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The Shifting World of South African Madrasahs, 1973-2008

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A minor dissertation in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of Masters of Social Science in Religious Studies

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award
of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation
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Abstract

This essay seeks to unearth the historical development of madrasah education in South Africa from 1973 to 2008. It identifies transformations that have taken place in the madrasah education landscape in the last thirty to forty years. This work may be seen as largely an exercise in contemporary historical excavation. In addition to determining whether the transformations have changed or sustained the central function of madrasahs as spaces for religious socialization and sectarian identity formation, the essay is an attempt to underline the link between these changes and the broader shifts and developments that have taken place in Muslim communities and the country. The conclusion suggests that while major transformations have taken place at South African madrasahs, the changes – in a broader sense - still fall very much within the central function of madrasahs historically and globally. There has been no radical shift, or even a conception thereof, beyond often sectarian religious orthodoxy.

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A deep sense of appreciation to all the ‘ulamā’ of the madrasahs that I visited. Without your willingness to share your time and experiences with me, this study would not have been possible. You welcomed me to your madrasahs with open arms.

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Finally, to my parents, Farid and Zaitoon Sayed, I offer you my heartfelt thanks for your whole-hearted support of my studies. I am forever grateful to you for your encouragement and assistance.

Note on Transliteration

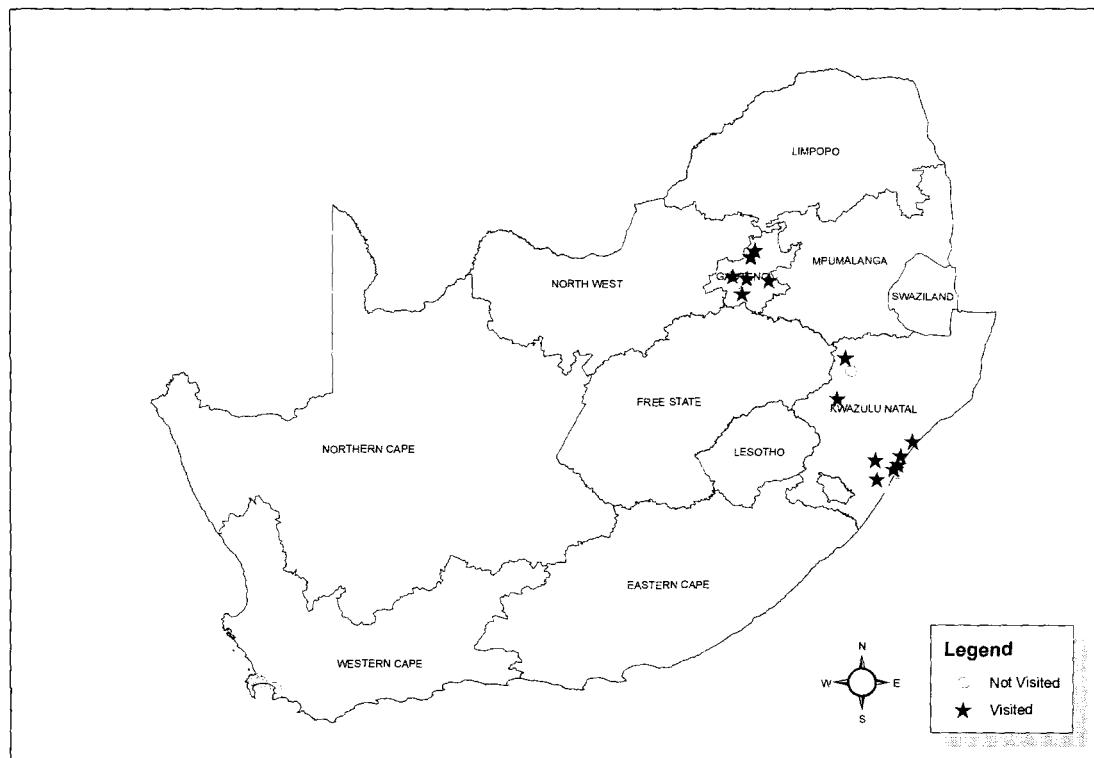
For the transliteration of Arabic and Urdu terms I have broadly followed the English Transliteration System of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES).

I have italicized Arabic and Urdu terms that are not commonly used, as well as the names of texts and subjects taught at the madrasahs. Commonly used terms in this essay and known to most readers, such as Madrasah, Dars-i Nizami, 'ulamā', sharī'a, Qur'ān and Sunna are not italicized.

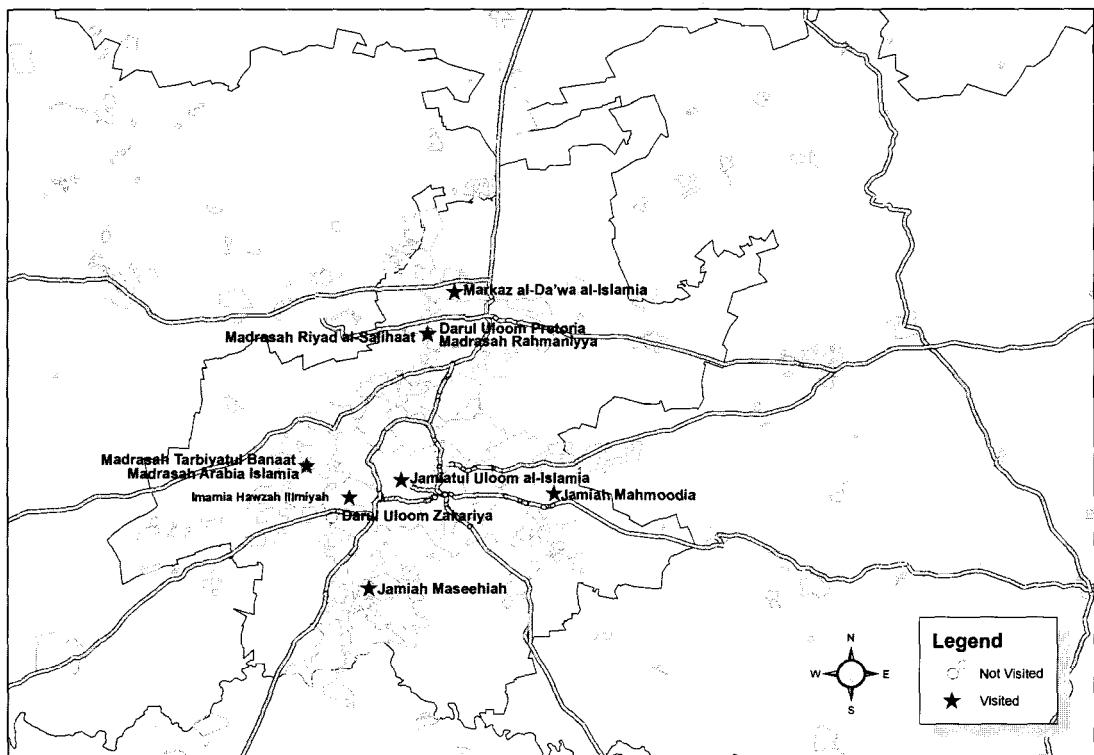
I have not transliterated names of contemporary personalities, places and institutions as well as terms widely used in English literature, such as Islam.

Map of the South African Provinces post-1994

The following map illustrates where the madrasahs are situated, including those that I did not visit:

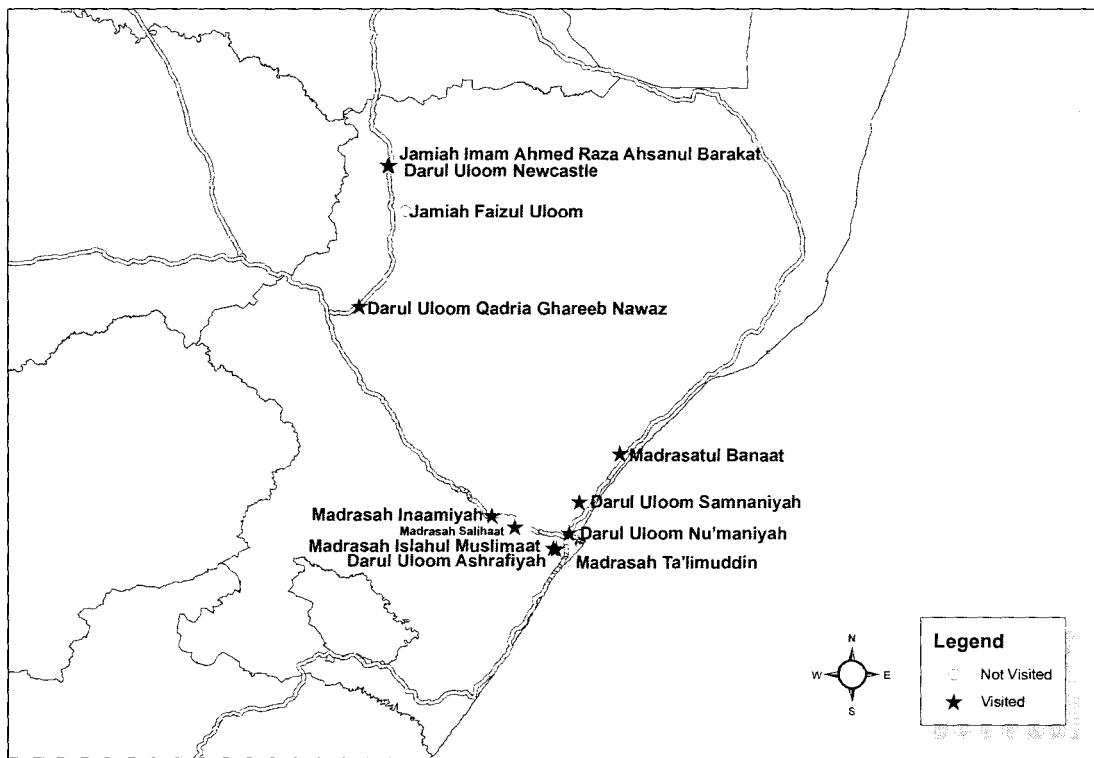


Map of the Gauteng Province



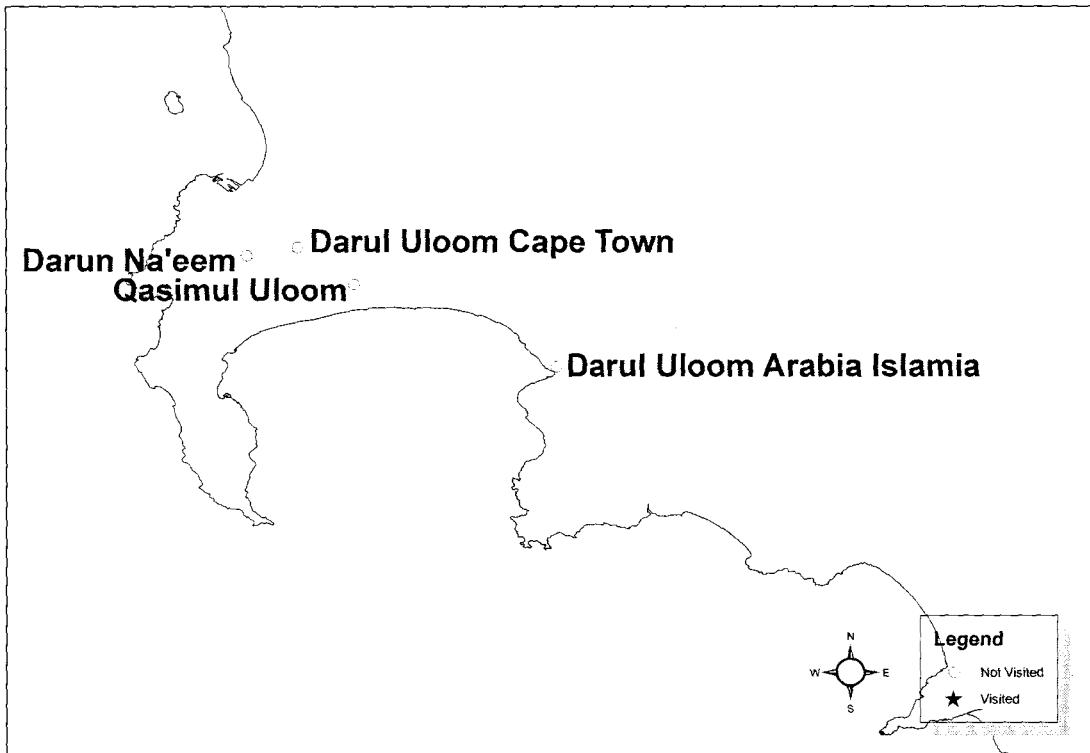
Madrasah	Town
Jamiatul Uloom al-Islamia	Johannesburg
Darul Uloom Zakariya	Lenasia
Imamia Hawzah Ilmiyah	Soweto
Madrasah Arabia Islamia	Azaadville
Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat	Azaadville
Jamiah Mahmoodia	Springs
Jamiah Maseehiah	De Deur
Darul Uloom (Pretoria)	Pretoria
Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat	Pretoria
Madrasah Rahmaniyya	Pretoria
Markaz al-Da'wa al-Islamia	Pretoria North

Map of the Kwazulu-Natal Province



Madrasah	Town
Madrasah Salihaat	Durban
Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat	Durban
Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah	Durban
Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah	Durban
Madrasah Ta'limuddin	Isipingo
Madrasah In'aamiyah	Camperdown
Madrasah Samnaniyah	Verulam
Madrasatul Banaat	Stanger
Darul Uloom Qadria Ghareeb Nawaz	Ladysmith
Jamiah Faizul Uloom	Dannhauser
Darul Uloom (Newcastle)	Newcastle
Jamiah Imam Ahmed Raza Ahsanul Barakat	Newcastle

Map of Cape Town



Madrasah	Town
Darul Uloom (Cape Town)	Hanover Park
Darun Na'eem	Wynberg
Qasimul Uloom	Mitchells Plain
Darul Uloom Arabia Islamia	Strand

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Introduction

Following the attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001, the mention of madrasahs evokes an immediate connection in the minds of many with the Afghanistan Taliban, radical Islam, and terrorism. However, the educational characteristics of these institutions are not focused on in popular writings and media coverage of the Muslim world.

Madrasahs, or *madāris*, are literally “places of study”. From the establishment of the Madrasah Nizamiyah in Baghdad during the ninth century A.D, madrasahs have functioned globally as centres for higher Islamic education. Madrasahs were, and continue to be, primarily dedicated to the teaching of subjects necessary for the study and understanding of shari'a (Islamic law). Madrasahs around the world continue to produce 'ulamā' (religious scholars and leaders) for the religious guidance of Muslim communities, especially in matters of Islamic law and theology.¹

Madrasahs are a space from which to socialize Muslims in the textual, legal and theological traditions of Islam based on the opinions of revered scholars of the past. Arising from the function of socializing Muslims in the traditions of Islam as

¹ Talbani, "Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education," p.68

interpreted by revered scholars of the past, madrasahs mediate common identities and links for Muslims that not only differentiates Muslims from non-Muslims, but also from other Muslims in legal and theological matters.

However the development of many madrasahs in colonial and post-colonial contexts, such as the famous Indian madrasah, Darul Uloom (Deoband), established in 1867, show that this religious socialization and sectarianism often reflects local contexts. Therefore, the nature of the religious socialization and sectarianism is characterized by diversification or transformation. The influence of national political trends, globalization, culture, language, gender, ethnicity and class are important factors in this regard.

The South African social landscape is a diverse and changing one. This diversity and change has become more apparent in Muslim communities since 1994. “Racial” and ethnic mixing and globalization have become major elements of influence with regards to religious values in South African Muslim communities. As centres for higher Islamic learning, the dynamics surrounding the madrasahs in South Africa reflect both the established and changing socialization and consequent contestations over values.

