THE KHALWA AS AN
ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION
IN THE SUDAN

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
November 1985
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

DEDICATION

TO MY FAMILY
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own composition.

[Signature]

Oumar Mohammed Riz
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pursue this study.
ABSTRACT

The introduction presents the subject of the thesis - the khalwa as an Islamic educational institution - and outlines the approach to that subject in the thesis. It also gives a brief general introduction to Islamic education so that the khalwa can be seen in that context.

Part I of the thesis presents a history of Islam in the Sudan and the institution of the khalwa until the end of the Funi period. It demonstrates how the unique use of the term khalwa in the Sudan for an Islamic educational institution arose out of Shiism. It presents examples of khalwa during that period in an examination of the khalwas of the Sons of Jabir, Shushayrun, Sumer al-Shahab and al-Shubush.

In Part II the development of the khalwa is presented up to the present time. This part examines the khalwas in the Turco-Egyptian period, the period of the Mahdiyya, the Condominium and the present period of National rule. During this time there were certain changes, some temporary and others of a more permanent nature. The Turco-Egyptian period saw the khalwa coming under government influence in matters of finance, though remaining unchanged in other respects. In the period of the Mahdiyya there were drastic changes in the content of education, but afterwards the khalwa returned to its traditional form. It was in the Condominium period that the government tried to bring the khalwa within the newly emerging state system of education. Differences
in objectives and methods led to the failure of this policy. The National Government, after independence, has also used the Niyawa as an instrument of educational policy. There are then detailed examples of individual khalwas during this period. Of great note is the contribution of the Khalwa of 'Ali Bitiri at Hamisakorey as an Islamicising and civilizing agent of social change.

Part III deals with an analysis of the different aspects of the khalwa as an educational institution - its teachers, students, methods of teaching, subjects, programmes of study, discipline, administration and financing.

The conclusion shows that khalwa education has changed very little but that there is scope within the khalwa system for it to continue to make a valuable contribution to Islamic education in the Sudan.
### TRANSLITTERATION

The system of transliteration followed is illustrated below:

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Short vowels: a, u, i
Long vowels: َ, ُ, ُ
Diphthongs: ُُ, َِ, َُ, َِ, َُ, ُِ, َِّ, ُِّ

8 in ٍِِ (in ٍِِ becomes t)

**F.3. Names of places, towns, villages are left in their common English spelling in the Sudan.**
ABBREVIATIONS


Ya'az al-Nil = Ya'az al-Nil, Yusuf Idris, Tārib al-Ta'īla al-Dīn fi al-Sūdān (Panorama), Beirut, Regional Centre for Education, Planning and Administration in the Arab Countries, 1968.


Holt and Daly = Holt, F.W. and Daly, W.W., The History of the Sudan (from the coming of Islam to the present day), London, 1979.


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Ibn Ḫubayr = Ibn Ḫubayr, Muḥammad b. Ahmad, Rihlat b. Ḫubayr, Leiden, 1907.


Lane, I. = Lane, I., Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians, London, 1934.


Al-Murîd = al-Murîd, al-Faṣîl al-Mukhîm min al-'Uyun wa al-Muhandisin, Qum, Iran, 1396 H.


Qalā’id = Tāj al-Dīn, Qāliḳ, Qalā’id al-Durar fī Tahqīq wa Ḫarāṣat Ibn Badd, Khartoum, 1349 H.


Sa'quti al-Abad = IbnSa'quti, Abu al-Mu'alla, appended to al-Abad, Ahmad Pu'ad al-Farbiya fi al-Ta'lim, Dar al-Mafar' I, Cairo.


Shalaby = Shalaby, Ahmad, History of Muslim Education, Beirut, 1954.

S.E.I. = Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam.
Al-Sha'banī = al-Sha'banī, Abd al-Wahhab, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra. 2 vols. in one, Egypt, n.d.


Shuqayr = Shuqayr, Na‘īm, Tarikh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa al-Madīn wa Juhūr al-Sūdān, 3 vols. in one, Cairo 1903.


Al-Suyūṭī = al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, Baḥr al-Mašhāqāra fī Aḥdār Bilād wa al-Qibla, 2 vols., Cairo, 1327.


القرآن و سعیت الیس ال‌ناطیژا ‘امه’

دی‌پس، کرتوم، ۱۹۷۹.
involve more than that. The term khuja seems to be applied to the Sudan, for this kind of educational institution. How it acquired such a name will be discussed later in the thesis.

Before discussing education in the Sudan, and in particular the khalwa, it would be useful to survey briefly the developments in Islamic education prior to the emergence of the Muslim Sudan.

After this, the thesis will be divided into three parts:

Part One will deal with the emergence of the khalwa as an educational institution during the Funj era. The main source on this period is Payfallah's al-Tabagāt. The importance of this source lies in the fact that the author was himself a faqih, a descendant of Ṣugah and, more important, an eye-witness of the latter part of the Funj period, and a chronicler of the whole era. The nearly two hundred and eighty biographies compiled

1. The Funj period extended from 910/1504 to 1236/1821 (al-

2. Al-faqlī Muhammad al-Nūr Payfallah, the author of al-Tabagāt, was born and lived at al-Malfaya, the capital of the kingdom of the Abūl Īyā (the viceroy to the Funj king of Senbar) between 1139/1727 and 1224/1809-10 (al-Tabagāt, p.10).
by the author of al-Tabaqāt. Fortunately "contain, as a rule, details of the place of birth, characteristics, education, career and death of each holy man [or scholar] with special mention of his manifestation of miraculous powers, his teachers, those taught by him, subjects and books of study and reference to the methods of teaching, the sources of financing and many remarks made concerning the biographies by other people." (1)

The biographies of al-Tabaqāt vary in length; whereas those on the Sufi saints were given considerable space in the book, others on ordinary scholars in some cases were treated in a couple of sentences.

The principal source of information of the author of al-Tabaqāt was oral tradition which seems to have been preserved amongst the descendants and disciples of each holy man, but whenever he found access to written materials he made full use of them and he freely quoted from letters and other documents. (2)

Hence, al-Tabaqāt is believed to have been a mirror of the different aspects of the Sudanese of the Fung period - of their beliefs and practices, both the genuine and the superstitious.

In confirmation of this the editor of the present copy of

2. Ibid.
stated, in reply to some of his critics: reflection of the religious, spiritual, cultural and social life of the Sudanese, and a genuine record of their religious beliefs during that period - whatever we might think of it.\(^{(2)}\)

Hence, the invaluable importance of \textit{al-Tabaqāt} as the source on medieval education of that era. The author, however, does not arrange his biographical notes in a chronological manner - according to their emergence in time - but rather in a rough alphabetical order, which makes it somewhat difficult to sort out the succession and the teacher-student chain of relationship. The book was also written in a mixture of classical and colloquial Arabic of the Sudanese at the time.

Part Two of the thesis will be concerned with the history of the \textit{khalqa} up to the present time. Here the writer has relied mainly on the extensive field work he has conducted and on his observations when visiting, in November-December 1981, a large

1. The present book \textit{al-Tabaqāt} has been ably edited by Dr. Yusuf Faql Hassan, a professor of history at the University of Khartoum, in 1972.
2. \textit{Al-Tabaqāt}, "Introduction to the second impression", 1974, p.\

(2)
number of khalwas, large and small, old and new, in the different parts of the country. As a result, he has obtained a wealth of knowledge about the history of the khalwas and their situation up to the present time. In addition, he has also made use of the supplementary literature written on the khalwa in the Sudan - mainly current reports. The present situation of khalwa in the Sudan, as will be illustrated in the thesis, seems to confirm in many ways what the author of al-Tabaṣṣūt has recorded.

Part Three of the study will be a critical analysis of the khalwa as an educational institution in action, in the Sudan.

A word should be said about some of the terms used in the study.

- The term al-faqih has been used to denote both the teachers of the Qur’ān and (mainly) the teacher of fīl (religious sciences) at the advanced stage, when discussing the Sunni and Turco-Egyptian periods.

- In reference to the Condominium and National periods, the term al-fakih has been used to denote the Qur’ān teacher.

- The term al-Shaykh has been used throughout the thesis to

1. See the list of khalwas visited by the writer and khalwa teachers interviewed in appendix III
Although mosques were used in the Sudan as educational institutions before and parallel to the khalifes, yet because of the dominance of the latter the term khalifa has been almost exclusively used as would be illustrated later in the thesis.

General Review of the Development of Muslim Educational Institutions:

Islamic education owes its origin and the cause for its subsequent perpetuation to the Message of Islam as enshrined in the Qur'an and the Sunna or the Prophet of Islam. Education as a vital means in the dissemination of the Islamic teachings for the guidance and the development of the righteous man in this world and for his salvation in the Hereafter has always occupied a very high position in the Islamic thought and practice. The Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet emphasize the importance of education. (1)

1. (a) For references from the Qur'an, see for example the verses (v.) in the following suras (s.): s.36 v.1-5; s.58 v.37; s.39 v.9; s.35 v.20; s.20 v.114; s.62 v.2; s.21 v.139.
the ages the mosque has continued to be used for this purpose by the Muslims.

As for the education of children he has laid the responsibility for that, as well as their upbringing, on the shoulders of their parents - as a religious duty. Accordingly, the State made no provision for children's education.

Nevertheless, through private plans voluntary effort, or through hired service, children's education was widely diffused. It was conducted first at the homes, then at special elementary institutions known as the kufaṣ (pl. katāf) or maktāb.

The **kuttab** for teaching writing and reading:

This type of **kuttab** had a non-Islamic origin and could be traced back to the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic) period. Nevertheless, it seems to have been perpetuated under Islam for centuries — as could be evidenced by the writings on Muslim education in al-Masriq (Islamic East) by Ibn Jubayr (11,814), Ibn Batūta, and Ibn Khallūn, and as was referred to by Shalaby.

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1. The terms **kuttab** and **maktab** are derived from the Arabic root **katah** (to write). According to Ibn Manṣūr **al-kuttab** was the place of the **kuttab**; **al-maktab** (pl. **maktabah**) and the **kuttab** (pl. **kuttabah**) were the places of instruction. However, according to al-Nubairī, Ibn Manṣūr states, **al-maktab** was the place of instruction, **al-maktab** was **al-mu‘allim** (the teacher); **al-kuttab** were **al-ṭibyan** (the children). (Ibn Manṣūr, **Lisan al-Arab**, vol. 1, p. 699).

According to Māhadī, both **maktab** and the **kuttab** were schools for elementary education (Māhadī, *I. The Rise of Colleges*, p. 19).

5. Shalaby, pp. 16-18.
(4) The Palace, or Mu'addib, buttidh:

This was a superior buttidh that was set up for the education of the children of the upper class - the Royal families and the notables in the society.

Unlike other types of buttidh it was conducted at the royal palaces for the princes and conducted also at the respective residences of the notables for their sons. (1)

In contrast to the teachers of the other buttidh schools, the teachers here were highly qualified private teachers who were said to have been of high social and moral status too. (2) They were called the mu'addibe (tutors) because they were in charge of promoting the intellectual, moral and other positive qualities in their students. (3)

The curriculum in these palace buttidh was said to have been richer and more comprehensive than the other types. It was designed by the parent in collaboration with the tutor. (4)

2. ibid.
4. See the advice of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to the tutor of his sons (Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyun al-Akhbār, vol. II/5, p. 167). See also the instructions of Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd to al-Aqsām, tutor of his son, Prince Al-Āmin (Ibn Khaldūn, al-Manāẓir, p. 397).
This kind of education continued in the Umayyad, 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid courts. 

(e) Kutṭāb schools for the orphans and the poor:

Because children's education seems to have become a professional service that had to be paid for, poor families would obviously be at a disadvantage - and the worst of these seem to have been the orphans. However, to redress the situation of this group positive contribution was reported to have been made by some statesmen and Muslim individuals - as a charitable act by establishing kutṭāb for the orphans and poor, in their countries. 

This then was the outline of elementary education which seems to have been based on learning the Qur'ān. For those who went on to more advanced subjects, usually religious, learning seems to have depended on men of learning devoting their time to interested scholars at the various specialised mosques (jami' or

1. SRT, p.300.
2. a) Yahya al-Hasanî, the masir of Harūn al-Rashid, established a number of such kutṭāb schools in 170/781 in Baghdad (al-Jahshiyari, p.177).
   b) In Damascus - (Ibn Jubayr, p.372).
   d) In Egypt they were numerous (SRT, p.300).
interested scholars. The most famous of the libraries of the
time seems to have been Bayt al-Ḥikmah (the house of wisdom)
patronized by Caliph al-Māmūn in Baghdad. {2}

The institutionalization of more advanced studies in the
religious sciences seems to have first appeared in Fāṭimid Egypt
where, at the time of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-‘Azīz, the mosque of
al-Azhar was devoted to the use of learned men, in 370/982. {3}
Then the successor of al-‘Azīz, his son al-Ḫākin, was reported to
have created Dar al-‘I‘lām in Cairo in 395 A.H. in which huge
amounts of valuable sources and books and rich facilities were
assembled for the use of ‘ulamā‘ and fuḥūṣ and scholars. {4}

1. The institution of learning in a šāmil was called a halqa - a
study circle - a meeting of students around a professor;
hence course, succession of lessons: it also refers to a maila,
a hall where someone in place held meetings, gave lectures,
where a professor gave lessons (Mukdisi, The Rise of Colleges,
p.17; see also Cīr., pp.17-22; Shalaby, pp.47-54).
2. It was initiated originally as a translation centre of,
mainly, the Greeks’ works into Arabic (see Shalaby, pp.95-111).
The Sunnite rulers in Iraq, under the initiative of the
for people determined to be functionaries of the State and leaders
of the people. They were moulded on a frankly Sunnite type, and
they received in a regular way the necessary Muslim knowledge.(3)

Beside Nīṣām al-Muʿāwīya, many notables established madrasas in
Iraq and elsewhere in the Muslim world - such as the Sunnite
ruler Mūsā al-Dīn in Syria (541/1145).(4)

A great contribution in this respect was attributed to
Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt who, following his victory over the Shiʿite
rule there, was reported to have established the madrasas and
khanaqah and paid the 'ulama' throughout his kingdom that extended

1. The madrasa was defined as "the Muslim institution of learning
par excellence and as such it was a natural development of
two previous institutions: the masjid, in its role as a
college of law and its nearby khan (residence) of the law
students in attendance" (Makdisi, op. cit., p.27).
2. Shalaby, p.58.
Islamic Culture, October 1929, p.535.
from al-Masrib to the borders of Iraq, including Yemen, Hijaz, prayers and the Juma, in addition to the teaching functions - the madrasa was said to have lost the battle to the mosque.\(^{(3)}\)

In Cairo, for example, most of the madrasas were said to have decayed while the mosque, such as al-Ashar, once more became the central seat of learning in the Muslim lands, and continued thus till the advent of the modern school.\(^{(4)}\)

Parallel with the rise of the madrasa, the Muslim world seems to have witnessed the flourishing and eventually the dominance of Shiism, as was manifested in the Shi convents -

11) ACCESS OF ARMÉ ORGUEL - started as military fortress on
the frontier of Islam for men of jihād - then special
buildings for the Sūfis retained the same name.

ii) Sāwilā - it was referred to as a hermitage to which a
holyman retired and where he lived with his pupils.

iv) A ḍhalwa was designated the retreat of a single dervish,
frequently a cell situated around a mosque square.

For further elaboration on the development and spread of
these Sūfī conveys in the Muslim world, see the following:

i) Trimmingham, The Sūfī Orders in Islam. (Oxford 1977),
especially pp.17-21, 166-168.

ii) Al-Yāsīn, for patronization of Sūfis to Sūfī conveys:
khurāṣas, ṭībiṣa and ḍāʾirah, pp.57, 63, 67-69, 164-168.

iii) al-Naqīsī, vol.I, pp.343, 369 (for Sūfī establishments
in Egypt under the Ayyūbīds).

iv) al-Suyūṭī, Jumā al-nubādara, vol.II, p.34. (For the
spread of these conveys under the Ayyūbīds).

v) Ibn Baṭṭūta, p.43. (For spread of Sūfī conveys in
Cairo, in A.H.729).

vi) al-Shaʿrānī, vol.II (for spread of Sūfī conveys in Egypt).

vii) SEP, "Address - section: Monasteries".

viii) S. Sabu Yafa, "The Sūfī Convents...", Islamic Culture,
(1977), pp.51-52.
and place for their devotional exercises(1) and seem to have spread all over the Muslim countries (and to have, later, engaged in the cultivation of learning too).(2)

By the 7th/13th century, however, Sufism seems to have spread to almost all parts of the Muslim lands. 90% of the Muslim world was, in one way or another, connected with the Sufi movement.(3)

Not only that but Sufism seems to have had its impact on every walk of life, then.

"Through the influence and activity of Sufism, the Islamic world was entirely transformed, from the 7th/13th century onward - spiritually, morally, intellectually, imaginatively and even politically."(4)

We are mainly concerned here with the impact of the Sufi movement on the development of education. What is of relevance to this study was the fact that almost all of the numerous Sufi establishments (khânsâs, ribâts and sâviyâs) that emerged with the spread of Sufism, were said to have been used (in addition to their devotional function) as institutions of learning - especially for the dissemination of Sunnite teachings.

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1. See SEI, p.305.
2. See below.
3. Yawna, Sa'id, Tarbiyatuna al-Rûdiya, p.11.
Since learning and manifestation of piety are inseparable in Islam, learning was often reported to be cultivated in SHī Ṣūfī convents also. (1)

In many ways SHī Ṣūfī convents seem to have taken over the functions of the institutions of learning.

By the time of the emergence of the Panj Muslim state in the Sudan at the beginning of the 10th/16th century the intellectual situation seems to have declined to its lowest. "Even in Cairo and Istanbul the period was one of great intellectual stagnation - the darkest hour of night between the brilliant day of Baghdad and Spain and the new dawn which began with the 19th century." (2)

PART I

THE EMERGENCE OF THE KHALVA
AS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION
DURING THE FUNJ ERA
the 10th/11th century,\(^1\) when the first Muslim state - the Fars kingdom - came into being.\(^2\)

However, in order to have a better understanding of the cultural situation in the pre-Fars era and to appreciate its impact on the developments that took place in the Fars period, it seems desirable to throw light on the pre-Fars period and to survey, in brief, the historical events of that period.

Prior to the Muslim conquest of Egypt between 17/639 and 19/641 AD\(^3\), the region that lay beyond its southern borders - the kingdom of Nubia - was reported to have been under Christian rule. The kingdom of Nubia adopted Christianity in the 6th century\(^4\) and, according to Mackenzie, there were three Christian kingdoms: al-Malan, bordering Egypt, al-Muqarr and 'Alawa.\(^5\)

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3. Holt and Daly, p.15.
However, the two main Christian kingdoms were al-Muqarrar in the north with Dongola as its capital, and 'Alawa to the south, with Soba as its capital.\(^1\)

Within a decade or two of their conquest of Egypt, the Muslim Arabs were reported to have twice overrun the kingdom of al-Muqarrar; and in the second, under 'Abdallah b. Sa'id, to have sacked Dongola, its capital.\(^2\)

However, it was reported that there was no attempt to annex the region and the Muslims were induced to sign a truce or treaty that became known as the \textit{hāq} treaty.\(^3\)

The main terms of that treaty were said to have been the following.\(^4\)

3. According to P.N. Holt, the source of the word 'hāq' was Latin "pactum" which means, in Hellenistic usage: "a compact of mutual obligation and its connected payments"...and the survival of that Hellenistic term suggests that 'Abdallah b. Sa'id's invasion did not originate this annual transaction but rather re-established, perhaps after interruption, a trade of longstanding. (Holt and Daly, p.16).
The treaty precluded settlement of either party in the country of the other. However, the Nubians were to provide protection to Muslim travellers and their allies travelling across Nubia.

The Nubians were to take care of the mosque the Muslims had built in the outskirts of Dongola, to allow Muslims to perform their prayer there, and they should cleanse it, light it and honour it.\(^{(1)}\)

Every year the Nubians were to pay to the leader of the Muslims 360 head of slaves; and should return to the land of Islam any slaves that might seek refuge in Nubia.\(^{(2)}\)

The Muslims, on their side, pledged peace and security towards the Nubians as long as they abided by the terms of that treaty.\(^{(3)}\)

The treaty was reported to have been written by Shuqayr in the month of Ramadān A.H.31/May-June 652.\(^{(4)}\)

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
When carrying out the treaty, the Nubians were said to have paid an extra 40 heads of slaves as a gift to the governor of Egypt.\(^1\) In response, the Muslims provided Nubia with a large gift of wheat, barley, lentils, oil, clothes and horses.\(^2\)

In reference to these mutual gifts MacMichael says: "the gift of one party was, in theory, no doubt the equivalent of that of the other".\(^3\)

The \textit{baat} treaty proved to have been of great importance and significance to the development of relations between Egypt and Nubia. In fact it was considered as the basis of good neighbourly relations between Egypt and Nubia for a period that extended almost for six centuries.\(^4\)

It was emphasized that the good relations that prevailed between Egypt and Nubia, during the Al-Mu`tamed, Ikhshidid and Fatimid periods were due almost entirely to the regular delivery of the \textit{baat} and the need of these regimes for large numbers of black slaves,\(^5\) mainly to fill the ranks of the Egyptian army.\(^6\)

\begin{footnotes}
3. \textit{Ibid}.
5. \textit{The Arabs}, p. 91.
\end{footnotes}
between the Arabs and the royal families of Nubia and exploiting the matrilineal system of succession of Nubia, the Arabs eventually succeeded in imposing their supremacy over al-Nuqarra, by seizing the Nubian throne.

For the first time, and by virtue of that system of succession, a Muslim — Sayf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Barsakambū, a nephew

1. "It is said that when a king [Nubian] dies and leaves a son and a nephew (the son of his sister) that the latter reigns after his uncle instead of the son; but if there is no sister's son, then the king's own son succeeds. The Arabs accepted and used for their purposes, this system of succession among the Nubiats". (MacKichan, vol.I, p.178). See also Ibn Khaldūn's confirmation in the next footnote.

2. Ibn Arabī, p.125. In reference to the Nubian matrilineal system of succession Ibn Khaldūn says: "The kings of Nubia, at first, tried to drive them [i.e. the Arabs] out by force. They failed, so they changed their tactics and tried to win them over by offering their daughters in marriage. Thus it was that their kingdom disintegrated for it passed to the sons of the Arab tribes of Suhayma from their Nubian mothers in accordance with the non-Arab practice of inheritance by the sister and her sons". (Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibār, vol.7, pp.922-3).
of King Dāwud, was raised by the Ḫamīlīk's help, to the Nubian throne, and Dongola itself fell to the Muslims in 717/1317.\(^1\)

Thus, the Islamization of the kingly office seems to have marked the end of the Christian kingdom — for in Nubia, the king was believed to have been the only person capable of inspiring his subjects and offering resistance to foreign invasion.\(^2\)

To commemorate his ascendancy to the Nubian throne and to mark the supremacy of Islam in his territory, the king was reported to have converted into a mosque the two-storey church of the capital.\(^3\)

The fall of Dongola to the Muslims seems to have removed the barriers and led to the mass immigration of Arab tribes then.\(^4\)

Thus, in effect, the Dongola region seems to have been dominated by the Arabs and converted into Islam. Not only that but Dongola then was said to have been regarded as a protectorate or dependency of Egypt and the shatba was read in the name of the caliph of the age and the ruler of Egypt.\(^5\)

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2. *Ibid.*., p.120.
3. *Ibid.*.
Nevertheless, following the collapse of the Christian kingdom of Dongola, Egypt, under the Yami'ka, for one reason or other, was said to have lost interest in Sudia.\(^1\) Hence, there resulted a complete gap,\(^2\) or a 'dark age' in the history of the Sudan - in the Egyptian records, the only source - for a period that extended for about one hundred and fifty years,\(^3\) or even two hundred.\(^4\)

Meanwhile, the process of the steady flow of immigration of Arab tribes seems to have been on the increase and to have drifted south into the kingdom of 'Alawa during that period. Such a process of the Arab penetration into 'Alawa was assumed to have resembled that of their forerunners in al-Ma'rib and al-Muqarrā - in the settled regions they intermarried with the families of the local chieftains and the indigenous inhabitants and by virtue of matrilineal succession they gained control of the people and the region.\(^5\)

By the end of the 9th/15th century both the kingdom of 'Alawa and its church were said to have become too weak to check the pressure of the Arab tribes who eventually overran it, under

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. The Arabs, p.128.
5. Ibid.
the leadership of the Qawanima chief — 'Abdallāh Jama', and became the rulers of 'Alawa. (1)

By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, however, the Arabs had to contend and clash with a formidable rival — the Funj who were said to have been recent immigrants pushing northwards, down the Blue Nile.(2)

As a result the Funj, under 'Umarra Manqas, emerged as kings and the 'Abdallāh (descendants of 'Abdallāh Jama') reduced to viceroys. (3)

Thus in 910/1504 the Funj and the Abdallāb were reported to have founded the first Muslim state — Funj kingdom(4) — with the king's seat at Sennar and his viceroy's headquarters first at Qarri, then at al-Halaya, near the junction of the two Niles. (5)

From the above brief survey it has been illustrated that it took nine centuries of slow process of Arabization and Islamization to convert the Sudan into a semi-culturally Arabized Muslim state.

1. The Arabs, p. 132.
2. Ibid., p. 133.
3. Ibid., p. 134.
by the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

During this long period there seems to have been no evidence of any serious attempt from the Muslim rulers - in particular those of Egypt - to annex the Sudan to Dār al-Islām or even to have been seriously concerned about the affairs of their fellow Muslim Arabs.

Not only that, but even after the fall of Dongola to the Muslims in the 8th/14th century and when the Āshūrā was read in the name of the Muslim Caliph and the ruler of Egypt(1), the rulers of Egypt seem to have totally ignored what was taking place in the Sudan - and for about two hundred years.(2)

Instead of consolidating the state of Islam and backing their missionary efforts by sending batches of 'ālim(3) and establishing institutions of learning in the new acquired Muslim territories, they seem to have left the Muslim Arab nomads on their own. Thus, the first generations of Muslims seem to have been denied the opportunity or even their entitlement to build up a genuine Islamic heritage and to spread genuine Islamic teachings.

At any rate, the nine centuries-long pre-Funj period, in effect, came to be characterized by lack of concern from the

1. See above.
2. The Arabs, p.128.
Muslim rulers of Egypt as far as the dissemination of Islamic teachings were in question. Internally there was not, then, a Muslim state or a Muslim ruler to look after the affairs of the Muslims and to create conditions conducive to the spread of learning.

Hence, the acute scarcity of 'ulama' who would have shouldered the task of spreading genuine Islamic teaching to the Sudanese Muslims, then.

As evidence of the scarcity of Muslim learning and teachers during the nine centuries of pre-Funj era, only very few and vague references seem to have been made to the arrival of teachers in the Sudan, as could be seen from the brief survey below.

The first-ever teachers claimed to have arrived in the Sudan were said to have been an official mission of 'ulama' from Baghdad, sent by the 'Abbásid caliph Mūrūn al-Mashhīd, in response to a request from a delegation said to have come from "Barr al-Sudan" for this purpose.¹

The 'ulama was reported to have responded positively and sent with the Sudanese delegation to Dongola (the capital of Christian Nūbia then) a mission of seven 'ulama' from the children of al-'Abbās, to teach the Muslims there the tenets of Islam.²

¹ Katib al-Shāhīd, p.124.
² Ibid.
The mission was said to have settled at Dongola and left behind a generation of descendants.\(^1\)

No more information was given about the Sudanese delegation or the Baghdad mission of \textit{\'ulama’}.\(^2\)

However, the fact that the report on the alleged mission was written by a Sudanese, based on local traditions and after an elapse of about ten centuries after the incident was claimed to have happened, casts a great doubt on its credibility.\(^2\)

The recent reference to the arrival of Muslim teachers during the pre-\textit{Fath} era was the one made to another official mission of \textit{\'ulama’} reported to have been headed by \textit{\'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Sulaym\textit{-\textit{\textit{al-'Aq\textit{-\textit{awâli}}}}}, a Fatimid propagandist, who was sent by the Fatimid general, Jawhar, to King \textit{\textit{\textit{George of Nubia}}}.\(^3\)

The purpose of the mission was said to have been twofold: first, to demand the resumption of the \textit{\textit{\textit{Fath}}}, which seems to have been withheld for some time; and second, to call the King of Nubia to embrace Islam.\(^4\)

1. \textit{\textit{\textit{Kâ\textit{-\textit{\textit{ah al-	extit{Sh\textit{-\textit{Ma\textit{-\textit{a}}}}}}}}}}, p.124.\(^5\)
2. The reference is to \textit{\textit{\textit{Kâ\textit{-\textit{\textit{ah al-	extit{Sh\textit{-\textit{Ma\textit{-\textit{a}}}}}}}}}}, writing about 1636 (Holt and Daly, p.26).\(^5\)
3. \textit{\textit{\textit{The Arabs}}}, p.91.\(^5\)
4. For the \textit{\textit{\textit{Fath}}}, see above, p.20, n.3.\(^5\)
5. \textit{\textit{\textit{The Arabs}}}, p.91, quoting \textit{\textit{\textit{al-Maqrîzî, al-	extit{-\textit{Lugafa}, IV, f.327B/228A}}}.
The first demand was said to have been positively responded to, but the second demand was not only rejected but the Pā'imi general himself was called upon to embrace Christianity.

