues related to heavenly support, ideological and doctrinal eulogy; instructional discourse addresses religious and doctrinal consciousness; and requestive discourse addresses heavenly support. These are discussed in turn.

²¹ Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.77.

²² Personal communication with Mr Yusuf Ayobami, 52, private Arabic teacher in Ogbomoso school.

²³ Personal communication with Mr Yusuf Ayobami

Panegyrical Discourse

Panegyrical discourse (henceforth PD), in this study, is conceived as a discourse that involves praising of Allah, the Sufi saints and sheikhs in the Sufi order (i.e those who are either living or the dead). Within the context of PD in our data, two thematic foci of Sufi poetry manifest, namely, ideological and doctrinal eulogy. Ideological and doctrinal eulogy refers to the religious superiority of the Sufi saints.

Example 1

The poem below illustrates ideological and doctrinal eulogy of the living saint.²⁴

سلام عليكم فى بداية قرضنا
سلاما فتلقى للحبیبى مجتبی
أمرشدنا الشیخ النذیر ولینا
فأهلا وسهلا ثم مرحى لشیخنا
ورثت لواء المجد من شیخنا العلی
محمّدا غبریم شیخی ذوی الصفا
وبالعلم والتّقوی فأنت مدیرنا
وكتّا سرورا بدوام بذی الوفا

Transliteration

Salaamun Alaekum fi bidayati qordhinaa Salaaman fatulqo lilhabiibiya mujtabaa
A Murshidanaa Sheikh u Nadhiiru Waliyyanaa Fa Ahlan Wa Sahlan thuma
marhan Lisheikhinaa
Warith'ta liwaa'almajdi min Sheikhal- Ulaa Muhammadinaa Gibriima Sheikhi
dhawis Sofaa
Wabil-Ilmi Wat-taqwaa Fa'anta mudiirunaa Wakunna suruuran bidawaami bidhii
Wafaa

Translation

²⁴ Seyid Mustopha. Tahiyatu Shaiikh Nazir Ngibirima (Eulogy of Sheik Nazir Ngibirima)

Peace be upon you (Sheik Nazir) in the beginning of our poetry, a peace that would follow the beloved.

That is our guide Sheik (Nazir), our saint, greetings, welcome and enjoyment for our Sheik

You inherit the flag/ banner of glory from our great Sheikh Muhamman Gibrima, my Sheik, the purest

With knowledge and piety (fear of Allah) you our principal, we will always be happy for your generous contributor

The poem in Example 1 espouses the ideological and doctrinal eulogy in praise of Sheikh Nazir.

The first stanza of the poetry is a prayer for the peace and blessings of Allah to be on Sheik Nazir, he peace that followed the beloved. The second stanza praises Shiek Nazir as the guardian of the path of Sufi Tijanniyya, the exalted, greetings and happiness for the presence of our Sheik who inherited the honour and descended from our late, great (Sheik Muhamman Gibrima). The poet praised his leader as the purest. He praised his sheik as one imbued with knowledge, and has the fear of Allah. He mentioned that the head of their school would be happy for a generous donation.

This poem doctrinally eulogises Sheik Nazir, a pious Sufi, leader and teacher. He is praised as one of the beloved saints who inherited it from his great leader Sheik Muhamman Gibrima. He is praised for his fear of Allah and his endowed knowledge. He expressed gratitude to his principal on the invitation for the program (*moulud nabiyy*) as a spiritual father.

Example 2

The text below considers and explains heavenly support, as the ideological and doctrinal eulogy of the Sufi saints.²⁵

إلى من أقول فالتَّابِت أريدكم	ألا أيُّها الأبرار مات عميدكم
يمدّ جميع العارفين بفضلة	وكلّ وليّ تحت ظلّة عزّة
هو راغب في كلّ ما كان باقيا	هو زاهد عن كلّ ما كان فانيا

Transliteration

Alaa Ayyuhal –Abraari maata Amidukum Ilaa man aquulu Fath-thaabitu uriidukum

Wakullu waliyyin tahta zillati Izzatin Yamuddu jamiul-Aarifiina bifadlatin

Huwa Zaaidun `an kulli maa kaana faaniyan Huwa Raaghibun fi kulli maa kaana
baakiyan

Translation

Oh you philanthropies your Rector has passed on,

Oh I don't want you to go, remain with us.