Ever since the arrival of the Muslims in the Cape in 1658 and in Natal in 1860, Muslims in South Africa have been sociologically diverse. The Cape became a site

for the banishment of political prisoners and slaves from African and Asian areas dominated by Muslims. The majority of slaves originated from the Bengal coast and there were a significant proportion of Malay-speaking political exiles from the Indonesian islands. These leaders, most of whom were Sūfi² initiates and practitioners of the Shāfi‘ī³ school of Islamic law (*fiqh*), came to play a pivotal role in the Cape Muslim community.⁴ Albeit a highly contested notion, from the twentieth century onwards the term “Malay” has been used to refer to most Muslims of the Cape who are not of purely Indian origin.⁵

Having arrived much later in the country than the Muslims of the Cape, the Indian Muslims of the Natal and Transvaal provinces were set apart historically and culturally from the Cape Muslims. The racial segregation and classifications of apartheid, especially the Group Areas Act of 1950, heightened this development of separate ethnic communities. Indian indentured workers arrived in South Africa from 1860, after the British colonization of Natal. Between seven and ten percent of this first group of Indians were Muslims. Then from 1871, a

² Sūfi, literally meaning “wool”, is mainly used to refer to adepts of the mystical path of Islam. Sūfis are those Muslims who are attached to the Sūfi orders which have popularly represented the mystical path of Islam for centuries. Many of these orders are responsible for promoting, on a large scale, practices such as the *mawlid* (celebration of the Prophet Muḥammad’s birth), and the visitation to the shrines of pious Muslims. See Denny, An Introduction to Islam, p.212

³ The Shāfi‘ī school is one of the four major law schools to have developed in Sunnī Islam. It is named after its founder, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī (d.819). He was originally from southwest Palestine. He developed the main principles of Islamic jurisprudence and systemized them into coherent unity. See Denny, An Introduction to Islam, p.225

⁴ Tayob, Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement, p.40

⁵ Vahed and Jeppie, “Multiple communities: Muslims in post-apartheid South Africa,” p.255

second group of Indians came to South Africa and were called "passenger" Indians because they paid their own fares to South Africa. Almost eighty percent of these Indians were Muslims. Eventually both previously indentured and "passenger" Indians spread throughout the country. These Muslims were predominantly followers of the Ḥanafi⁶ school of Islamic law.⁷

As the Indians began to be recognized as permanent citizens from 1961 onwards, their educational opportunities and economic mobility increased. Vahed and Jeppie assert that during this period, conservative 'ulamā' began to emerge as an influential factor shaping local Muslim communities. Also, the concentration of Indian Muslims brought about by the Group Areas Act allowed for the practice of Islam in a distinctly Indian environment. So when Islamic revivalism manifested itself amongst Indian Muslims, the masses embraced two opposing sectarian tendencies of India, Deobandi⁸ and Sunnī/Bareilvi.⁹

⁶ The Ḥanafi school is considered to be the oldest of the four Sunnī law schools. It was founded in Iraq in the early Abbasid period by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān (d.795). According to Denny, the use of reason was one of the school's most salient features. See Denny, An Introduction to Islam, p.195

⁷ Tayob, Islamic Resurgence in South Africa, p.55

⁸ Deobandi Islam took root in India in 1867 with the establishment of the Darul Uloom Madrasah Arabia Islamia in Deoband by Moulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi (d.1880) and Moulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi (d.1905). This followed their defeat by the British in the 1857 mutiny. The Deoband movement remained aloof from political activity and attended to educational and religious needs. They were concerned that "compromises" with Hinduism had resulted in syncretic developments. Deobandis targeted popular Šūfi beliefs and practices in this regard, such as visitation of tombs and the belief in the intercessory role of saints. Deobandi Islam was popular among the Gujarati trading class in South Africa. See Moosa, "Discursive Voices of Diaspora Islam in Southern Africa," p.48

It was within this context that young men began going to madrasahs in India and Pakistan to pursue theological training. Arising partly from the logistic and economic difficulties related to this arrangement, the first madrasahs soon thereafter began to be established in the Indian Muslim communities in Natal and Transvaal.

The first madrasah, Darul Uloom (Newcastle), was established in 1973 in the town of Newcastle in the Northern Natal Midlands. The madrasah was established by Moulana Cassim Mohamed Sema (d.2007), a South African graduate of Darul Uloom (Dhabel), a well-known Deobandi madrasah in India.¹⁰ Other Madrasahs have been run in South Africa from the 1980s onwards and continue to be established, especially in the Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal regions.

Leading up to and after the 1994 political transition in South Africa, the social and religious demographics of Muslims appears to be more diverse. Indian Muslims of Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal are no longer as isolated as before from the "Malay" Muslims of the Cape. There has also been an increase in the black

⁹ The Bareilvi tradition originates in the works of Moulana Ahmed Raza Khan (d.1922), the founder of the madrasah, Manzare Islam in Bareilvi, India. He was a renowned scholar of Hanafi *fiqh*, a theologian, and a writer of Urdu and Persian poetry. Khan sought to defend the popular Sufi beliefs and practices which the Deobandis critiqued. In his writings, Khan defined this tradition as "Sunni". In South Africa this tradition found expression mainly among descendants of indentured Muslims. See Vahed and Jeppie, "Multiple communities," p.261

¹⁰ Akoo, Biography of the Founder of Darul Uloom Newcastle: Moulana Cassim Mohamed Sema Saheb, p.61

conversions to Islam. According to Vahed and Jeppie, black African Muslims now make up twelve per cent of South Africa's Muslims as opposed to the 2.5 per cent in 1980. While having increasing interaction with Indian and Malay Muslims, these "Muslims on the margins," as Tahir Sitoto describes them, have increasingly sought ways of developing their own identity.¹¹

Furthermore, globalization has contributed to the existence of additional sectarian trends. For example, Shi'ism¹² and Salafism¹³ have become identifiable sectarian identities amongst certain sectors in South African Muslim communities. Also, generally, Muslims, like other South African citizens are not isolated from

¹¹ Vahed and Jeppie, "Multiple communities," p.263

¹² Starting as a political movement after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Shi'ism developed a theology of divinely appointed succession to Muhammad, beginning with his cousin and son-in-law, 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib. While believing that Muhammad is the final messenger of Islam, Shi'is believe that Muhammad's teachings can only be preserved and interpreted by the "infallible" twelve *imāms* (leaders) from the family of Muhammad (*Ahlul Bayt*). Shi'is form approximately five percent of the Muslim population and are mainly in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Syria, Kuwait, India and Pakistan. See Denny, An Introduction to Islam, p.74. Shi'ism took root in South Africa during period of the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran. During the late 1980s certain Muslims from Sunnī families began "converting" to Shi'ism. With the arrival of a Pakistani-born Shi'ī scholar, Moulana Sayyid Aftab Haider in 1991, initially supported by the Iranian government, a Shi'ī community was established in South Africa, the Ahlul Bait Foundation of South Africa, AFOSA.

¹³ Salafism is regarded by many as a relatively new movement in the Muslim world which emerged since the rise to prominence of Saudi Arabian scholar, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d.1791). The Salafis identify themselves as the followers of the Islam which was practiced by the *Salaf*, the early generation of Muslims, including the companions of Muhammad. They are averse to the use of *ta'wīl* (imagination) when describing God. Another feature is that of propagating the idea of adhering to direct interpretations of *aḥadīth* as opposed to *taqlīd*, (emulation) of the four schools of law. While this opposition to *taqlīd* is present in theory, the Salafis generally rely on the legal and theological interpretations of scholars Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.855) and Ibn al-Taymiyah (d.1255). See DeLong-Bas, Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad, p.19

the free-market economy, so religious scholarship and leadership too have begun to be packaged in terms of the demands of the modern economy.

As educational institutions, madrasahs do not operate in isolation from the broader social and religious landscape. In South Africa, with its apartheid history, where education was historically a communicator of prevalent social, political and economic values, an understanding of madrasahs as transmitters of values is essential. Pointing to the fact that education is central to the engendering of societal values, Peter Kallaway asserts that the government education policy during apartheid provided the “clearing house” for apartheid social policy.¹⁴

A relationship between education and a broader social project is also underlined by the education policies of the new African National Congress (ANC)-led government. Kallaway asserts that from 1994 onwards primary, secondary and higher education was reconstructed in terms that were acceptable in the international corridors of power. As those policies moved from a focus on principles of redress and redistribution highlighted in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994-1996) to the emphasis on the market and human resource development in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy after 1996, the whole tone of the education policy changed.¹⁵

¹⁴ Kallaway, “Introduction,” p.7

¹⁵ Ibid., p.5

It is with this backdrop that I will unearth the historical development of madrasah education in South Africa from 1973 to 2008. I identify transformations that have taken place in the madrasah education landscape of South Africa in the last thirty to forty years. I see this work as largely an exercise in contemporary historical excavation. Much more closer ethnographic work needs to be done. But this is a beginning on a neglected field.

In addition to determining whether the transformations have changed or sustained the central function of madrasahs as spaces for religious socialization and sectarian identity formation, I will attempt to underline the link between these changes and the broader shifts and developments that have taken place in South African Muslim communities and in the country.

After introducing the features of madrasah education in general in Chapter One, I will briefly introduce the madrasahs that I visited in the Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal provinces in Chapter Two. I will focus on the establishment and proliferation of the early madrasahs in South Africa. Chapter Three will focus on the rise of madrasahs attended by female students only.

Thereafter, in Chapter Four, the organizational features of the madrasahs are looked at. In Chapter Five, student demographics at the madrasahs are discussed, with particular focus on the enrollment of Cape Town students,

students from black communities and foreign students. Finally, in Chapter Six, I elaborate on the sectarian dynamics at the madrasahs, with particular attention to the changing face of sectarianism in South Africa.

The primary material for this study is interviews that I conducted with administrative staff, i.e. principals and vice-principals at eighteen madrasahs in Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal. I visited these madrasahs between January 2008 and January 2009. I also utilize written syllabi, brochures and prospectuses published by the madrasahs.

Particularly since September eleven 2001, there has been an outpouring of literature, both newly published, and republished, on madrasahs. The best of these writings give us a good sense of the general features of madrasahs historically and globally.

The writings of George Makdisi, Jacques Waardenburg and Said Arjomand, which focus largely on the early period of madrasah education, shed much light on the development of madrasahs as colleges for Islamic law and as sectarian centres in the context of theological contestations amongst Muslims. From Dale Eickelman's writings on the madrasahs in Morocco and Tunisia, we see the connections between teaching methodology and reproduction of dominant social and religious ideas. His paper, *The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and its Social*

Reproduction is seminal in this regard.¹⁶ Many of Stefan Reichmuth's writings on madrasahs between the fourteenth century and the colonial period in West and East Africa introduce us more closely to the differential and mediating functions of Islamic learning. While drawing links between madrasahs of sub-Saharan Africa and the madrasahs of the Middle East, Reichmuth underlines religious socialization and sectarian identity formation on the part of madrasahs as both mediating and differentiating in an array of ways.¹⁷

These features of religious socialization and sectarianism have been elucidated in detail in a South Asian context by scholars such as Francis Robinson, Barbara Metcalf, Yoginder Sikand and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. Metcalf's study of the Deoband madrasah places Deoband's emphasis on the orthodox tradition and its attacks on popular syncretic Islam within the context of Indian Muslim identity formation in opposition to the British and the Hindus.¹⁸ These ideas are elaborated upon further in the next chapter of my essay.

Qasim Zaman shows that madrasahs are spheres of distinct religious influence for the 'ulamā'. According to Zaman, this influence is due to the 'ulamā' training as religious specialists. A clear example of this distinction of a religious sphere for

¹⁶ Eickelman, "The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and Its Social Reproduction," p.57

¹⁷ Reichmuth, "Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub-Saharan Africa," p.427

¹⁸ Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900, p.138

'ulamā' authority on the part of the madrasah is striking in the resistance by Darul Uloom (Newtown) of Karachi to a Pakistani government report on madrasah education in 1979. The madrasah's response is underlined and discussed by Zaman in his book, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of change*.

Zaman writes that the report was in line with General Zia ul-Haq's desired reforms for madrasahs in order to "Islamize" every sphere of Pakistani society. The 1979 report, which in fact offered many benefits to the religious scholars such as financial aid to the madrasahs, scholarships, government recognition of madrasah degrees, etc, was viewed by the 'ulamā' as a threat to their autonomy as religious experts. The report stated that Islamic higher education be brought within mainstream society and that it be regulated by concerns similar to those of the general stream of state-sponsored education. The sphere of religion was meant to become indistinguishable from other areas of public life.¹⁹ The implication of such reforms meant that their expertise as expressed through the education received at the madrasahs would cease to invest them with distinct authority as the custodians of a specialized religious sphere.

Some of Brinkley Messick's works have also focused on madrasahs as spaces from which the 'ulamā' can define the Islamic tradition. Messick introduces

¹⁹ Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change, p.313

'ulamā' authority as embedded within the Islamic textual and legal traditions themselves – traditions which form the core of madrasah curricula. In his analysis of classical Shāfi'i scholarship in Yemen, Messick described the development of the shari'a across the Islamic world as a phenomenon involving "specific men of texts". Like the Qur'an, *fiqh* texts were memorized in madrasahs with jurists and judges recalling the texts. But unlike the memorization of the Qur'an, madrasahs ensured through the concept of *ijāza* (permission granted to teach) that shari'a scholarship was passed down through narrow channels of scholars.²⁰

Roman Loimeier's pioneering study on Islamic education in twentieth century Zanzibar, also focuses on the 'ulamā'. The focus has more of a political element though. By examining various types of Islamic schools (Qur'anic schools, Madrasahs and "Islamic institutes"), he underlines the contribution of Sufi scholars as well as Muslim reformers to Islamic education. The idea of Islamic education being shaped to a large extent by contextual realities is underlined. Loimeier argues that Islamic education in Zanzibar during the colonial period (1890-1963) was defined by the dynamics of cooperation between the 'ulamā' and the British administration. The development of Muslim activist movements

²⁰ Messick, The calligraphic state: textual domination and history in a Muslim society, p.23

after the 1964 revolution that have begun to challenge state informed institutions of learning is also emphasized.²¹

These writings have, however, primarily focused on madrasahs in majority Muslim contexts. My study thus contributes to this field by focusing on madrasahs in a Muslim minority context with changing social and political conditions. My essay is also a contribution to the field of education studies in South Africa.

Furthermore, there is an important need for comparative studies, by putting the findings of these authors into conversation with my focus on South African madrasahs. But at the same time, comparative studies first require solid historical data which are best derived from studies such as this. But my essay is not a comparative study in any sense. This work is instead an attempt to elucidate the area in South Africa. There are no published works to date on madrasahs in South Africa. I am in a sense preparing the ground work for more comparative and detailed studies.

²¹ Loimeier, Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th Century Zanzibar, p.3

Chapter One

Features of Madrasah Education

When introducing the history of madrasah education of the Middle East, Jacques Waardenburg asserts that madrasah education plays a central role in ensuring the continuation of the Islamic tradition. He argues that this is the case because the religious sciences are studied in order to understand the Qur'ān and Sunna (Practices of Prophet Muhammad) in a particular way so as to "guide" Muslims.²²

More closely tied to our current study is the assertion made by Barbara Metcalf in her overview of the madrasah of Deoband. Metcalf asserts that one of the madrasah's central aims was to "serve the daily religious and legal needs of Muslims in India".²³ Mumtaz Ahmed argues that since the establishment of the Deoband madrasah, the madrasah system in South Asia has played an important historical role by "preserving the orthodox tradition of Islam" in the wake of the downfall of Muslim political power by training generations of 'ulamā'.²⁴

This particular feature of being a space from which to socialize Muslims in the textual, legal and theological traditions of Islam as interpreted by scholars of the

²² Waardenburg, "Some Institutional Aspects of Muslim Higher Education and Their Relation to Islam," p.96-97

²³ Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India, p.112

²⁴ Ahmed, "Madrasa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh," p.102

past is more clearly underlined when looking at the standard curricula used at madrasahs globally and in South Asia in particular.

The subjects in the curricula are Arabic language, *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), '*usūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence), *tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Commentary of the Qur'ān), *tārīkh* (History), '*aqīda* (Theology), and *ḥadīth* (Prophetic Traditions). Standard texts authored by scholars of the past have formed and continue to form the core of the madrasah curricula for these subjects. For example, for *fiqh*, books authored by jurists of the past such as *Bulūgh al-Marām* of Ibn Ḥajr al-Asqalānī (d.1449) and *Minhāj al-Tālibīn* of Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d.1277) form part of the core of the curriculum at many Shāfi'i madrasahs. *Fiqh* is the Islamic normative tradition that Muslims base their practice on on a daily basis. With regards to the emphasis placed on teaching *hadīth*, selected and verified by scholars of the past, the six books of Sunnī *hadīth* are most commonly taught in the final year of a student's course. These texts are *Sahīh* of Muḥammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhārī (d.870), *Sahīh* of Muslim ibn Hajjāj (d.875), *Sahīh* of Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d.892), *Sunan* of Sulaymān Abū Dāwūd (d.889), *Sunan* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mājah (d.887) and *Sunan* of Aḥmad ibn al-Nasā'ī (d.830).²⁵

Arguably the most standardized madrasah curriculum has been, and continues to be, that adopted by the madrasahs of South Asia. Madrasahs in South Asia teach

²⁵ Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p.117

a curriculum known as the Dars-i Nizami. It was first introduced by Mullah Nizamuddin Sihalvi (d.1747) during the eighteenth century. Mullah Nizamuddin was a scholar of jurisprudence and philosophy from the famous Farangi Mahal madrasah in Lucknow. According to Ahmed, almost all South Asian Sunnī Ḥanafī madrasahs, irrespective of whether they are of Deobandi or Bareilvi persuasion, follow the same standard Nizami course of studies adopted by the Deoband madrasah in 1867.²⁶

Core texts taught over a period of six to eight years form the main subjects in the Dars-i Nizami. These texts were authored mainly by revered Islamic scholars of the seventh to fourteenth centuries. While different madrasahs have added texts to the subjects, these texts are merely meant to supplement the core Nizami texts, or to interpret the Nizami texts in line with particular sectarian approaches of the madrasahs.²⁷ These are the core texts taught in the Dars-i Nizami:

- *Fiqh*: Ḥanafī texts, *al-Mukhtasar* of Abul Ḥasan al-Qudūrī (d.1037) and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Mas’ūd (d.1346).
- *‘Usūl al-fiqh*: *‘Usūl al-Shāshī* of Nizāmuddīn al-Shāshī (d.728) and *Nūrul Anwār* of Mullah Jeewan ibn Sa’eed (d.1717).
- *‘Usūl al-hadīth*: *Nuzhatun Nadhr fī Sharḥ Nuqba* of al-Asqalānī.

