

1226

# TANGAZA COLLEGE

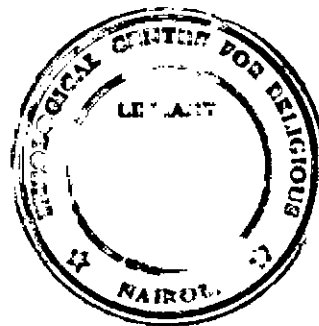
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN AFRICA

THIS IS UNCORRECTED WORK.  
IDEAS OR OPINIONS EXPRESSED  
BY THE WRITER ARE NOT NECESSARILY  
THOSE OF TANGAZA COLLEGE.

**ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN:**

**IS COHABITATION POSSIBLE?**

BY



**LOUIS TONY OKOT OCHERMOI, MCCJ**

**TUTOR: FR. RICHARD NYOMBI, M. AFR.**

OCH  
1997

# TANGAZA COLLEGE

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN AFRICA

**ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN:  
IS COHABITATION POSSIBLE?**

by

**LOUIS TONY OKOT OCHERMOI, MCCJ**

**TUTOR: FR. RICHARD NYOMBI, M. AFR.**

**This is a long Essay submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for Bachelor of Arts, Religious Studies.**

Nairobi  
17th February 1997

**STUDENT'S DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the material used here in  
has not been submitted for academic credit to  
any other institution: all sources have been  
cited in full.

Signed.....

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'John Doe', written over a dotted line.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to thank in a special way, **Fr. Richard Nyombi** His conversant with Islam brought much truth and light and wisdom to this long essay. Patient and tolerant missionary of Africa.

I would like also to thank **Fr. Pierli Francesco, Fr. Philip Sina, Fr. Gino Barsella** for their such deep and intimate concern for my work. They all encouraged me and were not hesitant in finding and sending for me some sources or directing me where to find them. They are lovers of missionary activity.

I am deeply grateful to **Deacon Stefano Giudici** and **Scholastic Jerome Anekese** for helping me in computer work. Their patience and availability have contributed for the outcome of this long essay.

I remain in your debt for the great contribution you made to this long essay.

Never look at the quality or quantity of the gift but the heart that has given it.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	ii
Table of contents.....	iii
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>1.1.1. Origin of the name "Sudan".....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.1.2. Emergence of Islam and Christianity in Sudan .....</i>	<i>4</i>
1.1.2.1. Emergence of Islam: Islamization.....	4
1.1.2.2. Attempt of Arabization and Islamization in Modern Times.....	7
1.1.2.3. Emergence of Christianity in the Sudan.....	9
1.1.2.4. Disappearance of Christianity.....	10
1.1.2.5. New Beginning for Christianity in Sudan .....	12
<b>1.2 IS SUDAN AN ARAB COUNTRY?.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.3. STATISTICS AND ISLAMIC ORDERS (TURUQ) AND SCHOOL OF LAW IN SUDAN.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>1.3.1 Statistics.....</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>1.3.2. Islamic Orders (turuq) and School of law.....</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>1.4. EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF ISLAM IN THE SUDAN .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE SUDAN.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>2.1 TOLERANCE OR INTOLERANCE - COHABITATION.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>2.2 DIALOGUE PARADIGM .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2.3 RESPONSE FROM THE CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE: SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTION OF MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP IN SUDAN.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.1. DO WE KNOW WHO IS OUR NEIGHBOUR?.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>3.2. DIALOGICAL ENCOUNTER.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>3.3. CO-OPERATION INSTEAD OF COMPETITION.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>3.4. STUDY OF THE SITUATION .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.5. CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ... ..</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.6. LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOUR .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>3.7. PRACTICAL STEPS.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>GLOSSARY .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>48</b>

## **INTRODUCTION**

Looking around us we still hear the cry for freedom from poverty, wars, political and economical torture, deadly diseases, religious conflicts and tensions. All these and many others were among the major topics discussed during the Special Assembly for Africa, of the Synod of Bishops (10th April - 8th May 1994).

Dialogue with Islam and Muslims was among the top important points for discussion and reflection. Unfortunately, dialogue between Muslims and Christians, at local level, has been very slow, hard and marred by the growing fundamentalism of Islamic groups. On the other hand, Islam with its new vitality in the world has become more aggressive, dangerous and challenging for the world, Africa and in this case Sudan. The new Islamic vitality can be seen in the Muslims' re-awakening sense of belonging to the Islamic community (renewal of Identity) and defending of Islamic faith and tradition. This in a way presents the complexity of Islam. This complexity is visible in Islam's presentation of a global project for society in which it is very difficult to separate the political aspect from the religious one. That is why any political advance of Islam in a country is at the same time a religious advance, and vice versa. Yet situations of Islam differ from country to country.

One thing we are well conversant with is the consciousness created in the Christian and non-Christian communities about the situation evoked by Islam. Its challenges has evoked conferences, documents, and working groups. All these emerge as responses to search for means of creating and promoting dialogue and better relationship between Muslims and Christians.

As a missionary and in particular as a Sudanese, I found the challenge more appealing and motivating. Together with my people we have shared varieties of experiences: experiences of discrimination, marginalisation, slavery, oppression and many others. These lengthy unwanted and loathsome experiences have moulded our attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. Some of these attitudes are positive and others are negative depending on how each individual received the challenge.

It has been challenging and taxing for me to make this choice of reflecting on the situation of my people. I count this as a bold and positive choice for interreligious dialogue with Islam and Muslims. It is also a challenge to reflect on my own Catholic traditions and

their meaning, through a general understanding of other religious traditions and in particular Islam. Therefore, the issue of dialogue with Islam and Muslims brings new light on my missionary work. In this case, if mission work endeavours to bring the Good News of the reign of God in people's lives, then there is no threat from other religions, because those religions are also part of God's reign, even outside Christian churches.

This paper thus, tries to present the actual situation lived by my people. It is not a new situation. It is a situation which has been there since the emergence of Islam in Sudan and it is even now deteriorating. The growing fundamentalistic mentality in "Islamic and Christian" communities in Sudan counts for this deterioration. The more the people become aware of the situation the more they will reflect on new ways of relating and coexisting. This then, demands every individual's involvement in dialogue and discovery of new meaning of our faith and dialogue with Islam and Muslims in particular.

This work also presents some petty suggestions for the promotion of Muslim-Christian relationship. However, it is neither exhaustive, nor does it assure the readers automatic change to the Sudan's situation. Moreover, this initiative support and contribute to the work begun by many people who have paved the way and showed that we need to be open to the challenges posed by Islam and Muslims and hence work together to find means of cohabitation.

Finally, it is yet another response and participation in the implementation of the African Synod. The participants in the Special Assembly for Africa, of the Synod of Bishops were all aware that Islam is an important yet difficult partner<sup>1</sup>. In spite of all this, there is still hope for dialogue and cohabitation and the documents on African Synod testify to this. Life without hope is no life at all. It means that the future is dull or there is no future at all. Hence it is my conviction that one day as we strive together to create a tolerant community, we shall be victorious through, with and in Jesus, who is Immanuel. Love wins all.

---

<sup>1</sup> African Synod: Instrumentum Laboris. Nairobi: St Paul Publication -Africa P. 75.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN SUDAN

#### 1.1 Historical background

What we have about the internal history of the Sudan came down to us through our contact with other nations, especially Egyptians, Byzantines and Muslims. This has been conserved in the inscriptions, writings, archaeological evidences and the oral traditions of the Sudanese people themselves.

##### 1.1.1. Origin of the name "Sudan"

The immediate concern here is first to define and clarify the term "Sudan" as understood in the past and today. According to the writings of 'Some historians'<sup>2</sup> one can conclude that the term Sudan is so vague that it could be applied to the most of Africa South of the Sahara. In fact it has been restricted to the area that stretches from the Atlantic to the Red Sea which has been islamized and in a way arabized<sup>3</sup>.

The earliest name given to us by the ancient Egyptians is "Tanehsu", the land of the Nahassi. It is equivalent to the Arabic "Bilad as-Sudan", meaning "the land of the Blacks". When the Greeks invaded Egypt they gave the synonym "Ethiopia" to the lands of upper Egypt. The Romans took over Egypt and adopted the same name. While the Arabs in their turn came and gave the country the name "Bilad al-Sudan" which is equivalent to Ethiopia. The country then came to bare the name permanently in 1898 when the Anglo-Egyptian regime reduced the term Sudan to refer to the present Sudan. We do not have any traces or clues of a name given by the indigenous people except this which was given by the 'invaders'.

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf Harry A. Gailey, History of Africa from Earliest time to 1800. Vol. 1. (New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1970) pp 49 ff. Cf. also J. Hrbek, ed. General History of Africa. Africa from the seventh to the Eleventh century. III edition, (Paris: EAEP UNESCO, 1988) pp 63-74

<sup>3</sup> The term Arabized is used to designate all that embodies being an Arab...language, culture, custom etc.

### 1.1.2. Emergence of Islam and Christianity in Sudan

The penetration of Christianity and Islam<sup>4</sup> into the Sudan came as the result of contact with other nations such as *Romans, Greeks* and *Arabs*. These nations obviously had contact with the Sudan through trade and meagre migrations from the early days. From here then, we shall treat their emergence separately.

#### 1.1.2.1. Emergence of Islam: Islamization

Africa (and in this case the Sudan), and especially the Eastern territories were known to the Arabs before the spread of Islam into the continent. The reason is that Arabia and East African territories are neighbours and so it was possible for the people of both sides of the Red Sea to get in touch and know each other through trade and small migrations in the early times<sup>5</sup>. More than the other regions of the Sudan, the eastern regions were open to such influences. The Arab elements came in small numbers depending on the emigrants. History tells us that preceding the birth of Christ groups of Himyarites<sup>6</sup> emigrated into the Sudan and settled on the *Blue Nile* and *River Atbara*. They might have even reached the Nubian land in the north and the regions of Kordofan and Darfur in the west.

However, the entrance of the Arabs into the Sudan was in two groups. There was the group that preceded the rise of Islam and the other after the emergence of Islam in Arabia. The former has no significance for two reasons: First, their numbers was small and their influence was limited to the eastern territories, and secondly they supplied no culture or religion as did the Arab Muslims. On the other hand the latter groups which entered after the rise of Islam had a great influence on the history of Sudan. For Mandour, this emigration "added a new racial element to the already existing races, supplied the country

---

<sup>4</sup> "Islam is an Arabic word and connotes submission, surrender and obedience. As a religion, Islam stands for complete submission to Allah. Unlike other religions Islam does not derive its name from its founder nor is it associated with a particular person or people or country", Cf. Abdul A'la Mawdudi, Towards Understanding Islam. (Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, Reprinted 1985), p. 17 ff. It is a universal religion. Muslims say that every creature is subjected to the law of God, and therefore all people are born Muslims and in fact all creatures created by God are Muslims. Cf. Q. 30/30:.....shows Islam as the natural religion for mankind. Cf. also Q. 42/13-15 It is a religion taught by all the prophets: e.g. Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Islam is considered to be the right path Q. 45/18 ...We set thee (O Muhammad) on a clear road...

<sup>5</sup> Mandour El Mahdi, A Short History of the Sudan, ( London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> The Himyarites are the ancient people of Southwestern Arabia, known in South Arabia as hmyrm and 'hmr and called by classical authors Homeritae. Cf. New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 6, (the Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1967), p. 1121

with a new religion, the Arabic language, and the Islamic culture. It pervaded the cultural, social and political outlook of the Sudan and connected it intimately with the rest of the Islamic World”<sup>7</sup>.

The influx of Arab Muslims into Egypt following their invasion from the Byzantine (in 641) played a great role for their in-flow into the Sudan. The Arab nomads who preferred to cling to their nomadism journeyed towards the upper Egypt and finally found their way into the northern regions of the Sudan. These became the agents of dissemination of Islam to the indigenous Sudanese.

After the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs began to pacify their southern boundaries as well as subduing the Nubian state. Their first attempt made by Amr ibn al-As (conqueror of Egypt) was less successful and insignificant for the spread of Islam. He was not interested in the Nubian Kingdoms, he instead concentrated his effort and authority on the establishment of the government in Egypt. Hence, the spread of Islam was mainly through the peaceful contacts of Arab-Muslim merchants and other Arabs-Muslims who settled and mixed with the Sudanese people. According to Lewis, these immigrants, “avoided the Nile valley fearing the Nubians who forbade unauthorised entry and the majority of the Arabs infiltrated through the eastern desert, unnoticed by the Nubians authorities”<sup>8</sup>. The massive islamization of the Nile valley happened above all from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The tribes that did not convert to Islam automatically became the targets of slavery. However, it might be true that there is hardly any evidence to prove that the Muslim governors of Egypt, with exception of a single incident in the fatimid period<sup>9</sup>, ever showed any missionary zeal towards the eastern Sudan. Their advance which was prompted by Amr ibn al-As to invade Nubia was evoked by the Nubians raids at their frontiers.

These disturbances continued as the Nubians resisted the Arabs’ army. A treaty called “Bakt”<sup>10</sup> in 651 was made between the two when Abdallah ibn Said Abi sarh became

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mandour op. cit., p. 27

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lewis, I. M., Ed., *Islam in tropical Africa*, 2nd Edition, (London: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 114

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Lewis, op. cit., 119

<sup>10</sup> ‘Bakt’, the Nubian tribute. It is probably an ancient Egyptian word meaning slave. It appears in Arabic literature as a technical term for the tribute which the Christian Kingdom of Nubia had to deliver to the Egyptian governor. This tribute initially consisted of 360 slaves but in addition 40 slaves and other rare animals like elephants, giraffes and leopard were also included. However, the Muslims were giving in

the ruler of Egypt. This treaty lasted for six centuries. It brought a cunning form of relationship between the Arabs and the Nubians. It was more advantageous for the Muslims because the tolerance and security provided by it made it more easier for Islamic thoughts to enter the country. Individuals and small groups of Arabs were able to enter into Northern Nubia through peaceful channels<sup>11</sup>. Further more, the treaty demanded the Nubians to return to the Muslims the slaves who took refuge in their land. The Nubians were to pay a tribute of 360 slaves per year. Through the treaty, the Arabs could travel to Nubian state without settling and vice versa. However, the Arabs never kept fully the treaty for long, as they eventually entered and settled in Northern Nubia.