All Godly man are under the Shade of the Lord (Allah),

He (Allah) keeps all them with his glory and blessing.

He always let go all the worldly material and embark

Always on heavenly things that will earn a reward.

The excerpt from the poem above indicates heavenly support from Allah for his protection and blessings on the dead. The first stanza of the poem provides information to the audience announcing the death of the founder of an Arabic school. The second stanza requests continued support of the school by philanthropists, who supported the school during the lifetime of the founder. The third stanza notes that all godly men are under the shade of Allah. This statement connotes empyreal protection of Allah and that

²⁵ Taliful Miridin Wal Khulafa. Nasab Sheik Amahullahi Lineage. Ote- Ilero. Not dated

Allah keeps to all the Sufi saints his glory and blessings and that he (Allah) always let go all the worldly material and embark on heavenly things that will earn a reward. Example 2(b) as given below indicate doctrinal and ideological eulogy of prophet Muhammad and Sheikh Ahmad Tijani.

Example 2(b)

يَتَفَقَّهَ بِهِ الْوَرَى	مصطفى رجل فقيهه
يَتَأَدَّبُ بِهِ الْوَرَى	مصطفى رجل أديب
يَتَعَقَّلُ بِهِ الْوَرَى	مصطفى رجل عقول

Transliteration

Mustafa Rajulun Faqiihun	Yatafaqqahu bihil Waraa
Mustafa Rajulun Adiibun	Yata'addabu bihil Waraa
Mustafa Rajulun Aquulun	Yata'aqqolu bihil Waraa

Translation

Mustopha is jurisprudent which indoctrinate the whole world

Mustopha is an hagiologist people become saint through his doctrine

People are more intelligent, due to his (Mustopha) moral teaches.²⁶

The above poem in Example 2(b), ideologically eulogises the professional career of Prophet Muhammad as the expounder of the Sharia law that has been acceptable as a teaching to the whole world. The second stanza describes the life of Prophet Muhammad as the legend of saints and points out that with his teachings on Islamic ideology people are more intelligent and are well-behaved through his moral teachings.

Example 3

The text below considers and explains the ideological and doctrinal eulogy of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani²⁷

²⁶ Taliful Miridin Wal Khulafa. Nasab Sheik Amahullahi Lineage. Ote- Ilero. Not dated

وصف لنا كرام شيخ قطب ربانى
أغنى فقيرا بقراءة ورد التجانى
من شاء أن يلقى رضا عز ربانى
اقرأ وظيف لطريق شيخ التجانى

Transliteration

Wusifa lana kiraama Sheikh Qutubi rabbaniy Aghna faqiiran biqira'ati wirdi
Tijaaniy
Man sha'a an yalqa ridho izzi rabbaniy iqra waziifa litariiqi Sheikh Tijaaniy

Translation

They inform us about the dignity of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, the blessing in it may make a slave to become free-born when he/she practices and following the doctrine of sheikh Tijani.

Those who want to see the favour of Allah, should be following the path of sheikh Tijani and practice his doctrine

Example 3 in this poem ideologically eulogises the doctrine of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, the founder of Sufi Tijanniyya Order. The first stanza of the poem informs us of the dignity of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, and professes that the blessing in following his path (tariqa) may make a slave to become freeborn when he/she practices the doctrine of Ahmad Tijani. The poet notes that for those who want to see the favour of Allah should be following the path of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani and practice his doctrine. The poem above is classified as an ideological eulogy of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani.

Instructional Discourse

Instructional discourse (henceforth ID) is conceived as a discourse that gives directives on behaviour and actions on religious and doctrinal consciousness with an implication of heavenly support implied heavenly support. Heavenly support in this section refers to preaching that admonishes religious and doctrinal principles of Islamic religion. The example below instance religious and doctrinal consciousness.

²⁷ Umar Yusuf Faruq. Al-Qutmah Wajiza. (Eulogy poetry) Ogbomoso 2008.

Example 4.