²⁶ Ahmed, “Madrasa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh,” p.103

²⁷ Ibid., p.105

- *Tafsīr: Jalālayn* of Jalāluddīn al-Suyūtī (d.1505) and Jalāluddīn al-Mahallī (d.1459) and *Fowz al-Kabīr* of Shāh Walī Allāh Dehlawī (d.1762).
- 'Aqīda: *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* of Sa'ad al-Dīn Taftazānī (d.1390) and *'Aqīda al-Taḥāwī* of Abū Ja'far al-Taḥāwī (d.933).
- Tārīkh: *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* of al-Suyūtī.
- Hadīth: *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* of Abū Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d.1117) and the six core books of Sunnī *hadīth* literature.

Reichmuth asserts that by providing common ethical and legal forms for Muslims based on the sciences that are standardized and taught through texts, madrasahs provide a basis through which Muslims can openly distinguish themselves from non-Muslims. The promotion of *fiqh* as a guideline for daily practice is a salient feature in this regard.²⁸

In terms of identifying aspects of madrasah education which provide Muslims with a common identity that also serves to differentiate them from other Muslims, emphasis placed on the priority of teaching a particular legal school, promoting a particular theology, and articulating arguments against other Muslim sects are crucial.

²⁸ Reichmuth, "Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub-Saharan Africa," p.426

According to Waardenburg, from the ninth century madrasahs in the Muslim world only taught one particular legal school as the standard approach to Islamic law, with particular standard texts from that school being taught. Furthermore, Waardenburg asserts that the very first madrasah to be established in the Islamic world, the Nizamiyah madrasah in Baghdad, was established as a college specifically for the teaching of Shāfi‘ī law and the Sunnī Ash’arī theology.²⁹

In Shāfi‘ī madrasahs, ranging from the Middle East to East and Southern Africa, standard Shāfi‘ī texts such as *Minhāj al-Tālibīn* and *Bulūgh al-Marām* form the core of the curricula. Madrasahs such as Darul Uloom (Deoband), who serve Ḥanafī Muslims, tend to teach solely Ḥanafī books of *fiqh* such as *al-Mukhtasar* of al-Qudūrī.³⁰ In West Africa, *al-Mukhtasar* of Sayyid Abū-Diyā’ al-Khalīl (d.1366) is the predominant *fiqh* text for madrasahs teaching the Mālikī school of law.³¹ This emphasis on a particular law school and the main books of the school not only connects different madrasahs globally in terms of curriculum, but can provide

²⁹ Named after the Shāfi‘ī scholar, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash’arī (d.936), the Ash’arī school of theology is seen to represent the belief system of the majority of Sunnī Muslims. After abandoning the rationalist, Mu’tazila school, Abū al-Ḥasan preached about the “danger of denying the positive significance of the attributes of God”, that divine attributes should not be interpreted and that all actions are created by God (Predestination). In addition to this Abū al-Ḥasan is also believed to have opposed the anthropomorphic descriptions of God presented by the Ḥanbalī school of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and promoted later by ibn Taymiyah. See Keller, Reliance of the Traveller: A Sacred Manual of Islamic Law, p.1030. See also Waardenburg, “Some Institutional Aspects of Muslim Higher Education,” p.100

³⁰ Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India, p.125

³¹ Reichmuth, “Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub-Saharan Africa,” p.427

Muslims with a common identity in the Islamic normative tradition as either Hanafī, Shāfi‘ī, Mālikī or Ḥanbalī.

Paradoxically madrasah education claims to mediate a common Muslim identity by simultaneously dividing the community into sectarian sectarian segments. In this regard madrasah communities tend to mobilize on the grounds of real or imagined threats from Muslims or from outsiders.

There are a number of common texts which madrasahs of the same theological school tend to teach. For example, throughout many Sunnī Ash’arī West and East African madrasahs the *Umm al-Barāhin* of Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d.1486) seems to be the standard text for ‘aqīda.³² And in Sunnī Ash’arī South Asian and Middle Eastern madrasahs, *Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafī* and *‘Aqīda al-Tahāwī* are taught. In addition to teaching particular texts which provide theological interpretations of one particular sectarian tradition in which other sects are critiqued, many madrasahs incorporate the promotion of their sectarian tradition and the critique of the others in their teaching of subjects such as *hadīth* and *tafsīr*.³³

Furthermore, Yoginder Sikand points out that madrasahs such as those of Deobandi and Bareilvi persuasion have particular debating sessions set aside

³² Reichmuth, “Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub-Saharan Africa,” p.427

³³ Sikand, Bastions of the Believers: Madrasahs and Islamic Education in India, p.137

every week at the madrasah in which students pose as spokespersons of the madrasah's sect and an opposing sect. These are referred to in Urdu as *munāzara*.³⁴

Many madrasahs have also formulated public responses in the form of theological polemics through sermons and pamphlets to what they perceive to be encroachments from other sects and interpretations of Islam in the localities in which these madrasahs have an influence. Metcalf underlines in detail these sectarian activities on the part of the Deoband madrasah against popular Ṣūfī customs and beliefs.³⁵ Usha Sanyal elaborates on Moulana Ahmed Raza Khan's (d.1922) subsequent written defenses of popular Ṣūfī customs and beliefs as well as his polemical attacks on Deoband scholars such as Moulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi (d.1905), wherein he declares them to be apostates. Khan made these written declarations from the madrasah Manzare Islam in Bareilvi, India.³⁶

Furthermore, following the Salafī polemics against popular Ṣūfī practices and beliefs such as the celebration of the Prophet Muḥammad's birth, *mawlid*, and the belief in the eternal Light of Muḥammad, *nūr Muḥammad*, Shaykh Sulaiman Mbwana, the founder and principal of the Zahrau madrasah in Tanga, Tanzania,

³⁴ Sikand, Bastions of the Believers: Madrasahs and Islamic Education in India, p.136

³⁵ Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India, p.183

³⁶ Sanyal, Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelvi and his movement, p.135

delivered, in the late 1980s, a number of public sermons and issued pamphlets. In these sermons and pamphlets Mbwana condemned the beliefs of the Salafis and wrote a scholarly defense of the belief in *nūr Muḥammad*.³⁷

³⁷ Chande, Islam, Ulamaa and Community Development in Tanzania: a Case of Religious Currents in East Africa, p.220

Chapter Two

Introducing the South African Madrasahs

From their inception, the South African madrasahs have followed the core features of madrasah education historically and globally. Their origins and growth, however, cannot be divorced from the position and developments of the Indian communities in the broader apartheid and post-apartheid contexts in which many were established and had developed.

I conducted interviews with the administrative staff at eighteen madrasahs in the Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal provinces between January 2008 and January 2009. Madrasahs have been run in South Africa from the 1970s onwards and continue to be established, especially in these regions.

These madrasahs generally offer six-year courses for the training of scholars in Islamic legal and theological sciences. Courses are offered for both males and females, but they are separate entirely. Five of these madrasahs are for female students. The Dars-i Nizami, as has been taught at South Asian madrasahs, has made up and continues to make up the core of teaching at most South African madrasahs.

Given their ethnic context, most of the mardasahs conform to either one of the two major sectarian persuasions amongst South African Muslims of Indian origin, Doebandi or Bareilvi. I have, however, conducted interviews at one Salafi and one Shi'i madrasah. Unlike most of the madrasahs, these two madrasahs have very little connection to the distinct traditions of the South African Indian Muslim communities.

The following is a table providing basic information on each madrasah that I visited:

Madrasah	Year of Establishment	Orientation	Gender	Ethnicity	Length of Study	Region
Darul Uloom (Newcastle)	1973	Deobandi	Male	Indian	Six years	Kwazulu-Natal
Madrasah Salihaat	1983	Deobandi	Female	Indian	Three years	Kwazulu-Natal
Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat	1987	Deobandi	Female	Indian	Four years	Gauteng
Jamiah Maseehiah	1987	Deobandi	Male	Indian	Six years	Gauteng
Darul Uloom (Pretoria)	1989	Bareilvi	Male	Indian	Six years	Gauteng
Madrasatul Banaat	1990	Deobandi	Female	Indian	Three years	Kwazulu-Natal
Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah	1992	Bareilvi	Male	African	Three years	Kwazulu-Natal
Jamiah Mahmoodia	1993	Deobandi	Male	Indian	Six years	Gauteng
Madrasah In'aamiyah	1994	Deobandi	Male	Indian	Six years	Kwazulu-Natal
Darul Uloom Qadria Ghareeb Nawaz	1997	Bareilvi	Male	Indian	Six years	Kwazulu-Natal
Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat	1998	Deobandi	Female	Indian	Three years	Kwazulu-Natal
Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat	1998	Deobandi	Female	Indian	Three years	Gauteng
Markaz al-Da'wa al-Islamia	2001	Salafi	Male	African	Seven years	Gauteng
Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah	2001	Deobandi	Male	African	Six years	Kwazulu-Natal
Darul Uloom Samnaniyah	2001	Bareilvi	Male	African	Two years	Kwazulu-Natal
Jamiatul Uloom al-Islamia	2001	Deobandi	Male	Indian	Six years	Gauteng
Imamia Hawzah Ilmiyah	2007	Shi'i	Male	African	Three years	Gauteng
Jamiah Imam Ahmed Raza Ahsanul Barakat	2007	Bareilvi	Male	Indian	Six years	Kwazulu-Natal

The establishment of the first of these madrasahs, Darul Uloom (Newcastle), introduces the link between madrasah education in South Africa and the development of Indian Muslim communities in a context of racial segregation. It was established in 1973, a period in which Indian Muslims had already been concentrated together by the Group Areas Act of 1950. This may have fostered the development of a distinctly Indian Muslim identity. Therefore, an aspect of Indian Islamic reform, namely the madrasah system, became a part of the Indian community's religious landscape.

In its origins, the madrasah had a distinctly Indian character to it. It was founded by Moulana Cassim Sema, a South African Indian scholar who grew up and resided in the town of Newcastle. The first directors of the madrasah and those who contributed financially to its establishment were businessmen of Indian origin. The names of Mr. S. I. Vawda and Hajee Ahmed Saloojee are worthy of note in this regard.³⁸

The madrasah's link to South Asian Deobandi learning was and remains a major feature. This was manifested in a variety of respects and indirect inferences may be drawn in this regard: Sema graduated at the Deobandi Darul Uloom (Dhabel)

³⁸ Akoo, Biography of the Founder, p.61

in India, and Sema visited the Deoband Madrasah just after the establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) (Akoo interview).

The link with the South Asian Deobandi tradition can be more directly inferred by looking at the details and deliberations around the syllabus and the backgrounds of the initial teaching staff employed. Whist on a trip to India and Pakistan, following the establishment of the madrasah, Sema met with one of his former teachers, Moulana Muhammad Yusuf Binnouri (d.1977) and asked him to devise a syllabus for Darul Uloom (Newcastle). Sema had met with him in Karachi, Pakistan. Binnouri was the founder and rector of Pakistan's most respected Deobandi madrasah at the time, Darul Uloom (Newtown). The current principal at Newcastle, Moulana Ismail Akoo, relates that after a meeting with the teaching staff at Newtown, Binnouri drew up a syllabus for Darul Uloom (Newcastle). The core texts of this syllabus are the texts of the Dars-i Nizami. Upon his return to South Africa, Sema implemented this syllabus (Akoo interview).

For his teaching staff, Sema recruited and employed Moulana Mansoorul Haq of Newtown in 1975. Two years later, Mansoorul Haq's brother, Moulana Mumtazul Haq was employed (Akoo interview). As the number of students increased, especially during the 1980s, Sema recruited a number of South African-born Deobandi graduates as teachers. Amongst the earliest and longest-standing of

these teachers was Mufti Abdul Kader Hoosen, a Newtown graduate. Others included Moulana Yunus Osman, Moulana Muneer Fareed Soofie³⁹ and Moulana Suleiman Goga. These teachers were graduates of Darul Uloom (Deoband).⁴⁰ In later years, as students began graduating as ‘ulamā’, a number of graduates began teaching at the madrasah. Having graduated in 1993, Akoo is one such example (Akoo interview).

More closely tied to the impact of the concentration of Indians is the idea that the establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) and later madrasahs was indicative of another broader development within Indian Muslim communities during the 1970s and 1980s. Institutionalization of Islam was taking place amongst more settled Indian Muslim communities during the 1970s and 1980s. Largely due to the economic mobility of many Indians following them becoming citizens in 1961, the concentration of Indians, and the return of certain ‘ulamā’ from studies in South Asia, Indian Muslims began establishing institutions for the practice, transmission and organization of Islam.⁴¹

³⁹ After teaching at Darul Uloom (Newcastle) for a number of years, Moulana Muneer Fareed Soofie settled in the United States of America. He completed his Phd in Islamic Law at the University of Michigan. Fareed was Associate Professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at Wayne State University, Detroit. He is currently a member of the Fiqh Council of North America, the highest Islamic legal authority in the United States and Canada. He is currently a guest lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town.

⁴⁰ Akoo, Biography of the Founder, p.66

⁴¹ Vahed and Jeppie, “Multiple communities,” p.260

The very establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) was closely related to the running of religious institutions such as mosques and *maktab*⁴² (places for elementary Islamic learning) locally. During the 1970s, as Indian communities became more entrenched, various *maktab*s and mosques were established. Gradually, these institutions required people with religious authority to be employed within them. The devoted but untrained "apa"⁴³ could be replaced by a qualified and certified "moulana". This was partly the reason for students, such as Sema himself, traveling to India in order to pursue theological training. As the number of *maktab*s and mosques increased the demand for qualified 'ulamā' increased. While students were traveling to South Asia to pursue Islamic studies, it was far more viable, logically and economically, for 'ulamā' to be trained in South Africa. If we examine some of the letters and sermons delivered by Sema motivating business people to finance a madrasah, we note that his main points were that *maktab*s and mosques required teachers and *imāms* (religious leaders) and that it was not easy to constantly send young men to the subcontinent.⁴⁴

When I asked Akoo why Sema saw the need for a madrasah to be established at the time, he replied: "because of the need for 'ulamā' in the country". He argues that there were very few 'ulamā' at the time in Indian Muslim communities. Akoo

⁴² In South Africa, *maktab*s are popularly referred to as "madrasahs".

⁴³ Literally denoting "sister" in the Urdu language, the term "apa" is commonly used by South African Muslims of Indian-origin with reference to women who teach elementary Islamic education to children at *maktab*s.

⁴⁴ Akoo, Biography of the Founder, p.78

said: "after devising a *maktab* syllabus, Sema calculated that for every thirty Muslim male and female youngsters, there is a need for one '*ālim*'. Akoo added that, reflecting on his own difficulties, Sema realized that for young men to leave South Africa to study in India was financially difficult (Akoo interview).

Closely tied to this increase in the need for '*ulamā'* during the 1970s, was another institutional development, the revival of '*ulamā*'-led organizations such as the Jamiatul '*Ulamā*' of Transvaal and Natal. The Transvaal Jamiatul '*Ulamā*' was formed in 1935 and the Natal Jamiatul '*Ulamā*' was formed in 1955. After much inactivity, both were revived in 1970.⁴⁵ This development gave rise to the organization of '*ulamā*' authority. The establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) can be viewed in part as a means of extending the influence of the '*ulamā*' as well as providing a pool of graduates who can possibly sustain the authority of such '*ulamā*' bodies. Vahed and Jeppie assert that it was between the late 1960s and 1980s that the "conservative" '*ulamā*' emerged as an influential factor shaping local Indian Muslim communities. Again, this was largely possible because of the ethnic concentration enforced by Apartheid.⁴⁶

When Sema established the madrasah he was already an executive member of the Jamiatul '*Ulamā*' of Natal. Sema was, in fact, a founder member of the

⁴⁵ Moosa, "Discursive Voices of Diaspora Islam in Southern Africa," p.50

⁴⁶ Vahed and Jeppie, "Multiple communities," p.261

organization. According to Akoo both the Jamiats of Natal and Transvaal officially endorsed and provided financial assistance in the formative years of the madrasah. Furthermore, senior ‘ulamā’ of both Jamiats, such as Moulana Abdul Hameed Ishaq of Azaadville, a town west of Johannesburg, were amongst those who were consulted extensively prior to the madrasah’s establishment.⁴⁷

The establishment and running of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) precipitated the establishment of other madrasahs amongst Indian Muslims, particularly during the 1980s. In 1982 Madrasah Arabia Islamia was established in Azaadville. Like Newcastle, this madrasah was founded by Deobandi trained ‘ulamā’ such as Moulana Abdul Hameed Ishaq and was supported by the Jamiatul ‘Ulamā’ of Transvaal.⁴⁸

Madrasah Arabia Islamia was founded within the context of an entrenched and closely concentrated Indian Muslim community. It was established at a time of political upheaval in South Africa. Its establishment may be viewed as a part of ‘ulamā’ attempts to maintain the religious orthodoxy of the communities in light of the deeply unstable political atmosphere in the country.