However, the report gives an indication of the size of the Muslim population (adult men) and the tolerant attitude of the king towards these Muslims, when Abū Sulaym and sixty other Muslims were said to have been allowed to celebrate the occasion of ʿĪd al-ʿAdha (feast of sacrifice) freely, in the capital Dongola.

Although the report on the arrival of this mission in the Sudan seems to have been genuine, yet as far as the teaching aspect was concerned, it appears to have served little or no purpose at all.

Nevertheless, the responsibility of dissemination of Islamic teachings in the Sudan at that time was not shouldered by official missions, but was carried out by the voluntary efforts of individual teachers dedicated to the cause of Islam.

The earliest teacher on record to have settled in the Sudan was said to have been a Yemenī Arab, called Shu'ayb b. ʿĪd.

1. Holt and Daly, p.19.
2. The Arabs, p.92.
3. Ibid.
of Jābir, who were the fifth generation after him.\(^1\)

In addition to the above, Ghalamallah b. 'A'īd was regarded as a Ǧāfī Shaykh. In evidence of this, a qubra was said to have been erected over his tomb at Dongola.\(^2\) Not only that but in confirmation of his Ǧāfī status one of his descendants - al-Shaykh Muhammad Qay'ī - who was also regarded as a Ǧāfī Shaykh, was quoted in al-Tabaqat to have said that "most of the (Ǧāfī) Shaykhs of rank such as awārā, abār, budalā and nūjabā were direct descendants of my grand-father Ghalamallah.\(^3\)

The Ǧāfī status of his sons was also referred to in a study on Sufism in the Sudan.\(^4\)

However, in view of that sad situation of the Muslims of Dongola, at the time, Ghalamallah seems to have been more pre-occupied with the dissemination and consolidation of Islamic teachings - the Qur'ān and religious sciences and practices - than with the propagation of his Ǧāfī rituals.

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2. Ibid.; see also, "The Xinājas of the Sons of Jabin", below.
3. Al-Tabaqat, p.357.
4. Al-Tabaqat, p.351. awārā, abār, budalā and nūjabā, these were ranks of the Ǧāfī saints.
5. Qaibullāh, pp.60, 61.
Hence Yaqub was considered, primarily, a qurafi missionary who had come to the Sudan to propagate the Shadhiliyya Order in the country, and hence it was believed to have been the first qurafi Order to be introduced in the Sudan. Accordingly, he must have been familiar with the qurafi shalwa and its practices.

However, he was reported to have established a mosque at Sagadi where he taught the Qur'an to the Muslims there.

On the other hand, although Abu Dun'ana's qurafi mission does

2. The Arabs, p.178.
3. Ibid.
4. See chapter II.
Similarly al-Bandārī from al-Shām (Syria) and Ḥanūd b. Zarrūq from Ḥadramawt(2), the two learned men who were reported to have taught al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿArūbāb (b. 913/1507) at the maktāb, were known for their Sufi practices.(3)

1. Markhez, vol.II, pp.82, 86 and 195. One of the daughters of Abū Dunāma was said to have been married to ‘Abbās b. Jammā, the ‘Abbāsī Arab leader and viceroy of the Jumaylī Sultan Ḫumāʿa Donqas - and was said to have been the mother of al-Shaykh ‘Abī Ḥāfīẓ al-Ẓābī, who succeeded his father in his post. Another of his daughters was said to have been the mother of the great Sufi saint al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿArūbāb. A third daughter was said to have been the mother of al-Shaykh Ṣāmīd Abū ‘Abdāl, and a fourth daughter was said to have been married to the ancestor of al-Suwārīb family.


3. Ibid., pp.57, 190-1.
There are vague references to a group of religious men who seem to have flourished during the 'dark ages' (1) of the pre-Punj era, on the eastern bank of the Nile, near al-Qabâbî. (2) They were widely known as the "Sons of Awnallâh", whose origin has not been firmly established.

According to al-Qabâbî, the 'Sons of Awnallâh' were two men of religion and piety known as al-Qarîr and al-Qaqîr. (3) Al-Qarîr was said to have served as a judge under al-'Amaq. (4)

These two religious men were reported to have been so popular that all the people of the region that extended from al-Qabâbî to Shambat and al-Yalîya used to line behind them in prayer and for their baraka. (5)

Kâtib al-Sûna, however, refers to the 'sons of Awnallâh' as being seven men (not two), who lived during the time of al-'Amaq and that one of them - called al-Qarîr - was employed as

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1. Reference to the 150-200 years after the fall of Dongola to the Arabs (The Arabs, p.38).
3. Al-Qabâbî, p.73.
4. Indigenous inhabitants of 'Alââa before the establishment of the Punj Kingdom.
5. Al-Qabâbî, p.73.
a judge by al-ʿAnaj and that their graves remained visible near
village of Abu Malika. (1) His brother was said to have been transferred to their new settlement region, the Islamic teachings and practices they had inherited from their great ancestor.

Now, a closer look into the reports on the 'sons of 'Awnallâh' and the migrant descendants or 'sons of Ghulâm allâh' as alluded to above seems to reveal the greater similarity between the two groups.

Both groups seem to have consisted of men of religion and piety and influence over the inhabitants of the region. Both groups were living at the region of Abu Malika. Further, they seem to have been living at the same time. Sayd al-Darîr and his migrant brothers were the second generation after their grandfather Ghulâm allâh who lived in the middle of the 8th/14th century. (4) Hence his grandsons would have lived and died in

1. MacMichael, pp. 61f., p.15.
2. Ibid.
4. See above.
the next century - the 9th/15th, and before the time of al-Shaykh Idrīs b. al-Abbāb (d.913/1507). [1]

Moreover, each of the two groups had a member bearing the name of al-Tabīr.

From all the above, it could be concluded that the so-called 'sons of 'Awalīlāh' were no other than the 'sons of Ghulāmullāh'.

What seems of relevance to this study is to demonstrate that the religious message started by the celebrated teacher Ghulāmullāh in the Dongola region (the dissemination of the Islamic teachings) seems to have been carried on by his descendants, not only in the Dongola and Shayqiyya region - as did later his famous descendants, the sons of Jābir, during the Fūnj era [2] - but even before them, in the 9th/15th century and in the Christian kingdom of ‘Alaw, by his descendants the 'sons of Ghulāmullāh' - wrongly known as the 'sons of 'Awalīlāh'.

From the foregoing it seems clear that during the pre-Fūnj period there were very few genuine teachers engaged in the dissemination of Islamic teachings. Except for Ghulāmullāh b. 'īdī and, to some extent, Abu Dukāma, there seems to have been no indication of any substantial

1. Al-Tabāni, p.73, n.9.
2. See below.
ignorance of the Muslims of the time of the tenets of Islam on the one hand, and the lack of learned men on the other, the state of the superficiality of Islam amongst these people as described above, seems to have persisted up to the time of the establishment of the first Muslim state - the Funj kingdom, early in the 16th/18th century.'

However, in view of the scarcity of 'ulama' or Muslim teachers, as indicated above, and taking into consideration their vital role in respect of the spread of genuine Islamic teachings, it could be assumed that no genuine Islamization could have been achieved without their active participation.

Such a situation seems to have been clearly demonstrated by the state of Islam in the Sudan in the pre-Funj era.

For historical reasons, it took nine centuries of a slow process of Arabization and Islamization before the first Sudanese Muslim state - the Funj - could emerge, as was alluded
said to have been superficial. The task of disseminating the Islamic faith during these centuries was reported to have been carried out, in the main, by the immigrant Arab tribes and in particular by two groups of people - neither of whom was versed in the Islamic teachings, nor entirely disposed to its cause; the Muslim traders who were more concerned with their commercial activities, and the Arab nomads (or 'urbân) who were generally illiterate and consequently their knowledge of Islam was imperfect\(^2\) - and hence the superficiality of Islam amongst the early generations of Muslims in the Sudan.

To confirm such a state of affairs, and in reference to the situation after the fall of the Christian kingdom of Kuba in the early 8th/14th century, it was said that the Dongola and northern tribes knew no more of Islam than the shafâa (declaration of Islam) until, in the 6th/14th century, Shulâmallâh b. 'Id founded a seat of learning in Dongola,\(^3\) which he

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1. The \textit{hagg} treaty between the Muslims and the Nubians was said to have been concluded in 31/652 (al-\textit{Maghrizî}, vol.2, p.202) and the establishment of the Funj kingdom was in 910/1504 (al-\textit{Tas\=arî}, p.40).
2. \textit{The Arabs}, p.177.
The effect of al-Shaykh Ghulamalih and his mosque-schools, however, does not seem to have had any impact in the region up the Nile, beyond Dongola.

What seems to have been emphasized from the above, was the acute need for teachers and 'ulama' and above all for favourable conditions to carry out their sacred mission.

Moreover, what could be realized about the few teachers who managed to come and settle in the Sudan during the pre-Funj period was that all of them were said to have been qasfs.

It should be added that, not only the emigrant teachers who were said to have been qasfs, but their descendants, too, seem to

2. Ibid.
have followed their footsteps.
The Khalwatiyya Order was said to have been founded by Abu Muhammad al-Chalwati, who used to have been constantly attached to the Khalsa and to have ordered his followers to do likewise. In addition, the Khalwatiyya Order was reported to have been claimed as embracing the essence of all the other orders. What is of more relevance here was the fact that, as its name indicates, that Order was distinctly characterized by strong attachment of its members to the Khalsa.

According to al-Shahrazur, al-Shaykh Saheb al-'Araki was

1. Carabullah, op. cit., p.64.
2. Ibid., p.65.
3. Ibid., p.66.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
That is of direct relevance to us at this stage, as the
al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān used to practice seclusion at a khalwah
he had established besides the family's mosque of study.
According to al-Tabaṣṣāt while Dafa'llāh b. Luqābīl was anxiously
waiting for his son 'Abdallāh - who was, then, a student under
al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir - to recite his fīkh lesson
in order to assess his progress, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān
ordered his student to recite the lesson while excusing himself
that he was busy, "he entered his khalwah and closed it upon
himself."(1) And because of the baraka of the Shaykh the student
gave an exceptionally excellent recitation that amazed the
audience and pleased his father.(2)

Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān was said to have acquired his
fīkh experiences, and in particular the khalwah practices, from
Egypt, (3) while he was studying at al-Ashār under al-Shaykh
Muḥammad al-Sanūṣī, (4)

Al-Sanūṣī, it should be stated, was a student of al-Shaykh

2. Ibid.
4. Al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sanūṣī was one of the prominent fīkhī
doctor. He studied under al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ajbarī who was in
in turn a student of Gha ṣ ir al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn, the two
fāqīhīn. He finally chaired the Ṣ alāḥīt madhhāb in
Egypt and died about 995/1589; al-Tabaṣṣāt, p.345, n.1; Qāribullāh,
sp. cit., p.44, n.1.
ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ajbūrī who, in turn, was—like al-Shaykh 
Maḥmūd al-ʿArakī—a student of the brothers Laqqānī: Shams 
al-Ḥin and Nāṣir al-Ḥin.\(^{(1)}\)

Hence, both al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ṣabīr and al-Shaykh 
Maḥmūd al-ʿArakī before him, seem to have obtained their academic 
and Ṣūfī experiences from the same source.

Hitherto, Ṣūfism and Ṣūfī practices seem to have been 
restricted to individual Ṣūfī orders such as Shulām allāh b. ʿAʿīd,\(^{(2)}\) 
Abū Dūāmā,\(^{(3)}\) al-Bandārī\(^{(4)}\) Ṣamād b. Zarrūq\(^{(5)}\) and ʿAbd 
al-Rahmān b. Ṣabīr. Al-Shaykh Maḥmūd al-ʿArakī, too, though he 
was a head of a Ṣūfī order, yet, because of his preoccupation with 
the more pressing problem of dissemination of ʿilm, had to restrict 
his Ṣūfī activities to a narrow level.

However, the arrival of active representatives of the Ṣūfī 
Orders into the Funj kingdom, in the second half of the 10th/ 
16th century,\(^{(6)}\) seems to have given the greatest impetus to 
the spread of the ideas and practices of the Ṣūfī order.
to al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Pahlawī.\(^3\) Al-Bāhārī was said to have been the khāliqa of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī and propagator of his Ḥāfīz ṭariqa - the Ḥāfīzīyya - which was centred in Baghdad.\(^6\)

Al-Bāhārī was said to have come to the Sudan on the invitation of Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Jalīl, a Sudanese pilgrim, who had met him in Mecca.\(^7\) He was said to have introduced the Ḥāfīzīyya ṭariqa Order into the Farihand.\(^8\)

Although the other representatives of the ṭariqa orders mentioned above - al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Nihārī, al-Hīmānī

2. Ibid., p.43.
3. Ibid., p.42.
5. Ibid., p.42 and pp.128-130.
6. Holt and Daly, p.34.

7. Al-Tabāṣrī, p.128.
8. Ibid., p.142.
and 'Abd al-ʿĀmūsī were also said to have been propagators of methods of initiation and as the source of the opening of controversy: unlike the other propagators of the taṣābīḫ al-Ṣahābiyya, it seems to have addressed its call, primarily, to the non-ʿulama'. In addition, it seems to have chosen its first recruits from among the tribal leaders and representatives of prominent families. (2) Moreover, the method it employed to select its recruits to join its taṣābīḫ seems to have been

1. See p. 60 and n. 2, below.

2. Of his disciples were al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-ʿĀmīq (al-Ḥanāfī) of the Ḥikābiyya tribe; al-Shaykh Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaqqā al-Dārī of the Fāṣilī tribe; al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir the Great, leader of the 'Abdallāh tribe, successor of the cofounder of the Funj State—Abdullāh Jamīlī, Nīṣāī b. Ṭāfī who had planned the town of Arbaṣī and its mosque 30 years before Sennar; Shāḥ al-Dīn b. al-Fawwām, the Shurībiyya tribal leader; Ṭāfī, the ancestor of the Ṭalāwīn tribe; Ṭāfī al-Nāṣirī of the Jammūbiyya tribe and others.

Al-Jabber, p. 129, see also Qābūlullāh, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
absolute submission to the 

Shaykh, it seems, he had
hidden a number of rams into al-qatṭ (the inner store room); and addressing those intended to join the Path said: "I will initiate, guide and slaughter — and thus you will die in faith."(1) Hence, the people dispersed except al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-‘Adiq (al-Hamīn), who was, then, a youth.(2) Al-Bahārī entered him into al-qatṭ, initiated him into the Path and slew one of the rams, and its blood ran outside al-qatṭ (the inner room).(3)

Next, al-Shaykh Bān al-'Aqā al-Bārīr, who was, then, an old man, volunteered to join the tarfīqa, and hence he was initiated and another ram was slain — with its blood pouring out to the people.(4) Then al-Bahārī called for more people to join the Path, but the people (thinking that the two men had been slain) refused his method of initiation.(5)

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.110.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
the 'ilm such as al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Bukhārī to be initiated in the Sūfī Path, declined the order - declaring that he had read such 'ilm that he would not be preoccupied with anything besides it.(2)

Further, with a clear disregard to the 'ilm and the 'ilmār, it seems, al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Bukhārī was reported to have chosen as his khalīfa in the Sudan an almost illiterate man - Muhammad al-Hamīm,(3) who, according to al-Tabagat had never learnt, of the Qur'ān, beyond ārāb of al-salāsala.(4)

Such an appointment seems to have been a snub to the 'ilmār.

Not only that, but the general conduct of the appointed khalīfa (al-Hamīm) does not seem to have been in accord with

1. Al-Tabagat, p.110.
2. Ibid., p.235.
3. Ibid., p.317.
4. Qur'ān, ārāb 99 (one of the short ārāb of the Qur'ān, taught to beginners).
daughters of Abu Nadawda at Rufa'a and that the number of his wives reached ninety. (2)

This seems to have provoked Al-Addi Dushayn who was reported to have stopped him one day, after the Friday prayer at the mosque of Arba'in, and declared that Al-Shaykh Al-Hamza had violated the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet by marrying five and six and seven wives (at a time) and by taking the two sisters to wife. (3)

Al-Shaykh Al-Hamza replied that he had been permitted by the Prophet to do so (4). But Al-Addi Dushayn rejected that and pronounced the annulment of all the marriages of Al-Shaykh Al-Hamza. (5)

However, although the Suna applied the Shari'a Law in complete fairness, to the extent that he came to be known

1. Al-Sabace, p.320.
2. Ibid., p.319.
3. Ibid., p.321.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
afterwards as ṣāḥiḥ al-ṭadāla (judge of fair justice), yet it was the ṣūfī Shaykh who seems to have emerged victorious. In retaliation al-Shaykh al-Hamīm was reported to have cursed the ṣīḥīḥ praying, "May God split your skin"; and the ṣīḥīḥ was said to have been struck by an illness that caused his skin to come off like that of a serpent.

Further, the spiritual power of al-Shaykh al-Hamīm seems to have been greatly consolidated by another karāma (miracle) attributed to his two sons 'Alī and Nūr al-Dīn. Empowered by their father's baraka (blessings) the two sons were reported to have made four wild elephants, which had scared off their twenty-four camels, obey their orders and take the place of the camels and carry the logs of the dalayb trees to al-Kundazes for roofing the mosque and the khawwa of al-Shaykh al-Hamīm.

Thus al-Shaykh al-Hamīm seems to have risen as a great ṣīḥīḥ, a possessor of baraka and maker of karāma, and above all, a saint that emerged from the ṣīḥīḥ khalwa and khaliṣa of the Qāṭariyya Order.

The opposition raised against him for violating the Shaykh's

2. Ibid., p.321.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.365.
5. Ibid.
According to al-Tabaqat, women used to commit acts of "blame" in violation of Shari'a and hence were strongly opposed by the people (al-Tabaqat, p. 319). They were also reported to have been a certain category of ḥanifs who had become famous through Ḥamīd al-Qasrī, ʿAbd al-Qaddār and ʿAbd al-ʿUthmān al-Yamī. It flourished in Niyazūr and Khurāṣān since the middle of the 3rd century (A.H.). Their doctrine was said to have been based on two reasons:

a) The supreme self annihilation by concealing whatever abilities and spiritual powers God granted them.

b) Reforming the self by its purification from evil lest the people worshipped them. Hence they were said to have preferred to be seen in forms that appeared to be in contradiction with the Shari'a in order to expose themselves for blame and reprimand of people— and consequently came to be known as the al-malāmātīyya (al-Tabaqat, p. 319, n.1. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Qutri quoted Afīrī, A.A., al-Malāmātīyya, pp.495 and idem., al-Baqawī, pp.127, 275-280).

Reference in al-Tabaqat to the malāmātīyya category in the Sudan was made to Mālik al-Dālāshī (pp.313-5) and Youssef b. Yaqūb al-Dālāshī (pp.92-97).
As alluded to before, prior to the introduction of the 
Sufi orders in the Sudan, the Kheima practices seem to have been 
restricted to personal meditation by individual ascetics or 
Kheims (but with no affiliation to any Sufi Order or active role 
to initiate or recruit others). The exception of belonging to 
a Sufi Order could be the Kheima practices of Shaykh Yahyūd 
al-'Arākī, but his tarīqah was inactive and short-lived.

Now with the coming of the active representatives of the 
Sufi Orders, the Kheima seems to have become actively associated 
with these Orders - entering a Kheima was considered a 
prerequisite for joining the tarīqah - at the hands of the Shaykh 
for initiation in the Sufi Path.\(^1\) On the other hand, by the 
time the Orders entered the Sudan they had already been 
associated with the saint-cult,\(^2\), and manifestation of

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initiation ceremonies of the Qādiriyah Order which was 
introduced by al-Bahā'ī in the Sudan and became the 
dominant Order.

2. This saint-cult, according to Trimmingham, seems to have come 
to the Sudan from the Muslim world at that time 
(Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, p.126). In confirmation of 
this view see al-Sha'bānī's roles I and II which seems 
entirely devoted to biographies of saints, saint-cults and 
saints of the Sufi Path who flourished in Egypt and elsewhere. 
It was said to have influenced the author of al-Fakhrī who 
was well acquainted with it and hence it also seems to have 
influenced the attitude of the Sudanese [towards their saints] 
(Carībullāh, op. cit., pp.239-240).
barka (blessings) and karma (miracle making) and kašāf (removal of the veil). And the gate to such supernatural spiritual power was Qur′ī meditation and exercises in a khalwa.

According to Ibn Khaldūn "mystical exertion, retirement (khalwa) and dhikr exercises are as a rule followed by the removal of the veil or kašāf of sensual perception and the Qur′ī beholds divine worlds which a person subject to the senses cannot perceive at all".(1)

In the Sudan this phenomenon seems to have been greatly consolidated by Shaykh Taj al-Dīn al-Bahārī who was reported to have said to his disciples in reference to his young choiseer, khalīfah in the Sudan, "I have come from Baghdad for this boy [Muhammad al-Hamīn], I have appointed him khalīfah in my place; you should regard him in the same way you have regarded me".(2) Then, he was said to have conferred upon al-Hamīn the secret names of the Divine, their attributes and instructed him how to enter the khalwa and perform the rituals and exertion.(3) And henceforth the entry of the khalwa by the shaykh or a recruit of a Qur′ī Order came to be associated with kašāf (unveiling) and manifestation of karma (miracles): al-Tabaghī floods with references to the karma of the khālwa saints.

3. Ibid.
However, al-Shaykh al-Hamīn does not seem to have been the only qūfī saint in the arena and does not seem to have been recognized by the others as the chief khāṣīṣ, despite his appointment by al-Bahārī to such a post.

Hence, other qūfī Shaykhs were reported to have emerged manifesting karmāt: al-Shaykh Idrīs b. al-Arab who was initiated in the qūfī Path by al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghribī, and who must have experienced the hajma rituals, was said to have emerged as a qūfī saint, well known for his karmāt.

Among the reported karmāt of al-Shaykh Idrīs was his prediction of future events. For example, he was said to have foretold Bāb b. Rubā'ī, leader of the Punj army, about his victory over al-Shaykh 'Alīb and that he would be chosen as the king of Senmar. 3

He was also reported to have foretold al-Shaykh Muhammad Abū Idrīs about his future marriage and future children, among

1. Al-Tāhārī, p. 323.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 66.
whom was to be Dafa'allah(1)

Al-Shaykh Idris came to be known for his victory over the Malikite Faqih al-Shaykh ‘Ali al-‘Abdūrī over the dispute over smoking which al-Shaykh Idris held to have “heard” from the Prophet as being ḥaram (unlawful).(2) Then al-‘Abdūrī dismissed that claim, he was said to have been struck by blindness through the ḥarama of al-Shaykh Idris which he had to recognize in the end.(3)

Another Ḥūṣī Shaykh who was widely known for his ḥadīth and who also emerged at the time was al-Shaykh ‘Abdūn b. Ḥassūn. Al-Shaykh Ḥassūn who was said to have received his initiation in the Ḥūṣī Path from the Prophet was reported to have experienced Ḥajjwa retreat for several years at Ba‘ūba and came out as a saint of miracles.(4)

Among his ḥadīth was the reported restoration of life of his disciple ‘Affishā b. ‘Abdār who had drowned,(5) and the daughter of the boatman of al-Ḥassānāb.(6)

It was due to the rising prestige of the Ḥūṣī saints and

1. Al-Tabaqāt, p.69.
2. Ibid., p.54.
3. Ibid., p.55.
4. Ibid., p.44.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
as a direct result of the manifestation of the Karbâbat attributed to those evergreen Sûfî saints (such as al-Hamâlî and al-Shaykh ‘Idrîs) that the orthodox 'ulamâ‘ seem to have been induced and motivated to seek to join the Sûfî Orders. By taking such a step the 'ulamâ‘ seem to have been protecting their own status which seems to have been eroded by the emergence of the Sûfî saints.

Reference could be made here to al-Shaykh 'Abdallâh al-'Arâkî who, as alluded to above, \(^1\) had rejected the call of al-Shaykh Tâj al-Dîn al-Bahârî to join the Qâdiriyâ Order.\(^2\)

However, although now he was a recognized 'âlim and a State-appointed Judge, \(^3\) yet, when he saw that the disciples of al-Bahârî because of their Karbâbat [al-Hamâlî’s] were obeyed by the Punj and the Arabs he got jealous and seems to have regretted the chance he had lost. \(^4\)

Hence, in order to save his image and to make good the damage done, he decided to join the Sûfî Path, at the hands of al-Shaykh al-Bahârî. However, by the time he reached Mecca, al-Shaykh al-Bahârî had died \(^5\), so ‘Abdallâh al-'Arâkî who

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
seems to have been desperate about joining the Ḥaḍīth Path was initiated by al-Shaykh Ḥabīb allāh al-Ajamī - the successor of al-Shaykh Ṣājid al-Dīn al-Bahārī.\(^1\)

Another example of the Ḥizbī who were induced to join the Ḥaḍīth Orders was that of al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣughayrīn. When al-Shaykh Ṣughayrīn heard of the victory of al-Shaykh Idrīs over al-Aḥnūrī\(^2\), he came, accompanied by twenty of his students, to appraise the spiritual and the academic calibre of al-Shaykh Idrīs for themselves.\(^3\) Hence, they acknowledged his superior knowledge of Islamic teachings which they believed he had acquired through his ḥarakah and consequently they all rendered obedience to him and al-Shaykh Ṣughayrīn and his students ceased his to initiate them in the Ḥaḍīth Path.\(^4\) Thus al-Shaykh Ṣughayrīn, in turn, emerged as a Ḥaḍīth Shaykh - combining Ḥilāl and sufiism.\(^5\) Another Ḥilāl who sought to join the Ḥaḍīth Order was Muḥammad al-Wasallamī b. Abī Ṣanāʾī who, at first, posed himself as an ignorant man, and when al-Shaykh Ṣafī'allāh discovered his intention, admitted him to a ḫalaṣa of meditation from which he emerged as a maṭīt - a possessor of ḥarakah and ṣūfinīs.\(^6\)

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1. Al-Tahāqūt, p.254.
2. Ibid., pp.54-55.
3. Ibid., p.56.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.275.
6. Ibid., pp.84-88.
Meanwhile fierce competition - and even rivalry - seems to have riven amongst the emerging Şūfiyya of the time over the chair of the chief Ḥaḍīth of the Order.\(^2\) Hence, there arose independent Şūfi Shaykhs - each proclaiming himself as the chief representative of the Order and claiming the manifestation of karāmāt and establishing a Şūfi centre.

Reference could be made in this respect, in particular to those \textit{fātimāt} who joined the Şūfi Orders and emerged as renowned Şūfi Shaykhs:

- al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-'Arakī, after being initiated in the Qādiriyah Order by al-Shaykh Ḥabīballāh al-'Adamī,\(^3\) returned to his home district. There he embarked on guidance and initiation in the Şūfi Path. His \textit{taqāsīm} was said to have spread more than the others and to have gained more popularity than that of the

2. For elaboration on this issue, see Qarṭūblān, op. cit., pp.134–212.
Muhammad al-Miqri, emerged as a great ḥāfīz shaykh, a possessor of ḥaraka and maker of ḥarāzār. When Gourpola was struck by famine, he was said to have supplied the people with palm leaves which, through his ḥaraka, were converted into silver. Not only that, but he was said to have been in control of the king of the seven kings of ṭalim, and that the kings of Sennar and the kings of Ṣa‘al rendered him obedience. Al-Shaykh Muhammad b. Ḥabīb as an ṭalim and a ḥāfīz shaykh was thus one of those who combined ṭalim and ḥāfīz.

Al-Shaykh Ya‘qūb b. Ṣā‘īd al-Naqā, after completing his study of ṭalim under al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣā‘īd, returned home and succeeded his father who had initiated him in the ṭalim order. He was reported to have differed with al-Shaykh

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.349.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.348.
6. Ibid., p.373.
legal rank and conduct of justice."

- Al-Shaykh Badawi al-Dulayyiq (d. 1118/1707), who studied under al-Shaykh Sugayr bin Khayr al-Dawla, was reported to have claimed that on several occasions he experienced visions that indicated that he would be a man of great spiritual status. The more important visions seem to have been the ones in which he was reported to have claimed that, while he was in a khatija, he was chosen as the khalifa of the Order of al-Shaykh Abi al-Qadir al-Caylan in the Sudan. Thus he proclaimed himself, not only as a Gafir saint, but as the second khalifa of the Qadiryya Order in the Sudan.

- Al-Shaykh Safi bin al-Daqiq (d. 1167/1754) was the third

1. Al-Fahd, p. 373.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 124.
5. Ibid., pp. 116-120.
6. Ibid., pp. 118-9
Hence al-Shaykh Qālīb established himself as the Khalīfa of the Qūsīyya Order.