Nevertheless, the Arabs never found it easy to penetrate into the Sudan as they were blocked by the Christian Kingdoms of **Nobatia**, **Makuria** and **Alwa (Alodia)**. Therefore, the influence of those who entered in small groups and as individuals was limited to the Northern Nubia. This went on till the ninth century. In this century the Arab Bedouins were forced by the non-Arab ruler (from the **Turkish Mamluks**) of Egypt to move in big groups upto the Northern borders of **Makuria** in search of pasture and settlement. The door for the Arabs to infiltrate into different parts of the Sudan was made more open when **Old Dongola (capital of Makuria)** fell. The treaty which had been signed before was not taken into consideration by the new rulers of Egypt. They continued to enter the Sudan as individuals and as Islamic missionaries. Christianity gradually disappeared and the Arab-Islamic element gained prevalence. The Arab groups that entered the Sudan were not all nomads, for example the **Ismaelite Quraish** who were less nomadic and cared less for pastoral life, settled in large numbers on the Nile amongst the Nubians mixing with them, while others spread into the various part of the country. Therefore, the penetration of the Arabs into the Sudan shows that they are emigrants.

Another important aspect is that the Arabs entered only the northern, the central, the western and the eastern regions of the Sudan. They mixed and intermarried with the original inhabitants of these areas. The Southern Sudan remained unaffected by the Arab blood until

---

return things like 1000 vessels of wine among many others. Thus the Nubians payment were not really tribute. Therefore Bakt was really a primitive political exchange. Cf. M. TH. Houtsma, (ed), *First Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, (New York: E. J. Brill's, 1993), pp. 608-609

<sup>11</sup> Mandour op. cit., p. 29

recent centuries. They were un-reachable due to the barrier created by the natural features. Hence, mixed-marriages is one of the factors that contributed to the gradual and present partial islamization and arabization of the country. Moreover, the Arab Muslims were able to marry from the Nubians but no Nubian were allowed to marry Muslim women<sup>12</sup>. The children born from these mixed marriages were the ones who extended the Arab race, culture and Islam.

### *1.1.2.2. Attempt of Arabization and Islamization in Modern Times*

Islamization and arabization which begun long time ago in the Sudan is perhaps not definitively a completed event. A clear proof of this in the modern time was the campaign of arabization and islamization launched by the **pro-Egyptian National Unionist party (NUP- group of Khatmiya)** just before the official independent day on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1956. This then resulted into the defection (1955-72) of the Southerners into the bush to launch a war against the Arab government of the north. Nevertheless, the following incidents<sup>13</sup> can confirm yet other landmarks of arabization and islamization:

- a) **April 1957:** Nationalization of the Christian schools (Catholic and Protestant).
- b) **February 1960:** Introduction of Friday as the day of rest instead of Sunday.
- c) **May 1962:** Passing of a law subjecting all missionary activities to the control and express authorisation of the government.
- d) **End of February, 1964:** Expulsion of all foreign missionaries from the provinces of the South<sup>14</sup>. They were seen as a blockage for the process and progress of islamization and arabization of the country. During their expulsion the motto: "One country - one language - one people" also intended to include "one religion - Islam", was used.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> According to the Islamic law (Sharia) cf. Qur'an 5/5; 2/221; 60/10, a Muslim man may marry a Christian or Jewish woman but a Christian or Jewish man can not marry a Muslim woman. A Christian or Jew who wants to marry a Muslim woman must become a Muslim. In case a Christian or Jewish woman marries a muslim she can keep her faith and practice her religion, but the children have to be muslims. However, if her husband dies she can not inherit anything unless she becomes a muslim, but the woman can inherit the properties of the husband if the husband had written a will. This double pressure causes many women to renounce their faith. Hence, this factor contribute to the islamization of many Nubian women. In some Muslim communities, pressure from the laws makes it difficult for the Muslim partner to go against it. However, not all Muslim theologians accept or recommend Muslim men to marry Christian or Jewish women.

<sup>13</sup> P. Josef Stamer, *Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa*. (Editorial Verbo Divino, 1996), pp.104-105

<sup>14</sup> The Black Book of the Sudan: on the expulsion of Missionaries from Southern Sudan. An Answer. (Italy: Istituto Artigianelli, 1964), pp. 25-27; pp. 123-125 (Author...anonymous)

- e) May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1991- New policy of arabization of education, was declared by the Minister of education and the Acting Governor at the Equatorial State Assembly
- f) The recent massive transplanting of population from their original homelands exposes the people to face the choice of converting to Islam or die of hunger or thirst.
- g) The insistence of Arabic language in schools and public institutions is vigorous too.
- h) Employment has become a bait for Muslims to fish into Islam as many people as possible.

These are but a few indisputable evidences for the implementation of the policy of arabization and islamization of the Sudan. Unfortunately, this policy does not put into consideration the Sudan's multi-cultural, religious and ethnic reality. It might be true that the Sudan is the first and so far the only country of Sub-Sahara Africa to have tried islamization by force. However, the experiment seems to be a failure.

Such situations obliges not only Christians but also other non-Muslims as well to submit and embrace Islam just for survival. It is for such reasons that the Bishops of the Sudan in one of their joint pastoral letter decided to write: *'We ... aware of the difficulties all of us meet in professing our faith in Jesus Christ at this moment, and of the challenges that whoever pledges loyalty and commitment to Christ must face, have chosen to make this pastoral letter a letter of encouragement to perseverance in the Christian faith, in the hope that we will confirm many in the faith, strengthen those who are wavering, and call back those who have lost their way'*<sup>16</sup>.

In conclusion, we can say that islamization and arabization in the Sudan have not yet ended. They are still spreading on vigorously in all directions through all possible means. Moreover, this policy should be seen in a wider context which is the new out-thrust zeal (new vitality)<sup>17</sup> of Muslims to Islamize the world of today. In fact the Sudan's policy of islamization and arabization is not solely the work of the Muslims in the Sudan but it also

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 125

<sup>16</sup> "He Should Be Supreme in Every Way". in: *L'osservatore Romano*, n. 11-13 (March 1996), p.5

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Victor Mertens S.J., *The New Vitality of Islam in Black Africa and its pastoral Implications*. (Germany: Feb. 1980)

involves the collaboration of some other Arab-Muslim countries and especially the sects to which they are closely attached<sup>18</sup>

### 1.1.2.3. *Emergence of Christianity in the Sudan*

Historians like Fr. Vantini put the emergence of Christianity in the Sudan back to the figure of the **Ethiopian eunuch** (who was an official at the royal court of **Meroe** ruled by queen **Kandake**) of the Acts of the Apostles, 8:26-39. This anonymous Nubian is said to have been the first Christian to enter Nubia (dated back to about 37 AD)<sup>19</sup>. Thus at his return to his homeland, it is assumed that he was the first evangeliser of his people. However, there is no clear evidence about it, although there is a legend found in the first writings of Origen (250 AD) that makes him the first evangelizer of **Ethiopia** which by then included the land of the Sudan.

In Church history, we learn of the two subversive *Roman* persecutions against Christianity. These persecutions contributed to the spread of Christianity into the **Nubian Kingdoms**. The first was under **Decius** in 250 AD, and the second under **Diocletian** in 297 AD. The same persecutions affected the Egyptian Christians who fled to the desert and Upper Egypt, and eventually brought them into contact with the Nubians.

However, the emergence of Christianity in the Nubian land should not be restricted solely to these persecutions. It was also brought by the Christian travellers and traders into Nubian Kingdoms. It also seems that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century there were some Nubian monks in Egypt, and during the **Arian** controversy, **Coptic Christians** fled to Nubia. Hence, monks, soldiers and merchants may have brought to their Nubians homelands the gift of the Christian faith which they had found in Egypt<sup>20</sup>. Apart from these, Christian Missionaries were sent to the Sudan by the emperor of **Constantinople**, **Justinian** and his wife **Theodora**, in the sixth century (540s)<sup>21</sup>.

The evangelisation of Nubia was affected by the theological disputes of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, which eventually resulted into the break down of the unity of the Church in the

<sup>18</sup> In Saudi Arabia: Wahabiyya, Hanafi; and in Iran: Ismailiyya, Shadhiliyya, Nasiriyya

<sup>19</sup> Giovanni Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, (Italy: EMI, 1981), p. 33

<sup>20</sup> John Baur, *2000 years of Christianity in Africa*, (Kenya: Paulines Publication-Africa, 1994), p.31-32.

<sup>21</sup> Mandour El Mahdi, op. cit. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 21

East, thus giving birth to the various Christian sects. The most significant one was that of the adherents and opponents of the **Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D.**<sup>22</sup>. The three Nubians kingdoms were evangelized by different groups. The conversion of **Nobatia** was done by the priest **Julian** who belonged to the group of anti-Chalcedon (a 'Monophysites')<sup>23</sup> and therefore they embraced Christianity according to the monophysite faith. **Makuria** which was the central kingdom was evangelized by orthodox missionaries. Through the request of the king of **Alwa, Longinus**, who was a monophysite became the evangelizer of Alwa kingdom. The three kingdoms subsequently recognised the Coptic Patriarch in **Alexandria** (Coptic-monophysites) when they were united by the kingdom of Makuria which was the central kingdom<sup>24</sup>.

Generally, the spread of Christianity all over the country and its establishment as the official religion can be dated only to 540/3-580 AD. It gradually spread to all the countryside along the Nile.

#### *1.1.2.4. Disappearance of Christianity*

There are no historical records of any official religious persecution of the Christian Nubians by the Muslims. Thus, the 'disappearance' was more of internal weakness rather than to a planned policy. In fact there are various factors both known and unknown that contributed to the gradual disappearance of Christianity in Nubian Kingdoms. In brief, we enumerate those factors which seem to be certain from the literary and archaeological sources<sup>25</sup>:

1. Lack of Institutes for the training of the local clergy.
2. The church personnel were all foreigners.

---

<sup>22</sup> The Council of Chalcedon was the Ecumenical Council convoked by emperor Marcian in 451 A.D. It was during the pontificate of Pope Leo I (440-461 A.D). They dealt with the Eutychian heresy, which affirmed that 'Christ has one nature'. The Council defined one Christ, perfect God and man, one sole being in two natures, without division or separation and without confusion or change. The union does not suppress the difference in natures. Cf. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, (The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1967), pp. 423-426

<sup>23</sup> 'Monophysites' claim that after the incarnation, Christ has only one divine nature.

<sup>24</sup> John Baur, *op. cit.* p. 32

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Giovani, op. cit.*, pp. 206-7

- 3 The liturgical celebrations as well as the dogmatic and moral instructions were done in foreign language (Greek or Coptic).
- 4 There were very few local (Nubian origin) clergy, thus when the supply of religious leaders from abroad failed there emerged inadequacy in pastoral responsibility for the Christians. In addition the priests, Bishops and Deacons were holding administrative post that made them not to dedicate themselves in their duties.
5. Evangelization is said to have been superficial in many parts of the Kingdom.
6. Some of the external (Political weakness) factors could be listed as follows:
  - a) The political unrest and the dispute that arose in the ruling family in **Dongola** led to the interference of the **Egyptian Sultan**.
  - b) The series of wars between Nubians and Mamluks (1275-1320) which led to the defeat of the later.
  - c) The entrance of the Arab nomads and their intermarrying with Nubian families counts as the most important factor. Children born of Arab-Nubian parents came into possession of all the landed property and various rights which in the Nubian system were inherited matrilineally. *Gizya*<sup>26</sup> also became a burden for many after the various defeats they had suffered. The sole solution was to become Muslim.

One might draw a quick definitive if not a prudent conclusion from these reasons that, that was the end of Christianity in Nubian Kingdom. However, historical and archaeological evidence shows that there were Christians in some areas of the Kingdom for many years after the throne of **Dongola** had passed from Christian into Muslim hands. For example, *Dotawo* is the best known Kingdom (principality): The existence of Christian kings and bishops there as late as 1484 suggest that there were still Nubian Christians about the turn of the century, 1500 AD, just on the eve of **Ottoman** conquest of **Egypt** (1517). Generally, it is not possible to give a definitive date for the final disappearance of Christianity from Nubia.

---

<sup>26</sup> *Gizya* - is the poll-tax levied by the government of a Muslim state on its non-muslim citizens. Cf. Q. 9/29 Cf. *Giovani, op. cit.*, p.207

### 1.1.2.5 *New Beginning for Christianity in Sudan*<sup>27</sup>

As mentioned above, it is in fact difficult to locate exactly when Christianity disappeared from Sudan. Nevertheless, there has been a new beginning in bringing the good news to Central Africa. This new beginning was carried out by several evangelisers.

In 1844 *Annetto Casolani* of Malta proposed to the Propaganda in Rome a concrete plan for Central African mission. He received the green light and in 1846 the Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa was officially established and entrusted to him. Though it was difficult to find personnel for this mission, he managed to get the support of a Jesuit, *Maximilian Ryllo* and two students, *Ignatius Knoblecher* and *Angelo Vinco* who eventually became outstanding figures of the mission of Central Africa. The Vicariate was wider than what he had thought.

Casolani was replaced by Fr. Ryllo after his resignation though he remained as one of the common missionaries. The mission as such was established in Khartoum in 1848 after the arrival of the expedition in Khartoum. Unfortunately Fr. Ryllo died soon after taking over from Casolani. Before his death he entrusted his powers as pro-vicar apostolic to Knoblecher.

During the office of *Knoblecher*, the missionaries reached Gondokoro near Juba in Southern Sudan. They were supported both materially and morally by an organization called *Association of Our Lady* which was founded in Austria mainly for their support.

Through the extensive exploration of Fr. Vinco, Gondokoro was officially chosen for the foundation of the first mission station in 1852. Unfortunately, Fr. Vinco died soon after the foundation of this mission. The second station was established in 1854 at Holy Cross. The mission was not all that easy as the missionaries were not spared by the murderous climate. Knoblecher was helped by the *Mazza* and *da Casoria* Institutes to educate some Africans who were sent from Khartoum to become future apostles of their homeland.