⁴⁷ Akoo, Biography of the Founder, p.69

⁴⁸ Muhammad, Prospectus of Madrasah Arabia Islamia, p.6

The South Asian Deobandi character of the madrasah and its connection to the maintenance and expression of a distinctly Indian Muslim identity is also clear. A world renowned Deobandi scholar from India, Moulana Muhammad Zakariya Khandhalvi (d.1982), was a patron of the madrasah. The first consultation amongst the ‘ulamā’ of Natal and Transvaal regarding the establishment of Madrasah Arabia Islamia took place at Zakariya’s *khānqā* (Sūfi lodge) in Stanger, a coastal town north of Durban. Furthermore, in addition to the Dars-i Nizami being taught, classes have always been conducted in the Urdu language.⁴⁹

Other Deobandi madrasahs were also established during this period. One such example is Jamiah Maseehiah, established in 1987 in Lenasia, an Indian residential area of Transvaal. The madrasah is now situated in De Deur, a farming town, south of Johannesburg. This madrasah has a more distinct Indian and Deobandi character than Azaadville and Newcastle. Jamiah Maseehiah was founded by Mufti Hashim Boda, a graduate of the Madrasah Miftahul Uloom in Jalalabad, India. Miftahul Uloom is considered by many of its graduates to be more in accordance with the teachings of the Deoband founding fathers than Deoband itself. Not only did Boda consult with Moulana Maseehullah Khan, the principal of Miftahul Uloom before establishing the madrasah, Boda has always maintained that only graduates from the Jalalabad madrasah can apply for teaching posts at Jamiah Maseehiah (Boda interview).

⁴⁹ Muhammad, Prospectus of Madrasah Arabia Islamia, p.63

Even during the 1990-1994 period of political transition and thereafter, many other madrasahs were established. Both Deobandi and Bareilvi persuasions opened their own strongholds. Furthermore, the numbers of students enrolling at the madrasahs established during the 1980s continued to increase after 1994. A reason other than the ethnic element that came with the concentration of Indian Muslims may be presented for this particular proliferation.

It is possible to assert that certain social, political and economic changes that came with the non-racial democracy contributed to the rapid growth of madrasahs. Muslim communities were now exposed to new, "threatening" social trends. The South African constitution is very liberal and the state is secular without the conservative Christian ideas of the Apartheid state. This situation triggered a more emphatic assertion of religious identity with an emphasis on personal piety as opposed to political resurgence, so as to not antagonize the new ANC government. The new South Africa was thought to offer opportunities for the previously excluded Muslim communities and their leadership/s. Madrasahs are popularly viewed as the bastions for the promotion of education stressing personal religious piety.

The new ANC government, of course, did not support an Islamic world view. A very liberal constitution was adopted that many Muslims, and the 'ulamā' in

particular, viewed as permissive. This was compounded by affirmative action policies, the “African Renaissance” agenda of the ANC, and the impact of globalization. Vahed and Jeppie argue that these changes triggered important behavioural modification among large numbers of Muslims. The most striking transformation in their view has been the growth of personal piety. As examples, Vahed and Jeppie point out that there is an increase in the numbers of women who cover their faces with a veil; there is greater concern with observing dietary regulations; televisions have been rooted out from many Muslim homes; and there has been a dramatic growth in Muslim schools. They argue that truth has become synonymous with ‘ulamā’ and to question the ‘ulamā’ means questioning the truth.⁵⁰

Gauging from the interviews, this promotion of personal piety seems to be part and parcel of the public discourse presented by madrasahs established during and after 1994. Pointing more generally to this idea, Moulana Mahmood Madani Desai, principal of Madrasah In'aamiyah in Camperdown, situated in the west of Kwazulu-Natal, told me that the madrasah was established in 1994 when outside influences created a need for Muslims to “realize their obligations towards the Almighty (God)” and that the madrasah was meant to provide graduates with a “grounded psyche” who could promote this realization amongst the Muslims (Desai interview).

⁵⁰ Vahed and Jeppie, “Multiple communities,” p.262

Drawing on the example of Azaadville, Moulana Abduraheem Khan, principal of Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah in Chatsworth, an Indian township west of Durban, pointed more specifically to the potential and vision for pietistic religious socialization with the establishment of his madrasah in 2001. When I asked him why he established this particular madrasah, Khan responded: "Generally, my experience is that where there is a Darul Uloom the community around the Darul Uloom is affected spiritually. After a few years in Azaadville I watched people transform themselves". He added: "I looked back home in Chatsworth and saw that we have many vices. Many Muslim girls are marrying non-Muslim boys, for example. So I thought that if the madrasah is in Chatsworth, eventually our goal will be achieved" (Khan interview).

Chapter Three

Female Madrasahs

The assertion of religiosity within Muslim communities during the 1980s and through 1994 had a gender specific impact as well. This led to one of the first major changes in the landscape of madrasah education - the establishment of madrasahs for females only. In line with its central feature of religious socialization, the madrasah became a space from which traditional religiously-sanctioned gendered roles for Muslim women could be encouraged.

Running parallel to the increasing feminist discourse in the South African Muslim community during the 1980s as articulated by Muslim feminists such as Shamima Shaikh (d.1997) of the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM)⁵¹, the increasing orthodox religiosity was characterized by a specific emphasis on the seclusion of women. This had a direct impact on education. In addition to an increasing number of women being fully veiled and wearing loose-fitting black garments, Vahed and Jeppie assert that the attitude of many parents towards education, particularly in Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng, began changing as part of a "gender

⁵¹ The MYM was formed in 1970 in Durban by three Indian businessmen. The organization sought to call attention among Muslim youth in South Africa to the relevance of Islam in the modern world. During the 1980s, members of the MYM played an active role in the anti-apartheid struggle. Between the 1980s and 1990s, the MYM also provided a platform for "radical" re-interpretations of aspects of the Islamic tradition such as the position of women for example. See Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa*, p.130.

counter revolution". In their view, parents no longer consider it desirable for girls to receive secular education beyond a certain age, if at all. The role of the 'ulamā' was central in this regard. In 1998, the Kwazulu-Natal Jamiatul 'Ulamā' issued a statement asserting that secular education was placing pitfalls in the pathway of "sincere Muslim women, wanting to follow the pure and pristine Islam of the last 1 400 years. Our young Muslim sisters at schools, colleges, and universities are exposed to dangers all the time. A Muslim woman needs to acquaint herself much more with the correct teachings of Islam more than ever before".⁵²

These ideas of seclusion seemed to have been present in the founding of Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, established in the city of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal in 1998. The madrasah was established by Moulana Junaid Chohan, a Dhabel graduate and member of the Kwazulu-Natal Jamiatul 'Ulamā'. Chohan told me that, in his view, during the 1990s Muslim parents became "conscious, especially when their girls grow up, about the need for girls to learn in an all-girls environment and hence demands were made by parents and the 'ulamā' for the establishment of this madrasah" (Chohan interview).

This particular idea was prevalent well before 1998. The very first female madrasah in South Africa, Madrasah Salihaat, established in 1983 in Durban,

⁵² Vahed and Jeppie, "Multiple communities," p.271

reflected this context. Madrasah Salihaat is located in the predominantly Indian residential area of Overport and was founded by Moulana Yunus Patel, a South African Deoband graduate. Patel has served as the President of the Kwazulu-Natal Jamiat and is a trustee of Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat. According to Patel, the madrasah's establishment was stimulated by a desire to discourage Muslim girls from attending secular schools. When asked to elaborate on the madrasah's establishment, Patel told me that in 1982 teachers were "indoctrinating" Muslim girls at the secular schools by promoting the non-existence of God and "unfettered" freedoms for women. So in 1983, with thirty-two Muslim girls, Patel established the madrasah (Patel interview).

A similar initiative towards this particular religious moulding also seems to have played a role in the establishment of madrasahs aimed specifically at students wishing to embark on tertiary Islamic Studies. Established in 1990, one such example is Madrasatul Banaat, founded in Stanger, Kwazulu-Natal, by four South African Indian businessmen, Cassim Tootla, Hajji Khalil Moosagie, Hajji Yunus Desai and Ismail Hafejee. The establishment of the madrasah followed reservations on the part of certain 'ulamā' and parents regarding Muslim girls doing degrees in Islamic Studies at the University of Durban-Westville in Durban. When explaining his aims as the first principal of Madrasatul Banaat, Mufti Bashir Amod told me that while he was lecturing Persian and Urdu Languages at the University of Durban-Westville he "realized" that "our girls needed an alternative

as well". Amod relates that Muslim girls pursuing Islamic Studies told him that they had to go to the university because there were no Islamic institutions for them. Pointing more directly to the idea of having an institution for higher Islamic learning for females, Amod concluded: "This really motivated me to give an alternative and that is why I decided that if we are going to have something for girls we must have it after they complete matric and then have a three-year course, where they do subjects such as *tafsīr*, *fīqh* and *hadīth*" (Amod interview).

The disciplinary measures that have been adopted at these madrasahs also clearly underline the extent of spatial religious seclusion of female students. This is more apparent with the female madrasahs that offer boarding. One such example is Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat in Azaadville. Ever since its establishment in 1987, this madrasah has been known in South African Deobandi circles for its stringent disciplinary measures. One of the founders and current principal, Moulana Haroon Akbar Ali, told me that the disciplinary measures at the madrasah were set on the "model" of the renowned female madrasah in India, Darul Uloom Simlak in Dhabel, and are thus "very tight" (Ali interview).

At Tarbiyatul Banaat students are only allowed to visit home one weekend a month. As a rule, all letters that students write are to be read first by the principal before students are allowed to mail them. Ali told me that ever since 1992, when he was appointed principal, he has made a point of listening in on

students' phone calls and that he only allows students to make and receive phone calls from their parents once a month. Students are also not allowed to pick up the madrasah phones if they hear them ringing. Further emphasizing the intensity of the control and seclusion at the madrasah, Ali told me that since 1992 the madrasah has begun "censoring" all parcels that leave and enter the madrasah (Ali interview).

Compared to the rather relaxed disciplinary measures I came across at the madrasahs for male students, these measures are stringent. They may in fact be viewed as a marker of distinction for female madrasahs. When I probed Ali as to why he had put these measures in place since becoming principal in 1992 he linked them to the conditions upon which his mentor in Jalalabad, Moulana Maseehullah Khan, conceived the running of a madrasah for females. Ali relates that when he became principal in 1992, he made a trip to Jalalabad and asked Maseehullah if a female madrasah could be favourable in South Africa. Claiming that Maseehullah gave him the "assurance" and "permission" for such a madrasah, Ali told me that the approval was based on the proviso that the madrasah needed to fulfill a certain condition. According to Ali, the condition was that discipline needed to be "very strict". Ali concluded that only if based on the rules which he had introduced, did Maseehullah provide his blessings for the running of Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat (Ali interview).

This trend towards seclusion is inextricably linked to the promotion of two particular gender-specific roles for women in the Muslim community: to teach young children at *maktab*s and to serve in a domestic capacity as wives and mothers. Somehow, coining a madrasah definition of a “female ‘ālim” or “‘ālimah”, Ali explained the aim behind establishing Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat: “The aim was and remains to produce ‘ālimahs, women ‘ulamā’. We wanted these ‘ālimahs to essentially become good mothers and wives and to teach” (Ali interview). This current seems to have been present at South Africa’s very first female madrasah. While elaborating further on the establishment of Madrasah Salihaat, Patel said that the basic aim of the course “was and remains to make these growing girls good wives and mothers of the future and teachers at afternoon madrasahs for children” (Patel interview).

Currently most of the graduates of Madrasah Salihaat are teaching at various Deobandi orientated *maktab*s in Durban (Patel interview). Placing particular emphasis on this production of *maktab* teachers, Amod told me that there are currently five hundred graduates of Madrasatul Banaat teaching at *maktab*s around South Africa. He mentioned graduates teaching even in the Free State province, which still has a very small Muslim population since Indians were prohibited from residing there under Apartheid laws. According to Amod, when a graduate gets married, she usually teaches at a *maktab* or establishes one in the area or town where the husband decides to reside (Amod interview). This

practical production of students for gendered roles is even manifested with regards to marriage. Certain Indian Muslim families who have sons that are studying at the Deobandi male madrasahs have often contacted the principals of the female madrasahs to enquire about possible wives for their male relatives. The principals, in consultation with teachers, often suggest possible wives from the pool of female students who are completing their studies and they arrange with the families for them to meet with their sons in supervised settings. This came through in my interview with Moulana Riaz Hashim, principal and founder of Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat in Pretoria, north of Johannesburg. When I enquired about the assessment of students' conduct, Hashim told me that the students' behaviour and conduct is particularly taken into account when families enquire from him for possible spouses for their sons (Hashim interview).

This gendered focus has further transformed madrasah education in South Africa. The madrasah syllabus has been changed. The gender focus is reflected by certain subjects that have been introduced, the texts used for the traditional subjects, and the approach to this material. This is rather different to the more comprehensive adherence to the traditional Dars-i Nizami texts at the madrasahs for male students.

While, the traditional subjects of *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, '*usūl al-fiqh*' and '*aqīda*' are taught at all the female madrasahs I visited, these subjects have been taught

alongside subjects that seem to be geared particularly towards domestic work and what may be considered in conservative understandings to be "wifely duties". After their establishment, all of these madrasahs, except Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat, have gradually introduced "Needle Work", "Cooking", "Baking" and "Cake Decorating" to their teaching programmes. These subjects have never been taught at any male madrasah locally or globally. Madrasah Salihaat introduced "Cake Decorating" in 1991 (Patel interview). Tarbiyatul Banaat, Madrasatul Banaat and Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat have all taught "Baking", "Cooking" and "Needle Work" since their establishment. When I visited Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, Chohan presented me with a recipe book that was compiled by students through the "Cooking" classes. With regards to the direct link between these subjects and domesticated gendered roles, Amod told me: "We teach these subjects like Needle Work and Cooking so that our graduates can develop the skills that they can use when they are wives and mothers in their own families one day" (Amod interview).

The idea of producing wives, mothers and *maktab* teachers who have a fairly solid grasp of the textual tradition as opposed to fully-fledged 'ulamā' is more clearly highlighted by the particular texts taught at these madrasahs. While, like their male counterparts, core Dars-i Nizami texts such as '*Aqīda al-Taḥāwī*' are taught, certain Nizami texts that are considered to be far too "complex" and "advanced" for the purposes of female Islamic learning have either never been

taught or very few sections are taught. These texts have been replaced by relatively simplified texts, translated from Urdu into English and authored by scholars from South Asia. This has been the case since the establishment of each of these madrasahs. For History, students have not been taught the detailed *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* of al-Suyūtī, which covers the period of the life of Prophet Muḥammad until the end of the Fatimid dynasty. At both Madrasah Salihaat and Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, only the period of the Prophet Muḥammad's life is covered. At Madrasah Salihaat, the book of *sīra* (Prophetic History), *Muhammadur Rasoolallah* by the Indian author, Sayyid Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi (d.1999) has always been taught (Patel interview). And at Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, a very basic text, *Sīrat al-Mustafa* is taught (Chohan interview). The Indian author of *Sīrat al-Mustafa* is unknown. In fact, at Madrasatul Banaat there is no text at all for History. Amod told me that when teaching this subject at the madrasah he provides students with notes based on whatever he has read (Amod interview).

In terms of *tafsīr*, while *Tafsīr Jalālayn* of al-Suyūtī and al-Mahallī is taught at Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat, Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat and Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, very little of it is taught in comparison to the teaching of the full text at the male madrasahs. Instead, two *tafsīr* texts of renowned Deobandi South Asian scholars have made up the bulk of the teaching material. *Tafsīr-e-Usmani* of Moulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani (d.1949) and *Ma'rifatul Qur'ān* of his son,

Mufti Muhammad Shafi Usmani (d.1976), are considered to be much more simplified than the classic, *Jalālayn*. Chohan told me that he chose to teach these two texts because for females they are “not complex” (Chohan interview). Amod did away with *Jalālayn* completely from the syllabus of Madrasatul Banaat in 1992 because he saw it as “too academic for female students who are not going to be fully-fledged scholars”. Amod replaced *Jalālayn* with *Ma’rifatul Qur’ān* of Mufti Muhammad Shafi Usmani which he considers to be a “practical and simple text” (Amod interview).

