

Sufism, Orthodoxy, and Nationalism in Modern Islamic Civilization in North Africa from The 19th-20th Century

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Abstract

The phenomenon of Sufism in the tariqa movements played a significant role in Islamic reform and the growth of nationalism in North Africa from the 19th to 20th centuries. This phenomenon which started as a neo-Sufism for Islamic reform, gradually turned into a nationalist movement. Therefore, Sufism is assumed to be a part of Islam that occupies the basic component of national identity and is a symbol of the struggle for independence of Muslim countries in North Africa. This study aims to discuss "the role and influence of Sufism for the revival of Islam, resistance to Western colonialism, the role of Islamic reform, and the process of nationalism and independence of Muslim countries in North Africa." These problems are analyzed based on historical, social, and political approaches related to issues of modern civilization in the Islamic world. This research concludes that, firstly the Sufism movement in the modern period in North Africa is developed in tariqa schools located in Idrisiyah, Sanusiyah, Khatmiyah, Tijaniyah, Qadiriya, and Sammaniyah. Furthermore, the Sufism movement always shows the intertwined elements of teachings and rituals as well as the influences of social and political developments. Secondly, the teachings of the tariqa are able to increase religious awareness by fulfilling spirituality and improving people's morality, thereby developing, modifying, and actualizing leadership associated with Sufis. Thirdly, Sufism shows a very significant social force regarding the growth of nationalism in North Africa, which is used as the basis for their participation in the socio-political field, with various forms of protest or resistance. In collaboration with religious and community leaders, the leadership of the Sufis has also succeeded in bringing about the independence of national countries such as Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, and Sudan since the mid-20th century. During that time, many Sufists occupied important positions in government.

Keywords: Neo-Sufism, Religious Movements, Islamic Modernity, Nationalism.

A. Introduction

Muslims in different parts of the world experienced some historical changes from the 19th to the 20th century. These changes occurred in various aspects of life, especially in the religious, educational, social, and political fields. This was due to Islamic backwardness in respect to the progress and civilization of Europe. These declining factors and the expansion and colonialism of the West have awakened and encouraged Muslims to carry out reforms, since the beginning of the 19th century, in powerful Islamic countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, India, and North Africa. In addition, all Islamic reforms and nationalism movements continued till the 20th century and the formation of modern Muslim countries. However, each also presents different patterns of movement.

In the North African region, religious reform and the growth of nationalism displayed a distinctive pattern, while in other areas such as Arabia, these movements are oriented towards the purification of monotheism from the negative influences of Sufism and Tariqa. Furthermore, North Africa uses orthodoxy Sufism's internals as a medium for Islamic reforms. Likewise, when Turkey and Egypt reformed their socio-political sector by imitating Western modernization models oriented towards nationalism and secularism, Muslims in North Africa developed a political process based on the moral and social improvement driven by Sufis through tariqa movements. Historically, it was assumed that Sufism contributed to modern Islamic civilization.

Some of the modern-oriented Sufism movements in North Africa are described in the following outline. According to Ira M. Lapidus, in the 19th century, the majority of North Africans were Muslims. Sufism played a relevant role in organizing rural communities and legitimizing some state regimes in Muslim, rather than patrimonial, cosmopolitan, or ethnic terms. The imposition and centralization of taxes by North African countries since the late 18th

century led to the emergency of local tribal and Sufi-led resistance. Meanwhile, economic competition with Europeans further weakened the suffering of the citizens and increased internal hostility between the state and the Sufi-led tribe. Furthermore, the European-dominated areas of North African countries, namely France, attacked Algeria in 1830 and established a protective state in Tunisia and Morocco in 1881 and 1912. Meanwhile, Libya was invaded by Italy in 1911.¹ During European colonialism, the Sufism community played a relevant role by introducing changes in the structure of the Muslim society, mobilizing the masses, organizing movements, and the birth of several independent national states.

The Sufism phenomenon in the tariqa movements continued to play its role in the 20th century alongside the Islamic reform and nationalism growth in North Africa. This was also prevalent in the local sphere, which contributed immensely to the independence of the national state. Even though the ulema and Sufi groups have shown political adjustment, their resistance to Western religious and ideological challenges is still existent in collaboration with modern educated Islamic reformers. The Sufis remained careful in the absorption of Western culture by maintaining their universities, tariqa centers, and attitudes of life, they even joined modernist figures in developing and spreading nationalism in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and other North African regions. Furthermore, the neo-Sufism demonstration for Islamic reform gradually turned into a nationalist movement.² Therefore, it was assumed that Sufism is a part of Islam that occupies the basic component of national identity, provides an ideological framework, and a mass movement symbol for the struggle concerning the independence of Muslim countries in North Africa.