Xenien should also be made of famous orthodox 'ulamā who joined the Sūfī Path (thus combining 'ilm and Sūfīsm) and who flourished in their own right in their own regions as independent Sūfī shaykhs, such as:

- Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hamadī at Mūrī who established a dynasty of Sūfī 'ulamā and possessors of barā'ī such as his son Madānī al-Nāṣīq (the one who spoke from his grave).

- Al-Shaykh al-Mahmūd b. Abī Ṣanīya, an ex-student of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir who was reported to have combined 'ilm and Sūfīsm and embarked on teaching and guidance in the Sūfī Path. He was also reported to have established

1. Al-Tābihat, p.239.
2. See p.57, above.
4. Ibid., p.237.
5. Ibid., p.352.
6. Ibid., p.79.
an independent Sufi centre (in northern Gezira) run by his
descendants who emerged as Sufi saints, too. Among them was
al-Shaykh al-Qaddāl who was reported to have been seen flying on
his bed.\(^1\)

- Al-Shaykh Khājjālī b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (d.1155)\(^2\) was one of
the most famous Sufi Shaykhs during the Funj era. He was known
for his strict adherence to the Kitāb, the Sunnah and following
his Shadhili masters in their teachings and practices.\(^3\) Of
his reported karāmat was his claim that he had saved the dying
Fatimah b. 'Ubayd from the angel of death;\(^4\) and that he was
said to have caused the river to flood.\(^5\)

Another outstanding Sufi Shaykh [of the Shadhili Order]
who emerged and established an independent centre, was al-Shaykh
Hamad b. al-Majdāb (d.1190/1777).\(^6\) Al-Shaykh Hamad was
reported to have combined 'ilm and Sufism and embarked on
disseminating both.\(^7\) His famous centre at al-Dāmr continued
to flourish for a long time afterwards and to extend its influence
across the country.\(^8\)

1. *Al-Takābī*, p.84.
7. *Ibid*.
8. See the khulnas of al-Majdāb, pp.194-223, below.
Henceforth, almost every Şīrī 'Allām emerged as a saint or Şīrī Shaykh and was believed by his followers of the masses to have been in possession of būsūk and to have manifested a number of karamāt.

These karamāt, which were widely held as substantial evidence of the Şīrī Shaykh's spiritual powers, were reported to have covered almost all aspects of life during the Funj era, and to a lesser degree in the subsequent periods.

The main areas of the manifested karamāt, as alluded to above, were stated to have included the following:

"a knowledge of the hidden thought of men and of future events; power over animate and inanimate objects; ability to fly in the air and walk over the surface of water; the art of healing by prayers or incantation and even of restoring the dead to life."(1)

It was as a result of these miraculous powers of the Şīrī Shaykhs that the masses came to have unquestioned belief in their Mihna saints. To these masses "the sacred, the būsūk, the unseen, the supernatural and their appearances were very real...The cult of the saint, both alive or dead, was their religion".(2)

CHAPTER THREE

HOW THE KHALWA BECOMES AN INSTITUTION OF LEARNING

What is of concern to us from the foregoing was that the khalaṣṣ had been depicted as the centre of the gūrī rituals and karmāt; and seems to have become the focus of attention of the masses - the followers of the numerous gūrī shaykhī who emerged from these khalaṣṣ. All this seems to have resulted in the wide spread of the idea and practices of the khalaṣṣ.

Meanwhile, a parallel and more significant development was taking place - the gradual transformation of the khalaṣṣ into an institution of learning. This development seems to have come primarily as a result of the entry of the 'ulama into the gūrī khalqa.

With the dominance of the gūrī orders in the Sudan, almost all of the 'ulama seem to have joined their ranks. According to Tringham, mysticism so completely pervaded the Sudan that most of the representatives of the Sharīʿa were also the representatives of that deeper aspect of religious life. (1)

The common term used in al-Tabaqāt describing that phenomenon were: "those who combined, or united, jilīm and ṯūrīsm" - as has been referred to above. (2)

As a result of this development the same person "who combined

1. Tringham, S., op. cit., p. 130.
2. See examples of gūrī shaykhī.

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ilm and Ḫalwat was a teacher conducting the teaching of the Qurʾān or ilm at the mosque (the original Islamic institution of learning) and, also, performing his Ḥalwī rituals at his khālaq.

Since both institutions were usually adjacent to each other - as could be inferred from the anecdote of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣābir and his student, Ḥabīl b. Ḥārak[1] - the khālaq which was the focus of attention and the seat of Ḥakīmat seems to have gradually eclipsed the mosque (the masjid), took over its teaching function and gradually developed into an important educational institution, that overshadowed the mosque and eventually supplanted it.

This point seems to have been confirmed by 'Abd al-Majīd, according to whom the development came as a result of the fact that the Ḥalwī teacher al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣābir, who emerged before the arrival of al-Bahā'ī in the Sudan, used to have both his mosque, for study (of the Hanafite school), and his khālaq for Ḥalwī meditation, erected on the same site.[2]

Accordingly, he believes, the people became so lenient in their usage of the term khālaq (which denotes the Ḥalwī cell of meditation which he had transferred from Egypt) that it became synonymous with the teaching masjid.[3]

1. Al-Bahā'ī, p.25.
3. Ibid.
A similar view seems to have been expressed by Yusuf Fa'iz Yassin who states that when the 'ulema' united 'ilm and Sufism, the mosques were used as centres for their educational and devotional activities. Around these mosques, khalwas were established for both the Ṣā'ī'ī shaykh and his aspirants to conduct their Ṣūfī rituals. However, these khalwas were also used as places of instruction—thus the same khalwa combined both services [meditation and instruction], as the same teacher had combined both. (1) With the dominance of the Ṣūfī culture in the Sudan, the term khalwa became more indicative of the institution of learning. (2)

Somewhat the same idea of how the khalwa was transformed into an educational institution was expressed by Ḥabib Allah al-Ṭayyib who says: "the idea was that the religious teachers sought to be alone in pursuit of mystical meditation or asceticism; then as the Qur'ān teaching and all literacy education became associated with the fakīs (khalwa teachers) who practised seclusion in one way or another, the word khalwa came to mean the Qur'ān school". (3)

From the above, it seems clear that the development of the

2. Ibid.
khalaṣ into an educational institution, in addition to its original function of ṣūfi meditation, was a result of the fact that the same teacher of the Qur'ān, or 'ilm, was a ṣūfi practitioner conducting all religious activities from his khalaṣa - that is, activities of the ṣūfi Path in addition to his original role as a teacher of 'ilm and/or the Qur'ān.

As to how the actual process of transforming the khalaṣ of meditation into a khalaṣ of instruction, there seems to be no detailed information on this aspect. However, most probably the ṣūfi shaykh received his students for the Shari'ī's subjects - the Qur'ān and 'ilm - at his khalaṣa of meditation, in the same way as he received some of them as novices for initiation in the ṣūfi Path. And it might, also, be that he instructed some of his ṣūfi followers in the Shari'ī's subjects besides his ṣūfi rituals.

At any rate, the study or the instructional activity of the children at the khalaṣ does not seem to have been taking place simultaneously, and under the same roof, with the ṣūfi rituals of the shaykh. But rather, the children either assembled outside that khalaṣ or had a separate and more spacious khalaṣ for the purpose of education adjacent to the shaykh's.

As to who first transformed the khalaṣ of meditation into a khalaṣ of study, concrete evidence seems to be lacking. Although 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Maḥdī claims that it was ṣūfi shaykh 'Abd al-Haṣān b. Ẓābir who first introduced the khalaṣ for
meditation which because of its proximity to the mosque of

As alluded to above, al-Shaykh Ḫāmil al-ʿArakī was the initiator and head of the Baitiyya - a branch of the Khaldīyya Order - in the Sudan. (2) Thus he was the first one to have emphasized the khalwa in the Punj kingdom. (3) At the same time it should be noted that he was also a dedicated ḫalīm who established seventeen schools (or fifteen khalwas) (4) for teaching ḥilāl and the Qurʾān, along the White Nile, between Alays (al-Kawwa) and Khartoum. (5)

The khalwas (the schools) established, or initiated, by al-Shaykh Ḫāmil al-ʿArakī seem to have lasted for more than a hundred and fifty years, i.e., from the time of his return from al-Ashar at about 938/1531 (6) till the final destruction of these khalwas by Shilluk and by Umm Laym, the year of famine and smallpox in 1095/1684. (7)

1. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḍī, op. cit., p. 100.
2. See above
3. See above
4. Trimingham, op. cit., p. 100.
5. al-Saḥābā, p. 145.
6. See p. 49, above.
7. al-Saḥābā, p. 145; Holt and Daly, op. cit., p. 34.
Shalwa came to be known as a place of study. Al-Shaykh al-
Rahmān b. Jābir who, like al-Shaykh Mahṣūd al-ʿArakī studied
at al-Azhar, was said to have brought the idea and practice of
the gīrī khālwa from Egypt, and seems to have transformed
that khālwa to serve also as an institution of learning.

Al-Tabaṣṣāt refers to this development as follows: "Shaykh
Ismaʿīl b. Jābir, brother and a student of al-Shaykh ʿAbd
al-Rahmān b. Jābir, sat at his khālwa ('ʿAbd al-Rahmān's) after
him...and of those who studied under him were al-Shaykh
Sughayrūn and al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Hamadīțī.

However, by the time of Ismaʿīl's successor - Idrīs b. 'ʿAbd
al-Rahmān b. Jābir - the khālwa ceased to function.

2. 'ʿAbd al-Majīd, op. cit., p. 100.
3. Al-Tabaṣṣāt, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 48.
Hence under Shaykh Isha'ī l-b. Jāfīrī and Idrīs b. 'Abd al-Rahīm the khalwa, as an educational institution, seems to have become an established fact.

Thus, by this time (early 11th/17th century) with the increasing dominance of Ṣūfism and with more 'ulūmā' joining the Ṣūfī Path, the khalwa, as an educational establishment, seems to have been increasingly gaining popularity. In confirmation of this trend, al-Tahārī cites references to representatives of prominent families of teachers who had developed and spread such khalwas.

Al-Shaykh Ḍaf'allāh al-'Arāqī (1003/1595 - 1094/1682)\(^1\) at Abī Hamīd used to have a khalwa for the instruction of children (khalwat al-Sīlyān) besides the khalwa for the Ṣūfī rituals. Muhammad al-Nasallāhī who, in order to be initiated

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However, the origin of that khalwa seems to go back to al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-‘Arākī, the founder of al-‘Arākiyyīn Qādiriyya Order.\(^2\) In reference to that earlier period Abd al-Qāsim b. Dafa‘allāh al-‘Arākī (mid 19th century) was reported to have said that al-Shaykh ‘Abdallāh al-‘Arākī used to have several khalwān where each was used by a group of students for study.\(^2\)

In Eastern Sudan, at the khalwān of al-Shaykh Qāsim b. Birūnī (d. 1075/1663)\(^4\) the student used to write copies of the Qur’ān.\(^5\) From the al-Shubush family al-Shaykh 'Umar b. Abd al-Majīd al-Aghbāsh was said to have studied under his father and succeeded him at his khalwān, and many students studied under him too - amongst these was 'Umar al-Majīdhū (1105/1693 - 1190/1776)\(^6\). Another teacher from the same family (al-Shubush),

1. *Al-Tawārīkh*, p. 84.
4. *Al-Tawārīkh*, p. 149.
al-Shaykh Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Aghbash, was reported to have taught al-ṣirāṭh - the Law of Inheritance - at his khāla at al-Qoz (al-Abwa region) to his ex-student - Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Qudūm and his group for seven years. (1)

At al-Qoz, too, and from the family of Qughayrūn, Abu al-‘Abbas Sa‘īd al-‘Udī who was said to have shared with al-faqīh Ballāl b. Muhammad al-Azraq (flourished 700-1138) his introductory session of teaching fiqih (waqliq al-fiqīth), used to read and revise to the students at his khāla. (2)

At al-Halafūn, Abu al-‘Abbas Sa‘īd b. Dayfallāh, who was outstanding for teaching ilm al-fastīd and khaliq, succeeded his father at al-Halafūn. (3) Al-Halafūn Abu Surūr al-Faqīlī used to teach al-ṣaqīd at his khāla which were to the south of Halafūn. (4)

Khala‘man, then, seem to have spread to Kordufan region in western Sudan. Al-Shaykh Mukhtar b. Muhammad b. Sūdat-Allah (12th/13th century) had a khala‘ with a large number of students. (5)

From the foregoing, it seems to have been clearly demonstrated

2. Ibid., p.78.
3. Ibid., p.66.
4. Ibid., p.106.
5. Ibid., p.246, n. 1.
how the khalwa has gradually been transformed from a personal Sufi cell, for seclusion and meditation, into a private Islamic institution of learning, taking over the educational (and other) functions of the mosque, and hence, providing the masses with free religious education (a blend of orthodoxy and Sufi teachings) together with lodging and upkeep, for free, too.

Consequently, the term "khalwa", in the Sudan, has, by time, come to be universally indicative of an Islamic educational institution centred primarily on the Qur'an.

In confirmation of this development it seems relevant to cite references to the khalwa (as an educational institution) made by a number of prominent scholars.

Speaking about education in the 19th century, in the Sudan, 'Abd al-Kadir states that the khalwa was the term most widely used in the Sudan in reference to an institution of learning.\(^1\)

Confirming this and indicating other functions of the khalwa, Hillelson writes that, "a school was called a khalwa - a term used for the retreat of ascetics and for the guest chambers attached to the settlements of the holy men."\(^2\)

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1. 'Abd al-Kadir, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. I, p.79.
Tracing back the emergence of the *khalaṣa* as an institution of learning to the 16th century, Tringham says, "...the sons of Ǧābir(1) founded in the 16th century *khalaṣa* in the Ṣhāyqiyya country and acquired considerable influence."(2)

With the dominance of the Ǧūfī in the Sudan, the word *khalaṣa* became the most widely-used term indicative of an institution of learning.(2)

"Early in the 16th century Qur'ānic Schools were established in the Sudan on a large scale, such schools were called *khalaṣa*."(3)

"Between the 16th and the 19th centuries the mosque and the *khalaṣa* were the only organized places for education in the Sudan(4)...and the *khalaṣa* was the most important."(5)

"These fact[ s] schools, in whatever degree, were known as *khalaṣa*".(6)

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CHAPTER FOUR

EXAMPLES OF KHALWA CENTRES OF THE FURUI PERIOD

A. The Khalwa Centre of the Son of Jäbir

The Khalwa centre that flourished under the Son of Jäbir(1) has already been alluded to. It was established at Turunj(2) between the middle of the 10th/16th century and the first quarter of the 11th/17th century. Its duration seems to have been short(4)

However, the origin of the Khalwa could be traced back to the ancestor of the family of Shaykh Chulamullah b. 'Abi'd, who founded the first seat of learning at Dongola in the second half of the 8th/14th century.(2) On the other hand, it seems to have

1. These were Ibrahim al-Bulad, 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Abd al-Rahim and Jamil Jil (and their sister Fatima) sons of Jäbir b. 'Aam b. Salim b. Ruba'i b. Shaykh Chulamullah. They were all distinguished for their learning and piety (al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p.47).
3. Al-Bulad was said to have returned from Egypt about 962 AH, al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p.41.
4. The Khalwa was said to have come to an end by the time of the fourth principal of Khalwa of the Khalwa - Idris b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Jäbir (al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p.47).
been revived through its immediate extension, by way of kinship and study, the *khala* of al-Shaykh Ṣughayrūn, which continued to flourish up to the second half of the 12th/13th century. (1)

Hence the learning institutions of the family of the sons of Jābir could be considered as among the ones that seem to have survived for very long periods. At any rate, the *khala* of the sons of Jābir seems to have had a great impact on the dissemination of learning in the Funj kingdom, as could be illustrated by the fact that most of the founders of *khala* centres had their studies under the prominent teachers of the family of Jābir. (2)

The *khala* of the sons of Jābir seems to have evolved from the mosque (kasjid) which the eldest son, Ḥrāhin al-Ḥulād, was said to have established (at Turunj) after his return from his studies at al-ʿashar to his home district - Turunj Island - on the main Nile in the Shāyiyya region, at the beginning of the reign of al-Shaykh ʿAjib the Great, about A.H.562. (3)

At al-ʿashar al-Shaykh Ḥrāhin al-Ḥulād was reported to have received his studies at the hamūn of the Ḥalikite jurist Ṣāibh

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1. See the *khala* Centre of Ṣughayrūn, below.
2. See the outstanding students of the *khala* of the Sons of Jābir who later flourished as great teachers at the end of this section.
3. Al-Jabarti, p.41, n.10.
al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Hanafī (4996/1590)\(^1\), as did his two brothers - 'Abd al-Rahmān and Ismā'īl and some of their students afterwards.\(^2\) Hence, at his masjīd he embarked on teaching fiqh according to the Maliki school of Islamic Law - and in particular through the two standard fiqh text books: Mukhtasar Khaliṣ\(^3\) and al-Risāla\(^4\), which al-Bulād was said to have been the first to introduce in the Fars territory.\(^5\)

Although he taught for only seven years before his premature death,\(^6\) yet his masjīd became so reputed for learning that it attracted students from distant places and continued to function under his brothers as an important centre of Islamic teachings.

However, it was under his successor and brother, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir, that the masjīd seems to have developed into a khālwa of learning, and to have flourished most. As alluded to above, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir was not only a learned man but a practising Sūfi Shaykh who used to frequent his khālwa for his Sūfī rituals,\(^7\) while pursuing his function

1. Al-Jahshī, p.46, n.9.
3. See "Curricula and Books", below.
4. Ibid.
5. Al-Jahshī, p.46.
6. Ibid., p.257.
as a teacher at the Khuṭba.

His succession to the teaching post of his predecessor and brother, al-Šu’ād (and to his administrative post) has been stated in al-Tashāqāhī as: "he sat in his brother's place and taught fish and all the arts".\(^{(1)}\) But the direct reference to the Khuṭba as a place for learning under al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān was mentioned in association with his successor — his brother Ismā‘Īl — as follows:

"...al-Shaykh Ismā‘Īl b. Jābir who was taught fish (Khuṭba and al-Shu’ād) by his brother al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and at al-Āshār, also (2) ...sat after his brother at the Khuṭba, and many people benefited from him; and among those he taught were al-Shaykh Ǧuḥayrūn and al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥamdūt.\(^{(3)}\)

It seems that the Khuṭba continued to flourish under al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir for about forty years.\(^{(4)}\)

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1. al-Taḥṣīṣ, p.257.
2. Ibid., p.47.
3. Ibid.
4. (a) Ibrāhīm al-Šu’ād taught Khuṭba seven times (al-Taḥṣīṣ, p.46) and he actually taught for seven years (Ibid., p.257).
(b) Ǧuḥayrūn taught Khuṭba 15 times (Khatmāt), (Ibid., p.238) and his actual teaching time was 15 years (Ibid., p.63).
(c) Al-Isayn b. Ǧuḥayrūn completed 50 Khatmāt of Khuṭba (Ibid.,
months at each. (1)

It seems also interesting to note that, of his many students, forty were reported to have distinguished themselves and reached the stage of đâ‡€ in learning and piety. (2) It must be through these graduates of the khâ‘la of Jâ‘bîr’s sons – the students of al-Shaykh ‘Âbd al-Râ‘mân, and those taught by his brothers – that the influence of this institution in teachings, and to some extent the Sûfî khâ‘la practices, seems to have spread to other parts of the Fund Kîngon, as would be referred to, below.

However, upon his death, he was succeeded by his brother Isma‘îl, as indicated above, and the latter was succeeded by his nephew – ‘Âzâ‘îs b. ‘Âbd al-Râ‘mân b. Jâ‘bîr (3) in whose period of

p. 238), and his teaching career lasted for 50 years (ibid., p. 65). Hence a khatma seems to stand for a year’s course; and accordingly, al-Shaykh ‘Âbd al-Râ‘mân b. Jâ‘bîr who completed 40 khatmas of Khâ‘la (ibid., p. 252) must have taught for forty years.

1. Al-Zânî, p. 252.
2. Ibid., as it seems to have been regarded as one of the highest Sûfî ranks.
3. Ibid., p. 48.
marriage to the queen of Kajaba who insisted that the khalwa be transferred to her palace, for she was not satisfied with the arrangement of her husband seeing her at the week-ends only. Such an offer which seems to have been acceptable to the teacher, was rejected by the students, who refused to move to the Queen’s palace out of piety, for fear of being distracted from their studies by the Queen’s beautiful maidens. (2) Hence, they dispersed to other khalwas of more dedicated Shaykhs. A group was said to have joined al-Shaykh Ṣughayrūn (at al-Qus, al-Ubaid region), and another joined al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasādrū (at Ṣuqri), amongst whom was al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAbd al-ʿAbd al-ʿAbd al-Aqībān. (3)

Thus, the khalwa of Ṣuqri’s sons, on Turjma Island, seems to have come to an end. Nevertheless its impact seems to have been very considerable. Despite its short period of flourishing, its mission was carried over by its prominent graduates all over the Punj kingdom. Of these graduates reference could be

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.49.
made by those who established *khalaṣ* that flourished as famous centres of learning and who developed into prominent families of teachers that managed those centres for centuries through a hereditary system of succession, such as:

- Al-Shaykh ‘Abdallāh al-‘Arakī who founded the family’s *ṣūfi* tradition and instituted its *khalaṣ* learning which flourished into a great centre under al-Shaykh Ṣaḥāf'allāh al-‘Arakī at Abū Surūs, on the Blue Nile, Gezira region.⁽¹⁾

- Al-Shaykh Ya’qūb b. Sān al-‘Naqā al-‘Qāfir whose *khalaṣ* centre flourished at al-‘Camra, Sennar region, Gezira.⁽²⁾

- Al-Shaykh al-Musallamī Abū Marīsā, who established a *khalaṣ* that developed under his successors into an important centre — north of al-Manfarī — Gezira region.⁽³⁾

- ‘Isā b. Ǧāḥib al-‘Idāsī, who started a seat of learning at Dongola that flourished into an important *khalaṣ* centre under his son — al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Isā — Suwār al-Dhanāb.⁽⁴⁾

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1. Al-Ǧabārī, pp.252-5; 206-10.
2. Ibid., pp.371-4.
3. Ibid., pp.79-88.
Al-Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Aqbash, whose khalsa centre, at al-Aqbash, flourished into a famous institution for teaching the Qur'ān and its sciences. It should be noted here that 'Abdallah al-Aqbash was a student at both the khalsa of Jabir's sons and that of Sawār al-Tabahāb.\(^1\)

Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yamātū, who started a learning centre at Mūrī that flourished under him and his descendants into a highly reputable teaching institution.\(^2\)

Al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣughayrūn - nephew of the sons of Jabir who was a companion of Yamātū when they were both students under al-Shaykh Ja'far b. Jābir and al-Shaykh al-Ḥanāfī, at al-Ahwāz, and who established his famous khalsa at al-Pujayla (al-Qos) al-Abī region.\(^3\)

The above mentioned graduates of the khalsa centre of Jabir's sons all became famous teachers, in charge of their khalsa as will be discussed below - in addition to others who seem to have flourished after them.

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1. Al-Qabābī, p.280.
2. Ibid., pp.257-8.
3. See below under "The khalsa centre of Ṣughayrūn"; al-Abāb refers to the Ja'fariyya region between the confluence of river Atra and the Nile and Shendi; it also refers to Khaubāniyya or Husaynī. It was a meeting place of many commercial routes (al-Qabābī, p.44, n.2).
The founder was Shaykh Muhammad Sarhân - nicknamed Shughayrân (little). His father was Sarhân b. Muhammad b. Sarhân, a cultivator from Argo Island, and his mother was Fatima bint Jâbir who was said to have been equal to her four brothers - the sons of Jâbir - in 'ilm and pîstî. 

Muhammad Shughayrân learnt the Qur'an and fiqh (khulîî and al-hisâla) under his maternal uncle al-Shaykh Ismâ'îl b. Jâbir at Turmaq and was given an ijâzah (licence) for teaching. Then, like his uncle before him, he travelled to Egypt and studied under the same teacher at al-Ashârî, the Mâlikite jurist al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Sânîfâri. On his return from al-Ashârî he embarked on teaching at his uncle's school, at Turmaq, most probably succeeding his teacher al-Shaykh Ismâ'îl b. Jâbir. However, his cousins were said to have become jealous of him and plotted to kill him and, as a result, he was forced to leave his home island altogether. Then, through the assistance of

2. Ibid., p. 226.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
5. Ibid., p. 236.
6. Ibid.
7. See the khalq of the Sons of Jâbir, above.
8. Al-Tâhâqî, p. 236.
the newly installed Funj monarch, King ʿAbdī b. Rubāḥ (ascended the throne 1020/1611-2) who seems to have been a spiritual adherent of al-Shaykh ʿUqabān(1) the latter and his family (his mother, his wives and children) in addition to his students, moved south to al-Abwāb region and settled at the site of al-Fujayya (al-Qoz) where he established his mosque (zhala) about 1021/1612.(2)

At al-Fujayya he earnestly embarked on teaching the Qurʿān and figh and his zhala by time rose in fame and popularity and was said to have attracted students from all over the Funj kingdom.(3)

Meanwhile, al-Shaykh ʿUqabān was said to have established an excellent spiritual relationship with the famous ʿUqf of the Qādirīyya Order al-Shaykh Idrīs b. al-ʿArbāb and followed him in the ʿUqf Path.(4)

Thus, al-Shaykh ʿUqabān seems to have added to his attributes the title of a ʿUqf Shaykh — or the combination of ṣīla and ʿUqfism.(5) From now on, it seems, his institution of learning could be considered as being fully transformed into a zhala. Al-Shaykh ʿUqabān, however, did not live long, and

1. Al-Ṭakrīrī, p.236.
2. Ibid., p.237.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.56, 236.
5. Ibid., p.235.
died in A.H.1036 after teaching only for fifteen years at his newly established khalwa."Nevertheless, even during this short period, al-Shaykh Shushayrûn seems to have laid down the solid foundation for the family tradition in teaching at their famous centre at al-Fujayyâh (al-Qus), and to have set the example for his descendants and students to follow. Under his successor – his son al-Zayn – the khalwa seems to have witnessed its golden age. Al-Zayn was born in the Shayliya region and was said to have been taught [and initiated in the Shi‘i Faith] by his father. He lived longer than his father and, inheriting his prestige, he taught for fifty years – thus he was reported to have taught three generations: the grandfathers, the fathers and the grandsons. During al-Shaykh al-Zayn’s long period of shayla’, the khalwa seems to have reached its highest fame as a learning institution. It was said to have embraced more than a thousand students, coming from all parts of the Pusht kingdom. And, as a result, all the faqîhs and judges of the region and even as far as Dâr Sulaym (Nasîrîyeh) beyond, were said to have been taught (at the khalwa) by al-Shaykh al-Zayn or by his students. When al-Shaykh al-Zayn died in 1086/1075.

1. His son and successor al-Shaykh al-Zayn seems to have taught for fifty years and died in 1086 – hence al-Shaykh Shushayrûn must have died in 1036 (al-Fâhîfî, pp.74–76).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
the administration of the khalwa was passed over to the designated Khalifa - al-Shaykh al-Zayn’s favourite son - Muhammad al-Azraq, who had been taught Siah by both his father and uncle Ibrahim al-Rajar.\(^1\)

However, al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Azraq though he was designated for succession, yet he actually took over after his uncle Ibrahim al-Rajar (d. 1096 A.H.).

Al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Azraq continued managing the khalwa, teaching and guiding his followers till he died in 1106/1696.\(^2\) Hence, he seems to have been in office for ten years only.

In line with the family tradition, the khalwa was run by his successor - his son Ballal, who was taught by his father.\(^3\)

It is interesting to note that the name of al-Shaykh Ballal as a teacher at the khalwa was in most cases associated with his assistant (and brother-in-law) Abu al-Qasas b. Salih al-Tuli, who was in charge of maslih al-taftih (introducing the new lesson) and revision to the students at his khalwa, according to al-Zabaghi.\(^4\)

1. *Al-Zabaghi*, p.357.
2. *Ibid*.
Then, following the death of al-Shaykh Ballāl, the khālīfa was said to have been administered by the fifth khālīfa, his son al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān who had been taught by his father and his uncle Abu al-Yāsān al-‘Īsā and licenced to teach and give fatwā.

Hence, he embarked on carrying on the family's tradition of teaching at their centre at al-Fujayyāh. Al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān was said to have taught for about seventeen years only and died in 1155/1741.

It should be noted that throughout its history the khālīfa of Ṣughayrūn's family at al-Fujayyah seems to have been specialized in teaching figh - and in particular the two standard textbooks of the Malikite School: Khālid and al-Tūsiyya in the same manner as did the khālīfa of the Sona of Jābir at Turnaq before. Hence, it seems to have been an extension of the Jābir's khālīfa, both by way of kinship and delivery of the same message.