The massive slave trade which was carried out both by the Arabs and the Europeans blackmailed the missionaries. This became another obstacle for the missionaries to carry on with their tasks since the people began to identify the whites with the slave traders.

---

<sup>27</sup> This outline of "New Beginning" can be found in the book of John Baur, op. cit. pp. 171-179 and 396-399.

Moreover, another misfortune was the death of Knoblecher in 1858. With the increase of death toll the propaganda was tempted to close the mission. The Association of Our Lady in Austria managed to rescuer the mission from being closed. The missionary *Kirchner*, some priests from the Mazza institute in Verona and some Franciscans from Austria came and carried on the work of the mission. This however, brought a shift of the missionary base from former station to Egypt at Shellal near Aswan in 1860. While the stations in the south were entrusted to the catechists. The missionaries based in Egypt were to visit these stations occasionally. The future of the mission was overshadowed by these calamities.

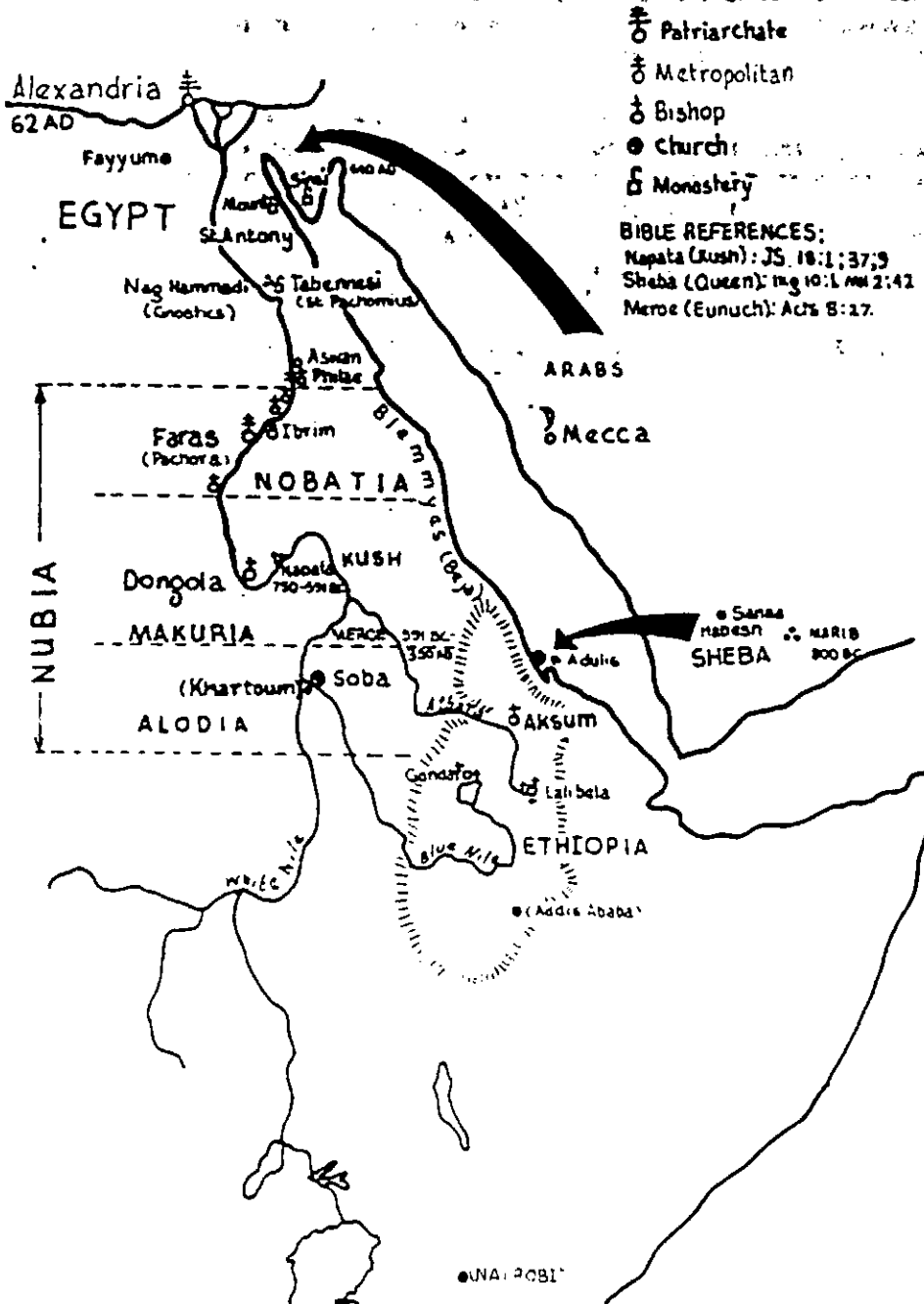
The arrival of the Austrian Franciscans Fathers of Steirmark in 1861 brought new hope for the continuation of the mission. Yet with the increase of the death toll, the Propaganda transferred the administration of the Vicariate of Central Africa to the Franciscans in the Vicariate Apostolic of Egypt in 1863. The last attempt was carried by the Franciscan Fr. Ludovico da Casoria. He took over Shellal in 1866. He later gave up Shellal when he heard that the propaganda intended to entrust Central Africa to Comboni.

Comboni, was another great figure for the christianisation of Central Africa. He entered the scene in 1857 when he joined Knoblecher in the mission of Gondokoro. He later conceived his "*Plan for the regeneration of Africa*" while praying at the tomb of St. Peter in Rome in 1864. He immediately presented it to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Alexander Barnabo and Pius IX.

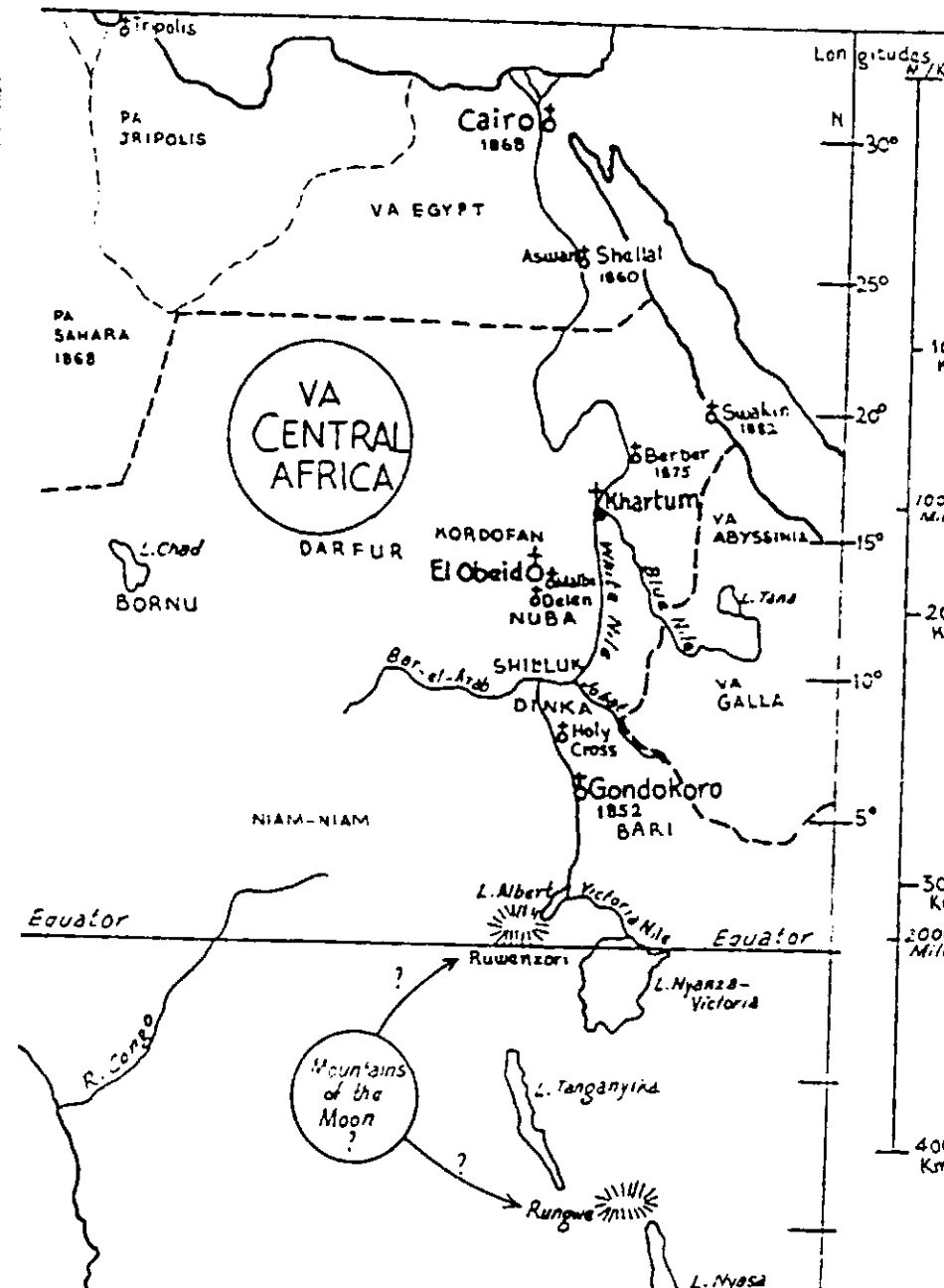
Comboni knew very well that the foreigners had little chance of escaping the climate of Africa, thus he opted for the opening of institutes where Africans can be trained to become priests, catechists, and teachers of their own people. In his mind he had the idea of "*saving Africa by Africans*". This, for him was an ideal method and solution to the problems of Central Africa.

Comboni, however was not spared by the calamities of Africa. In spite of these hardship, his missionary work was consolidated in 1872 when he was named pro-vicar Apostolic of Central Africa. Thus the missionary institute of Mazza in Verona received a papal recognition. In 1877 he was named Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa. His base in Central Africa was in Kordofan and El Obeid. In his vicariate, the co-workers were the

# EGYPT, NUBIA ETHIOPIA



# MISSIONS ALONG THE NILE 1846 - 1882



Cammilians and St. Joseph sisters. He later founded the institute of the missionary Sisters of Verona in 1872.

In due time, Rome decided to give part of his vicariate to *Lavigerie* in 1880 and this included the Holy Cross. On the other hand, the Mahdi Rebellion emerged and destroyed the stations of Kordofan, El Obeid and others two years after his death. His missionaries were all taken captives. The Mahdi Rebellion created a watershed for about fifteen years. In 1900 the Comboni Missionaries resumed their missionary activities under the leadership of Antonio Roveggio as Vicar Apostolic. However, they were joined by a group of different evangelizers. The Anglo-Egyptian government then decided to divide the region between the catholic and the Protestant societies. Thus through the effort of these groups, Christianity continued to spread to various parts of Sudan till today.

## 1.2. Is Sudan an Arab Country?

From what has been said above, it is self-evident and self-explanatory that Sudan is not an Arab country but rather an arabized and islamized country. "Despite this policy of arabization and cultural domination", says Stamer, "Sudan, while perhaps a Muslim country (70% of the total population), is not an Arab country". He goes on to state that "only 40% of the population are effectively arabized, that is to say, they speak an Arabic dialect as their first language. Thus, the choice of Arabic as the sole cultural expression is above all ideological"<sup>28</sup>.

This is a delicate and sensitive issue that often provokes bitter arguments, political unrest and conflict in the country. The common element that obviously emerges out of this is the superiority and inferiority complex, obstinacy and rigidity. As a result, this huge, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic<sup>29</sup> and multi-religious country lack tolerance, mutual understanding, communication and cohabitation.

<sup>28</sup> Josef, op. cit., p. 108

<sup>29</sup> Some of these ethnic groups are: Zande, Afukaya, Mundu, Mura, Bari (with sub-tribes), Dinka, Nuer, Shiluk, Anywak, Murle, Balanda, Jur, Lulubo, Madi, Acholi, Lokoro, Lotuho (with sub-tribes), Nuba, Mban, Jumjum, Didinga, Makaraka, Baka, Ajugu, Toposa, Boya, Dongotono, Lango, Ja'aliyyin, Beja, Baggara, Hasaniyya, Berber, Shaigiyya, Jampiyya, Rizeigat, Habbaniya, Taisha, Misseiriya, Halawin, Kawahla, Hamar, Badairiyya, Arabs, Funj, Burun, Khoma, Ingessana, Jebelawin, Tibu, Fur, Falata, Mima, Masalit, Midob, and Birqeb... etc (many are known to the author and others are inquired. It is not exhausted).

This claim affect all areas of life in the society as it include religious, political, economical and cultural aspects. It strives to submerge whatever exist in the country and is not of the Arab-origin. In the modern times as in the past, Arab is obviously associated with Islam as religion. We have heard that Arabic language can not be separated from Islam since it is the language of the Holy Qur'an. Thus, this implies the claim of Sudan as an Arab country. For example, countries like **Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria** and **Morocco** which were originally African are now Arab as well as Muslim countries, simply because of arabization and islamization that took place in the past centuries. These countries are more arabized and islamized than the Sudan. They are devoid of their origin and direct descent.

The fall of **Old Dongola** marked the final Christian Kingdom which was an obstacle to the entrance of Arabs into the Sudan. After this the Arabs entered the northern, the central, the western and the eastern regions of the country in big numbers and mixed with the original inhabitants who did not flee to take refuge in the mountains or migrate into the southern Sudan. These Arab tribes who entered the country were on different level of nomadism. Hence their various life led them to different corners of the country except the south. This mixture and intermarriages have eventually become tribes and racial groups in the north.

Today, there is no tribe in the north, east, centre, and west which can claim a pure descent from the Arab origin. "They all represent", says **Mandour**, "different scales of mixture of **negroid, Arab**, and Nubian elements." He goes on to say that "the use of the term Arabic, to describe a tribe or a section of people means no more than a tribe or section of people speaking the Arab language, practising Islam, and carrying in its veins Arab blood"<sup>30</sup>. This then implies the negation of the claim that the Sudan is an Arab country. Instead historians tell us that the inhabitants of the present Northern Sudan are an admixture of Hamites, Negroes and Arabs. The ancient inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern Sudan were direct descendants of the Hamites who were devoid of any Negroid traces.