This study seeks to deeply investigate the historical background and the assumptions of the analysis earlier mentioned. Generally, it focuses on "the role played by Sufism for the revival of Islam, resistance to Western colonialism, Islamic reform influence,

¹ Ira M. Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam*, II, terj. Ghufuran A. Mas'adi, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2000), p. 201-202.

²John L. Esposito, *Islam dan Politik*, terj. HM. Joesoef Sou'yb, (Jakarta: PT. Bulan Bintang, 1990), p. 103-112.

and all its efforts in the nationalism and independence processes indulged by Muslim countries in North Africa." Further elaboration on these problems is guided by the following main questions, What kind of Sufism movements were developed in North Africa during the modern period? What are the contributions of Sufi groups and tariqa to modern Islamic civilization? Why is the Sufism movement oriented towards modern civilization in this region?

This study aims to map the history of Sufism, especially in the modern Islamic civilization context. This also analyzes the uniqueness of Islam in North Africa. The results are expected to provide useful knowledge of Islamic diversity and complement the modern history of Islam in North Africa, which is widely presented as part of the Islamic world historiography. The complementary function of this research in respect to previous studies is comparatively reported.

Nicola A. Ziadeh carried out the first research on the development of Sufism in North Africa in accordance with the Sanusiyah research on- "A Study of Revivalist Movement in Islam" (1983). Ziadeh emphasized the Sanusiyah tariqa, founded by Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Ali as-Sanusi (1787 to 1859 AD), popularly known as The Grand Sanusi (as-Sanusi al-Kabir).³ The Sanusiyah movement discussed in Ziadeh's study was considered a Sufism demonstration in the context of social change, including its political role in Libya and the tariqa organizational development in the 19th and 20th centuries.

According to Fazlur Rahman, the Sanusiyah, Sufism variants developed during the modern period in the North African region include several tariqa that played an important role in the African reform movements, which were generally referred to as neo-Sufism par excellence representatives. Some of the tariqa that has a wide influence is the Idrisiyah, also called Tariqah Muhammadiyah in Morocco, Rashidiyah, which is limited to only Algerians Amirghaniyah Sudan and Nubia.⁴

³ Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah: A Study of Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), p. 35.

⁴ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, terj. Ahsin Mohammad (Bandung: Penerbit Pustaka, 1984)

On Sufism, Rahman carried out a study on Sufism that was renewed in orthodoxy lines and interpreted from these tariqas' views and their religious activities.

Another study that discusses John L. Esposito carried out the relationship between Sufism and modernism in the book entitled *Islam and Politics*. It further reported that the Sufism movement in North Africa was part of the nationalism process and the formation of modern Islamic states in the 20th century. In this case, the Sufi groups participated in the current Islamic reform and Muslim political modernization processes.⁵ Ira M. Lapidus carried out a similar analysis in the book entitled *Social History of Muslims*. According to Lapidus, Sufism is an important part of the Muslim dynamics in North Africa. The tug-of-war between this movement, Muslim reformists, and secular nationalists plays a relevant role in Western colonialism, current Islamic revival, and nationalist demonstration. The role and influence of Sufism are also evident in the modernization process executed in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, as well as West and East Africa.⁶

Research complemented these studies carried out by John Obert Voll in *Islam Continuity and Changes in the Modern World* (1982). Voll stated that towards the end of the 18th century, major religious organizational activities were performed in the Muslim regions of Africa. This led to the emergence of new religious tariqas that revitalized and echoed neo-Sufism thoughts. As the military rulers applied more pressure on their demands, the Sufi fraternity served as a catalyst for the population's displeasure. It provided various forms of religious interpretation for anti-Turkish sentiments. Several prominent tariqas depict the ties between Algeria, Morocco, and the neo-Sufism world. In addition, the revivalist Islamic activism spirit emerged in the mid-19th century. However, their social movements also had the potential to fight against European colonialism.⁷

These preliminary studies serve as references in this research because their analysis was based on the Sufism movement in the

⁵ Esposito, *Islam dan Politik*, p. 105-112.

⁶ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial*, p. 201-250.

⁷ John Obert Voll, *Politik Islam: Kelangsungan dan Perubahan di Dunia Modern*, terj. Ajat Sudrajat, (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 2001), p. 108.

North African region. Additionally, the discussion was expanded to include the old (traditional) Sufism and its contributions to the nationalism growth and the independence process of modern states in North Africa. Esposito makes provision for the role of the Sufis to be broadly and deeply explored. Likewise, Lapidus generally focuses on Sufism development concerning the Muslim social dynamics. However, no attention has been paid to the teachings of Sufism. Therefore, this research attempts to complement the previous studies by explaining neo-Sufism features with respect to the teachings and thoughts of modern-oriented movements.