A similar trend has taken place with the teaching of *fiqh*. While the classical Nizami text, *al-Mukhtasar* of al-Qudūrī, has been taught, the entire text is not taught at the female madrasahs. The teaching of sections from al-Qudūrī’s *al-Mukhtasar* is complemented with the teaching of the complete text of *Beheshti Zewar*, an Urdu text of Moulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi (d.1943), one of the revered scholars of Deoband. At Madrasah Salihaat, *Beheshti Zewar* is taught over the first two years. Thereafter, in the final year, students are taught sections of *al-Mukhtasar* (Patel interview). At Madrasatul Banaat, *Beheshti Zewar* is taught in the first two years, with sections of *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* being taught in the third year (Amod interview). *Beheshti Zewar* is a fairly simple and easy to read text compared to *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya*. The use of this text also ties in directly with the gender focus of these madrasahs in terms of

subject matter. Unlike the authors of the classical *fiqh* texts, Thanvi in *Beheshti Zewar* mainly presents legal rulings that apply specifically to women.⁵³

Furthermore, gauging from the perspectives of the principals, the approach taken to teaching the classical *fiqh* texts are more practically focused towards issues that will directly face the women in their personal lives. Chohan told me that at Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, teachers only teach the students the "very basics they need to know for their own marriages and inheritance issues" when looking at *al-Mukhtasar*, as opposed to looking at the "intricate details of al-Qudūrī's rulings like the male students do" (Chohan interview).

With regards to the teaching of *hadīth*, we find that most of the texts of the Nizami syllabus have not been taught at these madrasahs. The *hadīth* texts that are not taught are considered to be too complex and scholarly for the purposes of female Islamic learning. Of the famous six works of Sunnī *hadīth* literature that are taught in the Dars-i Nizami, it is only the *Sahīh* of al-Tirmidhī that is taught. This is taught at only one of the madrasahs, Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat (Ali interview). Compared to the compilations of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, al-Tirmidhī's text is relatively less important as far as classical *hadīth* literature is concerned. Other than at Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat, the other madrasahs have only taught and continue to only teach one *hadīth* text of the Dars-i Nizami,

⁵³ Thanvi, *Beheshti Zewar*, p.78

namely *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* of al-Baghawī. *Mishkāt* is not part of the famous six works in Sunnī *ḥadīth* literature. It is instead a selection of a variety of *aḥadīth* taken from the six books. The vast majority of the *aḥadīth* in *al-Mishkāt* deal more with general moral conduct and attributes of certain companions of Muhammad in comparison to the legal nature of many of the *aḥadīth* found in most of the six books.⁵⁴ It must be noted that the primary aim of madrasahs historically and globally is to produce legal scholars, hence the teaching of the six books. The female madrasahs have also added a non-Nizami text, not taught at any of the male madrasahs I visited, namely *Riyād al-Ṣāliḥīn* of al-Nawawī. Similar in nature to *al-Mishkāt*, *Riyād al-Ṣāliḥīn* is a selection of *aḥadīth* taken from some of the six books, with most of the *aḥadīth* dealing with very general issues of personal piety. This dearth in Nizami literature and inclusion of a relatively simple Nizami text is linked to the gender roles which these madrasahs are focused on. When I asked Amod to mention the *hadīth* texts that have been taught at Madrasatul Banaat, he said: "For *ḥadīth* we do *Riyād al-Ṣāliḥīn* and we go up to *Mishkāt*. This is sufficient for girls" (Amod interview).

Finally, the selection of these texts seems to have influenced the actual approach to teaching the *ḥadīth* texts. Gauging from what the principals, who are the teachers of *ḥadīth* at these madrasahs, have told me, the focus seems to be placed on the *aḥadīth* as a basis for women's conduct or social interactions as

⁵⁴ Baghawī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, p.42

opposed to the theological and legal issues emphasized in the teaching of *hadīth*. For example, when elaborating on the texts used for *hadīth* at Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat, Chohan said: "You know, instead of going academic with the *hadīth*, we want them to just be practical" (Chohan). Furthermore, Hashim was more direct with reference to the focus on women's conduct when teaching *hadīth* at Madrasah Riyad al-Salihaat. After stating which texts continue to be taught at the madrasah, Hashim added: "When *hadīth* texts have been taught, we stick strictly to moral issues. The issues of morality have always been and continue to be related to woman's conduct" (Hashim interview).

With the growth of female madrasahs within the landscape of madrasahs in South Africa, the madrasah became a space from which traditional religiously sanctioned gendered roles for Muslim women could be stressed. This particular transformation was clearly in line with one of the central features of madrasahs historically and globally: religious socialization.

Chapter Four

Organizational Features

The area in which most large-scale changes have taken place over the years at South African madrasahs has been their organization. Changes have taken place in the acquisition of funds, recruitment of teachers and students, teaching methods and ideas around job-market education.

A comprehensive array of approaches for the acquisition of funds has and continues to be present in the organization of the madrasahs. Money received through *zakāt* (alms) from Muslims at local mosques and fees paid by students who are able to afford it, have since the establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) in 1973, remained a source of funding for all the madrasahs I visited.

The madrasahs have also sought assistance through monetary donations from local Indian Muslim businessmen. This was the case with the establishment of the Bareilvi madrasah, Darul Uloom Qadria Ghareeb Nawaz, in the town of Ladysmith in the Kwazulu-Natal Midlands. In 1997 the madrasah was established through the help of donations which the founder and principal, Moulana Sayyid Muhammad Aleemuddin, acquired from various South African Indian Muslim

businessmen. Since his arrival in South Africa from India in 1991, Aleemuddin built up a network of admirers and well-wishers in South African Bareilvi circles. Local businessmen of a Bareilvi persuasion in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town have continued to play a pivotal role as Darul Uloom Qadria's donors. Aleemuddin told me that as the madrasah continued to function, its network of donors grew, particularly in Ladysmith (Aleemuddin interview).

Other Bareilvi madrasahs also acquired substantial funds from Bareilvi businessman and families. Ever since the establishment of Darul Uloom (Pretoria) in 1989, its vice-principal, Hafiz Ismail Hazarvi went on annual "collection drives" around various parts of South Africa and neighbouring Botswana. Hazarvi has been visiting particular Bareilvi families, spoke at various Islamic functions in Bareilvi mosques, and appeared on Muslim radio stations for this purpose. Hazarvi told me that the bulk of the madrasah's funding comes from these "collection drives in Sunnī circles" (Hazarvi interview). Moulana Mubin Ahmed Ashrafi, the founder and principal of Darul Uloom Samnaniyah in the town of Verulam, north of Durban, has been tapping into the same circles since the madrasah's establishment in 2001. He told me that each student's fees as well as boarding and lodging are covered by the donations gained from his annual trips around South Africa (Ashrafi interview). Another Bareilvi madrasah, Darul Uloom *Ashrafiyah* in Chatsworth, established in 1992 also started tapping into Bareilvi

families for most of its funding. The madrasah's founder and principal, Moulana Farhaad Ebrahim, told me that since 1997, when the majority of students could not afford to pay their fees, the bulk of the madrasah's funding came from donations from "Sunnī families" in Durban. Adding a degree of diversity to the funding approach, Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah established links with these families and made them familiar with the madrasah by sending their students to recite the Qur'ān at the families' homes. After having sent the students on a number of occasions to these homes, Ebrahim began approaching the families for madrasah funds. Ebrahim refers to this process as an "important public relations initiative" (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

While also having tapped into their sectarian networks for funding, some of the Deobandi madrasahs have actually set up specific committees of Muslim businessmen for funding. Mufti Bashier Amod told me that since the establishment of Madrasatul Banaat in 1990, all members of the board of trustees have provided the funds for the functioning of the madrasah. The incomes acquired from the donations given by the trustees have outweighed the income gained from the annual tuition fees (Amod interview).

The setting up of trusts for the acquisition of funds was present already with the establishment of Darul Uloom (Newcastle) in 1973. When he established the madrasah, Moulana Sema started a twenty-five man trust, with each member

having had to pay an annual membership subscription of R 2 500, around \$ 350 (Akoo interview). Furthermore, Sema began a public relations programme that still brings in substantial amounts of money. Due to the fact that Sema sent many of his students to lead *tarāwīḥ*⁵⁵ prayers during the month of *Ramadhān* in various parts of South Africa, it appears as if certain people from these towns have felt indebted to the madrasah. For example, Akoo told me that the madrasah filled a big gap during the 1970s and 1980s and that it was due to this that it does not even have to approach many people for funding. Akoo said that towards the end of 2008 a man phoned him from Mooi River, a town in the Kwazulu-Natal Midlands, to say that he has R 50 000, around \$ 7 000 to donate to the madrasah. The man indicated to him that he would like to donate this large sum of money to the madrasah because in 1988 Sema sent a student to lead *tarāwīḥ* prayers in Mooi River (Akoo interview).

Underlining their close connection to people in the areas where they are situated, certain madrasahs have acquired major assistance in kind from local well-wishers. In 1997 the first classes of Darul Uloom Qadria took place in one of the houses that belonged to a local Muslim property owner in Ladysmith, Ashraf Anwari. Aleemuddin told me that Anwari did not accept any rental for the use of his house by the madrasah. When the numbers of students increased, Darul Uloom Qadria moved to its current campus in 2001. This three-story building

⁵⁵ Optional evening prayers which Sunnī Muslims perform in congregation during the month of *Ramadhān*.

with boarding and lodging facilities was built between 1998 and 2000 on a vast area of land that was donated by another Muslim businessman in Ladysmith (Aleemuddin interview). At Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah, the building for the teaching premises and for boarding was donated to the madrasah by the Arbee family of Chatsworth. In addition to donating land, local well-wishers have also donated resources to the madrasah in accordance with their regular needs. For example, when there was a need for computers in 2004, certain families donated computers. According to Khan the daily living needs of students has always been taken care of by various families residing in the Chatsworth area who frequent the madrasah's mosque. Khan said that since its establishment in 2001, people have been sending milk and rice as well as blankets and clothing (Khan interview).

This diversity in organizational methods and the links which the madrasahs have built up around South Africa and in some cases, around the world, have also affected the recruitment of students. The majority of students have been recruited through word of mouth. This method has, however, been channeled through certain informal networks which the madrasahs have had in place. At all the madrasahs I visited most students had heard about the madrasahs from friends or family members who were students.

In addition to the graduate and student network, many students have come to know about the Deobandi madrasahs in particular through the visits of the local *Tablighi Jama'at*⁵⁶ around various parts of South Africa and the world. For example, while most of its Gauteng students have heard about the madrasah from their families and friends, since 1990 the majority of Cape Town students at Tarbiyatul Banaat gained prospectus information about the madrasah from their male family members who in turn heard about the madrasah from men in the *Tablighi Jama'at* on their visits to mosques in Cape Town. Many of these men are from Azaadville and its surrounding areas. From 1994 onwards, students from countries such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia came to hear about Tarbiyatul Banaat from South African *Tablighi Jama'at* members (Ali interview).

While not necessarily gaining students through a *Tablighi Jama'at* channel, there are madrasahs who have made their presence known to people through various public activities. For example, the Bareilvi madrasah established in Newcastle in 2007, Jamia Imam Ahmed Raza Ahsanul Barakat, has gained most of its students since June 2007 due to the regular visible presence of certain staff members in so-called black townships in Newcastle. Every week since the establishment of the madrasah the founder and principal, Mufti Shamsul Haq, and two of his

⁵⁶ *Tablighi Jama'at* is a proselytizing movement that began in Delhi, India, in the 1920s and which now has operations worldwide. Founded by Moulana Muhammad Ilyas (d.1949), the *Tablighi Jama'at* places major emphasis on strengthening the faith of Muslims. This movement is promoted at most of the Deobandi madrasahs. The movement's first missionaries in India were students and graduates from the madrasah at Deoband. See Moosa, "Discursive Voices of Diaspora Islam in Southern Africa," p.50

teaching staff have been distributing food hampers to Muslim and non-Muslim families in these townships. Haq told me that when they distribute the hampers people enquire as to which organization he and his staff belong to and then they elaborate on the madrasah and invite young men to enroll (Haq interview).

Other madrasahs have mainly recruited students through various Islamic centres which they have been attached to. This style of recruitment has been more direct and official. One such example is Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah. Since it began focusing on the propagation (*da'wa*) of Islam in various African townships from 1994, the madrasah worked closely with Islamic propagation centres in Kwazulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and the Free State. Generally, after young boys between the ages of eleven and sixteen had converted to Islam for approximately two years, the centres began sending those who were interested in pursuing studies to Ashrafiyah (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

There has also been diversity and change with the recruitment of teaching staff. Certain Deobandi and Bareilvi madrasahs initially only recruited teachers from specific madrasahs in India and Pakistan. In addition to Jamiah Maseehiah, as has been mentioned in Chapter Two, two Bareilvi madrasahs in South Africa initially followed this policy of purely institutional recruitment. From its establishment in 1992 up until 2001, Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah has only employed South African graduates of Jamiah Na'eemiyah in Lahore, Pakistan, to teach.

Jamiah Na'eemiyah is a respected Bareilvi madrasah at which Moulana Farhaad Ebrahim qualified. The reason as to why this particular method of recruitment came to an end in 2001 was because after eleventh September 2001, no South Africans undertook studies in Lahore (Farhaad Ebrahim interview). At Darul Uloom Qadria all teaching staff since 1997 have been graduates of the renowned Bareilvi madrasah, Misbahul Uloom, in Mubarakpour, India. Aleemuddin is a graduate of Misbahul Uloom. Currently all twenty of the teaching staff at Qadria are Mubarakpour graduates (Aleemuddin interview).

There has been much change in this area. Since their first graduation various madrasahs have begun employing their own graduates as teachers. We recall Darul Uloom (Newcastle) and the case of its current principle, Moulana Ismail Akoo. Furthermore, between 1987 and 1990 Tarbiyatul Banaat only had male teachers. But from 1993 as the first students graduated, female graduates began teaching at the madrasah (Ali interview). Madrasah In'aamiyah also began employing graduates as teachers after its first graduation in 2000 (Desai interview). All other madrasahs, established prior to 2001, besides Maseehiah, Ashrafiyah and Qadria have followed this particular approach.

This development of a whole teaching sector is further underlined by the fact that many of the Deobandi madrasahs have consistently supplemented this approach by making vacant teaching posts known at other Deobandi madrasahs

in South Africa. At Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah there have been many teachers who had graduated at Madrasah Arabia Islamia in Azaadville as well as from Darul Uloom (Newcastle) (Khan interview). And at Jamiatul Uloom al-Islamia in the Gauteng province, most of the teaching staff since its establishment in 2001 has consistently been spread over graduates from Azaadville, Camperdown, Zakariyya, Isipingo Beach and Newcastle (Saabir Ebrahim interview).

A similar pattern is followed at the Salafī madrasah, Markaz al-Da'wa al-Islamia in Pretoria North and the Shī'ī Imamia Hawza Illmiyah in the sprawling black township of Soweto, west of Johannesburg. Since its establishment in 2001, Markaz al-Da'wa has been sending news of vacant teaching posts to the Islamic University of Medina in Saudi Arabia (Jacobs interview). The founder and principal of Imamia Hawza, Moulana Nuru Mohammad, has made information of teaching posts available at various Islamic seminaries in Qom, Iran (Nuru interview). The sectarian element of the madrasahs is still maintained through these developments in staff recruitment.

In terms of the method used for the teaching of the classical texts, the dictation approach has generally been followed. Minor changes to this have taken place at two of the madrasahs. These adjustments have, however, not shifted the intellectual engagement with the teaching material in any way. From 2004 Darul Uloom (Pretoria) started screening DVDs for History classes (Hazarvi interview).

At Jamiatul Uloom, power point presentations of classical *hadīth* commentaries such as Ibn Ḥajar's *Fath al-Bārī* were employed from 2005 since Maulana Saabir Ebrahim was appointed principal (Saabir Ebrahim interview). Interestingly, based on this form of change, both Darul Uloom (Pretoria) and Jamiatul Uloom refer to themselves as "reforming" towards an "unorthodox" approach to texts in comparison to other madrasahs.

In line with maintaining the general character of the madrasah, most of the change in the area of teaching methodology, has been focused around language. While Jamiah Maseehiah, Jamiah Mahmoodia, and Darul Uloom Qadria have since their establishment continued to use Urdu as the medium of instruction in teaching, other madrasahs have used English and Arabic. For the first two years of study, English is the language of instruction, after which students are taught through the Arabic medium. The Urdu language is still taught, but through English medium.

Jamiatul Uloom in Johannesburg has changed its method of teaching Arabic and Urdu since 2005 when Saabir Ebrahim was appointed principal. Having previously worked as a secondary school inspector for the Kwazulu-Natal Department of Education, Ebrahim introduced what he refers to as "dynamics of non-native language teaching" to the teaching of Arabic and Urdu. Ebrahim explains that these dynamics include the thematic, communicative, interactive and suggestive

pedagogical approaches. In 2005 he also added what he calls "Functional Arabic" and "Functional Urdu" to the traditional emphasis on Arabic and Urdu grammar. According to Ebrahim, the traditional emphasis on grammar equips students to read the Arabic and Urdu texts, while "Functional Arabic" and "Functional Urdu" gears students towards conversing in Arabic and Urdu. Ebrahim told me that when he introduced this change he felt and continues to feel that both emphases are important for the moulding of an Islamic scholar (Saabir Ebrahim interview).