2. Ibid., p.297.
C. Khaiwā of Suwar al-Dhahab at Damascus

One of the earliest and most famous Khaiwā was the one that flourished under al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdīl al-Budayrī - better known as Suwar al-Dhahab (Gold Bracelet). (1)

The Khaiwā seems to have been started by his father al-Shaykh ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdīl al-Budayrī who received his studies at the hands of al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Jābir al-Turāq, and was counted among his "forty gūthrān" who distinguished themselves in ʿilm and piety. (2) Al-Shaykh ʿĪsā seems to have died at an early age - or at an age when his son and successor, Suwar al-Dhahab, was still studying. He was reported to have taught his son Muḥammad the Qurʾān and covered with his only one and a half chance (sealing or round) of reading the textbook Khaiwā - up to the lesson of "The Funerals" and then died. (3)

Al-Shaykh Muḥammad then received instruction in dogmatic theology (ʿilm al-kalām or ʿistiklaʿ) and the sciences of the Qurʾān, in addition to ʿuṣūrīsm, at the hands of the immigrant ʿilm and ʿuṣūrī Shaykh, al-Tarmānī al-Maghribī. (4) He was also reported to have received further instruction in these very subjects at the hands of another immigrant ʿuṣūrī ʿilm al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ghārān

1. Al-Tabarānī, p.346.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; he was said to have been initiated in the Qadiriyya Order (Molt, p.30).
Thus al-Shaykh Muhammad Suwar al-Shabab became one of those who combined *fılim* and *qīrim*.

As a result of his academic qualifications and *qīrim* reputation al-Shaykh Muhammad Suwar al-Shabab became the most famous pioneer *fılim* for teaching the Qur’anic sciences and *tawḥīd*, to the extent that his *khalqa* attracted students from all over the Funj kingdom and even from neighbouring countries. 

As an indication of his high prestige as an *fılim* and of the popularity of teachings, the size of the *balqan* of learners at his *khalqa* was said to have exceeded one thousand, and that the students came to it from even outside the country - from the kingdom of Hadhramaut (Chād) and Kinsīm. 

Because of the high social status emanating from his spiritual power, he was said to have been highly regarded by the rulers and the masses - the kings of Dongola, those of the Ja’liyyīn tribes and even the Funj sultans rendered obedience to him. Not only that but his *Khalaṣa* seems to have enjoyed special privileges from king Badī b. Rubāṣ (1617-1650/1615-22) who

2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*.
was reported to have granted a jābūt (pledge) stating that “all those who studied under al-Shaykh Muhammad b. ‘Isā were under the protection of Allāh and His Apostle”\(^1\) i.e., protected from harm and exempted from taxation.

In line with the khalīfa practices, the administrative and teaching posts of the khalīfa were inherited by his descendants. Indeed, they seem to have been shared by two of his descendants at a time. For example, during his lifetime al-Shaykh Muhammad b. ‘Isā used to hold a multiplicity of posts — managing the khalīfa, teaching the Qur‘ān and its sciences, teaching ‘ilm and serving as a judge, in addition to guiding his followers in the ṣaḥīf path. When he died, however, the posts of khalīfa, teaching of ‘ilm and serving as a judge were reported to have been held by his son Ḥalālī, and the post of teaching the Qur‘ān by another.

Then, when his turn came, al-Shaykh Ilyās b. al-Ḥūr b. Muhammad Suwār al-Dhabab was said to have been in charge of the post of teaching the ḥulūl of the Qur‘ān,\(^2\) and like his grandfather — al-Shaykh Muhammad Suwār al-Dhabab — he was reported to have enjoyed great privileges from the kings of Sennar, too. Sultan Dakhūn was said to have confirmed and even extended the ḥulūl that had been granted to his grandfather (al-Shaykh Suwār

2. Ibid., pp.184, 218, 276.
al-Dhanabah to embrace also all his kin - al-Danaa'il.\(^{(1)}\) In addition, the king was reported to have sent him fifty slaves in order to serve him and his students at the Khalefa.\(^{(2)}\) Hence, his sala of study was said to have increased enormously.\(^{(3)}\)

Al-Shaykh Ziyād was succeeded by his son Ahmad who was said to have excelled him in wealth and status. For example, he was said to have had a boat as large as those of the Red Sea which he used to send every year to his ex-students of the Qur'ān in the region north of Dongola and it would be returned loaded with all types of sīkat.\(^{(4)}\)

Al-Shaykh Ahmad, in turn, was succeeded by his son, Muhammad who acted similar to him in every respect.\(^{(5)}\)

Of the outstanding students of al-Shaykh Muhammad b. ‘Iṣa Sūnār al-Dhanabah the following could be mentioned:\(^{(6)}\)

Al-Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Igbāsh, head of al-Šuhbush family and founder of their famous Khalefa for teaching the Qur'ānic sciences.\(^{(7)}\)

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1. Al-Tabaqát, p.218; see “Financial Aspect ...”, below.
2. Al-Tabaqát, p.216.
3. Ibid.
5. Al-Tabaqát, p.218.
6. Ibid., pp.42, 348.
7. Ibid., pp.42, 280.
Al-Shaykh 'Isā b. Kano - a famous teacher of the Qur'ān and its sciences. (1)

Al-ṣaḥḥa Saqr al-Ṭarjānī, father of the famous 'Alīn of Ṭabājī. (2)

Al-ṣaḥḥa 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣulāh, father of the famous Ǧūrī, al-Shaykh Khāji al-Ḍāmil. (3)

Al-ṣaḥḥa Ǧusayn Abū Shaʿr who studied Ǧamūlī under Suwār al-Dhahab and then taught it to the two sons of Ḥarri: 'Alī and Ibrāhīm. (4)

It is worth mentioning that also at his khalwā al-Shaykh Suwār al-Dhahab initiated in the Ǧūrī Path men who became famous Ǧūrī Shaykhs running their own khawās, such as. (5)

Al-Shaykh 'Awwāda Ṣakkāl al-Qarīn. (6)

Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-'Arāqī - nicknamed barbhā al-ṣatar (rain seller) i.e., believed to have control over the rainfall. (7)

Al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Isā Suwār al-Dhahab and his descendants were buried at Dongola where the shrines of the family were visited. (8)

2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 256.
4. Ibid., p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 348.
7. Ibid., p. 256.
8. Ibid., pp. 218, 349.
This was one of the most important khalwas that flourished during the Funj era, in the second half of the 10th/16th century, in Berber district.\(^1\)

The founder was al-Pasībī 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Majīd - nicknamed al-Aghbash\(^2\) - plural al-Gubush - hence the name the khalwa of al-Gubush 'Abdallāh al-Aghbash and his descendants. 'Abdallāh was said to have been born at Berber, and his mother was one of the daughters of al-Shaykh Hamad Abū Dun'ama.\(^3\) He learnt the Qur'ān (and its sciences - and especially its variant readings) at the hands of al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Isā Suwār Shabāb,\(^4\) and studied fiqh under 'Walad Jābir' - most probably under al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir.\(^5\) It was during his study at the Khalwa of the Sons of Jābir at Turmaq that his high reputation - and indeed that of his family afterwards - in connection with the Qur'ānic studies seem to have started.

\textit{Al-Tabaqāt} relates an interesting anecdote indicating his high ability in the recitation of the Qur'ān which he showed on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun, when he was chosen from

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. \textit{Al-Tabaqāt}, pp.42, 280.
  \item 2. Ibid., p.280.
  \item 3. See \textit{Early History of Islam in the Sudan}, vol.1, p.695.
  \item 4. \textit{Al-Tabaqāt}, p.280; see the \textit{khalwa} of Suwār al-Shahab, above.
  \item 5. \textit{Al-Tabaqāt}, p.280.
\end{itemize}
King of the Shaybaniyyan rulers, [name]...\(\text{al-}\text{Shubban}\)\(\)\(\) (God bless you, dusty). Since then, 'Abdall\(\)ah b. 'Abd al-M\(\)ajid came to be known by his nickname as 'al-\(\text{Aghbash}\)\(\)\(\) and his family 'al-\(\text{Shubban}\)'.

On his return to his home district - Berber - 'al-\(\text{Futs}\)\(\) 'Abdall\(\)ah established his \(\text{xershe}\)\(\) at a site, south of Berber, on the western bank of the main Nile, which has come to be known as al-\(\text{Shubban}\) (i.e., both the \(\text{xershe}\)\(\) and the village that grew around it have derived their name from the founder). Thus he was reported to have kindled the "Qur\(\)\'an's fire" at Berber. Not only that but al-\(\text{Aghbash}\) seems to have started a family of teachers, and a hereditary system of succession.

1. \text{Al-Tabaq\(\)i\)}, p.280.
2. Qur\(\)\'ani suras 2 and 3.
3. \text{Al-Tabaq\(\)i\)}, p.280.
4. \text{Ibid}.
5. Information from the \text{shafi\'i\) Muhammed 'Abd al-M\(\)ajid, al-\(\text{Shubban\), 15th November, 1981.\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)
6. \text{Ibid}.
7. \text{Al-Tabaq\(\)i\)}, p.280.
to study fiqh. However, at the time, the *halwa* of the Sons of Jābir under al-Shaykh Idrīs b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir disintegrated as a result of his attempt to transfer it to his wife’s palace. [2] Hence, Yamad b. al-Aghbash, like the rest of the students, abandoned the *halwa* of Idrīs b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir at Turmaq and joined that of al-Shaykh Yamadū at Kūt. [3]

When he became *khalifa*, he continued teaching the same subjects that had been taught by his father at the *halwa*—especially the Qur’ān. [4]

It was under al-Raqīḫ Yamad’s sons (the third generation) however, that the *halwa* of al-Ghubush seems to have reached its

2. Thīl, p. 48.
posts. While al-faqih 'Abd al-Majid al-Qarir (the Hana') took over the post of the Khalifa and taught the Qur'an at the Khuwala, al-faqih 'Abd al-Rahman became in charge of teaching the Qur'anic sciences. Hence, in effect these were two halas or stages or even Khalasa, one for teaching the Qur'an and the other for teaching the sciences of the Qur'an. It is interesting to note that the teaching post of each of these two brothers seems to have continued as a hereditary right for his direct descendents.

Thus, under al-faqih 'Abd al-Majid, who had studied the Qur'an under his father and sijj at the hands of al-Shaykh al-'Asar at Kuri, the Khalasa of the Qur'an was said to have included more than one thousand students and was composed mainly of two groups: the Arabs and the Halangas. And, because of his long term of Khalasa - of about fifty years - he was said to have taught the grandfathers, the fathers and their children.

2. Ibid., p.281.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.260.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
The last famous teacher of the Qur’ān of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Majīd at the Khalwa of al-Ohbush during the Fārābī period, seems to have been al-Faḍlī ibn ʿAbbās ibn Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd—
who succeeded his uncle Mustafā ibn Mustafā (brother of ʿAbbās and his successor). (4) In reference to al-Faḍlī ʿAbbās ibn Qāsim as a teacher of the Qur’ān, al-Ṭabarānī states that "upon his death the teaching of the Qur’ān ceased at the Khalwa of al-Ohbush". (5)

On the other hand, the Khalwa of teaching the Qur’ānic sciences under al-Faḍlī ʿAbbās ibn Qāsim became so famous for teaching these subjects that the commendation of the Qur’ānic sciences throughout the Gezira was attributed to al-Faḍlī ʿAbbās ibn Qāsim and his Khalwa students. (6) Al-Faḍlī

1. Al-Ṭabarānī, p. 223.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. Ibid., pp. 155, 183; see the Khalwa of al-Majīdī Ḥabīb at al-Ohbush, below, pp. 194–233.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 287.
such books as al-Jaz′iyah, al-Khatībī, and composed into poems the two books on ḥiqām al-Qurʾān al-Mish'a and Tabāṣat al-
Masāʾeb. He seems to have taught these commentaries to his
students at the Kha'iwa.

In a similar way to the practice of al-Faqih ʿAbd al-Kaḏīm
and his descendants, the teaching of the Qurʾānic sciences at the
Kha'iwa of ʿAlī seems to have been a hereditary practice for the
direct descendants of al-Faqih ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-
ʿAẓīm. After his death the hāla was taken over by his son
al-Faqih Muḥammad, who was also well qualified for the job.
He was reported to have studied the Qurʾān and its sciences under
his father (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), fiqh (Maḥṣūl) under al-Shaykh ʿAllāl
b. Muḥammad al-ʿAṭraq and Abī al-Ḥasan, and was taught al-Riḍāja
by Abī al-Faḍl b. Abī al-Ḥasan, and taʾmīm by Buṣārī and Faraq b.
Arbāb al-Khīṣān.  

1. Al-Tabaqāt, p.281.
2. Ibid.; see “Subjects and Books” below for information on
these books and commentaries.
3. Al-Tabaqāt, p.359.
4. Ibid.
On his death, his teaching post at the ḥalwa was said to have been taken by his brother al-fāhih Ḥadīs b. Ḥabū al-Qādir, who was said to have taught ʿabīn al-Qurʾān.(2)

Thus, this arrangement of teaching at two stages, or running two ḥalwas, one for teaching the Qurʾān at the elementary level, and the other for teaching the Qurʾān sciences at an advanced level, seems to have continued through the Fatimid period.

The above examples of, and references to the main ḥalwas of the period seem to illustrate that the geographical spread of the ḥalwa of that era was mainly restricted to the riverain region, i.e., along the main Nile south of Dongola and across northern Gezira region. In support of this Milliison states that it was along the main Nile between Dongola and Khartoum and along the Blue Nile up to Sennar, and along the eastern bank of the White Nile and across the northern Gezira plains where the dwelling places and seats of learning of the holyman cluster most thickly.(3) Today, the gubbās (shrines) of these saints are to be found chiefly along the Nile north of Khartoum and along the Blue Nile up to Sennar.(4)

1. Al-Saḥābī, p.359.
2. Ibid.
PART IX

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE KHALWA

UP TO THE PRESENT TIME
for the first time, united and provided with a centralised
government that was regarded as part of Egypt. The internally the
country came to be ruled by an enforced state's system of law and
order, and externally through its contact with Egypt was said
to have been exposed to the impact of modern civilization. However, despite the good intentions of the successive rulers
of Egypt towards the Sudan, the Turco-Egyptian period in the
Sudan came to be regarded as the worst type of occupation,
injustice, tyranny and corruption.

It should be noted, in the first place, that the main
objective of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha behind the occupation of the
Sudan was to exploit its human and mineral resources. That
was reported to have been exemplified in his effort to build up a
slave-army, trained in the European manner and personally loyal
to him, and to exploit the fabled gold mines of Sennar region.

2. Ibid., pp.132-3.
3. Ibid., p.229.
4. Ibid.
7. Holt and Daly, pp.47-8.
All this was said to have precipitated an attitude of resentment that culminated in the murder of Isma'il Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, by the Ja'aliyya chiefs at Shendi and led to the general revolt that was said to have flared among the Sudanese of the riverain region from Shendi up to Wad Medani, the capital then. (2)

In retaliation to the murder of Isma'il Pasha and in an attempt to stamp out the armed resistance, Muhammad Bey al-Beftedar - Muhammad 'Ali's son-in-law - who was invading the province of Kordofan at the time, launched a series of brutal punitive raids over all the riverain region, destroying almost everything on his way, as could be illustrated below.

Such events seem to have had far-reaching repercussions on all walks of life - and in particular on the khelwa which under the Fung period came to occupy a central position in the spiritual and social life of the Sudanese communiites. (3)

3. The reference is the khelwa centres of the Fung period surveyed above, and to the Feachers' status, below.
The atrocities of the Turco-Egyptian invasion and the punitive campaigns of al-Deftardar which seem to have hit hard the Khelwa and their teachers - who were regarded as the true leaders by their communities - could be further illustrated by citing the following examples.

At al-Damer, Muhammad al-Deftardar was said to have ordered that the Khelwa and mosques of al-Majdhiib be destroyed and their Shaykhs who were leading the resistance massacred. (2) Among those killed was said to have been al-Shaykh Qasim al-Din b. Muhammad al-Majdhiib. (3)

At al-Watenma, the seat of al-Makr al-Wasa'id of al-Ja'aliyyin, al-Deftardar was reported to have given instructions that the houses of al-Fadi Ahmad al-Rayah, and all those therein, be burnt. (4)

2. Interview with Qabsh al-Sayar, al-Damer, 15th November, 1981.
3. Ibid.
Then, having destroyed Shenki - the seat of al-Makk Nimir of al-Ja‘aliyyin - al-Deftardar was said to have marched on al-Yaljiya (the seat of the ‘Abdallahi Shaykh, and the centre of the famous Baniya of the Payfallaha’s family),(1) found it deserted and so burnt it down.(2)

On the White Nile, at the village of al-Ja‘aliyyin, when the forces of al-Deftardar could not get hold of the fleeing al-Yaljiya, the hands of seventy of his followers were said to have been cut off.(3)

After his victory over al-Makk Nimir at the battle of al-Quslib, al-Deftardar was said to have seized al-Faresib Tharun ‘Izz and Wadi Aqawa, beat them, and taken them prisoner.(4)

At Quslib, where a battle was said to have taken place in 1799/1803, between the forces of al-Deftardar and al-Makk al-Quslib, al-Shaykh Sallib, one of the descendants of Ban al-Maqsa, was reported to have been slain and the books of al-Shaykh Hasan Sallib were scattered and lost.(5)

The successor of al-Deftardar seems to have been even more brutal to the men of religion. On his arrival at Khartoum

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1. See Methods of Teaching, below, for reference to this Kelma centre.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp.390-91.
In reference to the murder of Isma'il Pasha, the array resistance of the tribal chiefs and the havoc that took place as a result of al-Defterdar's campaigns, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir - a contemporary Sudanese historian - was reported to have given the following description.\(^{(2)}\)

"This act was the cause of devastation of the land, the death of the true believers [religious men] the shedding of their blood, the plunder of their goods, the dishonouring of their wives, the general ruin of the countryside, the captivity of the women and children and the dispersal of the people into other districts."\(^{(3)}\)

To make things worse, all this was said to have happened at a time when the country was swept by a severe drought and an epidemic of smallpox\(^{(4)}\). Thus, as a result of all these calamities, half the population was said to have perished by the sword, sickness and famine.\(^{(5)}\)

2. Ibid., pp.355, 392.
3. Ibid., p.392.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
However, thanks to this forceful dispersion of the riverain people into the remote countryside, a new generation of khalaas was established in the new settlement areas. A considerable contribution in this respect seems to have been accomplished by the migrant members of al-Majūdhīb family of teachers. Like many of their kinsmen, the Ja‘aliyyīn - who were said to have carried out the murder of Ismā‘īl Pasha that triggered the devastating punitive retaliatory measures against them and against all their supporters of the riverain people - were said to have dispersed all over Eastern Sudan, between the Nile and the Ethiopian borders, and to have established khalaas for the education of their children and followers, wherever they settled. 

As examples of these, reference could be made to the khalaas


al-Taki 'Abdallah al-Na'ar at Berber and Kasala;
al-Taki 'Abdallah b. Hadi at Tokar and Kessaft.

In addition to these were the khelwas established by their students.

On the other hand, when the period of turmoil and general unrest seems to have subsided in the riverain region, normal life gradually appears to have been restored. The Turco-Egyptian administration was said to have reassured the people and encouraged them to return to their home districts, cultivate their lands, re-build their villages and resume their traditional education at their khelwas. (1)

As a result, a number of the old khelwa centres that were flourishing during the Funj era seem to have been rehabilitated and study resumed as before.

As examples of such khelwa centres reference could be made

1. The reference is made here in particular to the periods of the rulers in the Sudan: Wali Bey (1241/1825) and Kurchi (1241/1826-1254/1839). (MacMichael, vol.II, pp.392-5).
to those of the riverain region such as Al-Ghubush,\(^1\) Al-Majāshīb\(^2\) and Kutarān. New khulwa also emerged in the same region - such as those of Kadabas,\(^3\) Abū Qurūf, Ummajawwan Ban,\(^4\) and Jayba Qurashi.

Similarly, in Western Sudan (especially in the province of Kordofan) a substantial number of khulwas of study seems to have emerged during the Turco-Egyptian period in the Sudan.

Many of the khulwa teachers seem to have migrated, with many of their terrified people, from the riverain lands as a result of the atrocities of the Dafirdar there, to this relatively quiet and secure region.

However, of the main khulwas that seem to have flourished, the following have been mentioned:\(^5\)

- The majlis-khulwa of al-faqih Ahmed Suwayda al-Dubar\(^1\) at al-Kilayya near Bara.
- The majlis-khulwa of al-faqih 'Abdāllāh Abbaro at al-Kilayya also.
- The majlis-khulwa of al-faqih Kadami Abū Gaffiyah, near al-Obeid.
- The majlis-khulwa of Abū Haider al-Shahāb near al-Obeid.
- The majlis-khulwa of al-faqih al-Qāhi 'Arabi near al-Obeid.

1. See the khulwa centre of al-Ghubush, below.
2. See the khulwa centre of al-Majāshīb at al-Daber, below.
3. See the khulwa centre of al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ja'fali at Kadabas, below.
4. See the khulwa of Ummajawwan Ban, below.
The masjid-khalwa of al-faqih Muhammad Dolīn, at Khurs, near al-Obaid.

The masjid-khalwa of al-faqih Muhammad 'Uthmān Farah, near al-Obaid.

The masjid-khalwa of al-faqih Ahmad al-Ashori at al-Obaid.

As far as the general pattern, internal organization and the functioning of the khalwa was concerned, no significant development during the Turco-Egyptian period seems to have taken place.

In reference to this issue al-Baghir states that,

"the period of the Egyptian rule 1827-1865 was not of an outstanding educational happening. . . . One merit was the tendency towards aiding financially schools (khalwas). However, when one looks into the essence of the educational development, we find no signs of improvement. The learning system retained its traditional form in its policy, aims, means, teachers, syllabuses and methods."(1)

In support of the above, 'Abdin writes: "As for religious education during this period it remained unchanged, in terms of places, means, methods and principles."(2)

2. 'Abdin, p. 120.
The justification for such a stand was that “he preferred not to change the state of the traditional Arabic and Islamic education in the Sudan but rather to lend it an encouraging and a helping hand whenever need arose.” (2)

During the reign of ‘Abbās I (1846-1854) “there is no evidence of decline in the state of religious education.” (3)

However, for the first time, the state was reported to have established a modern three-year Kuttab in Khartoum under Rifā‘a al-Tahtāwī, which continued for only nine months (1269/1853 - 1270/1854) and then was closed down by ‘Abbās’s successor Said.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.23.
religious education at the khalwa was said to have reached the peak of encouragement of the Turco-Egyptian period. At the beginning of his reign Khedive Isma'il exempted the cultivation lands of the khalwa teachers from taxation and granted them salaries, but at the end of his reign the financial grants were almost cut off.

However, the khalwa education was said to have continued on the same traditional lines.

On the other hand a parallel State's system of modern madrasah seems to have been instituted. During the reign of Isma'il Pasha and the governorship of 'Abd Pasha Hanil (in the Sudan) five madrasah schools were established at Khartoum, with a capacity of

1. The main motive of 'Abd al-Majid behind the establishment of that school was to send al-Tajaddud into exile (‘Abd al-Majid, vol.II, p.23; ‘Abd al-Majid, p.120).
3. Ibid., p.71.
and at Barber, Dongola in Kordofan and evidenced by the erection of a special קִשָּׁרָה (hostel) for one Simā'ī students and another for Darfur students at al-Azhar, by the Egyptian Government.\(^{(2)}\)

Aside from these developments, almost the same pattern of traditional קִשָּׁרָה education of the Fund period seems to have been continued during the Turco-Egyptian regime.

Hence, according to 'Abd al-Majīd, it could be assumed that almost the same pattern, type and practices of the mosque and קִשָּׁרָה education that were prevalent during the Fund era (16th - 18th centuries) were perpetuated under the Turco-Egyptian rule.\(^{(3)}\)

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2. Ibid., p.19; see also "Financial aspect of קִשָּׁרָה education", below.
symbol of this period.

Muhammad Ahmed (al-Wahid) b. 'Abdalrahman was said to have been born at Bizar Island (Dongola District) in 1258/1843.  

He was known to have been a descendant of a pious man, called 'Umar Sharif.

When life became difficult in Dongola district, Muhammad Ahmed, as a child, moved with the family to Khartoum district. There, his father and elder brothers were said to have engaged in the family's trade - boat building - while he joined a khalaṣ for learning the Qur'an, at Karari and then another one at Khartoum.

Being by nature inclined towards religion and religious education, Muhammad was reported to have then engaged in the study of 'ilm (Ri'iy) at the mosque-khalaṣ of Kutrafi at the hands of al-Safīd Muhammad al-Asāfī al-Suwaylī. Then he was said to have joined the khalaṣ of al-Ghubuṣan where he studied

2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid.  
4. Ibid., p.115.
was reported to have been his refraining from eating from his master's food, like other students, because of his teacher's dependence, for living, on an unlawful source of income - an indication to the salary his shaykh - Muhammad al-Khayr - was said to have been receiving from the Turco-Egyptian government, which to Muhammad Ahmad (al-Mahdi) was an embodiment of injustice. Hence, he was reported to have lived on fish which he caught in the Nile.

After the successful completion of his academic khulaṣ studies he was reported to have felt an inclination towards mysticism, and to satisfy this urge he was said to have joined the ṣūfī tariqa of the Sammanyya tariqa of al-Shaykh Muhammad Sharif Nūr al-Gayšar, grandson of the founder of this tariqa in the Sudan, al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Schīr, in 1277/1861.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Shuqayr, p. 231.
been installed by al-Shaykh Muhammad Sharif sur al-Marits as a jama'at. Shaykh authorized to initiate others in the gulf Path. (3)

Al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad then returned to his family near Khartoum, got married and embarked on teaching and instructing disciples according to the Samaniyya tarifa. (4)

In 1286/1867 he was said to have moved with his brothers and families to Asa Island, where conditions were said to have been ideal for boat building. (5) On his part, al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad was reported to have established a mosque and a khamsa where he taught the Qur'an and fala to the children of the island, and at the same time initiated the growing number of his followers in the gulf path. (6)

Meanwhile, al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad was reported to have been maintaining a good and loyal disciple-Shaykh relationship with

2. Iblis; Shibayka, pp. 233-4.
3. Iblis.
4. Iblis.
5. Iblis.
6. Ibid.
Muhammad Ahmad and his master were said to have expelled from the Samaniyya tarika. (2)

At any rate, in view of that grave situation Muhammad Ahmad was reported to have begged his Shaykh for forgiveness but failed to win his pardon. (3)

However, in view of his deep devotion and conviction regarding the Samaniyya tarika, it seems, he was reported to have contacted another highly regarded Shaykh of the jordha—al-Shaykh al-Qureshi b. al-Zayn of the Hala'win region—who was said to have reinstated him as a recognized Shaykh of the Samaniyya. (4)

Al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad was reported, then, to have announced that he had abandoned his ex-master, al-Shaykh Muhammad Sharif, for his violation of al-Shari'ah. Law. (5)

However, at the Island of Abu al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad was

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 119; Shibays, pp. 235-6.
5. Ibid., p. 118.
Furthermore, al-Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad, accompanied by his disciples — in their patched garments — was said to have made a number of tours to the different parts of the country, from Dongola to Sennar and to Kordofan in Western Sudan.\(^1\) It was from such tours and visits to the shaykhs that he was reported to have gathered first-hand information on the general discontent of the people in respect to the misgovernment and corruption of the Turco-Egyptian administration. Not only that, but he seems to have sensed that both the shaykhs and their followers of the masses were looking forward to salvation.\(^2\)

At any rate, on 1st of Shawwal 1298/29th June 1881, he was reported to have dispatched secret messages to his adherents of notables — especially the shaykhs, confiding to them that he was informed by the Prophet (in a vision) that he had been chosen as \textit{al-Mahdi al-Mustajarr} (the Expected Mahdi), the divine leader, who would fill the earth with equity and justice even as it had been filled with corruption and injustice.\(^3\)

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1. He carved a cave for living and \textit{Jami' meditations} (\textit{Shuqayr}, p.117)
2. \textit{Holt} and \textit{Daly}, p.86.
As could be realized from the foregoing, his Shaiwa education and his involvement in the Sūfī path had had a formative influence on the man in addition to his own personal convictions and character. Hence, the main sources of his teachings were attributed to his strong charismatic personality, his deep Sūfī involvement and his wide knowledge of the science of Sharī'ah. He was also said to have been influenced by the teachings and the movement of al-Sanūsī in Libya and through the latter by the movement of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

At any rate the essence of his Mahdiyya call was the revival of Islam - a return to the original Orthodox Islam. Such a great task would be only fulfilled by al-Mahdī who would fill the earth with justice and equity even as it had been filled with oppression and wrong.

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1. ‘Abdin, pp.130-33.
2. Ibid., pp.134-135; Shibayya, pp.315-6.
character.