B. Method

This study is centered on the modern history of Islam. Therefore, apart from adopting a historical method, social and political approaches were also used, particularly in relation to modern civilization issues in the Islamic world. The conceptual and theoretical framework that serves as a reference is further reported as follows.

Generally, Sufism is an aspect of Islamic esotericism that emphasizes cleanliness and purity of heart. Sufis perform several worship activities in order to develop a close relationship with as well as gain Allah's pleasure or approval in order to achieve ma'rifat. Sufism behavior is a religious model that grows in respect to appreciating Islam. However, in this study, it is understood as a religious pattern that is developed in accordance with the role played by Sufis or tariqa teachers in North Africa. Based on this, they have created various religious, socio-cultural, and socio-political patterns through tariqa communities.

In accordance with this terminology, tariqa, as defined by Trimmingham, is a practical method adopted by Sufis in guiding students to feel the essence of God.⁸ However, it is also commonly associated with the name of the Sufism tariqa, which is evident in the Sufi teachers' (also called sheikhs or murshids) activities, including encouraging students to engage in spiritual exercises (Riyadh). These

⁸ J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 3-4

patterns of teacher-student relationships are regarded as social forms in this community. The Sufis play a major role in determining the students' spiritual ability, and assuming any of them is deemed to possess certain capabilities. They have the right to occupy the caliph (substitute or deputy) to convey the teacher's methods.⁹ On the contrary, the tariqa students from various walks of life are usually followers of the Sufis, and they are regarded as supporters of this movement. Therefore, the main focus is based on the fact that in North Africa, the Sufis have the potential to perform the tariqa and socio-religious functions. Furthermore, Sufism in terms of development is in accordance with the various roles played by the different religious beliefs, leadership, and social followers.

Based on charismatic leadership, for example, the Sufis were able to develop Sufism teachings that persisted in a secular society. These positions are usually associated with historians or sociologists that tend to adopt religious-political function as a tool for minorities to fight, protest, and criticize politics. In order to understand the distinctive aspect of the Sufi movement, particularly their socio-political role, there is a need to examine the social environment in which its influence is exerted, the specific bearers' characteristics related to their ideologies, and the events that shape religious movements. Furthermore, the disparity between development and the nature of Sufism is examined through formative responses aimed at the social framework adopted by the Sufis to formulate doctrines and tariqa practices.²³

The revival of Sufism is based on the Sufis' position because they always play diverse roles in society. They actively encourage changes in this field, create educational opportunities based on moral and spiritual improvement, and respond to some problems associated with the impact of modernization. Likewise, the emergence of nationalist ideas that embrace ethnic and linguistic bases for the identity and role of Sufism groups depends on local conditions. However, nationalism is developed on religious grounds. The spirit of intellectual activity developed in some areas, especially in relation to

⁹ Rahman, *Islam*, p. 194.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

modernism and nationalism, has caused several Sufi groups to develop a variety of fundamental and conservative views.¹⁰ This led to the emergence of a particular pattern in a number of areas, such as certain social conditions and the imperialist challenge nature, which gave rise to the revivalist activism that also involves reforming westernization or Islamic modernism programs. However, along with the changing orientation of modern nationalism built based on a combination of historical elements, namely, ethnicity, language, Islamic symbols, and national identity generally formed in the struggle for independence.¹¹

Therefore, the Sufism movement that adopts the flow of Islamic reformism, also known as Neo-Sufism, has contributed immensely to the birth of national political demonstrations, especially in North Africa, such as by calling for obedience based on Muslim principles that are purely religious. This movement exonerated itself from several local sects, cults, and mediators of abstract beliefs. Together with reformism, it laid the foundations for the unification process related to the populations in the national political struggle.¹² Some local Sufism groups are independent, while others are linked to larger movements through national or Muslim religious associations.

In the past reconstruction of Sufism in North Africa, the historical method was adopted. The first step was based on heuristics, especially data collection and written sources, which are carried out using document material methods.¹³ Conversely, internal and external source criticism was simultaneously carried out during the data collection process. Meanwhile, the historical interpretation procedure was carried out based on the process of written history (historiography). It was also carried out by synthesizing the facts

¹⁰ Voll, *Politik Islam*, p. 193.

¹¹ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial*, p. 520.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 524.