Some of the madrasahs have also accommodated, to an extent, some of the change that has taken place in the general landscape of secondary and tertiary education. From 2000 there seems to have been a shift towards job-market education at schools. At the same time there has been rising unemployment.⁵⁷ Through introducing certain programmes to their syllabi, some madrasahs have sought to adapt to this context. Three madrasahs have introduced the teaching of secular subjects on a secondary school level. Students who enrol at the madrasahs without having completed their secondary secular education are expected to do the the secular subjects and write the South African National Matric examination.

Since 2002 Darul Uloom (Pretoria) employed local school teachers in the evenings to teach Mathematics, English, Afrikaans, Biology and Accounting

⁵⁷ Kallaway, "Introduction," p.18

(Hazarvi interview). At Nu'maniyah since 2001 and at Ashrafiyah since 2003, students without a secondary education have been sent by the administration to actual secular non-Muslim schools during the day. Madrasah classes are given to these students from the late afternoon to the evening (Farhaad Ebrahim interview). The administrators of these three madrasahs all indicated to me that these changes were brought in due to a need for students to find jobs outside madrasahs and mosques after graduating.

Jamiatul Uloom has been more direct in this regard. With a complete primary education and Matriculation Exemption as a prerequisite for admission, since its establishment in 2001 the madrasah has had a programme in place that ensures its students pursue secular tertiary degrees whilst at the madrasah. These tertiary studies are meant to ensure that the graduates are able to secure professional jobs in so-called secular fields in addition to qualifying as 'ulamā'. Saabir Ebrahim told me that since 2001 students have had to undergo career aptitude tests, after which they would enrol for correspondence degrees at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in fields such as Law, Business Science, Teaching, Engineering and Information Technology (Saabir Ebrahim interview).

It must be noted that these programmes of study have run parallel and separate to the traditional Islamic sciences. No religious dimension is added to the teaching of the secular subjects or to the choice of career, nor do the secular

subjects or career paths have any relation to the Islamic sciences. UNISA is a secular distance learning institution. It must also be noted that at Darul Uloom (Pretoria) many of the teachers employed for the secular subjects are non-Muslims (Hazarvi interview). The historical function of madrasahs as spaces from which to socialize Muslims into the traditions of Islam as interpreted by the revered scholars of the past and sectarian identity formation has not been altered by these changes.

Chapter Five

Islamic law (*fiqh*), Islamic Propagation (*da'wa*) and Changes in Student Demographics

After 1994 there has been a major degree of adaptation on the part of many madrasahs to accommodate growth beyond the needs of those whom they originally served, i.e. local Indian communities.

Through changes in student demographics after 1994, transformation has taken place in the syllabi from the original Indian Ḥanafī-based Dars-i Nizami. Firstly, the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law is no longer the only taught school. Secondly, some madrasahs have shifted from being purely geared towards producing Islamic legal scholars and theological polemicists towards training black Muslim students to serve as Islamic propagators (*dā'iṣ*) and religious leaders (*imāms*) in their local townships.

With the exception of Darul Uloom (Newcastle), prior to 1994, Deobandi and Bareilvi madrasahs in South Africa were dominated by Indian students from Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal. These students came from homes where Ḥanafī *fiqh* was practiced. The madrasahs only taught Ḥanafī texts. The male madrasahs focussed on the Nizami texts, *al-Mukhtasar* of al-Qudūrī and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* of

'Ubayd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, while female madrasahs placed an emphasis on Thanvi's *Beheshti Zewar*. Some of these madrasahs, even those established after 1994, which only have Ḥanafī students, have continued to teach only Ḥanafī texts. Since its establishment in 1987, Maseehiah has only had Indian Ḥanafī students enrolling at the madrasah and has always only taught *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya*. Boda also made it very clear to me that when teaching *hadīth*, it is only the Ḥanafī viewpoint that has been presented to students (Boda interview). At the female madrasah, Madrasatul Banaat, since its establishment in 1990, all of its students have been from Indian Ḥanafī families in the local area, Stanger. Amod told me that it is for this reason that they have always only taught *Beheshti Zewar* and sections of *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* (Amod interview). Lastly, only Ḥanafī texts have been taught at Riyad al-Salihaat since its establishment in 1998. According to the principal, Moulana Hashim, the madrasah was established and continues to serve the function of educating Muslim girls who are from Ladium. Muslims in Lodium are predominantly Ḥanafī (Hashim interview).

However, since 1994, Indian Muslims of Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal moved away from being as isolated as before from the "Malay" Muslims of the Cape. There has been an increased sense of religious exchange between 'ulamā' and Islamic organizations across this ethnic line. With this, many students from Cape Town have been enrolling at primarily Ḥanafī Deobandi and Bareilvi madrasahs in

Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal. The majority of these students are from families which practice Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*. In addition to this, the bulk of foreign students from East Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore that have enrolled at the madrasahs after 1994 are Shāfi‘īs. Many of these students enrolled due to awareness created by South African *Tablighi Jama‘at* visits to their countries, the relative ease of living in South Africa as compared to South Asia and the Middle East, and wanting to study in an English-speaking environment (Akoo interview). As a direct result of this increase and at times dominance of Shāfi‘ī students, most madrasahs have, since 1994, incorporated to varying degrees the teaching of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh* in their Dars-i Nizami syllabi. In the Nizami syllabus, only Ḥanafī texts, *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* were taught.

From 2000, when Shāfi‘ī students from Malawi enrolled, Darul Uloom Qadria started teaching students basic Shāfi‘ī rulings from the Arabic text, *Madhāhib al-Arba‘a*. This particular text covers rulings regarding ritual purity, prayers, fasting, alms and pilgrimage in the four Sunnī schools of law (Aleemuddin interview). Between 2001 and 2008, Madrasah In'aamiyah taught Shāfi‘ī rulings from this same text. According to the principal, Moulana Desai, the madrasah introduced the teaching of this text in order to “accommodate” Shāfi‘ī students from Indonesia and the Philippines who enrolled from 2001 onwards (Desai interview). In the case of Islahul Muslimaat a text authored by a non-Deobandi “Malay”

scholar from Cape Town, Shaykh Abduraghim Salie, has been incorporated into the *fiqh* syllabus from 2005. While most students at Islahul Muslimaat are Hanafis from Durban, from 2005 onwards a few students from Cape Town started to enrol (Chohan interview).

With relatively more numbers of Shāfi‘ī students from Cape Town and foreign countries having enrolled since 1994, other Hanafī madrasahs accommodated more substantive change with regards to the incorporation of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*. They have introduced classical Shāfi‘ī texts to the teaching content, albeit in separate classes for Shāfi‘ī students only. At Tarbiyatul Banaat, widely used Shāfi‘ī texts, *Bulūgh al-Marām* of al-Asqalānī and *Minhāj al-Tālibīn* of al-Nawawī have been taught since 1995. It was from 1995 that Shāfi‘ī students from Cape Town, Malaysia and Thailand began attending the madrasah (Ali interview). Jamiah Mahmoodia, which has been teaching the full Dars-i Nizami syllabus, also introduced these texts in 1995 with the increase in students from Cape Town and Thailand (Rahim interview). Darul Uloom (Pretoria) began teaching these two texts since the first Shāfi‘ī students came to the madrasah from Cape Town in 1990 (Hazarvi interview). *Bulūgh al-Marām* is a compilation of *aḥadīth* which support the Shāfi‘ī position on issues relating to water, cleanliness, prayers, fasting, alms, pilgrimage, funerals, business transactions, marriage,

punishments, rules of war, food, oaths and vows, and the emancipation of slaves.⁵⁸

Compared to other madrasahs, Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah has brought further transformation to the traditional Dars-i Nizami emphasis on Ḥanafī *fiqh* through a gradual evolution in the teaching of Shāfi'ī *fiqh*. By 2005 Nu'maniyah began teaching classical Shāfi'ī texts to all its Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī students alongside the Nizami Ḥanafī texts. When the madrasah was established in 2001, only Indian students with Ḥanafī backgrounds from Chatsworth attended the madrasah. So for the first year, only *al-Mukhtasar* and *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* formed part of the *fiqh* syllabus. Thereafter, between 2002 and 2004, with many students from Tanzania, Kenya and Cape Town enrolling, *Bulūgh al-Marām* and *Minhāj al-Tālibīn* began to be taught to the Shāfi'ī students. By 2005, the numbers of Shāfi'ī students from Tanzania rose to much more than the local Ḥanafī students. From 2005 two additional Shāfi'ī classical Arabic texts, *al-Iqnā'* of Shams al-Dīn al-Sharbīnī (d.1569) and *al-Matn Ghayāt al-Taqrīb* of Abū Shujā' al-Asbahānī (d.1095) were introduced into the syllabus and taught to all students alongside the Ḥanafī texts (Khan interview).

The teaching of Shāfi'ī texts and the presence of many Shāfi'ī students at Nu'maniyah has even impacted on discussions in the *hadīth* classes. According to

⁵⁸ al-Asqalānī, *Bulūgh al-Marām min 'Adilat al-Aḥkām*, p.2

Khan, in *ḥadīth* classes, since 2006, Ḥanafī and Shāfi‘ī students have often debated around the validity of various rulings of these two schools. Teachers have always encouraged these debates (Khan interview).

At Darul Uloom (Newcastle), the accommodation of foreign students after 1994 has even led to the teaching of *fiqh* beyond Ḥanafī and Shāfi‘ī. In 2007, Mālikī *fiqh* was incorporated in the syllabus for Mālikī students from Algeria. From 2001 Algerian students began enrolling at Newcastle. By 2006, the number of Algerian students had increased to twenty-five. Akoo told me that in order to "accommodate" these students he appointed a Tunisian Mālikī teacher, Shaykh Faruq, in 2007, to teach the Mālikī *al-Mukhtasar* of al-Khalīl (Akoo interview). This classical text of Mālikī *fiqh* has been taught at North African Mālikī madrasahs for centuries.

It was, however, with the increasing enrollment of newly converted black Muslim students from within South Africa that a transformation away from the very Dars-i Nizami function of producing Islamic legal scholars and theological polemicists began taking place. After 1994 there has been an increase in black African conversions to Islam. Black Muslims now make up twelve per cent of South Africa's Muslims as opposed to 2.5 per cent in 1980. Many of these Muslims have had varying degrees of interaction with Indian Muslims in Gauteng

and Kwazulu-Natal.⁵⁹ Many madrasahs tapped into this relationship. Some madrasahs made it an objective to focus on recruiting and training South African black Muslim students. As a result of this, a focus on training these students to serve as propagators (*dā'is*) and religious leaders (*imāms*) in their local townships developed. This embracing of a new local reality had a direct impact on shaping the courses and teaching content at these madrasahs, albeit to varying degrees.

At Darul Uloom Nu'maniyah a new course was introduced reflecting this focus. In 2004 a three-year training course that runs parallel to its six-year Dars-i Nizami programme began. This was due to a rapid increase in South African black converts between the ages of twenty and twenty six attending the madrasah. According to Khan, at the time he felt that it would not be wise for these students to do the six-year course. His reasoning was that by the time these students graduate, they would be too old. Khan refers to the course as the “*da'wa* and *imāmate* course”. He told me that this course aims to ensure that the students have “sufficient Islamic knowledge” to propagate Islam amongst non-Muslims in their areas and to lead Muslim communities by seeing to their “basic” religious needs. According to Khan, these needs are, leading prayers, conducting marriage ceremonies, overseeing funeral arrangements and providing moral counsel (Khan interview).

⁵⁹ Vahed and Jeppie, “Multiple voices,” p.263

The syllabus for Nu'maniyah's three-year *da'wa* and *imāmate* course was shaped by its aims resulting from the scenario which the student demographics presented. No Nizami texts are taught in this course. In addition to being taught how to recite the Qur'ān, students have been taught four simple Deobandi authored texts, translated into English, covering basic aspects of *fiqh*, '*aqīda* and History. For *fiqh* in particular, an English translation of *Beheshti Zewar* has been taught (Khan interview). The other three texts are:

- *What is Islam?* by Moulana Manzoor Nu'maani, a contemporary scholar of the Darul Uloom Nadwatul 'Ulamā' madrasah in Lucknow, India. Nu'maani wrote this text in English. This text covers the basic issues of Muslim beliefs in God, the Angles, the Prophets, the Hereafter and the orthodox Sunnī view of the status of Muhammad's companions.
- *Ta'līmul Islam* by Mufti Kifaayatullah Dehlavi (d.1952), a scholar from Deoband. In addition to also covering the basic issues of belief, this Urdu text seeks to provide moral reasons for certain Islamic laws. The history of Muhammad's life and of the first four Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī are also covered.

- *Durūs al-Islam* prepared by various ‘ulamā’ of the Jamiatul ‘Ulamā’ of Kwazulu-Natal. This English text covers the basics of Ḥanafī *fiqh* and the same topics discussed in the texts mentioned above.

A *da’wa* focus as a result of increased enrolment of black converts has even led to Nu’maniyah’s counterpart in Chatsworth, Darul Uloom Ashrafiyah, eventually completely replacing its six-year Nizami course with a three-year *da’wa* and *imāmate* course like that of Nu’maniyah, but with Bareilvi texts. Between 1992 and 1998, when most of the students were Indians from Chatsworth, the Dars-i Nizami made up the core of teaching at Ashrafiyah. However, through his work as a senior member of the Sunnī Jamiatul ‘Ulamā’, Moulana Farhaad Ebrahim developed very close ties with various *da’wa* centres in black townships after 1994. Due to this connection, increasing numbers of black students began enrolling. By 1998, the number of black students far outweighed the amount of Indian students. Ebrahim told me that it was for this reason that the madrasah changed its focus away from training legal scholars and polemicists to training *dā’is* and *imāms*. So in 1999 the Dars-i Nizami syllabus was replaced by the current three-year *da’wa* course. Ebrahim made it quite clear to me that this educational change was due to a shift in focus that resulted from the new student demographics. He said: “Because from 1999 I have had eighty percent of my students being African revert, we don’t train students to become ‘ulamā’.

We train them to be *dā'īs*. And that's why we have this course" (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

Ashrafiyah's demographics-induced *da'wa* focus from 1999 determined the texts taught and the approach to these texts in this newly introduced course. With regards to language, basic conversational Arabic is taught, with no emphasis on grammar. According to Ebrahim, the lack of grammar in the syllabus is due to the fact that students are not required to read any Arabic texts, as all texts are translated into English. For *fiqh* and *'aqīda*, in the first year, *Sunnī Beheshti Zewar*, a text almost identical to Thanvi's is taught. *Sunnī Beheshti Zewar* was originally written in Urdu by a renowned Bareilvi legal scholar and polemicist of Punjab, Pakistan, Mufti Ahmad Yaar Khan Naeemi (d.1971). Then in the students' second and third years they are taught basic sections from al-Qudūrī's *al-Mukhtasar*. For *tafsīr*, Ahmed Raza Khan's text, *Kanzul Imān*, is taught. Originally written in Urdu, the text covers verses of the Qur'ān relating to basic Islamic beliefs and justifications for certain popular Sūfī beliefs and practices (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

In *hadīth*, certain texts relating to basic beliefs in the oneness of God and moral character are taught. The dominant discussions in *hadīth* classes further underline the madrasah's focus on black converts. According to Ebrahim, in most lessons, the *ahadīth* on the oneness of God are focused on. African traditional

beliefs in the power of the ancestors are critiqued with reference to the *hadīth* literature. When I first asked Ebrahim to elaborate on the syllabus, he in fact drew a direct link between the syllabus and the students whom it is aimed at. Ebrahim told me: "The syllabus is very basic. We are dealing here with revert s who came into Islam. We want them to spread Islam. That's why we take the very basics of what is required from some books. We don't go in-depth" (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

This turn to a *da'wa* focus also shaped the nature of Ashrafiyah's sectarianism. While continuing to be openly Bareilvi in persuasion Ashrafiyah has, since its focus, refrained from educating its students about the beliefs of rival sectarian groups. Students have been taught from Bareilvi texts and encouraged to participate in popular *Sūfī* practices, hold the popular *Sūfī* beliefs, respect all the companions of Muhammad, and recognize the authority of all four Sunnī schools of jurisprudence. At the same time, since the enrollment of many black students, those groups who do not adhere to these beliefs and practices or who are seen as a threat to the Bareilvi ideology in South Africa are not critiqued and no reference is made to them at the madrasah. For example, since 1998 Ashrafiyah has viewed the Shī'īs as a major threat in Durban, but Ebrahim insists that the "negatives of the Shī'ī ideology" has not been discussed at the madrasah. Students were not even told to be aware of the Shī'īs. He claims that instead,

the students are taught that Muslims ought to honour both the progeny of Muḥammad as well as all of his companions (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

While making it clear that the madrasah is Bareilvi, Ebrahim believes that due to the focus on what he calls “reverts”, it serves no purpose to discuss other groups. When I enquired from Ebrahim about the Bareilvi persuasion of the madrasah he said: “We are basically followers of Imam Ahmed Raza Khan. That’s it. We don’t adhere to the Deobandi, Salafi or Shī‘ī ideologies. But we do not make this an issue to our students. We have mainly revert. This has nothing to do with their function. I just present to them Sunnī beliefs. I don’t look at the other groups”. It must be noted that this was a historical adaptation. The establishment of Ashrafiyah in 1992 with the support of the Sunnī Jamiatul ‘Ulamā’ had a sectarian objective. It was established as the first Bareilvi madrasah in the Natal region. Its brief was to defend popular Ṣūfī beliefs and practices against perceived Deobandi attacks at the time (Farhaad Ebrahim interview).