It should be noted that during the Punj era the different \textit{S}uf\textit{i} Shaykhs succeeded in creating autonomous communities of followers - each centred round a certain Shaykh. There was no central spiritual authority to embrace all these different sects of followers.\(^2\)

Under the Turco-Egyptian rule although the whole country was geographically united under a central government, yet the sectarian and \textit{S}uf\textit{i} factions seemed to have multiplied and led to further divisions of the people.\(^3\)

Hence the significance of the objective of al-Mahdi to transform the heterogeneous sections of the people of the Sudan, through religion, into one cohesive Muslim society. From his tours and visitations to the different \textit{S}uf\textit{i} Shaykhs across the country he seems to have come to the realization that the main weaknesses of Islam in practice, in the Sudan, were exemplified

\(^1\) Abdin, p. 124.
\(^2\) See \textit{Part One, Chapter Two}.
\(^3\) Shitya'ah, p. 146.
to have regarded his rivals as going astray.  

The differences of the four main Sunni Madhābs seem to have aggravated the problem of division amongst the Muslims in the Sudan and created a barrier between them and the main sources of Islam - the Qur'an and traditions of the Prophet.

Further, the circulation of a multitude of diverse and conflicting religious books, commentaries, dealing with trivial and superficial problems, seems to have confused the ordinary Muslim in the Sudan instead of helping him understand Islam.

In short, all these, according to al-Maḥāfīz, seem to have concealed the light of religion from the Muslims in the country.

Hence, his message as the awaited Maḥāfīz and in order to correct the situation referred to above, al-Maḥāfīz was reported to have emphatically advocated a return to pure, orthodox and simple Islam as derived from its two main sources: the Qur'an and Sunna.

So he called for strict practical commitment to Islam in

1. Shibayka, p.146.
2. Tbid.
3. Tbid.
5. Tbid., p.346.
accordance with the laws of Shar'ia to be enforced by ḥudūd.\(^1\)

a) He ordered that all books in circulation be burnt, with the exception of a few source books - besides the Qur'an, the two standard books of Ḥadīth of Muslim and al-Bukhārī - known as 
ai-San'āʿīyā, Ṭalā'īr al-Hadīth al-Ghamīlī's, Ḥaṣa'ib al-
Mušir, al-Sha'arani's books and al-Sīna'ī al-Mahdīyya.\(^2\)

b) He strictly banned all the guilds and prohibited allegiances to their Shaykhs.\(^3\)

c) Not only that but he was said to have even suspended the four Orthodox Sunnite Masjīdīs.\(^4\) Accordingly he was said to have embarked on working out a Masjīdī of his own in which he tried to assemble the points of agreement amongst the four 
Masjīdīs and to reconcile the points of difference - in an attempt to unify them in one.\(^5\)

On the other hand he was reported to have stated that the

\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Shuqayr, vol.III, p.364.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) Ibid: Shibayka, p.349.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) Shibayka, pp.348-9.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\) Shuqayr, vol.III, p.364; Shibayka, p.348.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\) Ibid.
path leading to Allah was exemplified in carrying out the following:

a) Jum'a (group) prayer.
b) Participation in Jihād (Holy War) for God’s sake.
c) Strict compliance with the laws of Shari’a.
d) Constant remembrance and repetition of the word of Tawḥīd.
e) Recitation of the Qur’ān.

As far as the practical application of his teachings was concerned, al-Kahf was reported to have directed his followers to follow his example when performing the various religious rituals - such as ablution, prayer, recitation of the Qur’ān, etc.

On the other hand al-Kahf was said to have applied the Shari’a law - especially the hudud against non-observance of the Islamic teachings.

In reference to the undesirable practices of some of the shaykhs teachers, al-Kahf was reported to have strongly denounced and prohibited the practice of writing amulets, practicing

3. Ibid.
\'Aslama or magic.\(^1\)

Hence, as a result of his educational policy the \textit{khulsa}'s content of education was greatly affected.

It is worth noting that at the breakout of the Mahdiyya revolution most of the religious men, who seem to have had influence over the masses, were said to have been the \textit{gūrī} Shaykhs or the \textit{khulsa} teachers.\(^2\)

Thus, in response to his contacts, and when they learnt of the appearance of the expected Mahdi these \textit{gūrī} Shaykhs were said to have been overwhelmed by pride for the fact that al-Mahdi had emerged from amongst their ranks.\(^3\) Hence, they were reported to have readily responded to his call, rose up to his support and led their followers in a war of \textit{Jihād} against the corrupt Turco-Egyptian administration. As an example of those who participated in or led incursions of \textit{Jihād} during the Mahdiyya revolution the following \textit{gūrī} Shaykhs could be mentioned:\(^4\)

- al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Baṣīr of al-Qalāwīn (Giza region).
- al-Shaykh Muhammad al-\textit{Ubayd} b. Badr of Bees\textit{Dawwan} Ban, Khartoum region.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Shuaqyr, vol. III, p. 365; Shibayka, p. 363.
\(^2\) Shibayka, p. 292.
\(^3\) \textit{Ibid.}
\(^4\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 141-237.
\(^5\) See the \textit{khulsa} of \textit{Dawwan} Ban, below.
- al-Shaykh ʿAlī al-Muḥāshir (Gezira region).
- al-Sharif ʿArif b. ʿĀṣim (eastern bank of the Blue Nile, between Huṣayna and Ṣuḥayl Ḥāraq).
- al-Ṣaḥḥah ʿAbdallāh b. ʿIrāqī (al-Ṣuwayfa, southern Gezira).
- al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Qaṣṣṣār, al-Mahdi's teacher at al-Dār al-ʿArabī (Berber district).
- al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir of Kadasah (Berber district).\(^1\)
- al-Mujāhid Shāykh of al-Dāmer.\(^2\)
- al-Shaykh al-Ṭāhir al-Mujāhidūn, in Eastern Sudan, who actively supported ʿUthmān Dīqām.\(^3\)

On the other hand, the class of 'Ulamā', which was said to have been very small, influenced by the government it seems, was said to have rigorously rejected al-Mahdi's claim and supported the administration in its efforts to stamp down the revolution. Of such Ulama the following were mentioned:

- al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣaḥāb al-Qaṣṣār - the Mufti of the Sudan, al-Shaykh al-Azim al-Qarī - chief justice and al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Qaṣṣār, chief justice of Western Sudan.\(^4\)

However, the more important issue facing al-Mahdi was to lead his followers to the promised victory over the Turco-

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1. See the ʿHilāla of Kadasah, below.
2. See the ʿHilāla of al-Mujāhidūn of al-Dāmer, below.
3. Ibid.
Egyptian regime which he accomplished.

Nevertheless, despite al-Wahhābī's and indeed the whole country's preoccupation with the war of Jihād, the question of education does not seem to have been neglected. Al-Wahhābī was reported to have strongly urged his followers, wives and children to embark on reading the Qur'ān, (1) and performing their religious duties.

However, during the years of the revolution, as could be expected, the top priority was given to Jihād, and not to education, as could be inferred from al-Wahhābī's instructions to the Khālīfah's teachers. (2) Accordingly, Khālīfah education, in the affected areas, seems to have been suspended by teachers who rose in support of al-Wahhābī.

Further, since al-Wahhābī's teachings were against the educational practices and institutions of the Turco-Egyptian administration, the handful of primary schools established at the provincial headquarters, as well as the missionary schools, all were said to have been closed down. (3)

On 10 September 1919, it could be assumed that al-Wahhābī's premature death shortly after the success of the revolution in

1. Shuqayr, p.349.
1885 does not seem to have allowed him time to witness the envisaged changes in the khalifat traditional pattern of education. This task of the universal application of his teachings took place under al-khalifat’s reign.

During the reign of al-Khalifat ‘Abdallahi, al-Mahdi’s successor (1885-1898), priority seems to have been given to consolidation of his rule. His primary problem was said to have been the restoration of law and order over a vast area torn by internal revolts and conflicts, the establishment of effective administration, and defending the country against external threats. (1) As a result, the military character of the revolutionary period was said to have been sustained and, consequently, no genuine resettlement of the country seems to have been maintained. (2)

However, despite al-Khalifat’s deep preoccupation with such a serious problem (the consolidation of his power) he was reported to have given education, especially in the capital, great attention and encouragement. (3)

The capital, Omdurman, in his time, was said to have been transformed from a small village at the breakout of the Mahdiya revolution into a huge town holding a population of 400,000

1. Holt and Daly, p.172.
2. Ibid.
persons and an army of 50,000.\(^{(1)}\) Here, in Omdurman, he was said to have gathered almost all the \textit{`ulma} and instructed them to embark on teaching his followers - \textit{al-faqih} Husain al-Zahra, for example, was said to have been in charge of teaching the law of inheritance at the Khalifa's huge mosque.\(^{(2)}\)

Not only that but the Khalifa was said to have embarked on a policy of making education compulsory amongst his followers. For two years the people were said to have been instructed to engage in learning the Qur'an and how to read and write. He was reported to have ordered each \textit{amir} (group leader) to be in charge of gathering his men, after the \textit{maghrib} (sunset) prayer, in a \textit{hala} at the mosque where they embarked on learning and reading the Qur'an, from the beginning, from their \textit{jama}, by the light of wood fire.\(^{(3)}\)

To accomplish such an educational effort he was said to have ordered, on one occasion, the making of 4,500 \textit{jami}.\(^{(4)}\)

As a result of his concern for the spread of education, the number of \textit{jame} of study, in Omdurman alone, was reported to have exceeded 800 during his period.\(^{(5)}\)

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5. \textit{Ibid.}
Not only that but the teachers were said to have been paid from the government's purse. (1)

In the light of the above favourable attitude, it could be assumed that the same trend could have been extended to the countryside. However, the unsettled life in these areas throughout the years of the revolution and al-Khalifa's rule seems to have had negative effect on the continuation of Khojla education. Many Khojlas seem to have been dislocated or their education disrupted.

Of the main changes that took place at the Khojla was the change in the content of education - the diversified courses of study and the qira'at rituals were abandoned and the Khojla seems to have complied with the prescribed content of education devised by al-Mahdi, including his prayers. (2)

Hence, under the Mahdiyya rule the Khojla content of education became narrower and was restricted, it seems, to the teaching of the Qur'an, elements of al-Sunna and al-Mahdi's prayers. (3)

The Khojla teachers seem to have become accountable to the state - al-Khalifa's agents.

2. See al-Mahdi's teachings, above.
unchanged.
1698 put an end to the Mahdiyya rule (1685-1698) and started a new era in the country's history. Although the campaign for the reconquest was said to have been carried out in the name of the Khedive of Egypt, on the ground that the Sudan was considered (during the Mahdiyya period) as a province that had been lost to Egypt through rebellion, yet Britain, the senior partner, for a number of reasons, main among which was to serve her own vital interests, (while claiming to safeguard Egypt's historical rights and interests) argued that "by the right of conquest" she was entitled to share in ruling the country conquered by their combined forces.

Lord Cromer, Britain's agent and consul general in Egypt, was said to have devised a hybrid form of government, according to which the Sudan was governed jointly by both Britain and Egypt - a Condominium rule - during the period 1898-1955.

1. Holt and Daly, pp.117-118.
2. Ibid., p.117.
4. Ibid.
5. Holt and Daly, p.117.
The new rule in the Sudan seems to have had a great impact on Khalwa education with which we are here concerned.

It seems, in this respect, that the attitudes and policies of the authorities in the Sudan towards religious education were almost a reflection of those of Lord Cromer (the architect of the Condominium Agreement) in Egypt. For example, in reference to mosque schools he was reported to have stated that "although it would be an exaggeration to say that they were absolutely useless... organized as they were, however, they were as nearly as useless as any educational establishment could be." \( ^{(1)} \)

In the Sudan similar ideas seem to have been held by Jingate - the Governor General (1899-1917) \( ^{(2)} \) and Currie - the first Director of Education (1900-1933), \( ^{(3)} \) as could be substantiated below.

The first survey on Khalwa education, carried out by the provincial governors under the new regime, was said to have revealed the existence of hundreds of Khalwas all over the country \( ^{(4)} \) and the government's attitude towards them seems to have been unsympathetic and unfavourable. In reference to the educational conditions of such Khalwas, Jingate states that:

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2. Holt and Daly, pp.116-9.  
"Village children were taught a little reading, less writing and the repetition of the Qur'ān and the Mahdi's prayers by teachers who were ignorant of the very rudiments of the art of instruction, utterly incompetent, illiterate to a degree and consumed by a spirit of the wildest fanaticism... buildings were hovels, children huddled together under the most inexcusable conditions and instruction carried on in the midst of a deafening babel."(1)

A later government's report seems to have echoed the above stated unsympathetic criticism of the educational situation at the beginning of the Condominium period:

"All that had existed at the time of the reconquest was a number of native Qur'ān schools which were run on the narrowest of curricula and in deplorable conditions."(2)

Mr. James Currie, on his part - as the first principal to the envisaged Gordon's College and Director of Education in the Sudan - seems to have taken the practical steps to undermine the position of the khulwas.

After an interlude of eighteen months touring all over the country to observe conditions for himself he (Mr. Currie) set out, in 1900, the following objectives for education in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan:

a) The creation of a competent artisan class (which was lacking at the time).

b) The diffusion, among the masses of the people, of education sufficient to enable them to understand the machinery of Government, particularly with respect to the equitable and impartial administration of justice.

c) The creation of a small administrative class, capable of filling many Government posts, some of administrative, others of a technical nature.

However, instead of reforming the traditional khulwas to achieve these objectives the underlying policy according to Mr. Currie was the establishment of as many vernacular (kuttās) schools as the funds permitted, the provision of a training college for schoolmasters, and a school of law for qādis - the judges in the Sharia courts.

Thus, from the beginning of its rule, the Condominium

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2. Currie, pp.4-5.
have been hampered by serious constraints - exemplified in the limited financial allocations and the unfavourable attitude of parents in the countryside to the whole idea of school education.\(^1\)

The parents feared that such a school might take their children away, make them irreligious and teach them bad manners.\(^2\)

However, underlying the whole question of traditional education, at the time, was the more serious problem of law and security with which the new regime seems to have been preoccupied. This was evidenced by the fact that "for the first twenty years of the Condominium rule, the top priority was given to the maintenance of law and order in the country".\(^3\) Accordingly, religious policy came to be largely determined by considerations of political security.\(^4\)

1. The Sudan: A Record of Progress, p.18.
2. Unfortunately, eventually, almost all of these fears seem to have come true. In reference to the serious question of irreligiosity, for example, Griffiths states that "whereas religion maintained its prestige amongst...those who have not joined the modern school,...it was losing ground amongst the educated, partly because of the influx of western ideas." (Griffiths, pp.145-6).
4. Holt and Daly, p.124.
Hence, Mahdiism was suppressed and the Sufi Orders were said to have been denied official recognition and looked upon with suspicion, during that period.\(^1\)

Likewise, the resumption of traditional khalwah education under the Sufi Shaykhs (who had been the relentless supporters of the Mahdiyya revolution) would seem to have raised fears of reviving fanaticism. In effect, the new regime seems to have viewed the traditional khalwahs with mistrust.

Nevertheless, despite all these drawbacks, to close down the khalwahs— and at that early stage—seems to have been conceived as iconoclastic, for they were the only form of public instruction in existence then.\(^2\)

Thus, faced with the need for education at the basic level, and being hampered by the constraints referred to above, to establish alternative institutions, the new administration had to retain the traditional khalwahs for the time being.

Accordingly, the educational authorities seem to have come to the realization that, despite their reservations against them, the khalwahs could be used as vital feeders to the newly established Gordon College—supplying the badly needed candidates for the different sections of the College: the teachers', the Shari'a

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1. Holt and Daly, p.124.
2. The Sudan: A Record of Progress, p.20.
and the industrial section at Omdurman.\(^1\)

Hence, out of necessity, the traditional khalas seems to have been tolerated and utilized as a substitute to the Government's kuttāb school.

However, in order to make it more efficient in providing its temporary services, and more important to contain any probable dangers that it might engender - such as the animation of fanaticism which the similar kuttāb institution in Egypt was accused of - the khalas, like that institution had to modify its curriculum.\(^2\)

The envisaged khalas reform as set by Currie was exemplified in: \(^3\)

a) Creating a model kuttāb parallel to the khalas.

b) Giving grants-in-aid to selected khalas and encouraging their fāsiq to introduce elementary secular subjects - such as arithmetic in their curricula.


2. In Egypt, Cremor was reported to have accused the kuttāb school as being loaded with danger: "Being necessarily based, to a great extent on the teaching of the Qur'ān [\textit{i.e.}] must rather stimulate religious zeal and fanaticism... the teaching of the Qur'ān should, therefore, be tempered with instruction in very elementary secular subjects, such as arithmetic." (Bashīr, p.26).

The parallel model street was said to have been planned as a gradual substitute to the madrasa.\(^{(1)}\)

At any rate, by 1906 the States' school system was reported to have been fully established, though on a limited scale, comprising elementary, primary, secondary (academic, technical and military) schools.\(^{(2)}\)

Although the khâla was still rendering a useful service to the Government's educational system, yet according to MacMichael "it could hardly be regarded as forming an integral part of that edifice".\(^{(3)}\)

However, in the 1920s, and in line with the Government's policy of applying and encouraging "indirect rule and native administration" especially in the countryside and the tribal regions, "it was agreed that the khâla should retain their ancient character as indigenous institutions in which the fakirs instructed the children in the religious duty of reciting the Qur'ân and in the simplest elements of reading and writing."\(^{(4)}\)

Accordingly, Mr. Currie's scheme of introducing some refor in a selected number of khâla - especially those used as

2. Ibid., p.46.
4. Ibid., p.259.
feeders to the Government schools - was put into effect. Such khelwa reform came to be exemplified in the following measures:

- Exposing the fakir of the selected khelwas to short and simple courses of instruction, of usually two to three months' duration. The subjects taught during the course were said to have covered ta'lid (Qur'an standard recitation), elementary fīkh, Arabic (grammar and dictation) and arithmetic.

- At their khelwas the trained fakir were expected to introduce such elementary subjects as Arabic (Arabic readers), elementary fīkh and arithmetic.

- To help these khelwas carry out their new function in a better way, many of them were provided with modern school teaching aids - such as blackboards, chalk, slates, and Arabic readers, such as al-Arabiyya al-Ma'ṣūma.

- To induce the fakir to undergo the training courses and carry out their new tasks, they were paid monthly allowances.

2. See the memorandum of Mr. Scott, Appendix IV, Bashir, p.223.
5. Interview with Jiddū and Ḥasan 'Ābd al-Ma'ṣūm, al-Damer,
ranging from L.2.2 - 6. (1)

- These somewhat reformed khalwas came to be known as khalwa
  nigāniyya (organized khalwa) (2), or assisted khalwas (3) - a
  reference to the Government's monthly financial aid to the
  teachers of these khalwas.

In time, the number of these assisted khalwas steadily
increased from six in 1918, to 400 in 1927 and to the peak of
786 khalwa nigāniyya in 1937 - embracing, likewise, a rising
number of learners of 300, 11,077 and 29,356 respectively, as
could be evidence from the table, below. (4)

Hence, the Government's policy in this respect proved to
have been "entirely successful" (5) and as a result, the first
year class of the kuttāb school was said to have been abolished
and substituted by recruits from the assisted khalwas. (6)

It was partly through the enforcement of its policy, but
mainly through the provision of the financial aid, that the

3. SPACS (1923), p.45; Bashir, p.223 (in this study khalwa
  nigāniyya and assisted khalwas are used interchangeably).
4. See table, "Rise and Decline of Assisted Khalwas".
5. SPACS, (1923), p.45.
Government succeeded in converting more and more traditional khalwas into nigāhiyya or assisted khalwas (1) that were provided with teaching aids and textbooks (like the Anwa’ school), (2) and subjected to regular supervision by representatives of the Department of Education. (3)

What appears to have been of importance to the feṣūr and their khalwas was the fact that they seem to have been, in effect, treated as part of the State’s educational system. It was that implicit recognition of the khalwa as the basis of the educational system and the material benefits associated with it, which seems to have induced increasing numbers of feṣūr to readily agree to have their khalwas transformed into khalwas nigāhiyya of high popularity, as could be indicated by the steady rise in the number of these assisted khalwas between 1910-1931. (4)

Hence, at the time, the Government came to view the khalwa nigāhiyya as “the best means of spreading a modern system of education among the mass of the people.” (5)

On the administrative side this operation led to the

1. See table, below.
2. Interview with al-Naqar (al-Damer) and ’Abd al-Wahhāb  Ibn’Uthmān al-Fashir.
4. See the table, below.
5. REPOS, (1925), p.79.
establishment of local inspectorates for khaiwas to be responsible to both the local authorities and the Department of Education. (1)
Moreover, local administrative shaykhs and nazirs were reported to have been brought into closer contact with the khaiwas and encouraged to take interest in their affairs. (2)

As a result of all this a great number of khaiwas was induced to be transformed into khaiwa niğâniyya. Among these were the once famous khaiwa centres of al-Ghubush, (3) al-Majâdhîb of al-Damer, (4) Kutrajn, (5) and those of al-fakîr Sulayman and Emâm 'Abd al-Majîd at al-Phasher, capital of Darfur. (6)

Not only that but according to an official report the Government had to admit that the khaiwa niğâniyya was extremely popular and the constant demand for more of these subsidized khaiwas was severely taxing the Department's resources in respect of training and inspecting staff. (7)

3. See the khaiwa centre of al-Ghubush, below.
4. See the khaiwa centre of al-Majâdhîb at al-Damer, below.
5. Interview with al-Shaykh Magîfa 'Abdallâh Nûr, Kutrajn, November, 1981.
7. RFACB (1927), p.79.
However, the degree of such success and popularity of these khelwa seem to have been closely associated with the Government's changing attitudes and policies towards the khelwa in question as could be illustrated below and as could be indicated by the rise in their numbers between 1910 and 1931 and the decline thereafter. (1)

Eventually, the khelwa was attacked. This time - not for being fanatic as had been the previous accusation - but rather for its failure on educational grounds.

In 1930, according to an investigation that was reported to have been carried out in Northern Sudan on the performance of the khelwa, it was revealed that the latter had failed to serve as a successful substitute for the first year of the elementary school, and hence, its development as the future elementary school was said to have been put in doubt. (2)

By the early 1930s the Government was reported to have changed its hitherto positive attitude and policy towards khelwa. Consequently a concerted campaign of attacks seem to have been launched against these institutions - a reminder of the bitter attacks directed against the traditional khelwa during the first years of the Condominium rule. (3)

1. See the table below.
2. Bashir, pp.94-5.
3. See above.
In 1932, Mr. Scott, the Chief Inspector of the Department, pointed out that they were suffering from two main problems:

a) Attachment to and basic dependence on an ancient Arab tradition of learning by rote; and that

b) the duration of the training course for the teachers of these *shelwas* - of two to three months - was too short and the occasional inspection visit ineffective, to bring about any improvement in the proficiency of the weak teacher. (3)

Hence, the low standard and poor quality *shelwa* education.

To substantiate this Mr. Scott states that even the few best *shelwas* needed two to three years to bring their boys to the standard attained by the preparatory class of the elementary school in one year. (4) To enable a boy to read and write simple correspondence, six to eight years at an average *shelwa* were

1. Scott/Bashir, p.222.
2. Ibid., p.223.
3. Ibid., p.223.
4. Ibid.
the khalwa, at the time.

"To sit for seven or nine hours out of the twenty-four, some of them at night in dark and dirty hovels, files buzz round one's gummed eyelids, to learn double-dutch by heart and to be beaten at intervals by a lazy and stupid assistant, it is hard for a child of six to ten years old, even though he be a Sudanese."[2]

In reference to the khalwa nizāma of the three northernmost provinces, however, Mr. Scott admits that they were better - because they were originally better, and because more time, care and money had been spent on their improvement.(3) Most of them succeed in teaching simple reading, writing and arithmetic to a majority of their students, though at the expenditure of infinite labour.(4) However, according to him, the boys' minds were deadened by the rote system as much as elsewhere.(5) Not only that, but the negative effect of rote-learning at the

1. Scott/Bashīr, p.223.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
the khaila Nizāmīya, the Government was said to have changed its policy and attitude towards the khaila and as a result the financial aid was seriously cut down.\(^{(2)}\)

In 1934, and in line with the recommendations of Winter's committee regarding education,\(^{(3)}\) the khaila was brushed aside as an educational agency of little value. Hence, subsidies to the assisted khailas were reported to have been stopped.\(^{(4)}\)

Not only that, but instead of reforming these khailas a new two-year elementary village school — the subgrade — was established with the purpose of assimilating the function of the better khailas and replacing the less-efficient.\(^{(5)}\) These subgrade schools were financed and controlled by the local authorities and subjected to the supervision of the Government and were intended to give rudimentary schooling.\(^{(6)}\)

1. Scott/Bashîr, p.223.
2. SPACES.
3. The members of that committee were: H.O. Winter, Director of Education (Chairman), Sir Harold MackMichael, Civil Secretary, Pass and MacGregor (members), and V.I. Griffishe, Secretary. (Bashîr, p.30, n.1).
4. SPACES.
5. The Sudan: A Record of Progress, p.20.
6. Ibid.
Such schools were rightly viewed by the people as rivals to the khalwas and were reported to have steadily spread all over the countryside - thus undermining the position of the khalwas.\(^1\)

In 1937, the educational system in the Sudan was investigated by the Lord De La Warr Commission.\(^2\) That Commission, too, was highly critical of the khalwa education.

Influenced by Mr. Scott’s views regarding the khalwa, it seems,\(^3\) and being primarily concerned with the modern educational system, the Commission focussed its attention on the negative effect of the khalwa on the school - as exemplified in the transference of the practice of rote learning from the former to the latter.\(^4\) And although the Commission could not visit the better khalwas of the northernmost provinces of the country, it came to the conclusion on khalwas that “as centres of education in the true sense [the Commission] found little to commend in them”.\(^5\)

1. See table no.1, above.
2. The Committee was invited by the Sudan government to enquire and report on the Educational System. It was headed by Lord De La Warr and composed nine members - among them two K.F.S. (Bashir, p.111).
3. See the memorandum of Mr. Scott, above.
5. Ibid., p.8.
Nevertheless, in view of the traditional support to these religious educational institutions among the masses, and the fact that they were still widely spread, the Commission seems to have been in favour of seeing them reformed instead of being discarded. While it advised the Government not to interfere in the religious functions of the Khalwas "no effort should be spared to induce the religious authorities to improve them as schools."  

In 1939, the Graduates Congress, as representative of the educated Sudanese, submitted a lengthy note on education to the Government in which they reacted against the Government's policy of cutting off the financial aid from the assisted Khalwas. They called to attention that the basic role of the Khalwa as a religious educational institution - disseminating the Qur'an (together with reading and writing) and religious instruction. Now the Government has decided that the subsidized Khalwas were not serving their purpose (i.e., as a substitute for the first year of the elementary school) these Khalwas (the ex-assisted and non-assisted) should be supported by the Government to play their religious role in addition to their essential function as a means of combatting illiteracy in

1. The Commission took note of the existence, in 1937, of 1,500 Khalwas (700 of them were assisted Khalwas). (De La Warr, p.7).
4. Ftd.
the country. Hence, they demanded that the Government’s financial assistance be resumed for the maintenance of these traditional religious institutions and they suggested that such aid should not be paid directly to the individual lahib but should be entrusted with the Board of al-Ma’had al-‘Ilmi which in consultation with the local authorities would distribute among the Khelesas.

In the period 1936-1946 the Khelesas were reported to have again been linked to the Government’s educational system; and grants-in-aid were resumed and increased, but restricted to those Khelesas pishchayya that had maintained their relatively high standard.

Nevertheless, as a result of the steady expansion in elementary and subgrade schools, the number of Khelesas was steadily decreasing.

An important factor which seems to have increasingly induced the masses to switch their children from their traditional Khelesas - especially in the regions of northern and central Sudan - was the fact that the school was the recognized gateway

2. Ibid., pp.241-2.
4. See the table above.
to salaried employment in the modern sector - a privilege that was denied to the Khalwa.

In evidence of such a policy, Griffiths writes (1950),

"For most of this century, the Sudan Government followed the policy of limiting the quantity of education to the amount of employment available. Almost all of the employment was in the Government's service... The schools were... the door to that Government employment." (1)

Hence, as a result of the series of harsh criticism that seems to have discredited the Khalwa and led the Government to discard it for failure to fit in the latter's system, and owing to the subsequent cutting off of the financial aid from these Khalwa, and owing to the creation of the rival subgrade school and the steady expansion in both the subgrade and the elementary school, and above all in view of the superior facilities of the school and its recognition as the gateway to modern sector employment, the Khalwa steadily declined in existence and status. The table above shows that the decline in the number of the assisted Khalwa took place at the time when the financial aid was reduced or cut down, and at a time when both the elementary and subgrade schools were expanding. (2)

2. See table no.X, above.
The *Khalwa fakir* (the teachers) were said to have been likewise drastically affected by such changes in the Government's attitudes and policies — especially when a village *Khalwa* closed down, as many did, resulting in loss of jobs. Some *ex-Khalwa fakir*, however, were re-employed as subgrade school teachers. At any rate, the traditional high social status of the *Khalwa fakir* seems to have been greatly eroded.