¹³ Gilbert J. Garraghan, *A. Guide to Historical Method*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1957); dan Sartono Kartodirdjo, "Metode Penggunaan Bahan Dokumenter", dalam Kuntjaraningrat, *Metode-metode Penelitian Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989), p.25.

obtained.¹⁴ Therefore, an interpretation mechanism was applied to the data realized from the documentary based on the research problem. These historical facts were further categorized according to the development of Sufism in North Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Besides, this reflects the historiographical outline in a logical or causal description to strengthen the conclusions of this study. Therefore, all explanations constitute a systematic discussion unit.

C. Sufism Orthodoxy Movement

Sufism communities differ according to the leadership of the Sufis, their distinctive teachings, area of distribution, and the local orientation of these movements in the North African region. Meanwhile, In Algeria, religious tariqas revitalized and developed neo-Sufism thought. An example is the Ahmad ad-Darqawi (1760 to 1823) leadership, an ascetic teacher that preached against the exploitation of traditional piety by the old tariqas. The influence of these teachings was triggered by the heavily involved in extensive political activities and had strong ties with neo-Sufism teachers in the Middle East.¹⁵

Similarly, in Morocco, the Sufis engaged in activities that took advantage of neo-Sufism thinking, namely by developing well-organized tariqa traditions. In addition, the popular associations developed in the Maghreb have significantly influenced the organizational forms adopted from this movement. Ahmad ibn Idris (d. 1837) was subsequently initiated into the popular Idrisiyah movement in North Africa. Idris' followers instituted several tariqa that played an important role in 19th-century revivalism, including the Sanusiyah, Khatmiyah, and Salihiyah in Libya, Sudan, and Somalia, respectively.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Sufism development and movement in Tunisia was led by Shaykh Mustafa ibn Azzuz (d. 1866) in the Rahmaniyyah tariqa. Based on this, religious prestige and

¹⁴ Dudung Abdurahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2019), p.116.

¹⁵Voll, *Politik Islam*, p. 108.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

kinship relations were developed to support anti-French propaganda and resistance in the Constantine region.¹⁷

Sufism in Morocco emerged several centuries before the arrival of the Europeans. The establishment of the Idrisiyah dynasty led to the emergence of Idrisyah tariqa movement, which was pioneered by Ahmad bin Idris ibn Muhammad ibn Ali. However, Ali was born in Maisur near Fez in 1760 AD. Ali studied the Qur'an, Hadith, Tafsir, Aqidah, and Malikiyah Jurisprudence, including Sufi lessons under the leadership of Abu al-Mawahib 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Tazi (leader of the Khidriyah congregation) Abu al-Qasim al-Wazir (Thariqat Sadziliyah), and Hasan al-Qina'i (Thariqat Khalwatiyah). In addition, Ali was raised in the Sufi tradition and opposed the reverence of the Maghrib saint under the guise of Sufism.¹⁸ Ali based the Sufi practice strictly according to the Qur'an and Sunnah, accepting both as *ushul* (foundation) and rejecting *ijma'* except that of the Companions, which is in harmony with the Sunnah of the Prophet SAW.

One of the tariqa developed in the 19th century was Sanusiyah. It focuses mainly on social matters and religious reforms. Furthermore, this tariqa brought about a spiritual awakening because the teachings were aimed to achieve piety and a noble heart.¹⁹ Some of these aspects are in accordance with the basic concept of Sufism, namely the struggle for spiritual cleanliness intended to lead to oneness with God. However, the Sanusiyah tariqa differs from the others in the concept of uniting with God. The other types believe that Allah is Supreme. Conversely, the Sanusiyah tariqa was never towards uniting with Allah, rather, it was based on relating to the Prophet SAW. Humans have to go through a difficult and lengthy process in achieving this relationship, namely by living a simple life and *zuhud* rejecting material aspects. Therefore, the followers of Sanusiyah tariqa need to physically and spiritually fulfill the Prophet SAW's teachings in words and actions.

Sanusi's teachings rejected *ijma'-qiyas* and followed the Sunnah, which is based on Prophet SAW and their companions.

¹⁷ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial*, p. 205.

¹⁸ J. Spencer Trimmingham, *Madzhab Sufi* Terj. Luqman Hakim (Bandung: Penerbit Pustaka, 1999), p. 117.

¹⁹ Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah*, p. 88.

Therefore, this tariqa is based on the teachings of early Islam, which are regarded as orthodox. The Sanusiyah Tariqa's goal is to unite all Muslims, thereby contributing to the spread and revitalization of Islam.²⁰ However, in order to realize this goal, Sanusi intends to eliminate all existing differences by returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah. Furthermore, the Sanusiyah tariqa's teachings practice various kinds of *wired* and *dzikir* (remembrance of Allah), which are repeatedly carried out during every meeting.