As a matter of fact, it is difficult to find pure Sudanese inhabitants due to the great mobilities in the past and at present. These modern mobilities permit and grant easy

---

<sup>30</sup> Mandour, op. cit., p 32

intermarriages than in the past among the people of different ethnic origins. Some of the factors that led to these mobilities are employment, education, commerce, displacement and refugees cases caused by war. Hence, these days tribes and races are so intertwined that the societies are leading towards a new form of relationship.

Hence, the Sudan like any other society is moving towards a society composed of different origins. This then calls people to learn cohabitation and appreciation of each other's differences. They should allow themselves to be enriched by the values of the others. Communication and tolerance in the society in this sense becomes indispensable and significant at all levels for living together, flexibility becomes a necessity.

### **1.3. Statistics and Islamic Orders in the Sudan**

#### **1.3.1 Statistics**

We read from history that since the islamization of the northern part of Africa came about as a result of the Arab conquest, it is often thought that the spread of this religion into tropical Africa followed a similar pattern, that is, the local peoples were first subdued by the Arabs (or *Berbers*) and then forced to adopt Islam. In some regions of Africa like **Chad and Southern Ethiopia**, the conquest of the African societies by Islamized states was a significant factor for the dissemination of Islam. In Eastern Sudan, the extensive Arab settlement had been of crucial importance for the dissemination of this religion.

Unlike catholic Christianity, Islam is not a highly structured religion. One reason could be because it is a religion that can be practised privately. Secondly most of the duties can be practised at home, without the presence of the **Imam**. Yet the **caliphate** and **imamate**<sup>31</sup> are the unifying factor in the history of Islam. Further more Islam is a simple religion. A person who repeats the creed (*Shahada*: "there is no god but God (Allah) and

---

<sup>31</sup> The difference between Caliphate and Imamate goes as this: Caliph is the title given by Sunni to the successor of Prophet Muhammad hence the head of the Islamic Umma. The Sunni look to the Qur'an, Sunnah and community consensus for authority. While Imam is for the Shi'a or Shi'ite who believe that the head of the community should be a descendent of the Prophet. They also reject the first three Caliphs and the authority of the sunna. They said that Ali should have become caliph on Muhammad's death.

*Mohammed is the apostle (messenger prophet) of God*.) is a Muslim; a person who keeps the five pillars<sup>32</sup> of Islam is a good Muslim

Looking at Islam from this angle might suggest to us the possibility that it is “easier” to become a Muslim than a Christian. It is also said that all other sorts of beliefs and practices can coexist with a careful keeping of the Islamic five pillars. It seems Muslims are content to let people call themselves Muslims and leave their being Muslims to **Allah**, who alone can judge a person’s sincerity.

From this insight, we might not be puzzled to note that Sudan is among those countries with big number of Muslims (Arab and non-Arabs Sudanese Muslims). The big population of Muslims in Sudan and various countries in Africa and in other continents is a measurement for Islam’s vitality, strength and advance. In Sudan alone, Muslims are 70%<sup>33</sup> of the total population of 26,200,000 (Arabs and non-Arab Muslims) The remaining 30% is divided among the Christians, traditional religions believers and others. This population fall naturally into two great classes: a northern Muslim area and a southern Christian, and traditional religions’ area. This distinction of two areas, **Trimingham** puts it as being ‘more ethnological and cultural’ than religious<sup>34</sup>. The majority of the people in the North are Muslims and Arabic-speaking People<sup>35</sup>

### 1.3.2. Islamic Orders (turuq) and School of law in Sudan

There are many variations in Islamic beliefs and practices though most Muslims agree on the basic principles of Islam. The **Islamic Umma** splited soon after the death of Prophet **Muhammad**. The primary cause of these differences was leadership (the *Imamate* for the

<sup>32</sup> The pillars of Islam: The shahada (the confession or witness), Prayer (Salat), Alms-giving (zakat), Fasting (sawm), The pilgrimage (Haji).

<sup>33</sup> Fr. W. Schonecker, *Islamic Expansion in Eastern Africa?*, in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*, n. 451, (Feb. 1996), Nairobi, Kenya, p. 3. Cf. also Josef, *op. cit.*, pp 29 & 101

<sup>34</sup> J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, (Great Britain: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1983), Third impression, p.4

<sup>35</sup> We have to note that there are also non-Arab Muslims in Sudan as it is in other parts of the world. There are also some Arabs who have embraced other religions. These could be direct from the pure Arab family or from the family of mixed-marriage. (Cf. Max Macram - *Islam in Sudan*, in: *Encounter* n 60 (Dec. 1978-79), PISAI, Rome. Cf. also *Interreligious Dialogue in the Sudan: Can we sustain it?* in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*, n. 428, Nov. 15, 1994, Nairobi, p 3.

*Shia* or *Caliphate* for *Sunni*) of the community. The theological and dogmatic aspect of it of course can not be marginalised or neglected

It is worth mentioning that the Islam of the Sudan during the **Funj** period (the establishment of Funj Kingdom .. 16 C, 1505) was not influenced from Egypt, but from the **Hijaz** (*Arabian peninsula*), and this gave it a different tendency that endures upto this day. The holy cities (Mecca, Medina) were accessible to the Sudanese Muslims and hence the pilgrimage played a great role in acquainting the Sudanese Muslims with the centre of Islam. Through this connection saints' veneration and religious Brotherhoods entered the country. The Orders were brought by individuals without any proper organization as we know them today. These individuals gathered followers into the **Sufi path (tariqa)**<sup>36</sup> they themselves follow. It however materialised in the form of the cult of mysterious powers, now islamized in the form of **baraka**. All the Orders claim to be orthodox and the first thing the founder of an Order does is to prove the orthodoxy of the Order. For instance the claim of the law (shariah) as the starting-point of the Sufi Path would clear up suspicions. Otherwise the orthodox theologians will suspect them of schism.

#### **a) Malikites**

This Islamic school of law which is found in Sudan derives it's name from Malīk ibn Anas. He learned Hadith and Fiqh from Muhaddithin and Faqih and became a scholar of Hadith and Fiqh. He draws his teaching from the Holy Qur'an, the Sunnah and resort to al-Qiyas wherever necessary. He does not encourage power achieved by force instead he loves peace. This School of law has large number of followers in the Sudan and Egypt.

---

<sup>36</sup> Sufi Path is a mystic community begun by pious man of outstanding personality (Sheikh). He gathers disciples around him and they pledge loyalty to him and follow his teachings. They devote themselves in religious exercises and meditation Hence, claim to lead man to communion with God. At the death of the Sheikh the disciples often establish their own orders. Cf Trimmingham, op. cit. pp. 191 ff; Fazlur Rahman, Islam, 2nd edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp.156 ff; M. A. Quraishy, TextBook of Islam, Book 2, (Kenya: The Islamic Foundation , 1987), pp 244 ff.

### b) *Republican Brothers*

It is a new Brotherhood that was founded by **Mahmud Muhammad Taha**<sup>37</sup>. His main principle was the need of giving a new interpretation to the Qur'an to adapt it to our time. In his book, '**The second mission of Islam**', he explains that the revelation made to **Muhammad** during the years he was in **Mecca** (610-622 AD) was the original and genuine Islam that God gave to human beings. The aim of Meccan revelation was the worship of **ONE God**, while the revelation made to **Muhammad** in **Medina** (622-632 AD), main source of Islamic laws, were aimed at correcting the behaviour of the new born Islamic community. Therefore, the **Medina** revelation paralysed temporarily the primitive revelation of **Mecca**. The second mission consists in a return to the original and true Islam revealed in **Mecca**. Thus he revealed himself as a new Islamic thinker in the Sudan (some call him **Gandhi** of the Sudan) but was hanged on January 18<sup>th</sup> 1985 in Khartoum by the government of the former president **Nimeiri**. They accused him of destructive opinions and later of *apostasy*<sup>38</sup>. Until December 1994, the movement demanded in a pamphlet the abolition of the Islamic Law and dialogue with the South. His followers call themselves *Republican Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwanu-l-Jumhuriyyun)*. Most of his disciples are intellectuals, like **Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim**. They are mainly carrying on his work abroad.

### c) *Khatmiyya or Mirghaniyya*

The founder is **Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani** (1793-1853). He was the pupil of **Sayyid Ahmed ibn Idris**. He was initiated into various *Tariqas (paths)* and ended up in

<sup>37</sup> The Islamic State and Human Rights in Islam and in Sudan, in: *Understanding*, n. 10, (Feb. 1994), p.49. Cf. also E. Renaud, Mahmud Taha and the Second Mission of Islam, in: *Encounter*, n. 125, (May 1986), PISAI, Rome.

<sup>38</sup> 'Apostate' (Murtadd is an Arabic word for Apostate, while Ridda is for Apostasy) means 'one who turn back'. It may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Qur'an with disrespect.

In the Qur'an the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only; the 'wrath of God' will fall upon him (Q. 16/108). Cf. also Q. 3/80, 83.

In the Tradition it is, death penalty. "The blood of a Muslim may not be legally spilt other than in one of three (instances): the married person who commits adultery; a life for a life, and one who forsakes his religion and abandons the community" (Forty haddith of Nawawi no. 14). On the other hand, for the Fiqh, there is a unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only the adults (baligh) and has not acted under compulsion (Mukhtar). Instead, for women, imprisonment until she again adapts Islam (this is according to Hanafi and Shii teaching). Others like al-Awzai, Ibn Hanbal, the Malikis and Shafii's she is put to death. Cf. M. Th. Houtsma, (ed), op cit Vol 2, pp 736-738

the order of *Shadhiliyya* of Ahmed ibn Idris. His son Al-Hasan is more revered in the Sudan than himself who is the actual founder of the order. The order is very strict in insisting on the extreme sanctity of the family and prohibit affiliation to any other order or even to participate in their ritual. They uphold shariah as the only way of approaching the *Tariqas (the path)*. These two have a distinctly religio-political character.

#### d) *Qadiriyya Order*

It is an Order of dervishes. The founder was **Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani** (1078-1166) who was the principal of the school of Hanbalite law and ribat in Baghdad. It was introduced in Fez (or Fas) in Morocco by his sons, **Ibrahim and Abd al-Aziz**. The head (Khalifa) of Zawiya is hereditary but each Khalifa taught as he wishes and the organization, **dhikr** and **awrad** vary in every country. His emphasis is based on obedience to the Muslim Law and entire acceptance of Muhammad's message. **Taj ad Din al Bahari** is the probable introducer of this order in the Sudan.

#### e) *Shadhiliyya*

Shadhiliyya is another order of dervishes. It is called after **Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah ash-Shadhili** from **Tunisia**. The ultimate aim was the religious exercise called *awrad* and *adhkar*. The first group of adherents was formed in Tunisia. The shaikh permits his *Murid* to follow another shaikh if he or she found his methods more effective. The main seat of this community chiefly appear to be **Algeria and Tunisia**. It was initiated in the Sudan by **As Sayyid ibn al-Hasan al-Baiti** in the A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445). It was also brought to the Sudan by those who were taught while on pilgrimage.

#### f) *Tidjaniya*

The founder of this order is **Abu l-Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar b. Salim al-Tidjani**. It was introduced in Sudan by **Sidi Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar b. Abd ar-Rahman ash-Shangiti**. The members of the order are called *ahbab* 'friends'. The members are strictly prohibited to join other tariqa. The founder emphasises above all the need for an intercessor between God and man; that intercessor being himself and his successors. He strictly forbids his followers from invoking other "*walis*" other than those of

his order. Their most important doctrine is that of submission to the established government.

**g) Majdhubiyya**

This order started as a localised order through attachment to a *Ja'ali*, **Hamad ibn Muhammad al-Majdhub al-Kabir** (1673 - 1776), in *Damar* town. The order is seen as a model of family *tariqa*. They called themselves collectively the *Majdhib*. All the adherents have a strong belief in the localisation of the *baraka* of the family at **Damar** where all the *walis* are buried. The head resides at **Damar**.

**h) Idrisiyya (Ahmadiya) and Rashidiyya**

The founder is **Ahmad ibn Idris al-Fasi**, born in **Morocco** (1173/1760). He is a reformer as well as a mystic. He aimed at the unity of Islam. His disciples **Muhammad ibn Ali as-Sanusi** and **Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani** after his death contended for his spiritual heritage and eventually took two very wide paths. They however, acknowledged that they are in debt to him. Ahmadiya is somewhat puritan order like Wahhabiyya, and objects to tomb-worship<sup>39</sup>.

**Rashidiyya**

It is regarded as the branch of the **Idrisiyya**. The initiator, **Ibrahim ar-Rashid ad-Diwaihi** carried on the *wird* of his master (founder of Idrisiyya), using his *awrad* and giving the *tariqa* his name. It is active among the *Shaigiya* at *Merowe* and *Shendi* and *Omdurman*.

**i) Isma'iliyya**

The founder is **al-Wali ibn Abd Allah al-Kardofani** who was the disciple of **Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani**. It is derived from the Mirghaniyya but is a distinct order. He was succeeded by his eldest son **Muhammad al-Mekki** who had adherents in Kordofan. After the death of **Muhammad al-Mekki**, dispute arose between his grandson and **Muhammad Mirghani's** uncles as to the leadership of the order. The influence is

---

<sup>39</sup> Trimingham, op. cit. p. 230

confined to **Kordofan**. The head reside at **El-Obeid**. The **mulid** written by the founder is read after the **salat al-jum'a**.

#### **1.4. Effects and Implications of Islam in the Sudan**

Certainly, Islam embodies religious values for building a society where humanity can live in peace, freedom, harmony, respect and interact progressively without interruption in their daily lives. Some of these religious values were explicitly preached by **Prophet Muhammad** in his first mission and these can be presented partially in twofold: assertion of God as a unique Creator<sup>40</sup> and that all people are brothers and sisters<sup>41</sup>. Here a particular attention is given to the origin of man and woman, moulded by God out of clay and then infused with God's own spirit<sup>42</sup>. We can go on mentioning other verses that accord and promote living together as God's creatures irrespective of our different beliefs. However, this commonality of God as a creator and man and woman regarding themselves as brothers and sisters exist sometimes in theory.