The poem below is a composition on instructional discourse.²⁸

يفعل فى المخلوق ما يشاء
وحكمه السراء والضراء
ويسمع المضطر يدعوه
سبحانه ليس لنا سواه

Transliteration

Yaf'alu fil Makhluuqi maa yashaa'u Wa hukmuhu Sarraa'u Wadharraa'u
Wa Yas'maul Mudhtarra Yad'uuhu Subhaanahu Laesa lana Siwaa'u

Translation

He Allah does what he wish with his creature and he judges either for good or bad

He listens and answers the prayer of his creature when seeking for his help.

Glory be to him no any other that can please his creature but him.

The above poem in example two highlights the attributes of Allah and what He wishes for His creatures. He judges them as either good or bad. He listens and answers the prayer of his creatures who seek His help. This poem discusses the heavenly support men receive from Allah. It notes that Allah listens and answers the prayers of his creatures whenever they seek help. The poet praises Allah that no one can please his creature like him. The poem demonstrates the eulogy of Allah and his heavenly support of listening to and answering prayer.

Example 5

The poem below instantiates Islamic religious consciousness²⁹

منه السّلامه والصفّ	إسلامنا دين الهدى
قد فاز فوزا والتّجا	من تمسّك بديننا

²⁸ Imran Salaudeen. Islamunah Dinul- huda. (Our Religion, the most guided)

²⁹ Sheikh Ballo Oniyo. Ayah Toyibah Asmah (O ye with beautiful names) Badagry, Lagos State.

عن ملة سيد الورى

يا قومنا لا تغفلوا

نرجوا على زين الورى

يارب أنت إلهنا

Transliteration

Islamuna dinul Hudaa

Minhu s Salaamatu Was Sofaa

Man Tamassaka bidininaa

Qod Faaza faozan wa n Najaa

Yah Qaomanaa Laa Taghfaluu

An millati Sayyidil waraa

Yah Rabbanaa Anta Ilaahunaa

Narjuu ala Zaenil Waraa

Translation

Our Islam is most guided one, Its practice is peaceful and beautiful

Whoever practice our Islam has in fact gained and will gain and free too from hell

Oh you people do not forgot the doctrine of the grand leader of the humankind

Oh you people allow peace to reign among yourselves to acquire the light and guide from our creator.

We are requesting from you (Allah) the benefit of the prophet.

The poem in Example 5 tells us about Islamic religious consciousness. It tells us that its practice is peaceful and beautiful. It instructs that whoever practice the religion (Islam) has gain and will be free from the torment of hell fire. He admonishes that oh you people do not forget the religious doctrine (Islam) of the grand leader of humankind (prophet Muhammad). Oh, you people allow peace to reign among yourselves to acquire the light and guide from our creator. The poem end with a prayer requesting from Allah the invocation of the peace and blessing of Allah on the Prophet Muhammad.

Example 6

The poem below also renders Islamic religious doctrinal consciousness.³⁰

وعن كلّ ذى نهى حرام وشدة

عليكم بتقوى الله فى كلّ لحظة

³⁰ Imran Salahudeen. Islamunah – Dinul-Huda (our religion the most guided one)

Transliteration

Alaekum bitaqwallahi fi kulli Lahzatin Wa an kulli zi nahyin haraamin wa shiddatin

Alaekum bidhikrillahi fi kulli majlisiin Wa fi kulli laelatin wa fi kulli saa'atin.

Translation

Any place you are, you should have in mind fear of Allah, for don't and does of his rule and whichever situation you find yourself

Teach us about remembrance of Allah whenever any place, night, dawn and anytime.

The poem in Example 6 reminds the adherents of Islam that any place they are, they should have the fear of Allah in their deeds and actions. Muslims should enjoin what is lawful and refrain from what is forbidden in whichever situation you find yourself. The poem informs Muslims about the need for remembrance of Allah in any place and at anytime. This poem is an example of an instructional discourse that emphasizes the directive to Muslims to become religiously conscious of their doctrinal belief system. It enhances the awareness of the duty of Muslims to their religious faith. It emphasizes fear of Allah in adherents of Islamic religion and orders their social behaviours in relation to the Islamic belief system.