As a result of the general decline in the popularity and number of *Khalwas* in central and northern Sudan, the special *Khalwa* inspectorate at the provincial capitals ceased to exist and their functions were taken over by the Province Educational Officer (P.E.O.) who became responsible for elementary, subgrade, adult and *Khalwa* education.
highly supportive. In this respect, however, the State seems to have been more concerned with the building up of the central administrative machinery and the setting of policies and the mobilization of positive attitudes than with the introduction of significant changes and improvements at the khalifa level.

The main administrative, relevant policies and related developments during this period are outlined below.

A. The building up of the administrative machinery seems to have been given top priority.

I. The Establishment of the "Department of Religious Affairs":

In accordance with the Ministerial Act No. 258 issued on 8th December, 1955, the first department for religious affairs came into being. Among its main functions was "to look after khalewas and institutions concerned with the memorization of

1. Ḥamid al-Ma'lūl, p. 48.
The Qur'ān. (1)

By 1964 it was realised that, in view of the complexity of the khalim problems at the time, and considering its future development and reforms that there was an urgent need that a special autonomous body be created to be exclusively in charge of the khalim affairs. (3)

Accordingly, the director of the Department of Religious Affairs (Dr. Kāmil al-Dāhir), was reported to have submitted a request to the Government through the Minister of Education regarding the creation of a Qur'ānic administrative agency - رَبِّ النَّارِ الْقُرْآنِ. (4)

1. Other areas of responsibility of the Department were:
   religious institutions (post-khalim); mosques and endowments;
   preaching, religious guidance and jihāda; al-amr bi al-ma'rūf
   wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar; the Shari' Orders.
2. Yamad al-Mīl, p.49.
3. Ibid., p.59; the term رَبِّ النَّارِ الْقُرْآنِ (kindling of the tentes) of the bonfire around which the learners of the Qur'ān used to sit and study their jāwāba by night - a reference to the revival of the jāwāba.
(ii) Ways and means of inducing the masses to embark on the memorization of the Qur'ān.

(iii) The ḥithla situation, then, and its future development.

The scheme does not seem to have met with a positive response and hence had to be shelved, then. (2)

However, following the successful popular October Revolution of 1964, in the Sudan, and under more conducive climate, the Minister of Education, then, (Badawi Muṣṭafa) was said to have adopted the scheme and secured the approval of the Cabinet on 7th July 1965. (3) The special Qur'ānic agency - Ṭabā'ī 'ir al-Qur'ān - was said to have been created (4) to pursue the realization of the following specified objectives: (5)

a) Teaching the Qur'ān for memorization, and in accordance with the rules of tawil and standard recitation.

4. Ṣamād al-Nāsī.
b) Dissemination of the Qur'ānic teachings which call for the practice of the ideal moral conduct amongst the members of the community.

c) Preparation of qualified reciters to be in charge of teaching the Qur'ān according to the rules of the Standard Readings.

d) To contribute, with other institutions of education, to present the Qur'ān as a comprehensive way of life for the Muslims in respect of belief, worship and legislation.

The realization of the above stated objectives of Ṭaba'ī Nar al-Qur'ān was envisaged to be carried out through the following means:

(i) Provision of adequate technical supervision and financial aid to functioning khulwas.

(ii) Establishment of centres for training of ḳhaļwa teachers and reciters of the Qur'ān.

(iii) Establishment of intermediate trade centres for training teachers of trades - such as carpentry, smithcraft and fitter's trade - which were decided to be added to the ḳhaļwa curriculum, in order to make the ḳhaļwa more responsive to the environmental needs of the learners and more appealing to parents.

f. Ḳaḥṣā al-nil, p.60; Tarjīm al-Qur'ān, pp.25-6.
(iv) Provision of prizes to those khalwa learners who would memorize the Qur'an, by heart.

(v) Establishment of a post-khalwa institute for Qur'anic Readings.

It is worth noting that, by 1967, most of the above stated targets seem to have been realized, as could be demonstrated later.

In order to strengthen the central agency - Ḥadīth Walter al-Qur'an - so as to play its role more efficiently, the Minister of Education was reported to have made a decision on 30th December 1965 according to which the agency was transformed into an autonomous body, under a council of trustees who would act on behalf of the Minister, as regards decisions on administrative and financial matters. 

III. The Creation of Regional Inspectorates:

In order to provide the envisaged technical supervision and financial aid to the working khalwah, in the countryside, a number of regional inspectorates for khalwah was established. Every two provinces were to be served by one inspectorate which would be, also, in charge of the assessment of the financial aid to be granted to individual khalwah that were seem to be entitled.

1. Ḥamad al-Walī, p.61.
Under the regime of the May Revolution (1969-1965) the trend of favourable attitudes and conducive policies towards khalwas seems to have been more emphasized.\(^1\)

On the administrative aspect, the state's effort was exemplified in the consolidation of the existing machinery — at both the central and the regional levels, as could be illustrated below:

IV. The Creation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs:

For the first time in the history of the Sudan a full ministry was established\(^2\) to be in charge of the religious affairs in the country — main among which were the advancement of Islamic studies, preaching and guidance and looking after the activities of the religious institutions such as mosques and khalwas.\(^3\)

V. The Department of Religious Studies:

Under the new Ministry of Religious Affairs, four specialized

\(^1\) See below.
\(^2\) According to the Presidential decree No.VI, on 12th October, 1971 (\textit{al-Nash\#at}, p.2).
\(^3\) \textit{Al-Nash\#at}, p.2.
departments were established. The agency - لیابس al-Qur'an

VI. The Establishment of Regional Departments of Religious Affairs:

With the establishment of the system of regional governments, each government became responsible for running its own affairs under regional ministers. The administration of all religious affairs in the regional government came to be coordinated under a regional unit called "the Department for Religious Affairs", which in turn was responsible administratively to the Regional Minister for Education and Social Services.

One of the major functions of the Regional Department of

1. These four new departments which together constitute the general secretariat of the Ministry were:
   a) The Department of Religious Studies.
   b) The Department of Da'wa and Religious Guidance.
   c) The Department of Mosques and Endowments.
   d) The Department of Christian Affairs.
   (al-Najāj, p. 4).


3. Interview with Director of Department of Religious Affairs, al-Fashir, 5th December 1981.
Religious Affairs was to look after the Muslims and their activities - administratively, technically and financially. (1)

VII. The Supreme Council for Religious Affairs:

This is a consultative council to the President. Its over-riding objective is to safeguard the right of society to develop in accordance with its religious heritage. (2)

Among the main functions of this council are: (3)

a) The organization of the activities of the religious institutions in a way that help them realize their objectives as regards worship and services.

b) Proposal of religious services that the State should finance.

c) Looking after the Mazhar Orders and directing them to be in the service of their genuine religious aims.

B. The State's Supportive Attitude Towards Karraya Education:

A call for the return to the Qur'an and the revival of the Islamic cultural heritage:

1. Interview with al-Shaykh 'Ali Hasibi, Director of Department of Religious Affairs, al-Farabi, 5th December, 1981.
3. Ibid., p.4.
The main theme of the State’s religious policy seems to have been embodied in the constant call for the return to the Qur’ān and the revival of the Islamic cultural heritage in the Sudan. This could be illustrated by references to official documents such as:

- The permanent Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan.
- The speeches of the President.
- The declared policies of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
- The set policies of the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs.

The following extracts from the above mentioned sources substantiate the point:

a) The Constitution: Article 9(A) reads as follows: “The Islamic Shari‘a and custom are the two main sources of legislation in the Sudan.”\(^1\) Article 16(A) reads: “In the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, religion is Islam. Society is guided by Islam the religion of the majority and the State works towards the realization of its values.”\(^2\)

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b) The State's "Five-Year Phased Programmes for Action (1972-1977)" launched for comprehensive development in the Sudan embraces the programmes of the different ministries and bodies. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has included as priorities in its programmes:
- The conducting of research on the religious culture in the Sudan - its past, present and future development by devising appropriate approaches and programmes that would help in its development and dissemination.(1)
- Work towards the realization of the virtues and supreme ideals of the Islamic religion...and the revival of the Islamic cultural heritage.(2)
- Dissemination of the genuine Islamic culture and consolidation of its spiritual aspect in order to make its positive impact on the masses.(3)

c) The Annual Festivals of the Qur'ān.

As a practical manifestation of the State's effort to encourage the people to return to the Qur'ān - and in effect to revive the Esāsa of the Qur'ān - the Ministry of Religious Affairs started in 1394/1974 a tradition of annual celebrations, on the occasion of the new Hijri year, for competition in the

1. Ṣaḥābī (al-Naṣḥāt, p.36).
2. Ṣaḥābī (al-Naṣḥāt, p.36).
recitation of the Qur’ān. The competition was open to all citizens, but usually the bulk of candidates were Khaled learners selected, through prior tests, from all over the country.

The final competition - or the grand festival - was held at the capital, Khartoum, where it was attended by President Numayri, the Minister of Religious Affairs, the notables, religious bodies and teachers of the best Khaled.

On such an occasion, both the President and the Minister of Religious Affairs used to deliver speeches focusing on the Qur’ān and the Islamic teachings as the backbone of the Sudanese cultural heritage and, hence, calling upon the people to return to the Qur’ān and revive its institutions of learning - especially the Khaled.

At the end of the evening's celebrations the top twenty or forty reciters would be announced and would receive their money prizes from the President.

In recognition of their highly appreciated efforts and as a gesture of boosting their morale, the names of the Khaled from

1. Al-Mahrajān, p. 3.
2. See Regulations for the President's prize for Competitors in the Qur'ān Festivals, below.
3. See the President's and the Minister's speeches, below.
4. Al-Mahrajān, p.73; see Regulations for President's Prize, 7(b), p.593.
which the top competitors were selected would be announced by the Minister and their Shaykhs would be received by the President. Symbolic money prizes would be given to them.\(^1\)

It is worth noting that all aspects of the grand festival were usually transmitted live to the public by the media - on the television, the radio and by the press. Thus the occasion and the message would be highly publicized, and the shaykhs teachers and their students would receive considerable moral support.\(^2\)

The table, below, shows the names of the top twenty shaykhs from which the top reciters were selected at the grand festival of the Qur'ān competition held in Khartoum.

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1. *Al-Wahda*, p. 73; see Regulations, below, p. 594, 8(b).
2. The writer's observations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Shaykh in Charge</th>
<th>Name of Khalifa</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>'Ali Bitūl</td>
<td>Hamishkoryab</td>
<td>Kasala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Al-Sharīf 'Ali H. Mūr</td>
<td>Tamsiliq</td>
<td>Red Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Al-Nayyār Ḳasād al-Nāl</td>
<td>Sad al-Fadni</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Al-Jaylī Ṭ. Abū Qurūn</td>
<td>Abū Qurūn</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Al-Fakār Ahmad al-Maqbūl</td>
<td>Al-Fawyda</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Al-Bāṣāmīn Ṭ. Abū Sulaim</td>
<td>Sad Abū Sulaim</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yūsuf al-Fakār Umar b. Badr</td>
<td>Umm Ḍawāwan Ban</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abū Ṭūlī 'Aqla al-Shaykh al-Nayyār</td>
<td>Ṭayba 'Abd al-Falṣ</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Al-Jaylī al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Nāl</td>
<td>Abū Ḍalāq Muhammad White Nile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Al-Ja'ālī Ṭ. Ḳasād</td>
<td>Kasatās</td>
<td>Al-Nīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>'Uthman al-Fakār Umar b. Badr</td>
<td>Al-Jazayir</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>'Abd al-Nṣūr Abūl-Bāṣīr</td>
<td>Al-Jāzayr</td>
<td>Al-Nīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ḳasād al-Muqaddas Muṣawwī</td>
<td>Al-Ṣaḥayb</td>
<td>White Nile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>'Ali Muḥammad Bakhīt</td>
<td>Al-Karūf</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yūsuf Abūd Ṭawālīḥāf</td>
<td>Al-Qisāṣayya</td>
<td>White Nile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Al-Muṣīrak al-Fakār al-Ṭayyib</td>
<td>Al-Shaykh al-Baṣīr</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
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<td>Al-Kirayyit</td>
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<td>Bad Nʿūman</td>
<td>Gezira</td>
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<td>'Abd al-Jaylī Abūn</td>
<td>Bāy al-Ṣanī</td>
<td>S. Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>'Ummān al-Khālīfā 'Ali</td>
<td>Al-Khalmīyya</td>
<td>Kasala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: al-Mubarak, p.68.
d) The speeches of the President and the Minister of Religious Affairs:

In the speeches of the President and the Minister of Religious Affairs, especially on the occasion of the annual festivals of the Qur'ān, the call to return to the Qur'ān seems to have been the constant theme and the over-riding aim. The following extracts substantiate this.

On the occasion of the first festival of the Qur'ān, the President stressed that:

"The Islamic religion, based on the Qur'ān, is the essence of our civilization... the distinct feature of our society and the force behind our social solidarity and cohesion. It is the source of the ideals and values on which our cultural civilization is built."

Reminding the Sudanese of the historical role of the Qur'ān in moulding the Muslim Sudan, the President was reported to have said that:

"The rise of the Muslim Sudan in the 10th/16th century was attributed to the Qur'ān... It was due to the efforts

1. The first Festival of the Qur'ān was held at the National Museum, Khartoum, on 1st Muharram, 1394/24th January 1974, (al-Wahrāṭan, p. 5.
3. Ibid.
of the teachers of the Qur'ān and the 'ulamā' who spread all over the Funj kingdom and contemporary sultanates, establishing their khalwaq, mosques and zāwiyas — disseminating the Qur'ānic teaching amongst the masses, that the Muslim Sudan emerged.

"Today the impact of the Islamic civilization based on the Qur'ān seems to be manifested in almost all of our glorious social values and practices."

"Hence, if we are to reassert and restore our identity and cultural heritage we have to return to the Qur'ān and the Islamic heritage."

In fact, the call of "a return to the Qur'ān and the revival of our Islamic cultural heritage" has been repeated by the President, year after year, at the annual festivals of the Qur'ān. Moreover, the same theme and message were echoed by the Minister for Religious Affairs — Dr. ʿAwn al-Sharīf Qāsim — on the same and similar occasions.

On the occasion of the fourth annual festival of the Qur'ān,

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.9.
4. See for example: Al-Mahārān, pp. 5-26; Al-Bayān, pp.4-6.
5. Al-Bayān, p.8; Al-Mahārān, pp. 29-50.
6. The fourth annual Conference of the Qur'ān was held at Qa'im al-Qaṣās, Khartoum, 1st Muharram, 1397/December 1976.
the President declared that:

"...We will seek our identity by a return to the Qur'ān...and by following the example of our ancestors...we will direct all our efforts to teaching and learning the Qur'ān at our religious, cultural and educational institutions...and we will live according to its guidance at our homes and when pursuing all activities of life."(1)

The President also emphasized that the Qur'ān would be disseminated to all sectors of the society:

"We will teach it to our children and to our men and women...and will direct all efforts to the attainment of this objective."(2)

The attitude of the States towards the religious institutions seems to have been indicated also by the Minister of Religious Affairs when he announced that:

"...Had it not been for the khalwa, zāwiya, mosques and 'qubba' which have spread all over the country, the Sudan would not have been in possession of its present civilization."(3)

1. Al-Nahda, p.27; al-Naqīn, p.5.
2. Ibid.
In reference to the hostile and unfavourable policy of the Condominio rule towards khulwas, the Minister said that "it was out of fear of the revival of our culture and civilization through the Qur'ān that the colonial rule waged a war against the Qur'ān and its institutions - the khulwas - and restricted its teaching to neglected and unrecognized traditional khulwas."

"To reverse such a policy," the Minister declared, "May Revolution has embarked on a policy of giving the Qur'ānic institutions, the khulwas, all the encouragement and support they need." Not only that, but the Government was concerned with the dissemination of the Qur'ān amongst the masses - children, youth, men and women - whether through children's nurseries and khulwas attached to mosques, consolidation classes for students at the mosques or whether through the Islamic cultural centres, for men and women, or at the 'ijām and tājīwīd halls which are spread all over the country - at mosques, khulwas, nawiyas and homes of the 'ulama'."

In addition to the above, the State's positive attitude towards these institutions seems to have been consolidated by the personal and frequent visits of the President to the religious institutions - especially to the khulwas and their Shī'ī Shaykhs - which seem to have greatly boosted the morale and encouraged the khulwa people to double their efforts in carrying out their

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1. Al-Mahārīn, p.47.
2. Ibid.
sacred mission. (1)

Revival of Religious Educational Institutions:

As an effective means of disseminating the Qur'an amongst the masses and as an embodiment of the revival of the cultural heritage the government supportive policy has been directed to the revival of the traditional Islamic educational institutions - the mosque and the Khalwa - and to the creation of linkage between the Khalwa and higher institutions of study:

a) The policy towards the mosque and Khalwa:

One of the priorities of the "Phased Programme of Action", (2) was:

"The introduction of a drastic change in the mosque - in both concept and form, in order to enable it to resume its role as a centre of worship as well as a source of educational and cultural enlightenment. (3)

As for the Khalwa, the State's policy included in the Phased Programme for Action towards it, calls for the activation and organization of Khalwas in the different regions of the Sudan and the setting up of new programmes

3. Ibid., p.40.
of learning conducive to the child's development and education, on the one hand, and appealing to the citizens of different ages to induce them to embark on learning the Qur'ān, on the other. (1)

In reference to the envisaged policy towards mosques and khajjas the President, addressing the Sudanese Socialist Union, declared that the State's objective was to transform the mosque into a multi-purpose cultural centre that would attract people of all ages and influence them, spiritually and culturally, through its activities. (2)

The new mosque, the President explained, would consist of: (3)

- A nursery for the infants.
- A khalsa for children, for learning the Qur'ān.
- Consolidation classes, for school pupils to revise their lessons, especially Arabic and religious studies, during their spare time.
- Ilm circles for the adults - especially residents of the neighbourhood.
- Public lecture halls for the youth and adults.

In addition to the above functions, the mosque was also

2. Ibid., p.43.
3. Ibid.
education. It would thus help, also, in providing education to those who were not absorbed by the school - hence helping in the eradication of illiteracy.

Elaborating on what the President had already stated about the Khalwa, the Minister of Religious Affairs, on the occasion of the Second Festival of the Qur'an, declared that the traditional Khalwa would be transformed into a "model Khalwa" in which basic subjects such as the Qur'an, Arabic, religious subjects and arithmetic would be taught by graduates of the Qur'anic secondary institutes. Then it would serve as a feeder to the modern system of education in the sense that those completing it would be qualified to join directly the Qur'anic general secondary school and then climb the ladder to higher education.

1. Al-Masbati, p.49.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.36; cf. the subjects taught by the Khalwa nigameya, above.
5. Al-Masbati, p.36.
6. Ibid.
Khalwa spread at present.

As a result of the overall conductive and supportive State's policy towards khalwas, as briefly indicated above, on the one hand, and the massive support for the trend in certain regions of the country, on the other, the Sudan under national rule has witnessed a steady build up of traditional khalwas. Many of the old and almost dead khalwas have been brought to life and hundreds of new ones have emerged.

A survey conducted in 1976 has revealed the existence of more than three thousand khalwas, spread all over the country. The table below illustrates the number of khalwas that existed in the Sudan (in 1976) and their distribution over the provinces and the number of students they held. However, the actual number of khalwas functioning in the Sudan is believed to greatly exceed the registered number of 2,729 in 1976, as shown in the table. Moreover, from his actual observations and visits to the different regions of the Sudan - and especially to Darfur province - the writer has come to believe that there are hundreds of small and unregistered khalwas, spread all over the villages.

Accordingly, it could be safely assumed that the number of

1. See the khalwa of All Bitai in Eastern Sudan and khalwas in Darfur Province, for example, as indicated by the table below.
2. NGR, p. 3; see table below.
3. See table below.
4. NGR, pp. 3-4.
5. The writer's visit to the khalwas, November-December, 1981.
Khalwas in the Sudan, today (1981) exceeds 1,000.

Although khalwas are spread everywhere, yet, as could be seen from the table, their distribution over the country has not been even. In fact, the survey shows that about 45% of the existing khalwas in the country are located in the provinces of Western Sudan (Northern Darfur, Southern Darfur, Southern Kordofan and Northern Kordofan).\(^1\) Next, in respect to the number of khalwas, are the provinces of Eastern Sudan (Red Sea and Kassala).\(^2\)

The reasons behind this are not difficult to detect. They are a complex of historical, economic and social factors.

As has been indicated earlier, under the Condoinium rule, the khalwa, for various reasons, was bitterly opposed and discarded.\(^3\) Various means were employed to uproot it. The modern school was introduced as a parallel and rival educational institution. With the government backing, it eventually supplanted the khalwa.\(^4\)

1. Nūr, p.4. This marks a shift to the fringes, it seems to pose a contrast to the khalwa spread during the Punj period (310/1504-1336/1919) when the bulk of khalwas were concentrated in the riverain region - along the Nile (see khalwa spread during the Punj period, above.)
2. See table, below.
3. See attitudes and condition of khalwas under Condoinium rule.
4. See table no. 4, above.
### Table No. III

**Khalawas and their Distribution in the Sudan (1976)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number of Khalawas</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>15,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassala</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>13,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Darfur</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>32,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Darfur</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>31,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Kordofan</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>26,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Kordofan</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>30,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Nile</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>9,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Nile</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>8,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omdurra</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Nile</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahri al-Gezal</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equatoria</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,729</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NSR, p.3.
Immediately after independence and during the 1960s, and with relatively abundant employment opportunities in the modern sector, there was a social demand for the school which came to be the only recognised gateway to such employment - to the disadvantage of the almost forgotten khalwa, especially in Northern and Central Sudan.

Consequently, traditional public support to the khalwa in these regions seems to have been much weakened. Parents, taking into consideration the future employment of their children it seems, have been induced to switch their children from the khalwa to the school.

Nevertheless, in line with the general trend of khalwa revival, the few Sufi khalwas that survived the Condominium rule - in addition to others - seem to have been renovated and revived into elaborate traditional khalwa centres, functioning in the school-dominated regions of Northern and Central Sudan. However, failing to attract learners from their local communities, the Shaykhs of these khalwas came to rely for supply of students population (for these khalwas) from outside their regions. Today, in effect, most of the learners at the khalwas of Northern and Central Sudan come from Western Sudan (Kordofan and Darfur). This is especially true of the main boarding khalwa centres such as Kadabas, Abū Qurūn, UmDawwan Bār, Ṣāʿyā Qurashi and Wād al-Fadḥī, below.

1. See Griffiths, p.145.
2. See the khalwas of Kadabas, UmDawwan Bār, Hamishkorab and Wād al-Fadḥī, below.
Wadi al-Fadni. (1)

Such arrangement seems to have been beneficial to both parties: those in charge of the revived khalsas (the qur'\text{\i} shaykhs and the fak\text{\i}s) on the one hand, and the learners - the muhajirin, on the other.

To the shaykhs the flourishing of the khalsas seems to have been regarded as a revival of their glorious religious heritage and hence a continuation of the traditional roles and practices of their ancestors. In addition, it seems to have been a source of comfortable living and high social prestige.

The learners - the muhajirin - on the other hand, seem to have been attracted to these remote khalsas from their home districts in Western Sudan, in response to the following factors:

(a) The custom of h\text{\i}ra. (2) There has been a generations-old conviction and practice amongst the people of Western Sudan - especially the Fur that learning the Qur\text{\i}\text{'in by heart was a principal obligation and that a learner can never attain such a goal while studying in his locality -

1. On visiting these khalsas, the writer found out that the majority of their learners were from Western Sudan - Darfur and Kordofan (see these khalsas centres surveyed, below).

2. See Students h\text{\i}ra for Study, below.
learners - mainly from Western Sudan - yet they have not been
induced to introduce change to respond to the needs of the people
of their own localities. (3)

1. The reference is to such khalwa as those of Kadabas,
Abū Qurūn, Ummawwan Ṣāhī, Wad al-Fādnī and Ṣayba (for more
details see the present-day khalwa centres mentioned below).
2. Ibid.
3. See the Curricula and Books, the Methods of Teaching and
the Teachers Training at the khalwa centres of the
riversin region mentioned above.
CHAPTER FIVE

EXAMPLES OF KHALWAS

A. The khalwas of al-šubush in Later Stages:

The two-stage khalwas of al-šubush which have been mentioned in the Punj period, continued during the Turco-Egyptian rule when conditions returned to normal after the first years of invasion and the repercussion of the murder of Isma'il Pasha at Bhendi. The khalwas of al-šubush, then, were said to have resumed their traditional teaching roles of the Qur'ān and 'ilm by the teachers of the same family.

About 1280/1864, for example, the khalwa of the Qur'ān, attended by 153 learners, was run by al-faqīh al-Amin b. Māazzam b. Shujā'ī b. Muḥammad, \(^1\) brother of al-faqīh 'Abdallāh b. Yāsed. \(^2\)

2. Al-faqīh 'Abdallāh was the last of al-šubush to serve during the Punj rule – teaching the Qur'ān (al-Tābaqāt, p.282).
Similarly, the *khalwa* for teaching *fa'il* was under al-faqīh Muhammad 'Abdallah Khujali and was reported to have been attended by 57 students at the time.\(^1\)

During this period, the *khalwa* of al-Ghobash, like many of the main *khalwas* of the day, seemed to have been financially dependent on the aid - in cash and kind - which it used to receive, on request, from the Egyptian Government.\(^2\)

The *fa'il* courses at the *khalwa* conducted by al-faqīh Muhammad al-khayr (teacher of al-makhzūm) were said to have included *fa'il* (Khallī and al-Khālia), taźbīd, alīyyat of Ibn Khālīk (grammar), taqawwuf and sciences of the Qur'ān.\(^3\) The teaching of the Qur'ān - in addition to reading and writing, on the other hand, was conducted by al-faqīh al-Amin.\(^4\)

The above mentioned courses of *fa'il*, in addition to the Qur'ān, clearly illustrate the relatively high standard the *khalwa* maintained during the Turco-Egyptian period.

\(^2\) See "Financial Aspect of *Khalwa* Education", below.
\(^3\) Information from the Khallīn of the Khallīn in November, 1981; see Shugayr, vol.III, p.119.
\(^4\) Information from the Khallīfā, November, 1987.
of the academic calibre of that khalwa.

It was also under al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr that the khalwa of al-Ghubush, like that of al-Majādhib, was reported to have taken a leading role in the armed religio-political opposition to the Turco-Egyptian regime at the time of the Mahdiyya revolution.\(^{(2)}\) It should be recalled, in this respect, that al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr was a product of al-Majādhib khalwa - at al-Damer, where he learnt the Qur'ān and at al-Qūf al-Azraq where he studied 'ilm.\(^{(3)}\)

When the revolution of the Mahdiyya broke out, however, al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr was said to have been appointed by al-Maṣūf (his ex-student at al-Ghubush) as chief amīr over the Berber region.\(^{(4)}\) Hence, he suspended the khalwa teaching at al-Ghubush and even pulled down its building and transferred its

1. Information from the Ḥalīfa, November, 1981.
2. See Attitudes and Condition of khalwas under the Mahdiyya Period, above.
3. Information from the Ḥalīfa, November, 1981.
4. See Attitudes and Condition of khalwas under the Mahdiyya Period, above.
about eight months before Khartoum.

Under the Condominium rule, and when conditions permitted, the Khalwa was said to have been rebuilt and to have resumed its Qur'anic teaching role under al-`aski Ahmad Husayn then a young teacher, al-Amin Ahmad al-Shaykh who was then succeeded by al-`aski al-Amin b. Muhammad al-Shaykh. (3)

However the Khalwa was never to be the same again. Like almost all of the traditional Khalwas it was said to have been exposed to systematic hostile attitudes and pressure from the Government. (4)

In 1927 the Khalwa was converted into a Khalwa nizamiyya under hereditary teacher al-`aski 'Abd al-Majid b. al-Amin b. Muhammad b. Khujali - the father of al-Khalifa Muhammad (1981). (5)

1. Information from the Khalwa Khalifa, November, 1981.
4. See above.
5. This was the father of the Khalifa with whom the writer had the interview at al-Omdurman, 15th November, 1981.
dictation and composition were added to the teaching of the Qur’ān.

The khāliṣa was provided with modern teaching aids such as blackboards, chalk, slates, slate-pencils, textbooks and exercise books. It was also subject to frequent inspection from the Government administrators and, in particular, the educational authorities. Thus, the khāliṣa of al-Ghubush was brought under the Government’s control.

Finally, like many of the khāliṣas nighūṭaya, when the Government rejected it on educational grounds, the famous four-centuries old khāliṣa of al-Ghubush steadily declined till by the 1960s it ceased to exist as an effective teaching centre.