Furthermore, assuming the Islamic world witnessed the Wahhabiyyah movement that occurred in the Hijaz region in the 18th century, and then the Sanusiyyah in the form of Sufism in the North African area is similar. The initiator Muhammad Alī al-Sanūsī was known as an *ālim*, and someone to inherit the horsemanship (*al-furūsiyyah*) from their father. This skill is closely related to the art of war. The tariqa zawiyahs are mostly found in desert areas (*ṣaḥārah*) in the midst of the Bedouin community. However, there are few Zawiyah of the Sanusiyyah tariqa in the city. This is because the Bedouin people tend to be more compatible with the Sanusiyyah movement, considering that from the beginning, this demonstration was more inclined to distancing themselves from government power. Although there were certain alterations later, thereby causing this tariqa to play an important role in resisting European colonialism in North Africa.²¹

Another tariqa is the Khatmiyyah which was founded by Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani, one of the students of Sheikh Ahmad Idris, the founder of the Idrisiyyah in Mecca. Uthman was born in Hejaz and belonged to a prominent family, the Mirghani. The people of Mecca highly regarded this family because of their lineage with the Prophet. They are rich, and their descendants are great scholars. Uthman al-Mirghani's father, Muhammad bin Abu Bakr is better known as al-Mahjub al-Mirghani was a famous scholar in the Hijaz and taught many students from Central Asia, Egypt, and North Africa. Uthman became an orphan at the age of 7 years and was

²⁰ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial*, jld. 2, p. 252.

²¹ Shauqi Atallah al-Jamal, *al-Magrib al-'Arabī al-Kabīr fī al-'Asr al-Ḥadīth* (Kairo: Maktabah al-Angelo al-Misriyyah, 1977), p. 149-156.

raised by a paternal uncle named Muhammad Yasin bin Abdullah al-Majub al-Mirghani, one of the famous Sufis in Hijaz. Uthman started to learn about Sufism, especially about the Naqshabandiyah tariqa, from the uncle, and this led to the study of other famous Sufis. Some were Uthman al-Mirghani's teacher, namely Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Makki, followers of the Qadiriyyah and Syadziliyyah tariqa, Sheikh Ahmad bin Abdul Karim al-Azbaki, and Sheikh Ahmad bin Idris.²²

D. Religious Reformation of the Sufis

There was a shift in the practice of Islam in Morocco from the 20s to the 60s. The interior Sufis and urban clerics felt aggrieved by the French rulers, thereby causing the religious attention of the Moroccans to be directed towards reformism. Meanwhile, Moroccan reformers were inspired by Muhammad Abduh's ideas. In addition, an educational movement was launched in Fez, Rabat, Sale, and other cities establishing schools to teach Arabic grammar, ethics, logic, Islamic history, arithmetic, excluding modern education. The Salafists emphasized the purification of Islam, opposed the worship of saints and restrained Western culture.²³

In trying to attract followers, the Sufis adopted new social, organizational forms, which were centralized and less fragile than the classical tariqas, and also became actively involved in political affairs. They provide spiritual services and actively involve their followers in fulfilling life necessities, such as trading and establishing handicraft cooperatives.

In the 19th century, the tariqas even went as far as getting involved in political activities by representing an underground international network. They tried to protect the religio-cultural identity of Muslims before the colonial rulers that were considered

²² Che Zarrina Sa'ari, "Biografi Syaikh Mhammad Uthman al-Mirghani (1793-1852 M/ 1208-1268 H) dan Sumbangannya Terhadap Pembentukan Tarekat Khatmiyyah", dalam *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 2001, p. 21-25.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

infidels. Therefore, the tariqa activism was easily turned into a jihad movement to fight forces that are considered enemies of Islam.²⁴

Some of the aforementioned efforts further proved that the Tariqa Sanusiyah movement experienced development. It was originally orthodox and discussed only spiritual purification in terms of religion. However, it was later transformed into a tariqa that accommodates modernism by not turning a blind eye to the development of Western knowledge. Besides, the Sanusiyah tariqa rejects Western culture modernism in terms of behavior that is considered materialistic without spiritual values. It still adheres to the original teachings of its predecessor, Ali Sanusi. In addition, this does not occur in its philosophy, when there is a change rather in the leaders' attitudes towards its application.