The presence of Islam in the Sudan negate this teaching, because it is presented in a manner that divide the society. That is to say, it has become a religion that discriminate and victimises those who are not members of it. It has been tainted with the image of a poisoned, manipulated, and exploited religion. As we might have known, Muslims derived from it means for establishing an Islamic state (*Ummat-ul-Islamiyya*), that is, a society governed by Islamic faith and laws regardless of the diversity of religious practices in this

---

<sup>40</sup> Qur'an 11:7; 13:2ff; 31:10ff

Correspond to Gn. 1:1-2:4

<sup>41</sup> Both Muslims and Christians claim a common origin from God. Thus all belong to the human race and share equally in the common parentage of Adam and Eve (Adamic brotherhood or human brotherhood). This human brotherhood is considered as a fundamental value in Islam. It is based on an unshakable belief in the Oneness and Universality of God the worshipped, the unity of mankind the worshippers, and the unity of religion the medium of worship. The unity of religion here means there can be no contradiction or fundamental differences in the religion of God. This then brings us to the tension between human brotherhood and religious brotherhood. Since Islam means submission to Allah, and is founded in the Tawhid (expressed in the kalima of Islam as 'there is no deity but Allah: la ilaha illallah), religious brotherhood then becomes very much grounded in this understanding. This profession (shahada) incorporates all Muslims into Islam; a universal religion and into the Islamic Umma. Therefore, these automatically differentiates Muslims from a kafir (unbeliever). Cf. Hamudrah Abdalati, *Islam in Focus*, (Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, 1985), p. 36. Also cf. Abul A'la Mawdudi, op. cit., p.61. Cf. Q. 4:1, 7:189, 16:4, 49:13

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Qur'an, 15: 26-29, 4:1, 6:2, 16:4

Correspond Gn. 1:26-27

society. Establishing an Islamic society is no doubt in conjunction with the islamization and arabization of the society. Islam is presented as a comprehensive, and integral way of life and therefore, an Islamic state cannot be isolated from society. This then means that if an Islamic regime takes over power, it has to employ an ideology derived from the Islamic laws which are founded on **Qur'an**, and the **Sunna** irrespective of non-Muslim citizens.

Sudan, is witnessing this today. It has been ruled subsequently by the Islamic political movements with exception of the **Condominium** rule (**Anglo-Egyptian** rule 1889) which ruled until independence when the Arab Muslims resumed ruling

The 'first' Islamic political movement in the Sudan that emerged with this vigorous zeal was that of *Mohammed Ahmad El Mahdi*<sup>43</sup>. He took power from the **Turko-Egyptian** administration accusing them of failure to rule its subjects according to the Islamic laws and he also wanted to adapt Islam for the constitution of his government. Hence, the government was to be a religious government, headed by the **Mahdi** of **Allah** and administered by his **Caliphs (deputy)**. The revenue was to be accumulated from the religious sources of Islam, "**Zakat**", and the "**ushur**"; while its judiciary would be based on Islamic laws. This clearly advocated an Islamic ordering of society. In fact, in his rule of thirteen years many things happened and these included forceful conversion of Christians to Islam<sup>44</sup>, radical application of shariah to all people without exception. This made him to become the inspirer of other political parties such as *Umma party* and *Democratic Unionist party* (DUP) which used Islam and Arab nationalism as their basic ideologies. These two parties in their time subjugated the entire economy. These are landmarks of Islamic dissemination and eventually its implications on the non-Muslims.

In general the Islamic Political movements<sup>45</sup> in the Sudan converge to one policy: Unification of the Sudanese nation both by language (Arabic) and religion (Islam). They

---

<sup>43</sup> The term Mahdi means 'guided by Allah'. Mahdi in Traditional Islam is Isa (Jesus). There is a saying. 'there is no Mahdi except Isa' (la mahyidiya illa Isa) and this is based on Q.43:61. There was a belief among people that the prophet who would be sent by Allah towards the end of time would be called Mahdi. Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi proclaimed himself 'Mahdi' in 1881 when he gathered followers to wage war on the, the Egyptian Turks, who had relaxed in the practice of Islam and on the non-muslims (infidels).

<sup>44</sup> FR. Tarcisio Agostoni, *Outlines of the History of the Institute of the Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus*, (Rome: 1996), p. 73

<sup>45</sup> These are Islamic political movement Within the Islamic Ummah in the Sudan. E.g the NIF, the Muslim Brothers, the Ansar El Sunna, the Ansar El Mahdi, the Khatmiya, the Tiganiya, the Suffist, the Gadiiya

might differ in ideologies and approaches but the stimulus and vision is one. Hence this seriously marginalises and undermines the rights of non-Muslims in the Sudan. This helps us to understand that though Islam's theme is essentially religious, it shows a marked tendency to politicise religious values. This is where it is differentiated from Christianity where Jesus made a clear distinction between religion and state: "Very well, pay to Caesar what belongs to Caesar - and God what belongs to God"<sup>46</sup>. However, Jesus never opposed religion and state. The Church is defined as an institution<sup>47</sup> which is part of the society. It is there to serve the society and can never be separated from it. The church promotes justice and peace and defends the rights of the people of God irrespective of their faith. This is its prophetic mission and her right.

In contrast, Islam on its part shows that there is no difference between "religion and state" (*din wa dawla*)<sup>48</sup>. Religion and politics are united and mixed. Any religious advance of Islam in a country is at the same time a political advance and vice versa. It is unfortunate that in the political system of Sudan the Islamic fundamentalists<sup>49</sup> have been the

and etc. Cf. Workshop: To be Christian in Sudan, a Fundamentalistic Islamic Society (Khartoum: April 1994) p.8

<sup>46</sup> Matthew, 22:21

<sup>47</sup> By the term 'Church as an Institution' is meant the official church organization which makes statements explaining the church's views on different social-political and moral issues. cf. Pacem in Terris -Peace on Earth (April 11, 1963), Populorum Progressio: On the Development of Peoples (March 26, 1967), and Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Second vatican council, December 7, 1965).

<sup>48</sup> The unity of Religion and State found its roots in the Prophet's time. In the subsequent years until his death in 632, he strengthened and governed the Muslim community (Umma), defeating his enemies and gaining supremacy by means of diplomacy and physical defeat over his enemies. Thus he was seen as the victor, religious and political leader whose authority was supreme. The Muslims then laid their conviction in this foundation. This conviction goes as far as affirming that both religion and politics are instituted by God.

The sovereignty in the Islamic state does not belong to the ruler nor even to the people themselves. It belongs to God, and the people as a whole exercise it by trust from Him to enforce His law and enact His will. In this case Islamic State can not be controlled by any political party of non-Islamic platform nor can it be subjected to any foreign powers. Cf. Josef, op. cit, p. 11; Hammudah Abdalati, op. cit, pp. 130-138; M. A. Quraishy, Text Book of Islam Book I, (Kenya: Islamic Foundation Nairobi, 1987), pp.41-61

<sup>49</sup> Islamic Fundamentalist initially emerged as one single movement in the Sudan, influenced by a similar Brotherhood in Egypt which had been founded by Sheikh Hassan El Banna an Egyptian. In the wake of October revolution 1964 it became a political party, the Islamic Chartered Front led by Dr. Hassan Abdullah Turabi. It lastly became to be known as National Islamic Front after the April uprising of 1985. This movement has its objectives as follows: To capture state power by any means, to establish an Islamic state and to extend the frontiers of Islam to the areas unaffected by Islam. In summary NIF's actual practices consist of repressive security controls and measures against opponents and secondly, authoritarian control of public institutions of decision-making and every facet of social life. Few of them deserves to be illustrated in order to have a better picture of the plots of NIF.

“vehicle” of all this and especially the *National Islamic Front (NIF)*. Though they are not in the system, they always find their way to influence the regime in applying and implementing their Islamic ideologies. For instance **Dr. Hassan Abdallah Turabi** admits clearly that he is directly involved in a political process that seeks to establish an Islamic State<sup>50</sup>. This Islamic state will have its ideological foundation rooted in the doctrine of *tawhid*<sup>51</sup>.

To conclude this section, let us give a summary of the effects and implications of Islam in the Sudan.

In the beginning, Islam spread freely in Sudan. Today Mosques, Islamic prayer and cultural centres are being freely erected everywhere. On the other hand, the Christians are neither permitted to erect new churches nor to erect Christian centres without special petitions and which often times are not granted. New establishment of schools is not

⇒ The traditional Sudan Army whose loyalty to NIF is doubted is being gradually replaced by the so called Popular Defence Forces.

⇒ The civil services is affected by large scale of retirements on grounds of public interest, a synonym of being disloyal to NIF policies

⇒ In the judiciary judges who are considered loyal to NIF are being recruited. The Christian judges and law officers are either retired or transferred to the north where they become traffic court judges.

⇒ Lastly, Education, Mass Media and Humanitarian relief are being turned to serve the Muslims' need (the NIF adherents) and many other objectives which are being implemented in various ways.

However not all Islamic Fundamentalist do as NIF. The small group which broke away and constitute themselves as Muslim Brotherhood led by Sadig Abdel Magid prefers to inculcate Islamic values through education, social services to society and influence the government of the day to observe Islamic values and obligations. Cf. Workshop: To be Christian in Sudan, a Fundamentalistic Islamic Society. (Khartoum: April 1994), pp. 10-20

<sup>50</sup> Cf. The Islamic State and Human Rights in Islam and in Sudan, in: 'Understanding', n. 10, (Feb. 1994), Khartoum, pp. 3-15

<sup>51</sup> Tawhid literary means "making one" or "asserting oneness". It is applied theologically to the oneness of Allah in all its meaning. This is primarily expressed in the saying (kalimah) of Islam as 'there is no deity but Allah' (La ilaha illa Allah). This absolutely differentiates a true Muslim from a non-believer, and an atheist. The acceptance or denial of this phrase produces a world of differences between people. The believers in it become one single community and those who do not believe in it form an opposing group. Here we can mention some implications of this doctrine: First, Islamic state is not secular. All public life in Islam is permeated by the experience of the divine. Its function is to pursue the service of God as expressed in a concrete way in the Sharia. Secondly, an Islamic state is not a nationalistic state because ultimate allegiance is owed God and thereby to the community of all believers - the Ummah. Thirdly, an Islamic state is not an absolute or sovereign entity. It is subject to the norms of Sharia that represents the will of God. Therefore, the form of an Islamic government is determined by the foregoing principles of tawhid, entailing the freedom, equality, and unity of believers. The result of this is subjugation or marginalization of the non-Muslims who live in an Islamic state. Cf. The Islamic State and Human Rights in Islam and in Sudan, 'Understanding', (Khartoum: 1994), n. 10, pp. 3-5

allowed with the intention of reducing Christian influence and absorbing the Christians and non-Christians into the Islamic society through cultural integration

Secondly, education is being arabized and islamized. The values received by children from their parents in terms of religion, culture, race, language and social background at home are being contradicted at schools as they are replaced by Islamic values. The introduction of Arabic language has drastically affected the school system. The higher education is highly arabized and militarised to the extent that what is presented is a pure Islamic religious programme. Mixed education (male and female) is being discouraged.

Thirdly, employment without being a Muslim is becoming impossible. In interviews, questions from the Qur'an are being asked. Conditions like: "if you become a Muslim you will be given a job" have become a means for islamization. Those working in government offices prefer to pretend to be considered Muslim adherents for the sake of maintaining their positions. Even those in higher positions would not dare to say anything otherwise they will be sacked from job. Sometimes, appointments have become a means for propaganda<sup>52</sup>, showing that the government shares, with the Christians and non-Muslims, responsibilities in the country, which is untrue. This in fact has happened to some outstanding Christians who are given posts for discharging Islamic laws or implementation of some Islamic objectives

Fourthly, the economy of the country is drastically affected by the Islamic laws. It is used to foster political aims. It is also reduced or limited solely to the adherents of the present ruling regime. At present the financial organization are owned by fanatic Muslims who have a strong say in some important state matters.

Lastly, the application of the Shariah without considering the non-Muslims is still another agonising experience that can not be tolerated and forgotten. The sharia in many ways violates human rights<sup>53</sup>. This was introduced in 1983 under the regime of *Nimeiri* and

---

<sup>52</sup> Example of Christians appointed to serve in the government: George Ongokwo, Dominic Casiano, Pio Nyokwany, Bishop Rorek Joseph (Angelican)

<sup>53</sup> Slavery is lawful under Sharia to the present day. It is obvious, slavery is one of the most serious impediments on both the will to live and the will to be free. We are also aware of the discrimination on the grounds of gender and religion. These are the most serious points of conflict and tension between Sharia and universal human rights. Cf. Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation*, (Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1992), pp 172-173

since then Sudan entered into a new sad period of history. In theory the laws are said to be solely for the Muslims but in practice it is applied to all with no distinction

In conclusion, Islam affects various areas of human life. For example, one will find that (as it is illustrated above) Islam affects people's world's view, in what concerns law, politics, economics, social, and domestic life. Hence, many people become vulnerable to islamization and arabization.

## CHAPTER TWO

### MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE SUDAN

#### 2.1 *Tolerance OR Intolerance - Cohabitation*

Tolerance is often used in a more positive, maximal sense to refer to respect, sympathy, and charity for persons holding views, belief, customs and so on different from one's own. It permits cohabitation. Instead intolerance goes to the extreme wing. It denies and disrespect the other person's views, beliefs, custom and so on. It tries to compel the other person to be what the other wants him to become. Hence, there is no freedom of self expression.