Example 7

The poem below eulogises the Holy Quran.³¹

فكن بترتيله سعيد	قرآنا منبع السّعادة
تعلّمًا لا تعيش بلـيدا	أصاحبي إقرأ الكتابا
أتى غوايا الردى مبيدا	سبع المثانى كتاب نور
على الذى اخترته ودودا	وأنت أنزلت خير كتب

³¹ Muhammed Abdul-Latif. Farriddun Quraniyyun (Quranic eulogy.) Ogbomoso

Transliteration

Qur'aanunaa Manbaus Sahaada

Fakun bitartiilihi Sa'iidan

Asohibii, iqrai-l-kitaabaa

Ta'alluman laa taish baliidan

Sab'ul mathaani kitaabu nuurin

Ataa ghawaayar Radaa mubiidan

Wa anta anzalta Khaera kutubin

Alalladhi khtartahu waduudan

Translation

All who read the Quran would gain to the fullest. The reading of the Quran will bring blessing.

This Quran is the light that Allah has sent down. Oh my friend, read the Holy Quran.

Do not live an empty life. Oh Allah, who sent the Quran to prophet Muhammed is a blessing as he gave the Torah to Daud.

The poem in Example 7 eulogises the Holy Quran, the religious book of the Muslims. It informs us that all who read the Quran will gain to the fullest. The poet notes that the reading of the Quran will bring blessing. He describes the Quran as the light that Allah has sent down to mankind. The poet advises his friend to read the Quran, so that he should not live an empty life. He explains that Allah sent the Quran to the Prophet Muhammad as a blessing, much as he gave the Torah to Daud.

Requestive Discourse

Requestive Discourse is equally found in the Sufi poetry. In this context, it refers the discourse that depicts a prayer request to Allah. The manifestation of this discourse type in our data testifies heavenly support from Allah. The poem rendered below is an example that depicts prayer request.

Conclusion

This study has explored some notes on Sufi poetry used by teachers in Arabic schools found in southwestern Nigeria. The study has shown that much of the literary poems

found among Sufi scholars was mainly observed more in poetic rendition rather than in prose forms. Sufi poetry found in poetic rendition used for Islamic teachings in Arabic schools were used to account for the recovery of themes related panegyric discourse, instructional discourse and requestive discourse.

This study notes the presence of panegyric discourse manifest in ideological and doctrinal eulogy the living saints in the Sufi order. Instructional discourse is manifested in the religious and doctrinal consciousness of Islamic ideology. Requestive discourse implies prayer requests for heavenly blessing and support for the Sufi teachers. This study, it is hoped, has provided fresh data in the explanation, function and purpose of poetry in Islamic learning centres.

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‘Salafistology’: Theoretical Developments in Understanding Diversity in Political Salafism & Implications for Security Analysis

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Abstract: *This paper examines theoretical developments in the methodological understanding of Salafism with the view of illuminating key conceptual diversity in political currents, as well as potential implications for security analysis on the topic.*

Introduction

Much of the scholarly analysis on Salafism, a puritanical, and in some cases, violent and political Islamic movement, argues this particular sect to be based on a specific set of ideological beliefs associated with Sunni Islam. However, some contemporary scholars have advanced the idea that Salafism is best understood as a particular methodology, or, ‘Salifistology’, through which all Muslims could potentially apply to interpret/reinterpret Islam.¹

If the latter line of argument is considered correct, consequently, this has the potential to significantly impact on the analysis of Salafism. In particular, it challenges the inherent notion that Salafism is linked to Sunni Islam, and so, potentially revolutionises *how* diversity in Salafism can be examined and hence understood. This especially appears to be the case in terms of the nature of the variety of actors.

Given the radical and often political and sometimes extremist nature of Salafism, such an advancement in understanding appears also to have security implications. This

¹ Brachman, M. Jarret, *Global Jihadism: Theory and Practice* (London, Routledge, 2009), p.25.

particularly appears to be linked to the integral need for security analysts who examine this topic to holistically and hence coherently identify and understand Salafist actors so to develop effective measures and strategies through which to counteract Salafism, especially in the context of extremism. Therefore, through a qualitative approach, this paper outlines the Salafistology method of analysis with the view of deducing how political Salafism could theoretically be assessed; illuminating hypothetical diversity in political Salafism and what this might mean in terms of formulating an effective security analysis on the topic.