Before the intensive reformation of Sufism in the 19th century, al-Shādzilyah, which was initiated by Abu al-Ḥasan al-Shādzulī in the 13th century, emerged as a tariqa that attempted to reform the teachings of Sufism from previous periods. The renewal (*al-tajdīd*) was carried out by al-Shāzulī based on 2 factors. *First*, regarding the basic teachings of Islamic Sufism, which is the period before al-Shāzulī, Islamic Sufism was based on *al-takhliyah* (self-cleaning) and *al-taḥliyah* (self-decoration) which were interpreted as cleansing one's heart and self from all materialist desires and disconnecting from worldly activities (*al-inqitā' 'an al-hayah*). This was further continued by adorning oneself (al-taḥliyah) with the qualities obtained from *zuhud* behavior as well as eliminating certain habits (*khark al-'awā'id*).

Second is the renewal in the form of returning Sufism to its main source, the Qur'an and Sunnah. Al-Shāzulī called for freeing oneself from getting too attached to theoretical things concerned with charity. According to Al-Shāzulī, Sufism is patiently practiced to carry out God's commands and believe in Allah's guidance. The essence of Sufism is not in external symbols and forms, rather in intentions and deeds. Furthermore, al-Shāzulī invited people to leave *al-tasawuf al-falsafi* (Sufism mixed with philosophy), which tended

²⁴ Mahrus As'ad, "Pengaruh Neosufisme terhadap Perkembangan Tasawuf dan Tarekat Modern", dalam *Miqot* Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 Januari-Juni 2012, p. 50.

to be exclusive and was only understood by certain circles. Al-Shāzūlī intended to initiate "popular Sufism" (Sufism *sha'bī*), which is able to accommodate all life problems by referring to the Qur'an and Sunnah.²⁵

At the end of the 18th century, the Tījāniyah tariqa emerged, having similar ideas with the al-Shāziliyah reform. This tariqa, which was initiated by Abū al-bbAbbās Ahmad al-Tijānwa (died 1814) in 1798, is characterized by its easy teachings and adaption to life's development. Meanwhile, the teachings are based on charity and a balance between the life of this world and hereafter. It does not call for solitude (*uzlah*) and poverty, instead, it invites one to work (*al-kasb*) as much as possible to live a decent life. This tariqa also emphasizes the fact that its followers always need to adhere to the Qur'an and Sunnah. They are known as al-Aḥbāb, meaning the initiators forbid them to follow others besides the Tījāniyah tariqa.²⁶

E. Sufis Nationalism

Ahmad Syarief then formed an army to fight back. In September 1911, Italy declared war on Libya, which by then had occupied Tripolitiana, Khums, Benghazi, and Derna. This war was divided into 3 parts, the first aspect lasted from 1911 to 1917. Additionally, in 1914, Italy had occupied most of Libya's territory. Several defeats made Ahmad Syarief quit as a political and military leader. Syarief then decided to concentrate on being a religious leader. The leadership was taken over by Muhammad bin Idris, son of al-Mahdi. This resistance shows the sense of nationalism adopted by the Sanusiyah tariqa and its followers in attacking the invaders.

The second phase, which continued till 1923, was a period of negotiation and agreement.²⁷ The third phase was from 1923 to 1932,

²⁵ Manāl Abdul Mun'in Jadullah, *al-Tasawwuf fi Misr wa al-Magrib* (Alexandria: Mansha'ah al-Ma'arif, 1997), p. 70-73.

²⁶ Muhammad Alī Muhammad 'Afīn, "al-Ṭarīqah al-Tījāniyyah wa Dauruhā al-Dīnī wa al-Thaqāfī fi Afriqiya Janūb al-Ṣaḥrā' fi al-Nisf al-Awwal min al-Qarn al-Tāsi' Ashar" *Majallah Abḥāth Kulliyah al-Tarbiyyah al-Asāsīyyah Vol 15 Number 1 2018*. p. 1057-1065.

²⁷ A. Mukti Ali. *Alam Pikiran Islam Modern di Timur Tengah*, (Jakarta: Djambatan. 1995), p. 87.

when Italy occupied Libya. It was a fierce and destructive war, which led to several casualties. Italy was able to defeat the Sanusiyah tariqa and the Bedouin people in Cirenaica, seizing some of their lands as well as colonizing their country. However, from 1925 to 1931, Italy implemented its expansionary policy and completely defected Libya.²⁸ This led to the loss of the Sanusiyah tariqa's territory. Although Libya has been controlled by Italy, the resistance was carried out as an Islamic movement with the spirit of jihad.

The tariqas of the 19th century even went as far as getting involved in political activities by representing an underground international network. They tried to protect the religious-cultural identity of Muslims before the colonial rulers that were considered infidels. Based on this purpose, tariqa activism was easily converted into a jihad movement to fight forces considered as enemies of Islam.²⁹ Some of the Fassis reformers were also from the bourgeoisie. They criticized the French government, sponsored religious reform movements, trade alliance activities, and established a nationalist newspaper.