From this perspective, we can ask ourselves what is the place of tolerance or intolerance in the Sudan? Do they promote or negate cohabitation? However, when answering these questions one should have in mind a clear idea and understanding of the role played by Islam and Christianity as major religions in Sudan. We all know that religions have not only a high capability of peace but also a high potential for war. This has been shown in several instances such as **Ghandi's** contribution for the independence of **Indian**, or the decline of **Apartheid** in **South Africa**. In our context, Islam presents a challenge to **Africa, Sudan, Christianity** and the **world** at large. It has placed Sudan in an **Islamic fundamentalistic world**. It presented **Sudan** and **Iran** with co-ordinated effort to foster and spread Islamic radicalism.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the fact that intolerance submerges tolerance in Sudan portrays Islam as a **rigid** and **fundamentalistic** religion. It impedes cohabitation and all that can serve the common good of the individuals and the community at large. It overlooks other religions as it places itself above them. This has been facilitated by the state which has failed to defend and protect the natural and God given differences and diversities existing among its citizens, and in turn use them to serve the common good. For instance, tolerance of religious practices is highly practised in **Indonesia** where Muslims are the majority (85%)<sup>2</sup>. The state guarantees freedom of religion for all citizens and this is well practised, maintained and protected by the government. However, **Malaysia** gives us a somewhat similar face of Islam in Sudan. It has

<sup>1</sup> John L. Esposito, *The Threat of Islam: Myth or Reality?* in: (Concilium) *Islam: A Challenge for Christianity*, edit. Hans Kung and Jurgen Moltmann, (London: SCM Press, 1994), p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hans Kung and Jurgen Moltmann op. cit. p. 23

about 50% of its population Muslims, yet Islam is declared the state religion<sup>3</sup>. This is to show us the various situations in which Islam reveals different faces.

The landmarks of intolerance in the Sudan are numerous. One can trace them from the emergence of Islam in Sudan. One of the aspects that has evoked intolerance is the disgracing and dehumanising practice of slavery and slave trade. Sudan was a very active centre of slave trade until early this century and in some areas the 'slave culture' has remained to this day. The North-Southern division and the present civil war are the causes of today's revival of slavery and slave trade. The Western part of *bahr-al-Ghazal* province was in the later half 19<sup>th</sup> C. one of the most active centres of slave trading on the African Continent. In the present, a credible publication, in 1987 affirmed the existence of the active practice of slavery and slave trade in Sudan (**Southern Darfur** and other places)<sup>4</sup>.

Freedom of individuals and communities to profess and practice their faith is an essential element for peaceful human coexistence. Now, the declaration of Islam as the state religion and Sudan as an Islamic state increased intolerance and divided the society thus decomposing the wealth of its diverse identities. AS a result, there is no peace, justice, freedom and people live in suspicion of each other.

Though the adherents of the two religions live, work and share some things in common (markets, shops, hospitals etc.) it does not mean that there is a healthy and sincere co-existence and tolerance. People harbour in their hearts bitter hatred which can explode out violently at any time.

The relationship and cohabitation that exist is practised with caution and diplomacy. It is the propaganda of the Muslims' steering class to blindfold the outside world from what is actually happening in the country<sup>5</sup>. Hence, it tries to portray a positive image by proclaiming tolerance, freedom of religious practices and peaceful cohabitation through mass media and public lectures when they happen to be abroad. This is absolutely a hypocritical and pseudo-

<sup>3</sup> Judo Pocerwoidagdo, *Indonesia: Living Together in a Majority Muslim Population*, in: *Conciliating Islam: A Challenge for Christianity*, Hans Kung and Jurgen Moltmann, edit (London: SCM Press, 1994), p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The Seed*, vol. vii/5, Kenya: May, 1995, pp. 19-21. Also *Anti-Slavery International*, Geneva: May 1993 (United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery Eighteenth Session).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Pope's Visit to the Sudan: A Survey* through the Sudanese Press, in: *Encounter*, n. 195-196, (May - June 1993), PISAI, Rome

imagery. Undoubtedly, the well advanced plotters manipulate and instigate the simple ordinary Muslims (the illiterates) to carry out physical attacks on the “**infidels**” (non-Muslims), such as intensifying slavery and slave trade, religious conflicts, holy war and so on. Meanwhile they themselves manoeuvre from the towers and implement Islamic projects by using all possible ways.

There is a relatively mild relationship, tolerance and cohabitation among the Muslim Southerners with their non-Muslim compatriots with exception of some who absolutely follow strictly the Northerners in Islamic ways of living and relating.

Generally speaking the “human person” stands in the midst of all these ill relationships. Our religious beliefs which are supposed to open our eyes have turned out to blindfold us and we have forgotten that without human beings, religious, cultural, political, and socio-economic endeavours are naught. The inalienable dignity of every human person, means that when people come together in groups they have a right to enjoy a collective identity in spite of all their differences. This collective identity can only be achieved by preaching an effective solidarity and getting rid of any form of discrimination. Islam which seems to be the ‘basic’ cause of all this unhealthy situation, should not frustrate our efforts.

## ***2.2 Dialogue Paradigm***

The number of ideologies, cultures and religions throughout the world is continually on the increase, and there seems little chance that this tendency will be reversed. At the same time there is a great awareness of interdependence among the different societies

This then, invites every individual to a change of attitude of mere tolerance when faced with such pluralism and rapid changes in our societies. It is not like the past when civilisations, cultures, and religions were closed-in systems (independent of one another). Today, we are challenged to accept other systems as they are and to be open to them. We should seek beyond our unique differences the points on which we agree and which can lead us to a higher unity than what binds us with our own members. This, in short, means engaging ourselves in dialogue with other systems other than our own.

Dialogue however is a word that can be understood and practised in different ways. It can easily give rise to misunderstandings. It is therefore worth giving some definitions which will guide us throughout our discussion about dialogue.

Dialogue is derived from a Greek word (*dialogos* meaning to converse; conversation in which two or more take part) meaning speaking to each other, sharing, exchanging words and ideas<sup>6</sup>.

Certainly in English usage dialogue would mean "conversation" and specifically carried out to reach a definite conclusion. While a joint Christian-Muslim consultation which was held in 1979 at Chambesy in Switzerland defined dialogue as "a mood, a spirit and an attitude", it went further to state that "dialogue is a readiness to learn as well as to share in information, to receive as well as to give"<sup>7</sup>. These interlocutors insisted that dialogue should not be used for proselytization.

Many writings about religious dialogue however, allow us to draw a conclusion that religious dialogue is a meeting of heart and mind between followers of various religions. It is a communication between two believers at the religious level. Furthermore, it is a walking together towards truth and a working together in projects of common concern. Hence, in such definitions, drawn from various readings, dialogue becomes a building up of humanity and community that leads to a common cause and final goal that is God.

These definitions help the person who is involved in religious dialogue to know what it actually requires. In order to maintain the spirit and value of dialogue the interlocutors should know that dialogue is not just a mutual tolerance and co-existence, not merely information and rivals statements, not an effort to persuade the other to accept one's will nor lead the other to doubt his or her faith nor even to unite all religions or cultures. Instead it requires respect for the others, listening, sincerity, openness, accepting the other as he or she is. It also requires the elimination of prejudice, intolerance, and unnecessary misunderstanding<sup>8</sup>.

There is no doubt that, the practice of dialogue between Muslims and Christians is not "new" and some of the above mentioned values appeared promisingly. One could point to the

<sup>6</sup> AMECEA Pastoral Department, (edit), *The African Synod Comes Home: A Simplified Text*, (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 1995), p 31

<sup>7</sup> Michael Nazir-Ali, *Islam: A Christian Perspective*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), p 148.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *African Synod: Instrumentum Laboris*, (Kenya: St Paul Publication), p 59 ff.

fruitful scientific collaboration and theological discussions which occurred in **Baghdad** in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, where Christians and Muslims scholars worked together to translate and comment upon Greek philosophy and science. This interchange also produced the first serious efforts of Christian theologians to define the points of convergence and divergence between the two faiths<sup>9</sup>. In our own century we can cite the example of *Charles de Foucauld*, who wanted to bear witness to the "hidden life of Jesus" among the Muslims **Tuaregs** of the **Algerian Sahara** through a life of prayer, hospitality and friendship. At his death many Bedouin remembered him as a simple Christian, who lived among them without power, prestige, or proselytising intent. This is dialogue of religious experience of faith. The initiatives taken by the Pontifical Council Inter-religious dialogue is a witness yet to this attitude of valuing dialogue<sup>10</sup>. The tireless meetings of John Paul II as the head of the Catholic Church is by itself a proof and encouragement, for the continuation of dialogue between Muslims and Christians.

In Sudan alone, dialogue in a way has taken a tremendous priority. In spite of frustrations and discouragement the Christians showed faith and determination in carrying on with dialogue. The visibility of this faith, will and determination for dialogue is frequently manifested in the pastoral letters of the catholic bishops of Sudan<sup>11</sup> who in a way represent the Christians and all the people of Sudan in taking the initiative for dialogue. For instance, in one of Zubeir's (Archbishop of Khartoum Archdiocese) address during the conference on interreligious dialogue held in Khartoum (Oct. 1994), he clearly emphasised that Dialogue looks at the present and projects into the future. This emphasis was evoked by the rapid growth of scepticism among Christians<sup>12</sup> because dialogue has shown itself as an intellectual game or rival statements, and has been devalued by the Muslims. Gathering for dialogue would simply mean the interlocutors are again out to deceive themselves and the World. This is justified by the failure of several attempts in the past and on the other hand dialogue in the

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Michel, *Christian-Muslim dialogue in a changing world*, in: *Theology Digest*, vol.39, n. 4 winter 1992, p. 304

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Recognise the Spiritual Bonds which Unite us: 16 years of Christian-Muslim Dialogue, Pontifical Council for Interreligious dialogue Vatican City, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *A Joint Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops of Sudan, Lend Me Your Ears*, in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*, n. 397, Kenya: August 1993. Cf. also *News Bulletin*, General Secretariat SCBC, n. 4 July-Sept. 1994

<sup>12</sup> *Sedos bulletin*, vol. 26 n. 11, Dec. 1994 p. 94/331

other vital areas of life of the nation, has made no pace, for example dialogue for peace and justice, or dialogue to end the enduring civil war. The lack of trust between Muslims and Christians is yet another proof, and what looks like trust today is just a manoeuvre for survival by both communities. With such experiences, the ordinary Christians would define dialogue as means of increasing tensions, conflicts, and uncertainties. These Christians, feel marginalised, discriminated against at school, in the workplace, in the army and even in housing and social services. Furthermore, his/her right to freedom of worship is curtailed, when s/he cannot have a good place to pray in, nor even welcome fellow Christians to pray at home on some family occasions.

In such experience the values and purposes expressed by the *Nostra Aetate*<sup>13</sup> that it is a common mission in today's world to join hands in four key areas of modern life: peace, freedom, justice, and moral values which are being devalued and cast away. Dialogue in such a way would lose meaning for most of the Sudanese. It does not grow out of the opportunism of the tactics of the moment, but based on personal and social needs and rooted in faith in God for bringing about the Kingdom of God. Dialogue in actual fact differs from polemics and controversy in so far as these are ordered principally to the defence of a position and to the demonstration of the falsity of its opposite. Instead it is directed towards a mutual enrichment and not aimed at persuading the other of the value of my own position. That is why the forms of dialogue lead to common good of humanity and the building of community.

Cardinal Francis Arinze in his book "Church in Dialogue" presents us with forms and reasons for dialogue<sup>14</sup>. In my opinion they are excellent tools for promoting dialogue but more work is needed on the side of the interlocutors. They need a change of heart as well as of mind. Otherwise they will be tools made ineffective by the participants. I would campaign for "conscientization" of all those who feel the need and necessity of dialogue in our daily lives. If we become aware of how valuable dialogue is, then we can educate the public to respect and accept those who do not act or think as themselves.

<sup>13</sup> Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions', Austin Flannery, *Vatican Council II. The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1980), p. 739.

<sup>14</sup> Forms of dialogue: The dialogue of life, action, theological exchange, religious experiences, Collaboration in Social Concerns.

Reasons for dialogue: For mutual understanding and growth, Cooperation in Society, Church is instrument of Unity and Salvation. Cf. Francis Arinze, *Church in Dialogue*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990), pp. 127-131.

Generally, we can not give up dialogue just because the Muslims are rigid and game players. Dialogue in its nature is not easy<sup>15</sup>. It involves a lot of obstacles especially theological ones. Despite these difficulties, it is the duty of all men and women of good will to get involved in dialogue. Dialogue is not solely the business of the bishops but also the government and especially all lay persons whose daily lives enter the sphere of the lives of every member of the society. Thus patience, perseverance and persistent working on dialogue is demanded.

### **2.3 Response from the Christian Perspective**

The rapid progression of political, cultural, economical, social and religious systems have given various shapes to the community of believers. Their faith which is a response to a divine reality is somewhat at stake. In short, it has to be given shape and style in a particular context of particular system(s).

Nevertheless, **God** who reveals himself to humanity in and through history and other models remain unchangeable. It is up to humanity to accept and interpret these combinations of events in history and give a new expression of their faith as a community of believers. The continuity of this new expression of faith then affirms the past, present and the future divine self-revelation of **God** to humanity. We Christians believe that the climax of revelation of **God** is in **Jesus** (life, death and resurrection) The Christian community of faith is thus the sacrament of **God's Kingdom**.

The agonising Christian community of faith in Sudan then should find a contemporary expression of its faith today; to contextualize their faith both in words and action. In fact, this is where the difficulties lay. Christians of course, can never honestly invoke **Jesus** of Nazareth to bless violence, hatred, killing, oppression and war - even though this implies and creates a burden of pain (at times loss of life) for the peacemakers<sup>16</sup>. This is doubtless a controversial statement. The reason(s) would only be sought from a deeper, theological level. This has to do with **Jesus** Himself and his understanding of **God**

---

<sup>15</sup> Cf. African Synod: Instrument Laboris, (Kenya: St Paul Publication), p 60. AMECEA Pastoral Department, ed., The African synod Comes Home: A simplified Text, (Paulines Publication Africa, 1995), p. 33. Francis Arinze, op. cit. pp. 136 ff. Shorter Alwyard, The African Synod: A personal Response to the Outline document, (Kenya: St Paul Publication -Africa, 1991), p 86

<sup>16</sup> Interreligious Dialogue in the Sudan: Can we Sustain it? In: AMECEA Documentation Service, (Nairobi: Nov. 15th 1994), p. 3

He Himself emerged as a sign of contradiction and challenge to the civil and religious authority of his time (hence, was tortured and eventually killed brutally). He taught his disciples and us today the unbounded readiness to forgive<sup>17</sup>, unselfish service for others<sup>18</sup> and voluntary renunciation without getting anything in return (renunciation of counter-violence, power and rights)<sup>19</sup>. All that invite the Christian community to a radical interpretation of their **Faith, Hope** and above all their benevolent **Love for God and Neighbour**. God becomes the focus for interpreting every historical event.