Salafism: Origins & Early Development

A significant amount of scholarly work which examines Salafism identifies that at the centre of that Islamic sects' belief system is the fundamental idea that claims to represent 'true/pure' Islam. In particular, Salafism purports to derive such a belief directly from that faith's teachings (*Quran*) and practices (*Sunna*), established by Prophet Mohammad ibn Abdulla (571-632) and emulated by his close companions; together referred to as *salaf al-saih* ('righteous ancestors') and thus from which the term derives: Salafism.²

Today there appears to be a matrix of Salafist actors who are especially linked to a particular variant known as 'Wahhabism'. This radical, and at times violent, as well as being varyingly political and apolitical in nature, Sunni sect was established by, and is named after, Islamic theologian Mohammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) in modern-day Saudi Arabia in the mid-18th century; a movement that has been aligned with the ruling Saudi dynasty ever since.³ However, Salafism predates Wahhabism to the 7th century following the rise of the Kharijites in Arabia; then a violent and highly

² For a detailed discussion on the history and beliefs in Salafism see: Meijer, Roel, "Salafism: Doctrine, Diversity, and Practice", in *Political Islam: Context versus Ideology* (London, London Middle East Institute at SOAS, 2010), pp.47-49.

³ *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp.48-49.

doctrinal Sunni sect.⁴ In addition to the Kharijites, there are a number of other Islamic actors identified by scholars as being key influences on and associated with Salafism prior to the rise of Wahhabism.

This includes a Sunni sect which derived from Hanbalism, one of four schools of Sunni jurisprudence established by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855) during the Abbasid Caliphate period (750-1258). His followers become known as *ahl al-hadith* (aka Hanbalis). Although Hanbal's teachings appear to have been apolitical, especially concerned with the study of the *Hadith*,⁵ this movement was highly puritanically and literal in its interpretation and practice of Islam; rejecting any rationalist approach which they referred to as *ahl al-ray* ('people of opinion'). Between the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, Hanbalis become increasingly activist and, notably, violent in nature. They reportedly carried out: "...attacks against 'innovators', plundering shops, raiding homes for liquor and musical instruments, assaulting men and women walking together, and attacking members of the other three schools of [Sunni] law. They also harassed Shi'i pilgrims."⁶

Another key actor identified as playing a significant role in the early development of Salafism was, Taqi al-Din ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328), a fourteenth century Islamic scholar from modern-day Iraq, credited with formulating the notion that Muslims have: "...the right to revolt and wage *jihād* against rulers who claimed to be Muslim but did not abide by the *shari'a*. [As well as] urging Muslims to keep away from Jews or Christians and not to befriend them, for fear of polluting the purity of their faith and practices."⁷

⁴ Barton, Greg, *Indonesia's Struggle: Jemaah Islamiyah and the Soul of Islam* (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2004), p.35.

⁵ The *Hadith* is a collection of words considered by Muslims to be from Allah/God which were given to Mohammad but were not part of the Quran. For a detailed discussion on the Hadith see: Hewer, C. T. R, *Understanding Islam: The First Ten Steps*, (London, SCM Press, 2006), pp.143-145.

⁶ Meijer, "Salafism", op. cit., p.48.

⁷ Ibid.

The above identified actors and their associated belief systems, teachings and practices, collectively, are considered to have significantly shaped the early development, and so, foundations of what is today known as Salafism.

Salafistology: A Methodological Framework for the Analysis of Diversity in Salafism

Salafism therefore purports to invoke, and adhere to, a particular form of Islam that is believed by Salafists to encapsulate uniquely if not exclusively the original teachings and practices of Prophet Mohammad and his close companions; collectively referred to as the first Muslim *umma* (community) in the 7th century CE.⁸ In addition to Mohammad, this included Islam's first four 'rightly guided caliphs' which succeed Mohammad following his death, and included: Abu Bakr (632-634), Omar ibn Khattab (634-644), Uthman ibn Affan (644-656), and Ali ibn Abu Talib (656-661).⁹ The first three are considered to be patriarchs of Sunni Islam while the latter is considered to be the patriarch of Shi'i Islam; both claiming authenticity over the other.¹⁰ Nevertheless, for Salafists, the first Islamic community is identified as representing a time when Muslims adhered to 'pure' Islam, thus *salaf al-saih*.¹¹ Hence, for Salafists, this period of Islam must be eliminated literally and in its entirety without compromise, regardless of historical, contextual or doctrinal developments within Islam thereafter.