However, between 1925 and 1926, political groups launched reforms among students and educators in several schools. In 1927, the Association of Muslim North African Students was formed and united Dahir with Moroccans. A series of joint prayers were organized, press campaigns launched, and branches of the reformist movement were established. In 1933, they organized a festival to honor the sultan as a national loyalist. Meanwhile, in 1934, a draft was presented to the sultan and French officials to abolish the rule on Moroccan soil, appoint a number of ministries, and establish an elected national council. The draft also calls for a single judicial system based on state courts and sharia. However, the French rejected this plan.³⁰

The influence of religious leaders and the formation of Sudanese nationalist groups from 1920 to 1924 caused the British to enact new policies in order to create a balance between the religious

²⁸ Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah*, p. 124.

²⁹ Mahrus As'ad, "Pengaruh Neosufisme terhadap Perkembangan Tasawuf dan Tarekat Modern", dalam *Miqot* Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 January-June 2012, p. 50.

³⁰ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial*, jilid 2 &3, p. 245.

and urban elites, thereby enhancing political trust amongst tribal and village leaders. The British reduced the scope of the bureaucracy to avoid educational contact with the urban movement and strengthened English-language learning in southern Sudan. However, in 1936, they realized that the policies enacted by the intermediary government in South Sudan were not going appropriately. Besides, by the late 30s, the Sudanese nationalist and religious groups were being established. In 1938, the Graduate General Congress was formed to give Sudanese officials a voice in the government, however in 1943, it ended up being dominated by the Mahdi's.³¹

In 1943, Tariqa Khatmiyah founded the first nationalist political party in Sudan under the name al-Syiqqah. Meanwhile, the Mahdi's group also finally established a political party called the Ummah in 1944. These 2 have always been in conflict, whereas the Khatmiyah tariqa party wanted the unification of Sudan with Egypt, the Mahdi's group wanted it to stand alone and be free from Britain. During the 1953 elections, the Sudanese community experienced a split, namely the National Unity Party, which represented the Khatmiyyah group covering urban communities and riverine areas (bordering Egypt). The Ummah Party received support from the people of Darfur, Kordofan, Blue Nile, and several areas in the south. In subsequent developments, due to Egyptian fraud, and large-scale demonstrations demanding the establishment of Sudan as a state led to its independence in January 1956.³²

Sudan is one of the bases for the spread of Sufis in Africa. This region has several developed tariqas such as Qadiriyyah, Samaniyyah, and Khatmiyyah. They started to spread in Sudan and Egypt in the early 19th century when Uthman al-Mirghani was sent by one of the teachers Ahmad bin Idris to Egypt. Consequently, from Egypt, Uthman started to spread to Sudan and other areas. These tariqas became proclaimed after Ahmad bin Idris died by combining several others such as Qadiriyyah, Naqsabandiyah, Syaziliyyah, Junaidiyah, and Mirghaniyyah.³³

³¹ Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam*, p. 476.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 477-478.

³³ Sa'ari, "Biografi", p. 30-32.

In Algeria, the Sufis and tariqa took over, when the resistance of the fighters against French colonialism started to weaken. The resistance was felt in the religious, social, and political domains.³⁴ Abdul Aziz Shahbi recorded 14 Sufi tariqas, which offered important national contributions (*daur waṭani*) in Algeria. Each Sufi association (*jam'iyah sūfiyah*) has solid ties, good financial resources, and a strong reputation, led by a well-known shaykh. Unfortunately, the French realized this threat and managed to divide the Sufis power. At the end of the 19th century, the tariqa Rahmāniyah split into 25 branches. Meanwhile, the Darqāwiyah and Qādiriyyah were divided into 8 and 6 branches, respectively.

Furthermore, France also tried to control the Sufi associations by prohibiting them from accepting or collecting donations from pilgrims. The Shaikh was also prohibited from visiting followers without permission. The French paid the Sufi leaders to call for support. Some were even appointed to lean towards France, especially Darqāwiyah and Rahmāniyah. The French also used the influence of these Sufi tariqas to call on the Algerians to support them in World Wars I and II.³⁵

The Tariqa al-'Īsāwiyah, relative to Muhammad bin Isa (d. 1524 AD), which was a branch of the Shādziliyyah fought against the French till 1842 when they occupied the Médéa territory. Afterward, the followers of al-'Īsāwiyah were considered a serious threat to France because of their high spirit of nationalism. Although the distribution of tariqa al-'Īsāwiyah is fairly even in Algeria's central, western, and eastern regions, its followers are relatively few. In 1897, its followers were numbered 3589 with only 33 women. Conversely, in 1906 there were relatively 4000 followers.