There is a risk however, of presenting these Christians virtues as “**pie in the sky**” because the Christians are not living in the world of ideas. They live in a real, agonising and taxing community. This then means interpreting their experience with caution without being displayed as mere pious Christians who surrendered their rights to others as a result of fear and with the intention of achieving glorification in heaven later. With their **Faith, Hope**, and benevolent **Love** they have to penetrate and counteract the pervasive political, economic, cultural, social and especially religious system of the Sudan

On the other hand, one can not fail to interpret, relate and identify the suffering Christians in Sudan with Jesus’ own suffering. Can it be identified with the theology of the cross? Is God really so exalted in this continuous agony?

Christians believe that though **God** may not be understood, Jesus’ meaningless suffering and death reveals a definitive redemption from suffering by the **God** who can not be made the instrument of human will (that is manipulated by human being). We believe that God transform the suffering and death of **Jesus** into eternal life and fulfilment of all our longing and yet the mystery of suffering and death remains. To be sure, even our faith in **Jesus** cannot reverse the fact of suffering; and it will always be possible to doubt. Yet the absurdity of human life and suffering can have a meaning, can take on a new meaning. But this meaning is still hidden. It need courage to choose it. We are invited to accept it in faith and trust in the One who has given meaning to Christ’s meaningless suffering and death

---

<sup>17</sup> Mt. 18:21-35

<sup>18</sup> Jn 13:1-15

<sup>19</sup> Mt. 5: 38-42

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTION OF MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP IN SUDAN**

It is obvious that everywhere now people seems to focus on the opportunities of building up united and tolerant communities. This is somehow manifested in various interreligious encounters in different communities. However, the results so far vary from place to place and from group to group. In some places, it has stubbornly failed to make a pace. This is because either one community is slow to open up to the other or "tolerance" has become empty boasting. Since it can not extend to other's stubborn desire for insulation and even to their intolerance and fundamentalism (fanaticism). Community, however, is never forged from uniformity but from potentially enriching though also potentially destructive, diversity.

The dreaming and the hard work involved in building better community relationship has two main thrust. There are those with a narrow vision of community: they work for the betterment of their own social, religious, political, and cultural heritage. The other are those who have a wider, sometimes prophetic vision of community: They work for co-operation between the various communities towards the realisation of a new concept of community. This is a group that feels and is aware that it needs the other community to progress and to cope up with the growing challenges of society. Both groups however, can lose dynamism for unity if they are impatient with each other and refuse to recognise that they have a mutually supportive function. Nevertheless, the truth that all communities stand in need of the other remains undeleted and inevitable. Flexibility is indispensable in this case.

Muslims and Christians in Sudan have travelled together a long, uneasy and often bumpy road for centuries. The signs of intolerance, misunderstandings, mistrust, and divisions continue to be potentially dangerous. The rapid political, economical, and social change seems to ignite the situation to the worse and make it more difficult and dangerous (see previous chapters) What seem to overwhelm many people is pessimism instead of optimism and a continuous strive for building a better community relationship

Given this long history of “misunderstandings”, it is clear that there are no easy or ready-made answers or simple solutions to assure mutual understanding, respect, tolerance and co-operation between these children of God. These children of God have an open road. Their daily experiences alone offers them options for reconstructing a new community with better relationships. These daily experiences alone offers hopeful indications of co-operation in repairing the disfigured past and present. The two communities have to let go the past experiences and open a new page of coexistence. It is not impossible if we are true believers in a God of life, love, and forgiveness.

The previous pages gave us the urgent need for improving community relations and “going beyond mere tolerance”<sup>1</sup>. There is a tremendous hunger for co-operation and understanding of each other. We have somehow identified in the previous pages the major impediments besetting the path and attempt to deal constructively with these road blocks. At the same time we have noticed the prevailing willingness, perseverance and determination to attain a better community relationship.

Thence, we might focus on suggestions of a viable way forward in Christian-Muslim relations in Sudan. These suggestions do not assure automatic fruits; it depends on the recipients to make them efficacious. They are apparently long range goals.

### **3.1. Do we know who is our neighbour?**

We all know that education provides the basis for mutual understanding though at times it can also lead to notorious and pervasive relations. At the roots of many problems destroying Muslim-Christian relations you have, the uninformed or incorrect views about the other. We both need freedom from what we presume to know about Islam or Christianity, as well as to study critically the religious faith and traditions of the other. The course of the so called ‘Comparative religions’ or ‘History of religions’ (taught in Seminaries, Institutions, Universities, and Colleges) should not be only directed towards understanding other religions: more important (for us in Sudan) than this is to seek to understand how a person’s view of life

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Message for Id Al-Fitr (End of Ramadan 1416/1996)*, Christians and Muslims - Beyond Tolerance: By Cardinal Francis Arinze.

and the world is formed by his or her religion. In that way one learns to understand, respect and appreciate the religion of others and in that way healthy and good Coexistence may possibly become a reality and concern of many people.

Nevertheless, education is an ongoing process. Learning these religions does not presuppose that we fully understand other religious traditions. Anyone who claim to do so is risking to expose his ignorance. The religious ignorance of most people is astounding. Thus both religious groups should make great effort to provide systematic religious instructions to their adherence (during catechetical and post catechumenate instructions). This educational process does not mean that both adherents will become religious professors. To commit oneself to a study process does not even mean that one will necessarily alter one's views substantially. Instead the level of informed discussion will rise and decision-making will be less affected by unstated bias, prejudice, and misperception.

### **3.2. *Dialogical Encounter***

Education process alone is insufficient. We need the combination of sustained academic inquiry and knowledge derived from experience and personal encounter with people of other religions. Thus group or personal interaction with Muslims is indispensable. This could be encouraged in different spheres of life: in schools, places of work, neighbourhood, and in common celebrations or shared celebrations (and other forms of interreligious dialogue)<sup>2</sup>. This, in fact, could be an effective stepping-stones since Muslims and Christians in Sudan have lived and worked together and endured each other for centuries.

### **3.3. *Co-operation Instead of competition***

As pointed out previously, the Muslim-Christian relationship is widely marred by various factors such as the strive to islamize Sudan and to convert it into an Islamic State. This and other factors in a way gives a glimpse of competition between these two religious groups.

In the course of enduring each other, competition and "rivalry"<sup>3</sup> took root in various ways: Missionaries of both sides are competing in expanding their areas of proselytization,

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Francis Arinze, *op. cit.* pp. 127-128; cf. also Michael L. Fitzgerald and Robert Casper *op. cit.* pp. 95-102

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Jomier, *How to Understand Islam*, (London: SCM Press, 1989), p. 132 ff.

building churches and mosques, striving to transform the country into Islamic state, establishing of religious organisations and Institutions as instruments for evangelization.

The Muslims of course are far advanced in planting and implementing more of these plans and structures than any other religious group. For example almost in every place of work there is a mosque and wherever a new Christian church or Institution emerges they too erect theirs. The government is theirs and they need not to struggle to seek a recommendation and support to set up, implement and run any initiative taken. Instead, the other religious groups have to toil in order to receive a permit to begin any other project. The catholic church however, finds it more hard than any other Christian body. They are considered as a threat and dangerous virus because of their radicality and sensitivity towards oppression and injustices done to the citizens in general. Thus she is always monitored and every step taken is drastically scrutinised.

All in all, the two communities forgot that they need each other in the religious, political, economic and social field for security. Both are expected to reflect upon their religious teachings in order to find ways and means, not only conceptual but also operational, to combat social injustices together. A religious group should not try to become a good religious group by failing to do good to another group of different religion. Both should avoid competition be it in proselytization or building churches/mosques, institutions and so on. It sometimes gives the impression that they are giving out God to the world. May be they have to go more to the depth of their knowledge and faith and recognise that God gives his mercy and love to all people and that the missionary's task is to show that God knows us even before we ever know Him. Conversion is not a process of indoctrination by a Christian or Muslim preacher, but is rather a man or woman's turning to God because they realise that He has turned towards them first.

By eliminating this attitude of competition, a genuine co-operation will obviously be a sense of working together and with God, obedient to God's purposes for human brotherhood/sisterhood and being sustained by His reconciling power. Moreover, many members of both religions find themselves day and night either as neighbours or as companions in a common working place or even in hospital or prison wards. This by itself is a stepping-stone for co-operation. They can co-operate to bring their joys and sorrows before God in prayers. Breaking together the fast of ramadan and Lent: this provide an angle of

vision and a level of meaning that cannot be experienced by reading about it in the manual of festivities.

### **3.4. Study of the Situation**

There is a risk of claiming to know the root cause of the conflict between the Muslims and the Christians in the Sudan. The given handful besetting and alarming landmarks should not blindfold us. Instead, a close observation of the 'bloody' situation and a thorough study to the depth of the history of Muslim-Christian conflict in the country should be carried out. Both sides seem to reiterate what has been inherited and lived by their societies. It is marked in their blood. On the other hand, the Muslims are becoming more aggressive because they know they can count on the material and moral support of the said Muslim countries. The government which is striving to convert the country into an Islamic state is under heavy pressure from certain Muslim countries (e.g. Iran).

Moreover, innocent children are being instructed by their parents and the society to beware of the other. They never venture to discover by themselves the reasons for this conflict. Hence, becoming scapegoats is inevitable for the new generation of both Muslims and Christian religious group.

This study can either be on the of individual or group level. The project is not for overnight but rather a long range project. The youth of both groups who found themselves together in day to day life could exploit their interaction and find new ways of living in good relations.

### **3.5. Change of Attitude**

The Muslim-Christian attitudes towards each other are affected by the past and present experiences. In order for them to be somehow present to each other, they must first of all be willing 'to share their lives'; to belong psychologically to their world, while remaining faithfully to themselves and to their faiths. This means that each one according to his/her capacity must realise this integration into the world in which others live, by acquiring a knowledge of their language and their culture, both past and present and the actual conditions in which they live along with their hopes for the future.

This attitude is a fundamental one. To consolidate it, it is indispensable for both religious communities to show real friendship between themselves. This might sound out of place for both communities because both of them are marred by opposition and conflict. However, it is up to us Christians to take the initiatives, without stopping to ask ourselves if what we are trying to do is reasonable from the human perspective. Under the impulse of the divine hope let us turn resolutely towards the living reality as it moves into the future, and let us continue with it, as long as the need exists. Our hearts should be full of welcome for the other persons. To welcome others also means to accept them as they are. The Muslims esteem this attitude in their society. This practice then can lead us far outside our own mentality and enter us into that of the other person while maintaining ours.

Related to this attitude is the practice of accepting each other as the sort of persons we choose to be. One of the first task to be undertaken is to get to know each other. It is not only as one really is, but also as he would like to be. This entail a complete change of attitude. This makes us look on others in a new light, which neither considers the other as an enemy, one to be overthrown, nor as a disciple to be taught or even to be indoctrinated.

This also means that we must know how to learn from one another. To know the language and culture of each other is inadequate. Indeed, the essential element in our encounter with others is to look at them as people who have something to teach us and which can be useful for our own development and vice versa. Nevertheless, we must not forget to state clearly our positions as Christians.

### **3.6. *Love Your Neighbour***

The love for neighbour here should be understood in a limitless way. We can not draw a line somewhere and say "here love stops" thus, I have done my duty. Who the neighbour is, is determined by drawing a circle around the person in need and seeing whether one falls in it. Hence who our neighbour is, is identified to us by the "Good Samaritan" as some one in "need". It is neither geographical nor religious nor ethnical. But ONE in need (physical, material and spiritual). This leads us to the core of discipleship.

God, who is the source of love dispenses His love to all humanity without distinction and reservation. His gratuitous love brings us to deeper knowledge of him and intimate relationship with Him. His love is universal (Mt. 5:43-45; Rms. 5:6-9).

Both Muslims and Christians experience this love to a deeper level. They all acknowledge God as a loving God though their understandings may differ on some points.

In Islam, it is not clear whether God loves all humanity without condition. The Qu'ran calls God 'the loving' yet it repeatedly says that God 'loves' the good people and does not love the bad ones (Cf. Q. 3:140; 134). We might say that all Muslims have some idea of God's love, but not many will think of it in the way that Christians do. For Christians the love of God was fully manifested in Jesus Christ (Rm. 5:8; 1 Jn 4:8). Jesus himself recommended highly that 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself' (Mk 12:31). Thus, wherever a Muslim is a neighbour of a Christian, s/he deserves to be loved by a Christian without conditions. St. John, in his epistle, tells us that how can we pretend to love God whom we don't see and fail to love our brothers and sisters whom we see (1 Jn 4:20).

A Christian living in the midst of suffering inflicted by the Muslims is yet expected to radiate this love of God. God uses him/ her in this situation to share his love with those whom He created. It is through salvation that both good people and sinners come to appreciate God's love, become sharers of his love, and are given the assurance that they will continue to do so for eternity.

This is actually demanding and taxing for the Christians in Sudan: People whose rights are denied, people who are persecuted and discriminated from participating in community building and developing. All the same, they have to love their enemies, persecutors and oppressors. No less, no more. Unconditional love is to be expressed and shared out to all people of God generously. To love as the father has loved them through, with and in Jesus. Jesus gave them the example of loving each other. There is no greater love than to lay one's life for a friend. Nevertheless, to love an enemy does not mean glorifying him/her with all her/his evil ways. We have to combat the evil in him/her, in a loving and educative way.