Such a fundamentalist and puritanical approach to understanding and practicing Islam therefore rejects all developments within Islam that emerged after this period, considered by Salafists to be innovations, and so deviating from Mohammad's original teachings.¹² In particular, Salafism rejects many of the developments that took place within Islam between the 8th and 11th centuries during the Abbasid Caliphate period.

⁸ Brachman, *Global Jihadism*, op. cit., p.24.

⁹ Hiro, Dilip, *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response* (London, Routledge, 2002), pp.10-14.

¹⁰ Hower, C. T. R, *Understanding Islam: The First Ten Steps*, (London, SCM Press, 2006), pp. 37-42.

¹¹ Ayoob, Mohammed, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp.2-3.

¹² Brachman, *Global Jihadism*, op. cit., p.24.

During this period, which has come to be known as the period of ‘classical’ Islam, Islamic *ulama* (scholars) worked on the codification and establishment of Islamic schools of jurisprudence (*fiq*/Islamic philosophy and law/*Shari’a* or *madhahib*/'paths' or 'ways to go'), resulting in the formation of both Sunni and Shi'i schools of law.¹³

This process therefore began some 150 years after the death of Prophet Mohammad which effectively revolutionised the understanding and application of Islamic teachings from what had essentially been literalist in nature, to a more rational approach with doctrinal flexibility allowing for ‘contextual logic’ through which to determine how, when and what type of teachings to apply to a particular situation.¹⁴ However, for Salafists such developments are deemed innovations which are to be rejected and ultimately eliminated internally (*takfir*/Muslim apostates), as well as those deemed to be generated from external influences (*kuffar*/non-Muslims). The choice of method to achieve this end depends greatly on a particular actor’s Salafist orientation, that is, essentially, whether in essence violent or non-violent.¹⁵

Based on this understanding, some contemporary scholarly works argue that Salafism therefore is best understood as a methodology (*manhaj*) that can be used by any Muslim to consult the foundational texts – *Quran* and *Sunna* – by which to interpret Islam. Hence, “...it is a movement, or a collection of like-minded believers who are held together by a common puritanical understanding of Islam, all of whom apply the Salafist methodology to their religion.”¹⁶

Consequently, Salafism appears capable of manifesting within all schools and varieties of Islamic thought whether Sunni or Shi'i or a variation of Sufism. Collectively, these divisions and the various schools of law and teaching that are found within them cover the broad range of approaches to understanding and practising Islam. They represent a

¹³ Hewer, *Understanding Islam*, op. cit., pp.147-150.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See, for example, Meijer, “Salafism”, in *Political Islam*, op. cit., pp.48-49.

¹⁶ Brachman, *Global Jihadism*, op. cit., p.25.

variety of conceptual ideological currents through which Salafism could potentially be manifested. The underlying logic for this rests on the fact that all three divisions of Islam – Sunni, Shi'i and Sufi – derive from the teachings and practices of Prophet Mohammad and at least one of the four rightly guided caliphs, thus *salaf al-saih*. Hence, in principle at least, Sunni, Shi'i and Sufi forms of Islam could equally manifest a Salafi orientation.

Whilst Salafism is historically Sunni in origin and orientation, the argument is that ideologically it could appear across all forms and sects of Islam. To that extent, therefore, it would appear not to be exclusively a Sunni based phenomenon, and indeed this appears to be an emerging contemporary view.¹⁷ Much of this thinking might be associated with the fact that the majority of Salafist actors purport to invoke a particular Sunni orientation of Islam and hence school of law, as well as that an estimated 80% of Muslims globally identify as Sunni; leading to a view that Shi'i or Sufi orientations are of no consequence. However, Salafistology theoretically rejects such a notion.

Salafistology & Theoretical Diversity in Political Salafism: Sunni, Shi'i & Sufi Currents?

The three outlined theoretically possible arenas of the manifestation of Salafism – Sunni, Shi'i and Sufi – as identified through Salafistology collectively represent a hypothetical diversity within contemporary political Salafism. In the context of Sunni Islam, such Salafist actors would appear to include groups as diverse as the Islamic State, Hizb ut-Tahrir (Party of Liberation) and Parti Islam Se Malaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia - PAS) among others. All of these groups are radical political Salafist actors and, in the case of the first, extremist in nature. Hence, as Sunni manifestations, these all purport to adhere to the teachings of Mohammad and one of the first three caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar or Uthman.