In contrast to the tariqa al-Kirzāriyyah, which was active in the corridors of Sufism and religion, it also played several social roles. Zawiyah al-Kirzāriyyah protected victims attacked during trade trips in the desert region. This tariqa is often regarded as a reference for the poor and asylum seekers. France noted that no matter the extent

³⁴ Abdul Aziz Shahbī, *al-Zawāyā wa al-Sūfiyyah wa al-'Uzābah wa al-Ḥtilāl al-Faransī fī al-Jazā'ir* (Dār al-Garb), p. 99.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 163-165.

of al-Kirzāriyyah's neutrality, they always accepted *awlād sayyidi al-shaikh's* resistance to seek asylum. This *tariqa* is known not to easily award diplomas except to followers considered to be highly knowledgeable, intelligent, and capable. The *tariqa al-Zayāniyah*³⁶ and al-Darqāwiyah (the ratio of Muhammad al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī), which is a branch of al-Shāziliyyah, are also regarded as similar. In 1888, one of its leaders, Ahmad al-Hāshim al-'Arabī in Tafilalt, Morocco, called for war against French troops.³⁷

The famous Sufi figure from the *Tariqa al-Shaykiyah* circles, Shaikh Bu 'Amāmah, also called for a revolution against French colonialism in 1881. 'Amāmah further tried to unite the tribes of *awlād sayyidi al-shaikh* (which had previously been divided) through spiritual and kinship ties by proposing cordial leadership. However, France succeeded in thwarting and isolating other *awlād sayyidi al-shaikh* groups from joining the revolution initiated by Bu 'Amāmah. However, Bu 'Amāmah continued to fight against French colonialism until he died in 1908.³⁸ Meanwhile, in 1906, the followers of Rahmāniyyah (the ratio to Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdurrahmān al-Azharī al-Zawāwī), in Algeria was approximately 133,500, and since 1830, this *tariqa* has allied itself with the Qādiriyyah to fight against colonialism and has also spread rapidly.³⁹

Ahmad bin Mustafa bin Alyawiyah al-Mustagānimī (d. 1934), the originator of the *tariqa al-'Alyawiyah* (a branch of al-Shādziliyyah al-Darqāwiyah), adopted a slightly different method from the general Sufi association in terms of spreading their thoughts and teachings. Ahmad bought a printing press for the *zawiyah* and printed leaflets about their teachings and answers to criticisms of the *zawiyah*, which was included in a weekly bulletin entitled *Lisān al-Dīn*. Furthermore, one of the most important weekly bulletins entitled *al-Balāgh al-Jazāiri* always focuses on Algerian politics and patriotism and calls for Islamic unity and national revival.⁴⁰

³⁶*Ibid.* p. 115-125.

³⁷*Ibid.* p. 151-152.

³⁸*Ibid.* p. 115-125.

³⁹*Ibid.* p. 126-132.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* p. 155-156.

F. Conclusion

Based on these analyses, the following conclusions were drawn.

1. The Sufism movement in North Africa was established in tariqa schools, especially Idrisiyah, Sanusiyah, Khatmiyah, Tijaniyah, Qadiriyah, and Sammaniyah. This movement always shows the intertwined elements of its teachings and rituals as well as influences social and political developments. It continuously changes according to the socio-political dynamics in the Islamic world. The social dynamics of Sufism always start from the teacher-student interactive process of a tariqa in accordance with society in general. However, the Sufism community plays a relevant role in religious movements for moral improvement and Islamic renewal and against socio-political challenges from Western colonialism and local government.
2. The Sufism movement in the tariqa emphasizes piety as an effect of practicing its teachings and is strictly followed by the actions of religious shari'a. The teachings provide a control function and are selective in religious actions. Therefore, Sufism has made a significant contribution to the development of religion. Its leadership, which involves developing, modifying, and actualizing the teachings of the tariqa, has increased religious awareness by fulfilling spirituality and improving people's morality.
3. The Sufism movement shows an extremely significant social force for the growth of nationalism in several regions of North Africa. Social power serves as the basis for their participation in the socio-political field with various forms of protest or resistance faced in reality. The Sufis that desire Islamic renewal accommodates each tariqa which serves as the basis for their leadership strength. Furthermore, they consider it important to fight against unjust indigenous and foreign governments. Therefore, those that dream of justice in their homeland respond positively to the Sufi movement. Its leadership in collaboration with ulama and other community leaders succeeded in bringing about the independence of national countries in Africa such as Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, and Sudan since the mid-20th century, and during that time, the Sufists occupied many important positions in government.

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