The Christians then in this case are expected to follow the 'good Samaritan' (Lk 10:29-37) who reveals that love has no frontiers and choice. Thus Christians have to challenge the Muslims (who seems to say they can accomplish what God requires of them) by going beyond

what is required (Mt. 5:20 ff.) and is always unaccomplished. True Christians can never say that they have accomplished all that God requires of them.

### **3.7. Practical Steps**

The present situation of Sudan unfolds to us the urgent need for the Christians to be prepared for dialogue and living together with the Muslims. Therefore, the building up of a better Christian-Muslim community relationship demands the effort of everybody. Thus, some structures and programs to be accentuated are the following:

- ⇒ In all the parishes, retreats and seminars could be offered to Christians. These are designed to give the participants the opportunity to discover their prejudices and acquire what is needed to transform them and hopefully uproot them. Those who show some signs of openness could be invited to take part in further meetings and activities with the aim of forming them. Wherever possible, some Muslims should even be invited to participate in some of these retreats and seminars.
- ⇒ Groups (movements) for conscientization and reconciliation from the grass-root could be formed in the parishes. If possible Muslims should be included. While proper instruction would be given to them in order to identify the difference between the two religions.
- ⇒ In spite of the experience of frustrations and disappointments in dialogue, all Christians should be encouraged to carry on with various forms of dialogue in their daily lives and activities. The more we strive for dialogue the more we discover new ways for dialogue and relationships with the Muslims. In fact, dialogue could be counted among the priorities of the pastoral programs.
- ⇒ Actual dialogue too, could be carried out in school settings where both Muslims and Christians study and teach together. They could share with one another what is good and beautiful in Islam and Christianity. Programs should be designed to prepare everyone for dialogue with Muslims. Christian students should be encouraged to befriend their Muslims school mates. During major Christian and Muslim feasts in schools, Institutions, Universities, and colleges, Muslims and Christians would enter into reflections and prayer sessions to deepen their awareness of the situation of tension and mutual prejudice.

- ⇒ Some of the more open minded Christians could be sent for courses on Islam, Arabic language and culture. The course should not only provide opportunity to know the teaching of Islam, but also to interact more deeply without prejudice with Muslim instructors and also be more exposed to real Muslim community.
- ⇒ Joint organisation for some projects such as reflections and research work on social, theological, cultural, political and economic issues could be planned and done together. It is advisable for Christians always to take the initiatives in some activities which they think will create better relationship in the community.

These structures and programs mentioned above have a process of preparation for actual immersion in the life of the Muslims. These processes will lead to formation of a community of Christians able to offer this attitude of dialogue to their Muslim brothers and sisters.

All in all, we are all aware of the enormous difficulties and obstacles that dialogue (building community relationship) embodies. I believe it is everyone's conviction that, building a Muslim-Christian relationship is really beyond the scope of merely human efforts. Hence, prayers and contemplation are seen as a must for both communities.

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, we are well aware that what we have said about Muslim-Christian relationship in Sudan is neither very new nor an illusion. Many others before us have shared this agonising and loathsome situation in silence and prayers.

However, let us not allow ourselves to be driven by this situation to the position of the extremists. We should learn and know to distinguish between Islam and Muslim. As a religion, Islam is fixed and often presents rigid positions that cannot be "reconciled" with the Catholic doctrine and practice. However, Muslims, as individuals who profess the Islamic faith, "somehow" often form a better bridge for dialogue and tolerant community; for example members of the same family and ethnic group or citizens of the same nation. We have also to note that one will never really get to know well any Muslim, until one has discovered in her/him the religious values for which s/he lives.

Once we have accepted this perspective in our dialogue and in our building up of a tolerant community, we shall cease to look upon each other as an adversary or as a rival in our projects. We shall meet each other as believers who are striving to live faithfully in the sight of God, and trying to accept his holy will in all things. In this way we shall discover a brother/sister in each other as believers and this will radically change the attitude in which we hold each other, and at last open the way to true dialogue and relationship.

As regard to the present situation, there is no doubt that the relationship is worsening now than before. What affirms this is the recent (November 1996) incident when the government bulldozed a catholic chapel and a school in Khartoum.

Nevertheless, one way of maintaining the strive for a tolerant community as Christians, is by believing in the possible hidden changes in the future. It is a belief that the impossible will become possible. It is hope against hope. As we have pointed out previously, we can not reach a solution with only our own efforts without God's help. Thus, God through the continuous agony of his Son in the suffering of the people of Sudan, must be the locus of our strive to build a better community where Muslims and Christians can live as brothers and sisters.

## GLOSSARY

<b>Ahbab</b>	Friends
<b>Al-Qiyas</b>	Analogical reasoning, especially in jurisprudence.
<b>Baraka</b>	“Blessing”; often thought of in terms of somekind of position, magic force available from holy people, places or objects.
<b>Baligh</b>	Stage of puberty; an adult
<b>Khali (Caliphate)</b>	Successor; The representative of God on earth and therefore the successor of the prophet Muhammad. Thus the head of the Islamic umma (Sunni).
<b>Majdhub sg. Majadhib pl. (dervishes)</b>	Mystic, Member of a religious fraternity.
<b>Dhikr (Adhkar)</b>	‘Remembering’ God, reciting the names of God; the tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany; a religious service common to all the mystical fraternities, performed either individually or collectively.
<b>Fiqh</b>	Originally means knowledge, intelligence and understanding. Technically it is a term applied particularly for jurisprudence, the science of religious law in Islam. In addition , laws regulating ritual and religious observation, family law, criminal law and procedure, constitutional law and laws regulating the administration of state and conduct of war.
<b>Faqih</b>	Learnt scholar of jurisprudence. Jurist, jurisprudent. In popular Islam a mendocant dealing in folk remedies, Sudan.
<b>Hadith</b>	(Talk, Story, then Tradition), al-hadith is used for tradition, being an account of what the prophet said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence.
<b>Imam (Imamate = Leader)</b>	The temporal and spiritual ruler of Islamic community (Shia). Also, official leader in prayer at mosques or elsewhere.

<b>Muhaddithin</b>	Transmitters of hadiths.
<b>Murid</b>	Literary s/he who seeks; in mysticism, the novice or postulant or seeker after spiritual enlightenment by means of traversing the sufi path in obedience to a spiritual director.
<b>Ribat</b>	Monastery generally fortified
<b>Salat al-jum'a</b>	Friday prayers
<b>Sunna</b>	Habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom, a normative custom of the prophet or from the early community.
<b>Tariqa(sg) / Turuq (pl)</b>	Path; method of instruction, initiation and religious exercise; also, a religious brotherhood which forms the organised expression of religious life in Islam.
<b>Ushur (Ushr)</b>	In the ottoman empire, the main land tax for Muslims, a tithe of the produce.
<b>Wird (Awrad pl)</b>	In mysticism, denotes the recitation of Qur'anic verses and prayers composed by the founder of the order at the initial of the dhikr session.
<b>Walis</b>	Supporters, defenders, patrons; in mysticism, saints, friend of God.
<b>Zakat</b>	Voluntary alms, one of the five pillars of Islam.
<b>Zawiya</b>	A religious foundation of a quasi-monastic type. (In Morocco), it is a chapel which contains the tomb of a saint.
<b>Shari'a</b>	the Law of God.

## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Joint pastoral letter of the Catholic Bishops of Sudan. "*He Should Be Supreme in Every Way*". in: *L'Osservatore Romano*. No. 11-13 March 1996.
- A Joint Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops of the Sudan: *Lend me Your ears*. in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*. Nairobi: Aug. 1993.
- Abdalati, Hammudah. *Islam in Focus*. Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, 1985.
- African Synod: Instrumentum Laboris*. Nairobi: St Paul Publication Africa.
- Agostoni, Fr. Tarcisio. *History of the Institute of the Comboni Missionaries -Outlines-*. Rome: General Secretariat for Formation: 1996.
- Alwyard, Shorter. *The African Synod: A Personal Response to the Outline Document*. Kenya: St. Paul Publication - Africa, 1991.
- AMECEA Pastoral Department. Edit. *The African Synod Comes Home: A Simplified Text*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1995.
- An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed. *Towards an Islamic reformation*. Forward by John Vol. Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
- Arinze, Francis. *The Church in Dialogue: Walking with Other believers*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990.
- Baur, John. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa*. Kenya: Paulines Publication-Africa, 1994.
- Borrmans, Maurice. (Compiler). *Interreligious Documents I: Guidelines for Dialogue between Christians and Muslims*: Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. Trans. R. Marston Speight. New York: Paulist Press, 1990.
- Dialogue With Non-believers* Issued by the Secretariat for Non-believers.
- Document on Sudan*. in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*. Nairobi: Dec. 1992.
- El Mahdi, Mandour. *A Short History of the Sudan*. Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1965.

- Encyclical letter 'Redemptoris Missio'* of John Paul II. Nairobi: St Paul Publications Africa.
- Fitzgerald, Michael L. and Casper, Robert. *Signs of Dialogue: Christian Encounter with Muslims*. Philippines: Silsilah Publications, 1992.
- Flannery, Austin. General edit., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and post Conciliar Documents*. Bombay: St Paul Publication, 1992.
- Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn. *Islamic Law and Society in the Sudan*. Great Britain: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1987.
- Gailey, A. Harry. *History of Africa from Earliest Time to 1800*. Vol. I. New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1970.
- Houtsma, M. TH. ed., *First Encyclopedia of Islam* vol. II, New York: E. J. Brill Leiden, 1995.
- Hrbek, I. ed. *General History of Africa. Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. III edition. Paris: EAEP. UNESCO, 1988.
- Jomier, Jacques. *How to Understand Islam*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1989.
- Justo, Lacunzo-Balda. edit. *The Popes Visit to the Sudan: A Survey through the Sudanese Press*. in: *Encounter*. no. 195-196 (May - June 1993), PISAI, Rome.
- Kung, Hans and Moltmann, Jurgen, eds. *Islam: A Challenge for Christianity (Concilium)*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1994.
- Lent, J. Van and H. V. Qureshi. *The Encyclopedia of Islam (New edition): Glossary and Index of Technical terms* Vol. I-VII and to the Supplement, Fascicules 1-6. Netherlands: E. J. Brill Leiden, 1995.
- M., I. Lewis. edit. *Islam in Tropical Africa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London: Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Mawdudj, Abul Ala. *Towards Understanding Islam*. Trans. and ed Khurshid Ahmed. Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, 1985.

- Max, Macram. *Islam in Sudan*. in: *Encounter* , no. 60 (Dec 1979), PISAI, Rome.
- Mertens, Victor. *The new Vitality of Islam in Black Africa and Its Pastoral Implications*. Germany: Konigstein, 1980.
- Michel, Thomas. *Christian-Muslim Dialogue in a Changing World*, in: *Theology Digest* Vol. 39, No. 4 Winter, A publication of St. Louis University Missouri, 1992
- Nazir-Ali, Michael. *Islam: A Christian Perspective*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, Washington D. C. : The Catholic University of America, 1967.
- New catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI, Washington D. C. : The Catholic University of America, 1967.
- News Bulletin General Secretariat, SC'BC'*. no. 4, Khartoum, (July-Sept. 1994).
- Pickthall, Muhammad Marmaduk. Trns. *the Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*. Lebanon: Dar al-Kitab Allubnani.
- Quraishy, M. A. *Textbook of Islam Book 1*. Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, 1987.
- Quraishy, M. A. *Textbook of Islam Book 2*. Kenya: The Islamic Foundation, 1987.
- Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam*. Second edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979
- Recognise the Spiritual Bonds which Unite Us: 16 years of Christian-Muslims Dialogue*. Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue Vatican City, 1994.
- Renaud, E. *Mahmud Taha and the second Mission of Islam*, in: *Encounter* (Documents for Muslim-Christian Understanding), no. 125 (May 1986), PISAI, Rome
- Samartha, S. J. *Courage for Dialogue*. Ecumenical issues in inter-religious relationships. New York: Orbis Books, 1982.
- Schonecker, W. *Islamic Expansion in eastern Africa*. in: *AMFCEA Documentation Service*. Nairobi: Feb. 1996.

- Secretary of Evangelization. *The Islamic State and Human Rights in Islam and in the Sudan*. In: *Understanding*, no. 10, Khartoum, Feb. 1994
- Secretary of Evangelization. *Workshop: To be Christian in Sudan, A Fundamentalistic Islamic Country*. Khartoum: 1994.
- Speech of H.E. the Minister of Education and the Acting Governor on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1991 at the Equatoria state Assembly Hall.
- Stamer, P. Josef *Islam in sub-Saharan Africa*. Spain: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1996.
- Sudanese Government Catholic Church Dialogue Documents*. In: 'Understanding'. Issue no. 14, Khartoum: 1995.
- Sudanese Religious Dialogue, Will sceptics be Convinced?* in: *All Africa press Service Features Bulletin*. Nairobi: Oct. 1994.
- Taban, Paride. 'Do not get tired of listening to the cries of the people of Sudan'. in: *AMECCEA Documentation service*. Nairobi: Feb. 1994.
- Taban, Paride. *Sudan: We are called to be Peace-Builders*. in: *AMECCEA Documentation Service*. Nairobi: Jan. 1995.
- The Black Book of The Sudan. On the Expulsion of the Missionaries from the Southern Sudan. Answer*. (Anonymous author). Italy: Istituto Artigianelli, 1964.
- The Church in Africa: Post-synodal Apostolic Exhortation* of the Holy, Father John Paul II. Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa, 1995.
- The Seed*. Vol. 3. Kenya: March, 1993.
- The Seed*. vol. 5. Kenya May, 1995.
- Towards the African Synod: Lineamenta*. Nairobi. St Paul Publication Africa.
- Towards the meeting of Religions. Suggestions for dialogue with members of non-Christian religions*. issued by Vatican Secretariat for non-Christians. Sept. 21, 1967. St Paul Editions.

Trimingham, J. S. *Islam in the Sudan*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Britain: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1983.

Vantini, Giovanni. *Christianity in the Sudan*. Italy: EMI, 1981.

Wako, G. Zubeir. *Interreligious dialogue in the Sudan: Can we Sustain it?* in: *AMECEA Documentation Service*. Nairobi: Nov. 1994.