¹⁷ Ibid. Also, some scholars who appear to advance this view use the term 'Islamism' synonymously with that of Salafism. See: Gerges, A. Fawaz, *Journey Of The Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy* (Orlando, Harcourt, Inc, 2007), p.12.

In the context of Shi'i Islam, this would theoretically appear to include such groups as Hezbollah, a militant Shi'i group based in southern Lebanon where it seeks to establish an Islamic state and the destruction of Israel, and is loyal to the regime that is the Islamic Republic of Iran. Additionally, this would appear to include the Islamic Movement in Nigeria, a radical and increasingly violent Shi'i sect also loyal to the Iranian regime. All of these appear to manifest as particular forms of Salafism which have been referred to as 'red Shi'ism', or, 'revolutionary Shi'i Islam', deriving their understanding of Islam from Mohammad and the fourth caliph, Ali.¹⁸

Although seemingly a minority, conceptual Sufi manifestations of Salafism would appear to include the Army of the Men of the Naqshbandi Order, a violent Sufi sect in Iraq which purports to follow the teachings of Mohammad and the first caliph, Abu Bakr.¹⁹ Moreover, although seemingly a minority today, Sufi manifestations of Salafism appear to have emerged in the 17th century in West Africa when Sufi leaders led a series of violent *jihads* to 'cleanse' Islam and establish a caliphate system of governance between 1645-1900; climaxing with Usman dan Fodio's violent *ji had* and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1809 in what is now largely a part of modern-day Nigeria.²⁰

This, in turn, asserts that political Salafism is not solely linked to Sunni Islam but, rather, it has the potential to be present and actively manifested in Shi'i and Sufi forms too.

¹⁸ See, for example, Alastair Crooke, "Essay: Red Shi'ism, Iran and the Islamist Revolution" October 17, 2009, *red pepper*, Retrieved, 03/18/2017, From, <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/Essay-Red-Shi-ism-Iran-and-the/>.

¹⁹ Muhammad Shazwan Ibn Azman, "*The Chronicle khulafa Al Rashidin – Abu Bakar Part 1*" (Scribd), Available: <https://www.scribd.com/document/54116497/The-Cronicle-Khulafa-Al-Rashidin-Abu-Bakar-Part-1>, p.5

²⁰ Mark Woodward, Muhammad Sani Umar, Inayah Rohmaniyah, and Mariani Yahya, "Salafi Violence and Sufi Tolerance? Rethinking Conventional Wisdom" in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 7, No. 6 (Terrorism Research Initiative, 2013), Available: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/311/html>.

Salafistology & Theoretical Implications for Security Analysis on Political Salafism

The nature and diversity of political Salafism suggested above therefore appears to have some particular implications for security focused analysis on the topic which is twofold. First, in the context of academia, such an understanding theoretically reframes what and who Salafist actors are and, therefore, how security focused analysis on the topic is to be conducted and understood, especially in respect to Muslim diversity. This appears to be particularly relevant in regards to building a theoretical understanding of the extent of diversity associated with political Salafism.

Secondly, such an approach highlights the fact that any practical application of security focused analysis which seeks to formulate effective measures to monitor and counter particular forms of political Salafism must rest on the notion that it is not exclusively linked to Sunni Islam. A diversified approach and understanding is required. As a result, this would likely mean an expansion of actors associated with Salafism and so the need to cast a wider net of security focus, understanding and activity.

In conclusion, by examining Salafism through the lens of Salafistology this paper suggests that three key arenas for engaging political Salafism are theoretically possible and, perhaps, active, rather than one: Sunni. Consequently, such diversity has implications for security focused analysis, especially in the context of extremism given the radical nature and association of political Salafism with violence. Therefore, Sunni, Shi'i and Sufi manifestations should be factored in to any security focused analysis on the topic.

It demands, accordingly, a multidimensional approach and suggests the importance of such an approach, and thus Salafistology, in building scholarly understanding on how Salafism needs to be examined and interpreted, especially in the context of security analysis requirements and any associated practical application thereof.