Today, the function of al-Ghubush Mosque has been reduced to the daily and Friday prayers only.

1. Information from the Khāliṣa, November, 1981.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. The writer’s visit to the Khāliṣa, 15th November, 1981.
From the foregoing it seems clear that the effective role

Under the Condominium rule, however, it was systematically
pressurized and finally liquidated.

The factors that contributed to this sad and seem to be
exemplified in the following.

It was at the khalwa of Al-Chubush that Muhammad Ahmad
al-Wahdi - the leader of the Mahdiyya revolution - had his 'ilm
studies, under its renowned faqih, al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr. (1)

Further, it was al-Wahdi's ex-teacher and later appointed
mufti for Berber region - al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr (who was in
turn a product of the famous khalwa of al-Wahdi) who
successfully led the stiff resistance against and contributed to
the downfall of the Turco-Egyptian regime.

Hence, it could be assumed that it might have been an act

1. See above.
of utmost significance to the alien rule, to crack down on the cause) and the khālwa of Kutrānī, where he had also studied, were also broken down.\(^1\)

On the other hand, the main function of the khālwa of al-Ghubush, since its emergence in the middle of the 10th/16th century, had been the dissemination of Orthodox Islamic teachings as exemplified in the teaching of the Qurʾān, Qurʾānic sciences and some 'ilm courses, under its orthodox 'ulamā'ī. In this respect, it could be said that like the khālwa of Kutrānī and those of al-Majādībī, it had no active involvement in popular Sūfī rituals of the ṣūfīs - which were manifested, elsewhere, in the form of the erection of qubbas and shrines and the associated rituals of visitations, ṣabhā, writing of amulets and 'aṭīma and ṭawba ṣhibā', etc.\(^2\)

Consequently, the khālwa of al-Ghubush seems to have been lacking (again like the khālwas of al-Majādībī and Kutrānī) the spiritual attraction and the more important financial support of

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1. See the khālwa of al-Majādībī, below, for example.
2. The Sūfī dependent khālwas such as those of Kadābās, Abū Qurūn, Um-Dawwān Ban, for example.
the Sufi dependent khalwas not only to survive but even to flourish to a great extent. (1)

Hence, when under the Condominium rule, the khalwa of al-Shubush was denied the financial aid that sustained it under the Turco-Egyptian period, it became vulnerable to the unfavourable attitude and pressure from the alien Government. (2)

As a result, it was converted to a khalwa hishafula - a semi kuttah school under the Government control. Thus the famous khalwa of al-Shubush was eroded of its status, prestige and even its original character. Even when the Government abandoned this policy, after having exploited, discredited and discarded that institution, the khalwa of al-Shubush could no longer regain its lost status or play its traditional educational and social roles. It gradually declined and faded out. As an educational institution it has been supplanted by the modern school. (3)

In this respect, the khalwa of al-Shubush seems to represent a sharp contrast to the neighbouring khalwa of al-Shaykh al-Ja'all at Kadabas, for example, which seems to have survived and even prospered through its heavy reliance on the perpetuation of the rituals of its Sufi tarīqa. (4)

1. The Sufi dependent khalwas such as those of Kadabas, Abū Qurūn, Umm Da'wwan Ban, for example.
2. Information from the khalwa khalīfa.
3. The writer's visit to al-Shubush, November 1981.
4. See the khalwa of Kadabas, below.
E. Khalwas of al-Ḥajabba at al-Damr

Although these khalwas are being dealt with in Part II of this study, their origin — and indeed the origin of the family — is traced back to their great ancestor al-Ḥajabba b. Qandil of the Jaʿalliyyin tribe who was said to have lived thirteen generations ago. (1) As a young man he was said to have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca where he also studied 'ilm. (2) On his return home he was said to have established his masjid and taught the Qurʾān at the village of Darrū, two kilometres south of modern al-Damr. (3)

The mosque continued to be used by the descendants of al-Ḥajabba b. Qandil and his successors: his son Muhammad and then by his grandson Abdalāsh b. Darrū — known as rājī Darrū (the man of Darrū). (4)

However, it was at the time of the third successor al-Ṭaqī b. Abdalāsh of Darrū that an important development seems to have taken place. al-Ṭaqī Darrū, who was an ascetic, was said to have moved from his ancestors' home at Darrū to the site of modern al-Damr — which was then a clearing in the midst of a forest region on the right bank of the Nile — and there he established his khalwa for meditation. (5) Because of his respected

1. Interview with ustād al-Naqar, al-Damr, 14th November, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
status as a religious man the Arab tribes, especially his own Ja'aliyyın tribe, seem to have been attracted to his new settlement which they used to refer to as 'Damar Hamad' (the shade of Hamad) or his settlement, and hence the name al-Damer.\(^1\)

Afterwards the founder himself came to be known as Hamad Al-kabır (the Great) or Hamad I.\(^2\)

Gradually, Hamad's settlement seems to have increased in size and to have become the focal point of attraction for the Arab nomads who found in the region a suitable grazing area (on the banks of the river, especially during the dry season) and enjoyed security and protection under its spiritual leader and above all acquired at his khalwa some badly needed religious teachings - for them and their children.\(^3\)

The khalwa established by al-Shaykh Hamad continued as a teaching institution under his son and successor, al-faki 'Ali Abū Dāmî\(^4\), who was said to have been so God-fearing that he always wept whenever he read the Qur'ān or entered his khalwa for meditation.\(^4\)

After Abū Dāmî\(^4\) the khalwa was managed by his son al-faki

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1. Information from distrust al-Nagār, al-Damer, 14th November 1984.
2. Ibid.; this was so in order to distinguish his from his great-grandson Hamad al-Majdūb (d.1190/1778), see below.
4. Ibid.
Muḥammad al-Majdhūb - from whom the family derived its famous name al-Majdhūb (the descendants of al-Majdhūb). (1)

However, the reputation of the khalwa as a learning institution and indeed the reputation of the whole family for teaching, seems to have been associated with the son and successor of al-faqīḥ Muḥammad al-Majdhūb - the famous faqīḥ al-Shaykh Ḥamad al-Majdhūb, known also as Ḥamad II, and also as Ḥamad abū dīgh (Ḥamad with the beard). (2)

Al-Shaykh Ḥamad al-Majdhūb (1105/1693 - 1190/1776) (3) was said to have been the seventh generation after the founder of the family, al-Ḥāfiẓ Isā b. Qandil. (4)

Ḥamad II as a young learner was taught the Qurʾān at the khalwa of al-Ḥabashi at the hands of al-faqīḥ Ḥamad b. 'Abd al-Qādir, (5) and studied al-fiqh - Ḥanīfi and al-Shāfiʿi - under al-faqīḥ Mādani b. Muḥammad b. Mādani al-Māqī at the khalwa of Ḥamātūt al-Ḥuri. (6) and also under 'All al-Qarrāsī. He was said to have studied theology under al-Qāṣīṣaḏ [al-Karqani] and initiated in the Sūfī Path - the Shākhīyya Order - by al-Shaykh

2. Ibid.
3. Al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p. 589.
4. Information from ustādh al-Naqār.
5. Al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p. 189.
6. Ibid.
'Ali al-Dinawi, a disciple of al-Shaykh Ahmad b. Kusir, whom he had met in Mecca while on pilgrimage.  

On his return home, al-Shaykh Yasad al-Majdhub established himself as the Khalifa of the khalwa where he was said to have taught 'all the arts' and served as an expert in legal opinion and the Shari'a, rules as well as instructor in the Sufi Path to his disciples.  

Gradually, al-Shaykh Yasad, as a spiritual leader, grew in fame and became the most respected person in the region to the extent that his pleas and mediations to the kings and sultans and chiefs of the Ja'aliyyin tribe on behalf of his followers were readily responded to. Not only that, but it was widely believed that whoever rejected them would immediately be stricken by his spell.  

Moreover, he was said to have acquired such an enormous prestige among the Ja'aliyyin tribe, as a religious and secular leader, that he actually became the effective ruler over a district centering upon his residence at al-Damir.  

1. Al-Tahanit, p.189; Holt and Daly, p.35.  
2. Al-Sababat, p.189.  
3. Ibid.; see also "Subjects and Books" for more information on Dalâ'il al-Khayrât.  
4. Al-Sababat, p.189.  
5. Holt and Daly, p.35.
was said to have flourished as an important trading centre where caravan routes from Western Sudan, Senaar, Sa‘dîn and Egypt converged,¹ and passed in safety from robbers under the protection of its Shaykh.²

However, what is of more concern to us is that al-Samer came to be considered, under al-Shaykh Hamad al-Majdûb and his descendants, as the most important centre of religious teachings. Not only that but its khalwa, as an institution of learning, was described as "what might almost be called an Islamic university, the students of which were in contact with the greater and more famous schools of Cairo."³

Al-Shaykh Hamad was said to have had seventeen sons (and one daughter) all of whom were engaged in teaching and learning. In support of this, his oldest son 'Abdallah al-Nagar was said to have been, like his father, a faqîh who was so dedicated to the question of Islamic teachings that he established his own mosque and separate khalwa of study during his father’s lifetime,⁴ which seems to have been managed by his own descendants afterwards.

In confirmation of this advanced stage of development which

1. Information from ustâdh al-Nagar.
4. Information from ustâdh al-Nagar.
al-Damer witnessed under the effective leadership of al-Maṣāḥib it seems relevant, in this respect, to refer to the description below and which was given by Burckhardt who visited the town in 1814, during the time of al-Shaykh Ahmad Jalāl al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh al-Naṣar - who was running an independent khālaṣ centre. \(^{(1)}\)

"Damer is a large village or town containing about five hundred houses. It is clean and much neater than Berber, having many new buildings and no ruins. The houses are built with some uniformity in regular streets and shady trees. It is inhabited by the Arab tribe of 'Medj-y-din' \([\text{al-Maṣāḥib}]\) who trace their origin from Arabia." \(^{(2)}\)

Further, in reference to the high spiritual status the members of al-Maṣāḥib family enjoyed amongst the people of al-Damer, under their khalīfa \(-\text{al-fakī al-kābir}\), Burckhardt states:

"A great part of them [the people of al-Damer] are fujara) or religious men. They have no secular Shaykh but a high pontif called al-fakī al-kābir (the great fakī) who is the real chief who decides all matters in dispute."

The family of Medjul \([\text{Maṣāḥib}]\) in whom this office is

1. Information from \(\text{uṣul al-Naṣar, al-Damer, 14th November 1961.}\)
2. Burckhardt, \(\text{Travels in Nubia,}\) p.266.
established has the reputation of producing necromancers or persons endowed with supernatural powers from whom nothing remains hidden and whose spells nothing can withstand. Innumerable stories are related of their magic powers of which the following is a specimen: 'Abdallâh, the father of the present fazi caused a lamb to bleat in the stomach of the thief who had stolen and afterwards eaten it.’(1)

The khalifa or successor over the original khalwa of al-Shaykh Hamad was said to have been his son Ahmad Abû Jadari who was described in Al-Tahaqqî as being similar to his father in 'ilm, piety and care in looking after the interests of the Muslims.’(2)

Al-khalifa Ahmad Abû Jadari continued in charge of his khalwa and was said to have been succeeded by his son Muhammad Abû Surra in whose time the Turco-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan (1821) took place.’(3)

It seems desirable at this stage to give a brief description of the khalwa complex of al-Majdhlî, at al-Damer, which was in use for centuries.

The masjid which still stands(1), though partly in ruins, is a spacious courtyard. In the centre and nearer to the eastern side lies a low mud-built room now partly sunk in sand, with its thick wooden door closed. This was said to have been the khalwa of the Khalifa of al-Majāḥib khalwa al-fātīh al-kahīr, as Surakhvat called him in 1814.

To the east of the Khalifa's khalwa, and separated by a low mud wall, lies the prayer mosque, now newly rebuilt of red brick with a high minaret, well carpeted and supplied with electric noon light.(2)

On the southern and western sides of the masjid are five very large rooms or halls. These were used as the khalwas of study. Three of them were used as khalwas for teaching the Qur'an - hence were called the Qur'āniyya khalwas.(3)

They had large entrances and window openings - but without

1. The writer visited the khalwas of al-Majāḥib at al-Damer on 14th-15th November 1981, and was kindly shown the different parts of the masjid by his well-informed host, the learned man ustādh Majāḥib al-Nāqār to whom he is indebted for much of the valuable information on al-Majāḥib's khalwas. Masjid is a corruption of the word masjid; it also refers to the open space around the khalwa, or the whole khalwa complex.


3. Information from ustādh al-Nāqār.
doors or windows. Thus they were all the time open and accessible to the learners. They have high roofs and very thick mud walls - about 3/4 metre. Each accommodated about a hundred learners.\(^{(1)}\)

The Qur'ānīyya khālwa were said to have had no furniture; the learners sat on the soft mud-covered floors, while the fakīr sat on his farwā (prayer sheep-skin mat).\(^{(2)}\)

However, each learner was provided with a lawh and he would prepare his own ink-pot and reed pens. It should be noted here that al-miḥār of lawh (washing off) was done on a large curved stone placed in the centre of the courtyard. Each khālwa had shelves into the walls called miskat for storing books and lawh.\(^{(3)}\)

The other two connected rooms were said to have been used for the teaching of 'ilm by the advanced students.\(^{(4)}\) The floors here were said to have been covered with burūš (long rolls of prayer mats made of date-palm leaves), while the teacher - the fakīr - sat on his prayer mat. Books and lawh were stored in the miskat.\(^{(5)}\)

Along the northern side of the spacious naqāh are smaller rooms, though varying in size. These were said to have been used

1. Information from nasīḥa an-Naṣar, al-Damār, November 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. The writer's visit to the khālwa. These are discussed in detail in Part III.
4. Information from nasīḥa an-Naṣar.
5. Ibid.
an khalwa of residence for the learners who were also provided
with beds.①

While up to ten young learners could share a room, only two
or three of the advanced students of 'ilm shared one, and often
a senior student who was practising ṣūfī rituals would be provided
with a separate room, and unlike the khalwas of study, these
khalwas of accommodation had doors.②

The khalwa was said to have provided three stages of study -
for the Qur'ān, 'ilm and ṣūfism.③ Stage I was restricted to
the teaching of the Qur'ān and the ability to read and write -
at the Qur'āniyya khalwa. Stage II was for the teaching of 'ilm:
fiqh, hadith, tafsīr and Arabic grammar.

It was said, in this respect, that the hulgas of 'ilm were
also open for members of the public to attend, with the students,
and to ask questions which were answered by the faqīh.

Stage III was restricted to those who had completed their
study of the other two stages and sought instruction on ṣūfism,
usually conducted by the Khalīfa.

It seems worth noting here that the Majādhīb were not

1. Information from ʿustādh al-Naqar.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
propagators of popular Ṣūfism - i.e., communal dhikr activities at the behest of the nayha (drum) as other followers of Ǧūfī Orders did, such as the Ḥāḍīrīya, for example. Their Shāhīya Ṭarīqa advocated personal meditation, it was said, and hence they did not approve of mass dhikr and had no Ḥāḍīrī followers from the masses. (1)

The teachers of the three states were usually qualified members of the same family who taught voluntarily without salary or endowment. However, like the hundreds of students, they used (together with their families) to live at the expense of the Khalwa. (2)

In reference to the spread of the educational services of the Zaidī family of fāqīrs (religious teachers), through their khalwas, Surokhbarī observes that they used to extend their teaching services beyond the land of the Ja’āliyyīn - their region - to other regions such as those of Sukot and Maḥas in the land of the Nubians to the north:

"The few Nubians who know how to write and who serve the governors in the capacity of secretaries are taught by the fāqīrs of al-Damer who are all learned men and travel occasionally to Cairo to visit the mosque of al-Ash’ar. Many of the children of Sukot and Maḥas are likewise

2. Ibid.
sent to the school of the Arab Shaykhs, where they remain for ten years and upwards, and are fed and taught gratuitously by the ṣulūm[1]

It should be pointed out that, unlike most of the religious teachers who ran khalwas and used to depend almost entirely on the help and donations of their followers in the upkeep of their families and their khalwas, the Mājahīṭ teachers were said to have depended, mainly, on themselves, thus refraining from accepting ṣadqāt, such as zakāt or ṣudūr (alms).[2]

This independent attitude of self-support seems to be confirmed by al-Tabaqat which, in reference to Shaykh Yamad II states that, "despite his high social status as a teacher and a great spiritual leader, he used to work as a carpenter, making his own water wheels"[3], thus earning his living and maintaining his dependents - including the numerous learners living at his khalwa.

It is interesting to notice that this same practice of self-reliance and self-support was transferred by al-Majāšīṭ religious teachers, later, when dispersed by the Turkish-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan in 1821, to the new regions of their

settlements - such as al-ʿUṣūr al-ʿAraq.\(^{(1)}\)

The main reason behind this stand was said to have been based on a Shariʿa fatwa (Islamic legal opinion). As ʿulamāʾ and custodian of Shariʿa in their region, al-Qaṣiṣīb were said to have always adhered to the teachings of Shariʿa they preached.\(^{(2)}\)

Hence, they looked into the financial status of the members of their family, especially the Khalifah in charge of the Khalwa complex, and were said to have found out that they could support themselves, and those who depended on them, from their own earnings - their prosperous trade, extensive cultivation, wealth of animals and abundant labour in terms of followers and slaves.\(^{(3)}\) Consequently, according to the Shariʿa law they were said to have declared that they were not among the eight categories specified by the Qur’ān as entitled to receive sadaqat.\(^{(4)}\) Accordingly, it has been al-Qaṣiṣīb tradition not to claim or accept sadaqat, nadur or even gifts for teaching and maintaining their students.\(^{(5)}\)

That tradition seems to have been perpetuated by their

2. Thid.; see "The financial aspect of Khalwa education", below.
4. Qurʾān, al-Fāta 9, verse 60.
5. Information from ustād al-Naqar.
descendants up to the present time; thus representing a sharp contrast to the practices of Gulf-supported khalwas.

Besides teaching and the upkeep of students, the khalwas of al-Majadhib played other important functions, too.

Because of the situation of the town of al-Damer as a meeting place for caravan routes (which were the means of transport at the time) a great number of travellers used to frequent it. But since the Sudan at that time had no hotels, rest houses, inns or restaurants to hire their services, the mosque was the usual place to which guests resorted, to meet people who would provide them with lodging and food.

Hence, the khalwas of al-Majadhib, like most of the main khalwas, used to have special khalwas for guests where they rested and were provided with food for themselves and their animals. They might even stay for several weeks till the next caravan came.

1. As exemplified by the khalwa of al-qub al-Azeq, Gadarif - see "Financial aspect of khalwa education", below.
2. See the khalwas of Kadabas, Um Nawan Sam, for example.
3. See Holt and Daly, p.10; information from al-Najar.
5. Ibid.; see khalwa students, below, for khalwas of accommodation.
6. Ibid.
As the religious leaders and ‘alama of the region, the Maṣāḥib Shaykhs were approached for legal fatwas (legal opinions) and settlement of disputes.\(^1\) Hence the khalwa acquired the additional role of a Sharī'a Court and its decisions were always said to have been received with approval from the masā'a.\(^2\)

Further, their khalwa served also as what might be called today a documentation or registration bureau. Individuals and groups came to the khalwa for certification of marriages, inheritance, transactions, and so on, which the ṭuṣbah of the khalwa would prepare according to the Sharī’a rules and even keep them, or their copies, at the request of the parties concerned.\(^3\)

The khalwa also was said to have served as the safest place where people would hand in their valuables, jewellery, money and so on, to the khalwa Shaykhs to be kept for them—serving as a bank.\(^4\)

In addition, the khalwa was also said to have served as the most suitable place for parents to keep their young children when, for any reason, they had to be away from home—they would be looked after by the khalif’s household and servants.\(^5\)

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2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
Perhaps a more important role of the Khalwa of al-Majdīb was that it served as the religious and social community centre for the people of al-Damer at that time. They met there to discuss public problems, for ceremonies such as weddings or religious festivals and for condolences, in the event of death. At any rate, the people of al-Damer were said to have been freely availing themselves of the huge facilities of the Khalwa - space, furniture, food and other services - without interrupting the normal life and activities of the Khalwa.

The overall administration of the Khalwa - as in similar Khalwa centres - was the responsibility of the Khalifa in charge. It was usually entrusted to him through a hereditary system - that is, handed down from father to son by way of descent which seems to have been the universal practice of almost all Sufī Khalwas. It seems also to be based on the belief that the Baraka of the Sufī Shaykh could be inherited by his descendants - especially his nominee for the post of Shaykh al-majāda (prayer carpet). Moreover, the Khalwa, as a private voluntary enterprise - unlike the mosque which is a public institution by its nature as hāyt Allah - could be inherited.

The Turkish-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan by Ismail Pasha b. 

1. Information from ustādh al-Naqar, al-Damer, November 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1821 was a turning point in the history of al-Majdhibb's Khalwas of al-Darar. It seems to have marked the steady decline of these Khalwas and indeed of the whole family from the peak status they occupied during the latter part of the Funj rule in the 19th century.\(^1\)

From the start al-Majdhibb, as custodians of Shar'I'a, as well as effective leaders in their region, were said to have stood firmly in opposition to the foreign invasion.\(^2\) Hence they seem to have aligned themselves with their kinmen, the kings of the Ja'aliyyin and with the Funj sultans. But what is significant in this respect was that al-Majdhibb were said to have backed their opposition by a legal fatawa that advocated that the Turco-Egyptian rule was not based on Shar'I'a Law, as it ought to have been, but on an imposed secular law - al-qanun.\(^3\) Hence, the necessity of resisting it.

Thus the Khalwa of al-Majdhibb under its strong spiritual leaders seems to have taken a religious-political stand against the invaders.

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1. Holt and Daly, pp.34-5.
2. Information from ustadh al-Naqar.
3. Information from ustadh al-Naqar, al-Darar, November 1961. This seems to have been in reference to the heavy taxation system following the occupation and the deposeing of the traditional rulers. See the "Financial aspect of Khalwa education", below.
The result of this opposition, however, was catastrophic to both the khalwa and the region. (1)

The champion of the invasion, Ismâ'îl Pasha, was reported to have been killed by al-Majâdis's kinsmen, the kings of the tribe of al-Ja'āliyyīn at Shendi, on his way back to Cairo. (2) In revenge the whole riverain region was devastated by the punitive campaigns of Muhammad 'Alī's son-in-law, al-Dīfterdar. (3)

Like other towns and khalwas of the region, al-Damer and the khalwa centre of al-Majādis were destroyed, and their lands and property confiscated. (4) The surviving members of the family had to abandon their homeland and flee for their lives to the remote regions of eastern Sudan and to Ethiopia. (5)

However, being dedicated religious teachers, although al-Majâdis were forced temporarily to abandon their traditional seat of learning at al-Damer, yet they were never known to have abandoned their traditional mission - the dissemination of Islamic teachings wherever they settled, across the vast region of eastern Sudan, between the Nile and the Ethiopian borders, and amongst

1. See "Attitudes and condition of khalwas under the Turco-Egyptian rule", above.
2. Holt and Daly, p.55; (Shendi was the capital of the Ja'aliyyīn kings.)
4. Information from ustâd al-Naqar.
the hitherto almost ignorant Seфа and other nomadic tribes.\(^1\)

To substantiate the above, reference could be made to the following Khalwas that were established by members of the religious Majādūb family who had to abandon the lands of their ancestors as a result of the Turco-Egyptian invasions:


The Khalwa of al-Sūfi al-Makki, established by al-Fāki al-Makki al-Aṣraq.

The Khalwa (or ḥeijra) of al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Majdūb b. al-Shaykh Qamar al-Dīn b. Yāmad al-Majdūb, established at Sa'ākin port on the Red Sea.

The Khalwa of al-Fāki 'Abdallāh al-Naqar, established at Kasala and Berber.

The Khalwa of al-Fāki 'Abdallāh b. Nadāni, and his sons, at Tokar and Erkaft in Eastern Sudan.

Further, the graduates of these Khalwas were said to have carried on the message of al-Majdūb by establishing new Khalwas in their home districts, in Eastern Sudan.\(^3\)

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1. Information from ḫesāb al-Naqar, al-Damaa, November 1981.
2. This Khalwa at al-Jadaref town, near the Ethiopian border, is still functioning and on the same lines of its mother Khalwa, though on a very limited scale (the writer’s visit to this Khalwa, November, 1981).
3. Ibid.
For further information on al-Majdhib new extension of khelwa, the khelwa of al-Qadi al-Asra' at al-Gadaref has been elaborated on. (1)

On the other hand, when the turmoil of the first years of the Turco-Egyptian occupation subsided and the new rule was effectively established, all the people of the region were said to have been pardoned and encouraged to return to their home districts. (2)

Accordingly, many of al-Majdhib family of teachers were said to have returned to their town. They had some of their confiscated land and property returned and they joined hands to rebuild and renovate and revive their khelwa. (3)

As alluded to before, the Turco-Egyptian administration did not interfere in the internal functioning of the traditional khelwa. Hence, the fugara of al-Majdhib, like other khelwa Shaykhs, were said to have resumed their traditional khelwa teachings - thus preserving the inherited patterns and practices of the khelwa.

However, al-Majdhib now much reduced in power, economic

1. See below.
2. Shuqayr, vol. III, p. 120.
3. Information from ustadh al-Maqr
4. See "Attitudes and condition of khelwa under the Turco-
   Egyptian rule", above.
prosperity, prestige and spiritual influence, were said to have been simmering with bitterness and discontent towards an imposed, corrupt and non-Shari'a based foreign rule.\(^1\) But, being as weak as they were, they had to live with the regime they resented till the time of salvation came.

Hence, when the Mahdiya revolution broke out al-Mahdī's fuqa'ara\(^1\) were said to have been among the first people to pledge their support to the call of its leader.\(^2\) They were said to have found themselves in full agreement with the call of al-Mahdī for jihād (holy war) against the corrupt Turco-Egyptian administration.\(^3\) They were in particular supportive of al-Mahdī's call for the revival of Orthodox Islam and the implementation of the Shari'a law which they had been teaching and were regarded as custodians of their region.\(^4\)

Moreover, they seem to have found in the call for jihād against the Turco-Egyptian regime their long awaited chance of revenge for their martyrs who fell in the battles of resistance against the invasion, and for the subsequent atrocities inflicted upon their holy religious centre as against almost all the khamas of the time in the riverain region and the dispersal of their family that followed.

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1. Information from mustah al-Naqar.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Their moral, political and military contribution was said to have been vital for the success of al-Mahdiya revolution in particular in Northern and Eastern Sudan and during its early stage. It was also claimed to have been a crucial factor in the fall of Khartoum.\(^1\) Al-Majdhub's role was exemplified in the following: They paid homage to al-Mahdi's appointed chief amir over the province of Berber - his ex-teacher at the Khala of al-Shubush, al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr.\(^2\) Their spiritual and moral support was said to have given a great boost to the Mahdiyya cause at this early stage.

Further, al-Majdhub were said to have declared civil disobedience against the Turco-Egyptian administration at al-Damur, and to have cut the telegraph line from Egypt.\(^3\) Not only that, but it was said that four of the sheikhs of the region were from al-Damur and three of these were from al-Majdhub: al-faki Muhammad b. al-faki Ahmad b. Jalal al-Mun al-Majdhub, al-Amin b. Ahmad al-Majdhub, and al-Thaiyib Muhammad al-Majdhub.\(^4\)

In addition to the above, al-Majdhub's indirect contribution to the success of the Mahdiyya revolution was no less crucial.

Al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayr - the ex-teacher of al-Mahdi at

1. Information from ustadh al-Naqar.
2. See the "Mahdiyya Period", above.
3. Information from ustadh al-Naqar.
4. Ibid.
the Khalaṣ of al-Shubush and now the chief Mahdiyya amīr of the region — was the product of their Khalaṣ: at al-Damer, where he had learnt the Qur'ān and at their branch Khalaṣ of al-Gūthi al-Asraq (al-Gitaref) where he studied fiqh.¹

The fall of Eastern Sudan into the hands of the Mahdiyya's amīr, 'Uthman Dīqua, has been attributed to the crucial support of the latter's teacher — al-Shaykh al-Tāhir b. al-Shaykh al-Ṭayyib b. Qamar al-Dīn al-Maṣḥūb, for the call of the Mahdiyya.