Darul Uloom Samnaniyah, the only madrasah which was established from the onset as an *imāmate* college for black converts, has taken a similar approach with regards to Bareilvi rivals. According to Moulana Mubeen Ashrafi, the madrasah has, since its establishment in 2001, promoted Ahmed Raza Khan’s interpretation of Islam. But Ashrafi made it clear to me that those groups who “deviate from Ahlu Sunna as defined by Imam Ahmed Raza have never been

focused on or attacked". He argued that to the converts studying at Samaniyah such critiques are beyond their scope (Ashrafi interview).

Darul Uloom Samnaniyah's focus on producing *imāms* to serve basic religious functions in black townships also developed from the demographics of its students. The madrasah was established due to the fact that its first student-base was predominantly black. While running a school for the memorization (*hifdh*) of the Qur'ān in Verulam, a predominantly Indian area, from 2001, Ashrafi visited many newly converted black families in townships surrounding Verulam. As a result, most of his *hifdh* students were newly converted black Muslims. By 2006 the numbers of black students from the townships grew rapidly. Ashrafi then saw a need to establish a madrasah with a two-year course to train his students to serve as *imāms*. Underlining the very specific functions that he envisaged for his graduates, Ashrafi said: "When they finish the *imāmate* course here they must be able to lead the prayers in their mosques, give people answers on basic *fiqh* questions, make sure people are doing the basics, and say what Muslims believe in" (Ashrafi interview).

The teaching content at Darul Uloom Samnaniyah further underlines the transformation of madrasah syllabi. From its establishment in 2001, a very basic syllabus was adopted. In Arabic, the text *Minhāj al-'Arabiya* has been taught. It must be noted that the contents of this text do not facilitate any understanding

of the Arabic language. The text is geared towards ensuring proper pronunciation of Arabic letters so as to facilitate the reading of the Qur'ān. Basic *fiqh* and 'aqīda have been taught from an English translation of a renowned, but simple Ḥanafī Bareilvi text, *Qānūn-e-Shariat*. Authored in Urdu by a Bareilvi scholar from India, Moulana Qari Shamsuddin (d.1999), it covers the same issues with a similar type of simplicity as both Thanvi's and Naeemi's *Beheshti Zewar's*. Basic issues of 'aqīda such as the belief in God, the Prophets, the Angels and the Hereafter are discussed in the text. For *hadīth*, English translations of sections from *Anwārul Aḥadīth*, a text that is very similar in composition to *Mishkāt* has been taught. *Aḥadīth* related to personal piety and the virtues of Muḥammad, his companions and his progeny make up the core of this text. *Anwārul Aḥadīth* was compiled in Arabic by a Bareilvi scholar from Lucknow, Mufti Jalaluddin Rhot (d.2001). Like Ashrafiyah, sections of Ahmed Raza's *Kanzul Imān* have been taught (Ashrafi interview).

These changes have diversified the manner in which the madrasahs functioned as spaces for religious socialization and sectarianism. In the area of sectarianism, many madrasahs have often changed their areas of focus, while still maintaining an expressively polemical character in a changing South Africa.

Chapter Six

Changing face of sectarianism in South Africa

From the establishment of the first madrasah in South Africa, Darul Uloom (Newcastle) in 1973, a plethora of Deobandi madrasahs was established around the country. The very establishment of some the madrasahs under study changed the overall landscape of madrasahs to a more diverse one.

In terms of sectarian identity formation, Darul Uloom (Pretoria) was the first fully-fledged Bareilvi madrasah. It was established in 1989, at a time when the Deobandi-Bareilvi conflict in South Africa was at its peak. During the 1980s, Deobandi attacks had heightened against popular Sufi practices such as the visitation to shrines of Sufi saints, the celebration of Muhammad's birth (*mawlid*), and against beliefs in the intercession of Sufi saints (*tawassul*). These attacks were followed by the defence of these beliefs and practices as well as condemnations of the Deobandis by their Bareilvi counterparts.

South African Bareilvi 'ulamā' like Moulana Abdul Hadi al-Qadri, Moulana Ahmed Mukaddam, Moulana Abdul Hameed Palmer Razavi, and Moulana Abdur Rauf Soofie, not only attempted to defend the ideas of Ahmed Raza Khan, but were disparaging of Deobandi ideas. To carry their message nationally they formed

the Ahle Sunnat al-Jamaat of South Africa in May 1984. From 1985 onwards they held various awareness meetings around the country for this purpose. According to Vahed, by calling themselves "Sunnī Muslims", they were declaring that they, rather than the Deobandis, were following the practices legitimized in the Qur'ān and Sunna; further that they were in the mainstream of Islam and were not a minor regional sect of South Asia.⁶⁰

The context of sectarianism within which Darul Uloom (Pretoria) begun was even characterised by violent confrontation and court battles. For example, a *mawlid* celebration organized by the Ahle Sunnat al-Jamaat in Azaadville, Transvaal province in March 1987 was disrupted by the Deobandis, led by the principal of the Madrasah Arabia Islamia, Moulana Abdul Hameed Ishaq. In the weeks preceding the occasion, Deobandis declared the celebration *bid'a* (innovation) and *shirk* (idolatry), and urged Muslims to boycott it. A petition containing 1500 signatures, calling on the local city council to ban the ceremony, was turned down. While the *mawlid* was in progress, several hundred Deobandis entered the hall and disrupted the function. During the altercation, 55-year old Sheik Mohideen Saib was killed and six others badly injured, while cauldrons of food prepared for the event was thrown onto the floor. A protest meeting in Durban by the Ahle Sunnat al Jamaat drew 3000 supporters. Following condemnation of the violence, the Bareilvi 'ulamā' sent a telex to the Apartheid Law and Order

⁶⁰ Vahed, "Contesting 'Orthodoxy': The Tablighi-Sunni Conflict among South African Muslims in the 1970s and 1980s," p.320

Minister Adrian Vlok, bearing 7000 signatures, asking for a judicial inquiry. A judicial inquiry soon took place.⁶¹

The very reasons given by the patron of Darul Uloom (Pretoria), Moulana Haseenudin Shah al-Qadri Razavi, for its establishment were directly related to this heightened South Asian sectarian conflict and identities that had been entrenched in the South African Indian Muslim community. According to Haseenudin Shah, there was a great need for a "Sunni" madrasah that followed the teachings of Ahmed Raza Khan to be established so that the needs of the "Sunni" Muslims could be served and their religious practices defended against what he referred to as Deobandi "encroachment". Haseenudin Shah is the rector of Zia ul-Uloom, a Bareilvi madrasah in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Mufti Akbar Hazarvi, the current principal of Darul Uloom (Pretoria) is a graduate of Zia ul-Uloom. Akbar Hazarvi was sent to South Africa by Haseenudin Shah for the purpose of running a "Sunni" madrasah. Ever since its first graduation in 1993, graduates have been sent to Rawalpindi to study for one year (Hazarvi interview).

The establishment of Darul Uloom Qadria Ghareeb Nawaz eight years later in Ladysmith is in tune with what we see with Darul Uloom (Pretoria). The madrasah is named after two celebrated Sufi saints, Sayyid 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani

⁶¹ Vahed, "Contesting 'Orthodoxy,'" p.327

(d.1166) who is buried in Baghdad, Iraq, and Khwaja Muinuddīn Ḥasan Chistī (d.1230) who is buried in Ajmer, India. They are affectionately referred to by their South Asian admirers as “Ghous Paak” and “Ghareeb Nawaz” respectively (Aleemuddin interview).

Darul Uloom Qadria was established when Ladysmith was gripped by Deobandi-Bareilvi conflict. In 1996, two groups of Bareilvis came into conflict with each other because one group had agreed to perform a mass *'eid* prayer with the Deobandis of the town. Aleemuddin told me that the madrasah was established because no Sunnī madrasah that was teaching the complete Dars-i Nizami at the time was responding to what he saw as a Deobandi threat to Sunnīsm. He described Sunnī and Sunnīsm as being “*Maslake Ala Hazrat*”, the ideas of Ahmed Raza Khan. When I asked Aleemuddin to elaborate on the process of Darul Uloom Qadria’s establishment, he said: “We started this madrasah to present and defend *Maslake Ala Hazrat* which is Sunnīsm” (Aleemuddin interview).

In line with the sectarian polemics of Darul Uloom (Pretoria) and actually taking this further, in 2006, Darul Uloom Qadria translated into English and published *Jā' al Haq wa Zahaqal Bāṭil*. This is an anti-Deobandi polemic written in Urdu by Mufti Ahmad Yaar Khan Naeemi. This anti-Deobandi sectarianism has also been illustrated in the syllabus. From the madrasah’s establishment in 1997, many of Ahmed Raza Khan’s *fatāwa* (legal opinions) in Arabic from his *al-Malfūzāt* have

been taught. His *fatāwa* attempting to justify the beliefs and practices which the Deobandis had condemned as well as his declarations of *kufr* (disbelief) on certain Deobandi ‘ulamā’ are particularly focussed on and promoted (Aleemuddin interview).

With the establishment of the Salafī Markaz al-Da’wa al-Islamia in 2001 and the Shī‘ī Imamia Hawza Illmiyah in 2007 we witness a different sectarian response to this Deobandi-Bareilvi polemic. There is a possibility that globalization and the development of black Muslim identities have facilitated this. Heralded by an increase in Saudi and Iranian influence in South African Muslim communities after 1994, Salafism and Shī‘ism have become growing sectarian identities amongst Muslims in South Africa, particularly black Muslims, and have in turn been attacked by mainstream ‘ulamā’.

With its focus on the teaching of core Salafī texts, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d.1791) and *‘Aqīda al-Wāṣitiya* by ibn Taymīyah (d.1255), instead of *‘Aqīda al-Taḥāwī*, inferences can be drawn about Markaz al-Da’wa being a Salafī madrasah. Given the scholars that are revered by the Salafis, in their self-definition, the madrasah can be seen as Ḥanbalī in theology. The principal and founder, Moulana Sadiq Jacobs, a “coloured” graduate of Darul Uloom (Newcastle), summed up this theological self-definition as well as what others may term the madrasah. Jacobs said: “Our ‘aqīda is Ḥanbalī. The

Deobandi Darul Ulooms in South Africa label us as Salafī and are opposed to us". Defining what this Salafī or Ḥanbalī approach is opposed to, Jacobs told me that it is the madrasah's aim to "work against *bid'a* (innovations) in belief, practice and *fiqh*" (Jacobs interview).

The Salafī trend of de-emphasizing the *taqlīd* (emulation) of the past scholars in matters of *fiqh* is also underlined by the manner in which the Dars-i Nizami texts that make up Markaz al-Da'wa's syllabus are approached. Since its establishment, all Nizami *fiqh*, '*usūl al-fiqh*', *tafsīr*, and *ḥadīth* texts are taught at Markaz al-Da'wa. But these texts have been taught without any accompanying written commentaries by past scholars. Instead, the teachers approach these texts directly. A strong Salafī approach also exists in the comparative study of *fiqh*. Rulings of the Ḥanafis are mainly targeted for critique. Many Ḥanafī rulings are generally viewed by Salafī scholars as not being derived from *ḥadīth* literature but from *qiyās* (analogical reasoning) (Jacobs interview).

The student demographics and the reasons given for them attending Markaz al-Da'wa support the idea that an increasing black critique and frustration towards having to follow an Indian Islam have contributed to the rise of Salafism and the strengthening of a Salafī madrasah in South Africa. The madrasah currently has 500 students, all of whom are black. From its establishment the majority of these students have come from various black townships in Pretoria. Some students are

from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The reasons, as claimed by Jacobs, behind many of these students enrolling at the madrasah reflect a frustration with Indian Islam. Most of the students were first enrolled at Deobandi madrasahs in South Africa. The students, however, left these madrasahs because they were disillusioned at the Deobandi madrasahs. They felt uncomfortable studying Urdu texts, focusing on Indian sectarian debates, being surrounded mainly by Indian students and having to participate in graduation ceremonies of an Indian character. Jacobs believes that it was for this reason that they enrolled at Markaz al-Da'wa. Jacobs told me that his madrasah attracts "indigenous people" because students feel that most other madrasahs are "purely based on Indian culture and students can see that this madrasah does not teach them to become Indians" (Jacobs interview).

The Shī'ī Imamia Hawzah Illmiyah, established in Gauteng's most historic township, Soweto, in 2007 by the Ghanaian-born Qom graduate, Moulana Nuru Mohammad, is similar to its Salafī counterpart. The madrasah has only had black students from Soweto, and other areas in Gauteng such as the East Rand. It has also attracted students from the provinces of Limpopo and Mpumalanga. Some of these students initially converted to Islam through the Jamiatul 'Ulamā' of Gauteng, but later adopted Shī'ism as its presence as a perceptibly non-Indian tradition in the black townships increased. With regards to financial support, Imamia Hawzah was established and continues to be sustained by black

members of Nuru's congregation in Soweto. For example, when the madrasah was established, Ali Kumane, a building contractor originally from Soweto, provided a boarding house for students, paid for their food and gave each student a monthly stipend (Nuru interview). Given the madrasah's establishment in an African township, its purely black student-base and the feeling of marginalization on the part of many black Muslims from what they often view as an exclusive South African Indian form of Islam, the rise of this Shī'ī madrasah reflects a changing face of sectarianism in a South Africa which is no longer defined solely by the theological contestations originating in South Asia.

With its establishment, Imamia Hawzah had as its central aims to ensure that the needs of Shī'ī communities are served, and the defence and propagation of Shī'īsm in South Africa. According to Nuru, the madrasah was established out of a need to see South African-born Shī'ī 'ulamā' occupying leadership positions in Shī'ī mosques in the country so as to facilitate heightened propagation work. Pointing directly to the madrasah's sectarian objective, Nuru stated in the interview: "The aim is to produce scholars who are propagators of Shī'īsm amongst the people of South Africa". Immediately after graduating in Qom, Nuru was sent to South Africa in 2004 by the Iranian government to promote Shī'īsm, particularly in townships in Gauteng. Nuru was initially employed by the Iranian Embassy in Pretoria for this purpose (Nuru interview).

Imamia Hawzah has been using the three-year *Maqta' al-Awwal* syllabus. This particular syllabus is used in the Shī'ī seminaries in Qom to prepare students for another three years of advanced shari'a studies, *Baḥth al-Khārij*. After studies in Arabic grammar for the first year, over their final two years students are taught texts authored in Arabic by contemporary Shī'ī scholars. The following is a breakdown of these texts:

- *Fiqh: Ma'rifatul Abwāb al-Fiqhīya* by Ayatollah Sayyid Rullallah Khomeini (d.1989).
- *'Usūl al-fiqh: Kitāb al-'Usūl* by Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr (d.1980).
- *'Aqīda: Durūs fil 'Aqīda* by Ayatollah Shaykh Misbah Yazdi and *'Aqīda Imāmiya* by Ayatollah Shaykh Muhammad Ridha Muzaffar.
- *Tafsīr: Ta'arruf al-Tafāsīr* by Ayatollah Shaykh Hadi Ma'rifat.
- *Tārīkh: Tārīkh al Islāmīya* by Dr. Ghulam-Hassan Muhamrami.
- *Hadīth: 'Ilm al-Rijāl* by Ayatollah Sayyid Abul Qasim al-Kho'i (d.1992).
- *Irfān* (Mysticism): *Sirāt al-Sulūk* by Ayatollah Shaykh Hassan Zadeh Amuli.
- *Falsafa* (Philosophy): *Bidāyatul Ḥikma* and *Nihāyatul Ḥikma* by Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Hussain Tabataba'i (d.1981).⁶²

⁶² The authors, for whom no date of death is provided, are still alive.

The manner in which the *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *'aqīda* and *tārīkh* texts are approached underlines the madrasah's awareness of what Nuru sees as "Sunnī threats to the promotion of Shī'ism in South Africa". According to Nuru, counter-arguments to Sunnī claims against central Shī'ī beliefs have generally made up the discussions around the texts for these subjects. Nuru claimed that this was due to what he sees as a concerted effort on the part of certain Deobandi 'ulamā' in Gauteng to attack Shī'ī beliefs (Nuru interview).

After studying these texts over three years, graduates have the option of completing advanced shari'a studies at certain Shī'ī seminaries in Qom, Iran and Damascus, Syria, with which Imamia Hawzah has official links via Nuru. According to Nuru, arrangements are in place for graduates to get funding to pursue further studies at the madrasah run by one of Nuru's former teachers, Ayatollah Sayyid Sadiq Shirazi in Qom, and at the madrasahs in Sayyidah Zaynab, Damascus, run by Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Modaressi and Ayatollah Sayyid Murtadha Shirazi (Nuru interview).

The educational relationship connects the madrasah in Soweto to the rest of the Shī'ī world and to its leadership. These three 'ulamā' are considered amongst the highest religious authorities (*marāji'*) in the Shī'ī world. Furthermore, they have officially sanctioned the establishment of Imamia Hawzah and are patrons of the

madrasah. Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Sistani of Najaf, Iraq, was also consulted by Nuru before the madrasah was established (Nuru interview).

A change in sectarian focus has also taken place with many Deobandi madrasahs. Change tends to take place when a new sectarian group occupies public religious space in South African Muslim communities. During the 1980s the focus at Jamiah Maseehiah related to critiquing the Bareilvis. The critiques were in line with the dominant Deobandi attacks at the time. Then during the early 1990s up until 2002 the focus shifted to detailed critiques of the writings of Muslim “progressive” academics such as Dr. Farid Esack and Dr. Ebrahim Moosa for what Boda refers to as the “unfettered freedom of thought which they promoted”. Esack’s and Moosa’s writings on issues of Qur’ānic exegesis and Islamic law respectively were focused on. Then from 2006 the sectarian polemics at Maseehiah shifted to the Salafis. In the teaching of *fiqh* and *hadīth*, particular emphasis is placed on conducting critiques of the Salafi’s perceived de-emphasizing of *taqlīd* (emulation). Boda told me: “We despise the Salafi’s de-emphasizing of the schools of law. We train our students in *fiqh* and *hadīth* to attack them” (Boda interview).

This same shift in sectarian concern towards refuting the views of the Salafis has taken place since 2006 at Tarbiyatul Banaat and the Deobandi girl’s madrasahs in Kwazulu-Natal. From 1987 till 1992 the sectarian polemics at Tarbiyatul Banaat

was against what Moulana Haroon Akbar Ali describes as the “innovations” of the Bareilvis. From 1993 until 2005 the sectarian focus shifted to condemning the beliefs of the Shī'is. In particular, the Shī'ī criticism of some of Muḥammad's companions and their claim that 'Alī was Muḥammad's rightful successor were focused on. *Firqa Bāṭila*, an Urdu text authored by Moulana Muhammad Yusuf Ludhianvi, was taught for this purpose (Ali interview). The text attempts to refute and condemn all the ideological groups which the Deobandis oppose. Most of the text is dedicated to discussing the Shī'ī beliefs though. Madrasah In'aamiyah in Camperdown also focussed its refutations on the Shī'is at this stage. In fact, from 2000, the madrasah began exposing students directly to Shī'ī *ḥadīth* texts such as '*Usūl al-Kāfī* of Abū Ja'far al-Kulaynī (d.941) and *al-Bihār al-Anwār* of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1698). In'aamiyah's students were instructed as to how to utilize some of these *ahadīth* to attack the Shī'ī ideology. Desai saw this “awareness of the Shī'is” as important at the time as he felt that the Shī'is were converting Sunnīs to Shī'ism in Durban (Desai interview). From 2006, as with the other Deobandi madrasahs, the focus at Tarbiyatul Banaat and In'aamiyah shifted completely to attacking the Salafī approach to *taqlīd*.

While not explicitly clear, it can be inferred that Jamiatul Uloom has also begun placing a focus on countering the Salafis from 2006. When providing me with a detailed breakdown of the syllabus at Jamiatul Uloom, the principal, Moulana Saabir Ebrahim told me that from 2006 a group that claims to be part of the

“mainstream” Muslims has risen to prominence in the Gauteng province. Ebrahim said that this particular group, which “rejects the authority of the ‘ulamā’ and goes straight to the Qur’ān and Sunna”, poses a major challenge to young Muslims. When I probed him as to the exact identity of this group, Ebrahim had the following to say: “Let us just say that they are an internal Sunnī threat and that this internal Sunnī threat is more dangerous than groups that do not claim to be Sunnis” (Saabir Ebrahim interview).

Unlike their Deobandi counterparts, Darul Uloom (Pretoria) and Darul Uloom Qadria seem not to have focussed much on the Salafīs. From Darul Uloom Pretoria’s establishment in 1989 until 2003 the main sectarian focus has been on refuting the Deobandi critiques of popular Sūfī beliefs and practices. According to Hazarvi, it was for this reason that sections in Ahmed Raza Khan’s *Kanzul Imān* that deal with these beliefs and practices were specifically focused on in *tafsīr* classes (Hazarvi interview).

This has also been the central focus since 1997 at Darul Uloom Qadria in a much more polemical manner. Qadria actually introduced *munāzara* (debating) since 2006 into the syllabus. Once a week students are divided into groups of debaters. One group of students has to pose as Deobandis and the other as Bareilvis. A topic of contention between the Deobandis and Bareilvis is debated (Aleemuddin interview).

Even the newly-established Bareilvi madrasah in Newcastle, Jamiah Imam Ahmed Raza Ahsanul Barakat, has made defence against perceived Deobandi attack its central sectarian focus. Since its establishment in 2007, the anti-Deobandi aspects of Khan's *al-Malfūzāt* have been taught. Furthermore, in January 2008, the madrasah issued a letter to the Kwazulu-Natal Jamiatul 'Ulamā' refuting the contents of one of its pamphlets. During the Islamic lunar month of *Muharram*, the Jamiatul 'Ulamā' distributed a pamphlet concerning the commemoration of the murder of Muhammad's grandson, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, at Karbala, Iraq, in 680. The pamphlet described these commemorations as Shī'ī "innovations" and called on people not to recall and mourn the killing of Ḥusayn. The principal, Mufti Shamsul Haq wrote a detailed letter to the Jamiat attempting to prove the validity of commemorating this event, based on his readings of the Qur'ān and certain *hadīth* texts (Haq interview).

Illustrating somewhat of a shift in line with the changing South Africa, from 2003 until 2008 the sectarian focus at Darul Uloom (Pretoria) has moved to Shī'ism. Four years ago the madrasah called for a debate with a Johannesburg-based Shī'ī scholar, Moulana Sayyid Abdullah Hussayni, in the Jumu'ah mosque in Laudium. Indicating that the rise of Shī'ism in South Africa is still a central concern for them, the vice-principal, Hafiz Ismail Hazarvi said: "The Darul Uloom will continue educating people about the Shī'is as Shī'ism poses a major

challenge throughout South Africa. Scholars that we produce must be in a position to counter the spread of Shi'ism" (Hazarvi interview).

Conclusion

While the features of religious socialization and sectarian identity formation, which are characteristic of madrasahs historically and globally, have generally remained at the South African madrasahs, albeit in diverse ways, certain transformations have taken place at the madrasahs in South Africa.

While these changes continue to sustain the function of madrasahs as spaces for religious socialization and sectarian identity formation, some of the changes reflect broader shifts and developments that have taken place in the South African Muslim communities and in the country. Madrasahs have adapted in a variety of ways to these broader shifts, while remaining voices of orthodoxy and tradition.

The madrasahs have taken on new ethnic dimensions, there have been developments in teaching methodology, recruitment and adaptations towards job-market education. These reflect broader changes in South Africa and its Muslim communities in particular. In addition to this, there have been shifts in the nature of religious socialization and sectarian identity formation.

The proliferation of female madrasahs, changes in teaching of specific Islamic law schools (*fiqh*), focus on Islamic propagation (*da'wa*) at some madrasahs and

the changing sectarianisms are central in underlining the adaptations on the part of madrasahs. It must be noted that I view these as changes in the nature of the functions and not as shifts away from the functions of madrasahs.

Teaching content has been transformed to a great extent for madrasahs to cater for the needs of those beyond whom they originally served. The general shift towards incorporating the teaching of the Shāfi‘ī law school for Shāfi‘ī students from Cape Town and different parts of the world at Indian Hanafi madrasahs illustrates adaptation to changing circumstances. The same can be said of the changes to a *da’wa* focus which certain madrasahs underwent due to an influx of black South African students. Also worth noting in this regard is the very proliferation of female madrasahs and the development of specific syllabi for them within the context of a gender “counter-revolution”. In terms of the changing face of sectarianism, a shift has taken place from the purely Indian Deobandi-Bareilvi focus to Sunnī-Shī‘ī and Deobandi-Salafī polemics. In the context of globalization as well as the growth of black Muslim communities, we witness the establishment of a Salafī and a Shī‘ī madrasah in the Gauteng region. With the proliferation of the Shī‘ī and Salafī trends in South Africa, the Indian madrasahs have tended to shift their sectarian focus towards countering these groups.

While these examples are indeed reflective of major transformations in the landscape of madrasah education in South Africa, in a broader sense they still fall very much under what I see as the central features of madrasah education, historically and globally. There has been no radical shift, or even a conception thereof, beyond often sectarian religious orthodoxy. Perhaps if this shift were to take place, then madrasahs would eventually cease to function.

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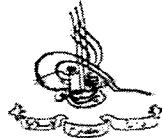
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Appendix A

Sanaad going up to Imam Bukhari (RA)



730

Darul Gloom Newcastle

CAMPUS

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Newcastle
2300

P.O. Box 1405
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2300

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والصلوة والصلوة والصلوة على سيد المرسلين خاتم النبيين
سيدنا محمد صل الله عليه وسلم وعل الله واصحابه اجمعين الى يوم الدين اما بعد
فانا المفتقر الى رحمة رب الارض من العفو والغفران فاسأل الله عاصيبين محمد بن ابي جعفر
ان قرأت الجامع الصحيح للدمام محمد بن ابي سعيد البخاري رحمة الله تعالى
واسعة قراءة على الشيخ وانا اسمع وقراءة عليه وقراءة الشيخ ملوك من العالم
الكبير المفترض الشهير الشهير المحافظ مولانا عبد الرحمن البر وهون شيخه مولانا
احمد حسن البر وهي المتوفى سنة ١٣٨٦هـ والمحض ابن البارقيين وهو عن شيخه الشيخ
مولانا قاسم الشافعي طهرو وهو عن الشيخ شاه عبد الغني وهو عن الشيخ محمد اسحاق
الذهلي (والشيخ احمد حسن ابن البارقيين وهو قد اخذ مسند الحديث من الشاه عبد
الغنى ايضاً) وهو عن الشيخ محمد اسحاق الذهلي عن الشاه عبد العزيز الذهلي وهو
من ائمه الشيخة شاه ولله الذهلي بين الشيخ عبد الرحيم الذهلي و قال الشيخة ولله
الله اخرين الشيخ ابو طاهر محمد بن الكوفي المدقى قال اخر ما في الشيخ ابرهيم انكرى المدفن
قال قرأت على الشيخ احمد الشناش قال اخرين احمد عبد القدوس ابو الواهب الشناش
قال اخرين الشيخ شمس الدين محمد بن احمد ابن محمد الطلق عن الشيخ احمد ذكري بن محمد ابيه
الذماري قال قرأت على الشيخ الماعفطى الفضل شهاب الدين المدفون على بن جعفر العسقلانى
عن ابرهيم بن احمد الشناش عن ابي العباس احمد بن ابي طالب اخينا من الشرف الحسين بن
الذماري الترمذى من الشيخ ابي الورقة عبد الدفل عيسى بن شعيب التجزى البروى من الشيخة
ابي حسن علي بن مظفر الناوشى من ابي محمد عبد الله بن احمد الشترخى من ابي عبد الله
محمد بن يوسف بن مطر بن صالح بشر القرىبي من مؤلفه امير المؤمنين في الحديث الشيخ
ابي عبد الله محمد بن اسمايل بن ابراهيم البخاري رحمة الله تعالى وسنده في كل حدث مروي
منته في صحيحه مذكور في صحيحه بحسبه الشحصل المروي على التبعى صل الله عليه
وسلم مسلم كما كثروا

غرفة الرجب المحيط ١٤٢٤هـ

Moulana C.M. Sema Saheb (RA)
Sanaad going up to Imam Bukhari (RA)

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A copy of the certificate awarded to graduates upon completion of the six-year course at Darul Uloom (Newcastle), KwaZulu-Natal by Moulana Sema. He received this certificate from the teacher under whom he read the *Sahīh* of al-Bukhārī at the Dhabel madrasah (Taken from Akoo, Biography of the Founder, p.159).

Appendix B

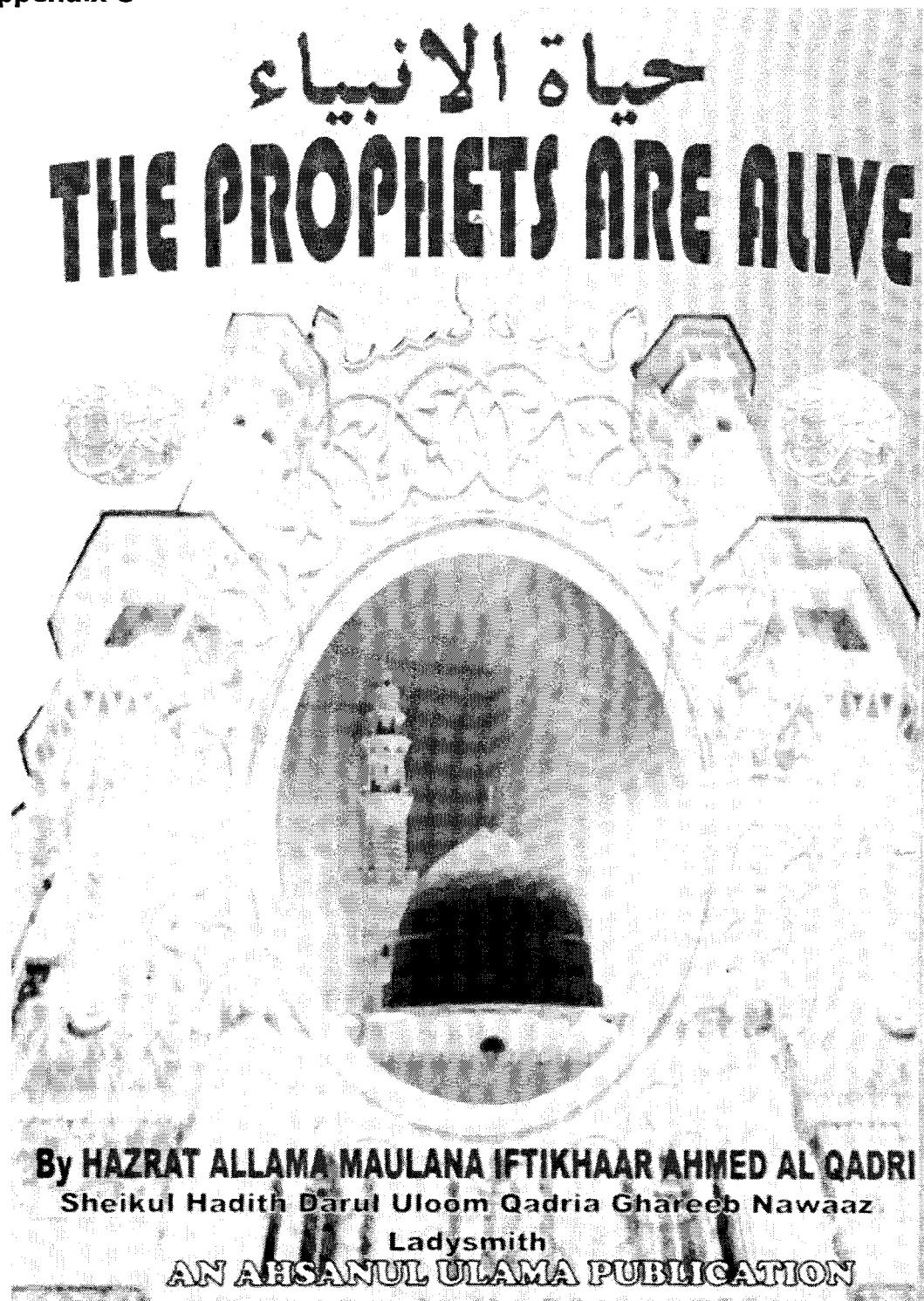
Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat



RULES AND REGULATIONS

The cover of a booklet explaining the rules and regulations to the students of Madrasah Tarbiyatul Banaat, Azaadville, Gauteng.

Appendix C



The cover of a polemical text published by Darul Uloom Qadria Ghareeb Nawaz, Ladysmith, Kwazulu-Natal. The text covers the concept of *hayāt al-anbiyā'* (The constant living presence of the Prophets). It is authored by the senior *hadīth* teacher of the madrasah, Moulana Iftikhaar Ahmed al-Qadri. *Hayāt al-anbiyā'* is a popular Sufi belief that was often attacked by Deobandi scholars and subsequently defended by the Bareilvis.