Under the short-lived period of the Mahdiyya, the top priority was reported to have been given to jihād for the protection and consolidation of the newly established Shariʿa-based rule.²

Although after the premature death of al-Maḥdī (only six months after the fall of Khartoum) the Sudan came to be ruled by al-Khalīfa 'Abdullāhi who was not inclined towards the religious leaders and the 'ulamā';³ and against whom many revolts were directed — such as that of al-Jaʿāliyyīn — al-Maṣḥūb were said to have remained loyal to the Mahdiyya cause and to its leader in power.⁴

1. Information from ustādh al-Naqṣar.
2. See "The Mahdiyya Period", above.
4. Information from ustādh al-Naqṣar.
They were reported to have issued a fatwa supporting al-Khalifa as head of the Muslim state and denouncing as illegal any revolt against him, or rendering help to the invading Anglo-Egyptian forces under the non-Muslim Kitchener. (1)

However, this relentless religio-political stand of the Khalifa of al-Majidhīb against the foreign invasion and occupation was said to have cost al-Majidhīb dearly in terms of life, property, influence and eventually the cause of their existence and their high reputation. (2)

In the war of resistance against the Anglo-Egyptian forces which overthrew the Mahdiyya regime and then established the Condominium regime, many of the members of al-Majidhīb family were said to have fallen in the battlefield and many more imprisoned. When al-Damær was seized, its amir was said to have been arrested and shot in front of the crowds of his own people. (3) To further punish al-Majidhīb for their support to al-Malikī and their stubborn resistance to the invading forces their lands were confiscated. (4)

Further, it was said that in order to put al-Damær - the traditional centre of influence of al-Majidhīb - under control,  

1. Information from ustād al-Naqar.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
it was made, under the Condominium rule, the provincial capital of the region instead of Berber.(1)

Not only that but under the new rule the khalqa of al-Ma:jâdhîb - the source of all their spiritual and secular power - like almost all other khalqa, was exposed to hostile attitude and pressure from the government. A systematic policy for its gradual liquidation seems to have been set and executed to the letter.

A rival and parallel modern kuttab school was created at al-Damer and members of al-Ma:jâdhîb family were forced to send their children to join it so as to set the example to their followers - the people of al-Damer to follow. Ma:jâdhîb b. Jalâl al-Dâm, a child of ten years of age who had already learnt the Qur'ân, at the time, and al-Fayyib (the father of Professor 'Abdallâh al-Fayyib) were the first children to be sent to that government school.(2)

Although the new kuttab school was encouraged and given favourable treatment at the expense of the khalqa which was unfairly discredited, the latter continued to function under extremely difficult conditions. It was made practically difficult for children whose parents desired them to continue their khalqa

2. Information from u:rid al-Nâqar.
education, while attending the imposed modern kullah, to reconcile study at both institutions; hence they had to give up their study at the khalwa, to the advantage of the school.\(^1\)

Then the khalwa of al-Wadah itself was directly attacked. It was forced by the Government's administrators and educational authorities to be converted into a khalwa niyya - organized or modernized khalwa.\(^2\) Accordingly new secular subjects such as arithmetic and Arabic (especially Arabic dictation and composition and readers) were introduced and the kullah school text books, such as al-`Arabiyya al-Wadahiya were added to the traditional khalwa curriculum centred on the Qur'an.\(^3\) Trained teachers were also said to have been provided to teach these new subjects at the khalwa.\(^4\)

Not only that, but the khalwa was supplied with modern teaching aids: blackboards, chalk, counting boards, exercise books, slates and so on.\(^5\)

The khalwa niyya was frequently visited by the British educational inspectors to check on its progress according to the prescribed lines.\(^6\)

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1. Interview with abdul al-Maqar.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
In effect, the traditional Waṣṭīb khalwa was converted to a semi-school. In fact, its graduates were selected to feed the second form of the kuttāb school - i.e., the khalwa was used as a substitute for the first year form.\( ^{(1)} \)

However, in the 1930s, the educational authorities were reported to have abandoned their previous policy of feeding the second year kuttāb school with khalwa graduates.\( ^{(2)} \) The experiment was claimed to have been an educational failure, and the khalwa was accused of teaching the children the bad habit of rote learning, which was said to have been transferred to the school through its khalwa pupils.\( ^{(3)} \) Consequently, the khalwa was discarded and admission to the kuttāb school was made directly from the school-age children who had no khalwa experience.\( ^{(4)} \)

To discourage children from joining al-Waṣṭīb khalwa, the Government's educational authorities were said to have adopted a more hostile policy towards it. It was propagated that the khalwa was a waste of time and effort and would result in the retardation of the child's aptitude and readiness for modern school education. Accordingly, the parents were warned against

1. Information from uṣūd al-Naqar. See the Period of the Condominium - especially the khalwa maghāna above.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
sending their children to the *khala*.(1)

On the other hand, to encourage more and more parents at al-Damer to send their children to school instead of the *khala*, Government paid jobs were restricted to the school-leavers, and were especially guaranteed to those who opted for higher education and graduated from Gordon's College.(2)

Gradually the people of al-Damer were induced to switch their children from the *khala* to the modern *kuttāb* school. Even the children of al-Ma'ṣūmī family were said to have been increasingly sent to the modern school and to have taken Government jobs.(3) This became more evident towards the end of the Condominium rule when more job opportunities became available for the educated Sudanese - through the localization of posts previously held by foreigners - i.e., "Sudanization" of Government posts on the eve of Independence.(4)

Other factors seem to have contributed to the fading out process of al-Ma'ṣūmī *khala*. The main, or indeed the only function which justified the existence of al-Ma'ṣūmī *khala* was the dissemination of religious knowledge. In this respect the

1. Interview with *utbah* al-Naqar, al-Damer, November 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
khaleas of al-Majādhib differed from many of the main traditional khaleas which were equally, or even more, concerned with the propagation of the ṣūfī tariqa than with religious education, such as those of Kadahas, Ummanawan Bān, Abū Qurūn. Hence, when al-Majādhib khala was denied its legitimate educational role it faded out.

On the other hand, the khala's involvement in political opposition, based on solid religious grounds, seems to have made it the target of hostility of the ruling foreign circles.¹

The financial constraint was also an important factor contributing to the sad end of the once famous khala. As alluded to before, al-Majādhib were known to have always relied on their personal financial resources earned through their wide trade and extensive cultivation. Now, under a hostile alien rule they seem to have lost both sources. They lost favour with the alien regimes, and they were not in a position to compete with the modern trading companies centred in Khartoum and conducting their trade through a modern network of communications. Moreover, much of their cultivation land was confiscate.

On the other hand, because al-Majādhib were essentially 'ulama' and not active propagators of ṣūfī tariqa who used to exercise popular mawān rituals, such as mawa dhikr, saint cult and

¹. See their resistance to the Turco-Egyptian and the Condominium rules and their alignment with the Mahdiyya rule, above.
visitations of the saint's shrines - they seem to have had no spiritual devotees or followers to defend them against the Government's hostile policy towards the khalwas, and to support them financially when their own traditional resources dried up.\(^{(1)}\)

At any rate, they were said to have lost their spiritual and secular influence and their role as great teachers. Hence, the centuries long and famous tughra of the khalwa of al-Majādhīb at al-Damer was extinguished.

Today the role of al-Majādhīb's mosque has been restricted to prayer only.\(^{(2)}\)

However, some of al-Majādhīb's branch khalwas which were established by members of the family in Eastern Sudan - when they were forced, as a result of the Turco-Egyptian invasion of the country in 1821 to leave their original home at al-Damer - are still functioning and on the same traditional lines of the mother khalwa at al-Damer.

The living example of these Majādhīb khalwas, though on a humble scale, is that of al-Ṣūfī al-Ṭarāq at al-Qudayr.\(^{(3)}\)

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1. Cf. the khalwas of Kadaba and Emīdawīn Ban.
2. The writer's visit to the khalwa, 14-15th November 1981.
3. The writer's visit to the khalwa, 28-29th November 1981.
C. The Khalwa Centre of Wad al-‘Aṣīnā

Another example of the famous khalwa centres of the
riverain region today, is that of Wad al-‘Aṣīnā - Gezira region. (1)

The khalwa was said to have been established by al-faki ‘All b. al-‘Aṣīnā, whose original home was said to have been near
al-Ayadak - near modern Wad Rawa town. (2)

As a young learner ‘All b. al-‘Aṣīnā was reported to have
studied at Kutmania under al-faki Wad Mu‘awwi (‘Aasan?) and
al-Shanqatī (?), (3) perhaps at the beginning of the 12th/13th
century. (4)

On completion of his studies, al-faki ‘All was said to
have settled at the site of the present village that bears his
name - Wad al-‘Aṣīnā. (2)

There, like most fayṣāl or teachers of the Qur’ān of the
time, he established a humble khalwa for teaching the Qur’ān
and gradually the Arab nomads were said to have settled around

1. The khalwa is at the village of Wad al-‘Aṣīnā, south of
   al-Jahāb, Northern Gezira.
2. Wad Rawa lies on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile, opposite
to al-Khalīn town.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
it, and a village came into being.\(^1\)

The administrative and teaching functions were shouldered by the founder and seem to have been inherited by his descendants afterwards. Al-fāṭīḥa ‘Alī and his descendants, like almost all the ḥanīf teachers of the time, were ḥanīf Shaykhs — though at a moderate level.\(^2\)

The post of the ḥanīf’s ḥalīfah (the successor in charge) has been retained within the family, from father to son — by descent.\(^3\) Thus, al-fāṭīḥa ‘Alī, the founder, was succeeded by his son al-fāṭīḥa Muḥammad, and the latter by his son al-fāṭīḥa ‘Alī who, in turn, was succeeded by his son al-fāṭīḥa al-Naṣīr.\(^4\) Al-fāṭīḥa al-Naṣīr was succeeded at first by his son, al-ḥanīf Muḥammad, who was succeeded by his brother al-fāṭīḥa Hamad al-Ḥi and the latter has been succeeded by his son, al-Ḥanīf al-Rayyāḥ, Shaykh of the ḥalīfa of Ḥad al-fāṭīḥ in 1981.\(^5\)

The main function of the ḥalīfa was said to have always been the teaching of the Qur‘ān — together with reading and writing.\(^6\) Other subjects, such as elementary fiqh, taṣfīr

1. Interview with al-ḥalīfa al-Rayyāḥ, December, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
thorny branches in the form of a large "ṣautāwā" (a conical-shaped hut), surrounded by a spacious thorn enclosure. (2)

The contents of the khalwa - like all other khalwas - have always been humble, simple and minuscule; the floor was covered with rolls of birūk (mats made out of date-palm tree leaves) for the students to sit on; the ḥakī's prayer's skin-mat; the ablution "ṣīṣā" or jug; and the wooden ḫams and straw pens, and ink-pots of the learners. (3) In the centre was the smoky fire-place, around which the learners sat for study when they had to be inside the khalwa room. (4)

However, most of the study time was always spent in the spacious courtyard of the khalwa, under the trees by day-time, and around the big wood fire flame (the ṭuqāba) around which the students sat for study in the cool nights. (5)

1. Interview with al-khalīfa al-Nayyāh.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
The students who came from the surrounding region, lived in junior maqam.

Today, in contrast to the khelwa structure of the past an impressive improvement has taken place in the physical form.

In line with the trend of general khelwa revival all over the country under National rule, the khelwa of Nad al-Faiha, especially under the administration of Shaykh al-Rayyab, seems to have been undergoing a great and unprecedented material development. Thanks to the generous donations, the khelwa has been receiving mainly from individuals - men of charity, such as the businessman Isa al-Masarr, and from the Government, the following could be mentioned as an embodiment of that material change.

1. Interview with al-khelaif al-Rayyah.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. See National Period, above.
5. See "The financial aspect of education", below.
The Khalwa premises have been provided with tap-water and electricity. \(^{(1)}\)

In addition to the above the Khalwa has its own flour mill. \(^{(2)}\)

Furthermore, the Khalwa has been providing its large student population, that ranged between 700 - 1,000, with food for free - three meals a day \(^{(3)}\); while the young children and the blind were provided with ready made food, normal students were provided with flour to cook their own meals, in addition to ready made meal \(^{(4)}\), and tea and sugar. \(^{(5)}\)

Not only that but needy students were provided with clothes that were usually donated to the Khalwa \(^{(6)}\).

Teachers, too, were provided with three meals a day, and with tea twice a day. \(^{(7)}\)

It is these impressive material changes and relatively abundant and easy living conditions which have contributed in

1. Observations of the writer.

2. Information from the Khalwa Khalifa.

3. Ibid.

4. مائدة refers to the dish of meat and vegetables (both fresh or dried) which are eaten with bread.

5. Information from al-Khalifa al-Sayyah.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.
In this respect, he had deputies for such matters as expenditure and provision of rations to the khalīfa, for guests affairs and for personal services.

Like many shaykhs of the main khalīfa centres the khalīfa does not engage in teaching. Hence this task at the khalīfa of Say al-Pāānī in 1981 was assigned to four experienced faqīh (or deputies, in charge of teaching), who had graduated from the same khalīfa. These were:


The khalīfa ‘arāj (junior shaykhs of khalīfa).

Under these were a number of ’amīr (assistant Shaykhs of

1. Interview with al-khalīfa al-Rayyab at Kud al-Pāānī.
2. Fiqh.
3. See for example the khalīfa centres of Kadabās, Abū Qurūn, ‘Omqawan Bān, Tayba and Hamahkumān.
4. Interview with these faqīh.
brother, who had been then a senior student at the Khoja. Within only a three year period al-Jay was reported to have thoroughly learnt the Qur'ān by heart at the age of ten. (3) In 1961 he was confidently and ably chairing a bala of about twenty learners, of varying standards from his own region, studying the Qur'ān, at the Khoja. (4)

The second junior teacher was Śāliḥ Muhammad Śāliḥ, a youth of sixteen from Western Sudan, who had also learnt the Qur'ān by heart at the Khoja, and was in charge of a junior bala of learners of the Qur'ān. (5)

The third assistant fakhr was al-Tayyib Muhammad Ḥammād, a boy of fifteen, from Western Sudan, who had started learning the Qur'ān at his home district and had now completed learning the Qur'ān and was engaged in supervising a bala of learners. (6)

1. Interview with the junior Shaykh, al-Jay, at his bala.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Interview with the junior Shaykh, Śāliḥ Muhammad Śāliḥ.
6. Interview with the junior Shaykh al-Tayyib Muhammad Ḥammād.
The fourth assistant was a blind young man called Amīr who had already graduated from the Kelwa and joined Sharwanī Institute for Qur'ānic Readings in Khartoum. Every year, during the Institute's vacation, Amīr used to come to his old Kelwa to volunteer as a Shaykh of a qalwa. He became so experienced that he could chair a qalwa of about forty students of different standards to dictate. (4)

Today, as could be realized from the above, the main function of the Kelwa has been restricted to teaching the Qur'ān, in addition to reading and writing. In this respect, the Kelwa of Wad al-Qadeh has come to be regarded as one of the top Kelwās in the Sudan. Many of its students succeeded in the annual Qur'ānic competitions, while many of its graduates joined the higher religious institutions of learning - such as Sharwanī. (7)

It should be added, here, also that since the mid-1970s the Kelwa has been granting jamaa (certificate) to those who had successfully completed learning the Qur'ān, and that such an jamaa was said to have been recognized not only all over the

1. Interview with the Shaykh Amīr.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. See 'methods' below for description of al-
5. Interview with al-
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
Sudan but even abroad – in countries like Egypt and Sa‘udi Arabia. (1)

Nevertheless it has been reported that in matters of content, methods of teaching and techniques, teachers training, daily programmes and administrative procedures, the shula does not seem to have experienced any significant change but rather was said to have been following its traditional practices for generations. (2)

Hence, while the shula of Mad al-‘Ani seems to have witnessed impressive material renovations, it does not seem to have undergone any substantial improvement in substance, i.e., in what is taught.

1. Information from al-khalifah al-Sayyah.
2. Ibid.
This \textit{Khalsa} represents another example of the famous present-day \textit{Khalsa} centres of Northern and Central Sudan.

The founder of the \textit{Khalsa} was al-Shaykh Muhammad al-'Ubayd b. Badr, who was born in 1226/1811 at al-Qos al-Kassara, west of Shendi.\(^2\) His father, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Badr, was from the Hasanniyyah tribe, while his mother, Fayya bint Abu Zayd, was from the Kessaniyya.\(^3\)

As a young learner Muhammad al-'Ubayd was said to have studied the Qur'an at the \textit{Khalsa} of Kutran\(^4\), at the hands of al-Fakih Ahmad b. Suhay al-Inziri (4,1239).\(^5\) He was then

1. \textit{Um-Dawaan} means the place whose light has appeared.

2. \textit{Dala'il}, p.3.
3. \textit{Ibid}.
4. See above, for the \textit{Khalsa} Kutran\(^j\) and branches.
5. \textit{Ishla\(d\)}, p.66.
initiated in the Qadiriyya ṭarīqa by al-Shaykh Ḥamād 'Awād al-Sīd, in the Desira.\(^1\) His ṭarīqah of the Qadiri Order goes back to al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām al-'Arslān,\(^2\) Ḥāfīz al-'Arslān al-'Arslānī,\(^3\) al-Dīn al-Bahārī\(^4\) and eventually to al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilnī.\(^5\)

In 1254 al-Shaykh al-'Ubayd was said to have performed pilgrimage to Mecca and spent some time at Medina, for further study.\(^6\)

After his return from the Ḥijāb he was said to have established his first khālasah for the study of the Qur'ān at al-Nukhayra\(^7\) in 1264, and a village grew around it.\(^8\)

Al-Shaykh al-'Ubayd seems to have been leading a semi-nomadic life, for he used to move with his cattle between al-Nukhayra (where he spent the autumn and winter) and Umm Jawnan Sān (where he spent the summer).\(^9\)

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1. Ṭūsī, p.66.
2. Ṭāhā'id, p.34.
3. See above.
4. A Ḥanbalī ṭābil and said to have founded the Qadiri Order that bears his name, died in Baghdad in 567 (al-Sha'ibānī, p.103).
5. Information Committee, op. cit.
6. Al-Nukhayra lies near Sayyida, about fifty km. east of Umm Jawnan Ban (the Information Committee, op. cit.).
7. Ṭāhā'id, p.35.
8. Ṭūsī, p.36.
It seems relevant to mention that during the twenty-one years' period, between A.H.1264 and 1285, when al-Shaykh al-
‘Ubayd was on the move, the following ḥulūfa were reported to
have alternated over the khilafa — teaching the Qur’ān — at
Umm Qaysawan Bān:  

A.H.1264 al-fakī Muhammad b. al-Ḥāfiż  
A.H.1265 al-fakī Bāllah b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥāfiż  
A.H.1266 al-fakī Muhammad b. al-Ḥāfiż  
A.H.1267 the second khilafa designate: Ahmad b. al-Shaykh
Muḥammad b. Badr  
A.H.1269 al-fakī Bāllah  
A.H.1273 al-Shaykh ‘ālī al-Kāhir b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Badr  
A.H.1274 al-fakī ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-fakī Muḥammad al-
Makhlīṣī  
A.H.1285 the first khilafa designate, al-Shaykh al-Tayyīb (who
died within the life-time of his father)[4]  

2. al-Ṭalḥī, p.36.  
3. Ibid., pp.35-6.  
4. Ibid., p.36.
In 1285, and after these twenty-one years of seasonal
wandering his teachings took a new direction.

The Qur'ān — as the basic function of all teaching Khatim —
was taught, during this period, by al-Shaykh al-Jayyib b. al-
Shaykh al-‘Ubayd. Shari‘a subjects (fiqh, ta‘arif, hadā‘id) were
taught by al-Sharī‘ Ḥbild, a descendant of al-‘Asad, al-Qādir al-‘Ārif ‘Abdāllāh, and al-Fā‘ūl Muhammad al-Takīnī; while tassawwuf was taught by
al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd, himself, who was said, also, to have
initiated twenty-five Shaykhs in the Sūfi Path.

When al-Shaykh al-Jayyib died in 1296, he was replaced,
as a teacher of the Qur'ān, by his brother al-‘Abbās who taught
for six years (1296-1302).

Al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd, then, and his Khatim seem to have
risen high in status and popularity, for at the break-up of the

1. The Information Committee, op. cit.
2. Iarihūd, p.65.
3. Among these were Muhammad al-Muqalī, Muhammad Ḥa‘id, Ṣalāḥ and ‘Abd al-Qādir Abū Kasim (Ṣalā‘id, p.48).
4. Ṣalā‘id, p.36.
The fourth Khalifa at the khalaṣa of ‘Umar b. Abi al-‘Aswad al-‘Abd was al-Shaykh Yaqub al-Rasūl, who continued in office between 1331 A.H. and 1349 A.H. Besides the task of the administration and guidance, al-Shaykh Yaqub al-Rasūl was said to have continued teaching the Qur'ān. Thus, in effect, he seems to have continued teaching the Qur'ān for thirty-eight years (A.H.1331-1349).

It seems relevant to refer to the contribution of al-Shaykh Yaqub al-Rasūl, in comparison to that of the other teachers of the Qur'ān at the khalaṣa, from its beginning up to the end of his period in office, in terms of the number of students who were said to have learnt the Qur'ān under these teachers, as has been illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students taught ( соти)</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-faqi` Ballah b. Muhammad al-‘Alī (taught between A.H.1265-1266, 1269-1273)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-faqi` ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kahlawi (taught between A.H.1274-1285)</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shaykh al-‘Ayyub b. al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd (taught between A.H.1285-1296)</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shaykh al-‘Abbās (taught between A.H.1296-1302)</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shaykh (Khaliṣa) ‘Abd al-Rasūl (taught between A.H.1311-1349)</td>
<td>472</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of those who had learnt the Qur'ān</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd, backed by his followers, responded positively and was said to have made successful attacks on the Turco-Egyptian forces and contributed greatly in the capture of Khartoum, the capital.\(^\text{2}\)

However, shortly after the victory of the Mahdiyya forces and the fall of Khartoum and while he was on his way to meet al-Mahdi who was camping at the time at Abū Sī‘id, Omdurman, al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd died at al-Jurayf - East in Zu‘arram, 1302\(^\text{3}\), i.e., at the age of seventy-six.

In line with the practices of traditional khalwa of hereditary succession, al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd was succeeded by his son Ahmad - as the second khalif to the khalwa.\(^\text{4}\) Al-khalifah Ahmad was reported to have occupied this post for about twenty-five years - between A.H.1302 and A.H.1327.\(^\text{5}\) During this period, while al-khalifah Ahmad was instructing his followers on

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.40.
5. Ibid.
tesawauf, the teaching of the Qur'an and related subjects were said to have been suspended because of the famous famine of A.H.1306. (2)

Al-fakih Muhammad al-Hajj al-Har was reported to have taught the Qur'an for four years - between A.H.1308 and A.H.1311. (3)

Then from A.H.1311 till the death of al-khalifa Ahmad in A.H.1327, the teaching of the Qur'an and 'ilm at the Khilwa was said to have been conducted by al-Shaykh Yaqub al-Hasan (4) and his assistants.

The third khalifa at the Khilwa was al-Shaykh Mustafa al-Karrar b. al-Shaykh al-'Ubayd (A.H.1327-1331) (5) who, like his predecessors, was teaching tesawauf, while al-Shaykh Yaqub al-Hasan continued teaching the Qur'an.

1. Qa'id, p.40.
2. Ibid., p.36.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.42.
Since then it is believed that thousands of students have

In 1936/1937, and apparently in response to a demand for a
modern elementary school to be established at Um Jawan Ban,
al-Shaykh Ḳābilik Badrī, as inspector of elementary education,
than, was sent to the Ḳaʿīfa of the Ḳalifā to inform him about
the Government's decision.⁵

The Ḳaʿīfa and his followers were greatly alarmed by that
order. However, after an overnight's deliberations, they
decided to reject the Government's decision and to persist in
defending their heritage.⁶

Nevertheless, in order to avert an open clash with the
Government they were persuaded by al-Shaykh Ḳābilik Badrī to
pretend that they had accepted the order, by agreeing to send one
of their sons for the two-months teachers training course. When

1. See Period of the Condominium, above.
3. Ibid., pp. 167-8.
khalwa nizāmiyya was frustrated.\(^2\)

Thus, a serious crisis seems to have been averted and the khalwa continued as before, performing its traditional functions. As far as its educational role was concerned it seems to have been maintaining almost the same academic standard it had enjoyed during the lifetime of its founder, al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd.

In 1919/1922, for example, the khalwa was reported to have been teaching, besides the Qur’ān and the ability to read and write, the same subjects it had taught under al-Shaykh al-‘Ubayd (d.1710/1922) - ṭafṣir, ṭafṣīr and ṭaṣawwur.\(^3\) The books studied were almost the same: al-‘Azwān, al-‘Asāla and ṭukhufat al-

\(\text{kha\līf}^{\text{a}}\), for ṭafṣir; ṭafṣīr al-‘alāmaw for ṭafṣir and al-Shaqāl’s ṭayyib ‘ulūm al-rāf for ṭaṣawwur.\(^4\)

Similarly, under the fifth khālīfa of the khalwa - al-Shaykh Kastafa b. Badr - who succeeded al-khālīfa Yass al-Rasūl, the

1. Ibd. 20, 61, p.168.
2. Ibd.
3. Ibd., p. 63.
4. Ibd.
Khalwa of Umm Dawwa, San seems to have been carrying on its
business as usual, the traditional subjects were taught. in
addition to the Qur'an (reading and writing) which was taught by
Abd al-Majid Hanani. 3, "ilm subjects such as fikh, tafsir and tawhid
were reported to have been taught (in 1359/1942) by the Imam of
the mosque who was a graduate of al-Azhar. 4

However, since that time the Khalwa's academic status seems
to have gradually been eroded - thus reflecting the pressure on
the Khalwas, already referred to. 4

Under national rule, and greatly encouraged by the favourable
Government attitude and policies towards Khalwas and in line
with the general trend of revival of these institutions, the
Khalwa of Umm Dawwa, San seems to have been steadily flourishing.
Extensive renovations have taken place.

The masjid or the Khalwa complex of Umm Dawwa, San was (in
1981) in the form of a huge elaborate complex of white-washed

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 37.
4. See "Conditions of Khalwa under the Condominium Rule" above.
buildings surrounded by red brick-built walls.\(^{(1)}\)

At the entrance of the masjid was the ḫaṭir'a's ḥalwa of reception - a neat and a well-carpeted room.\(^{(2)}\)

Then immediately inside the masjid stands a high white-washed gubba of the founder of the ḥalwa - the Muhīṣ Shaykh, al-Shaykh al-Ḥuyayd. The gubba has been beautifully decorated with rows of electric bulbs and neon bars which, by night, make the shrine visible from distant places.\(^{(3)}\)

Opposite to the gubba, on the same eastern side, was the newly built mosque with its high minaret - also decorated with electric neon bars.\(^{(4)}\)

Beyond these was a spacious courtyard covered with clean soft sand, surrounding and mainly lying in front of the ḥalwa of study.\(^{(5)}\)

The ḥalwa was a sort of elaborate hall - supported by concrete columns - and a spacious verandah. The floor of the

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1. Observations of the writer on his visit to the ḥalwa of Una Dawsen Sān, in November, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
khalwa was covered with soft sand and had no furniture except the fakî's prayer mat. The learners usually sat in circles on the floor with wooden slates in their hands, and reed pens and self-prepared ink-pots beside them. At the corner of the khalwa hall was a raised platform for the lamps to be put on. (1)

Within the same masjid is the qubba of al-fakî' Yarb al-Rasûl, (2) also white-washed and decorated with lamps.

Beyond these were the students' khilwas of accommodation. These khilwas have been built of mud—like most of the village buildings. (3) Because of the large number of bayân, which was estimated at about five hundred and fifty in 1981, the rooms seem to have been overcrowded. (4) Each group of between five and ten junior learners, usually those coming from the same tribe or locality, lived together, all at the expense of the khalwa. (5)

As alluded to above, the khalwas witnessed impressive material progress. It has been supplied with tap water instead of drawing water from the well, and electric light has replaced

1. The writer's visit to the khalwa, November, 1981.
2. The fourth khalifa to the khalwa, see above.
3. The writer's visit to the khalwa, November 1981.
4. The khalwa had, in 1981, fifty-three rooms or khilwas of accommodation of varying sizes. (The writer's visit).
5. Information from al-fakî' Yarb al-Rasûl, Mufîd b. teacher at the khalwa, November, 1981.
the traditional τυχής (wood fire).\(^1\) Ceiling fans, water coolers and refrigerators have been introduced, too.\(^2\)

In addition to accommodation the Khalwa of Umm Fawwâd Bîn was (in 1981) supplying its 350 students with ready-made meals and clothes for the needy, also.\(^3\)

It is interesting to note that in this respect, the teachers, too, have been provided with such privileges, in addition to their salaries.\(^4\)

It was said to have been the practice at the Khalwa of Umm Fawwâd Bîn to provide all the deputies of the Khalîla\(^5\) with needs for living - each with daily rations and seasonal clothes for himself and family, according to a detailed arrangement as follows: flour; half a kilogram of meat; vegetables and salad; half a pound of cooking oil; one and a half lbs of sugar (10 lbs. per week) and tea; perfumes (weekly) and soap; clothes for the head and members of his family twice a year.

1. Cf. 'Abî al-Walîd, Vol.III, pp.35-
2. The writer's visit to the Khalwa, November 1981.
4. Ibid.
5. See the Khalîla's deputies, below.
6. See also "Financial aspect of Khalwa education", below.
In all this, the khaleen of Umz Jawan Bin was said to have depended almost entirely on financial and material support of the followers of the Shaykh - on their zakāt, and generous donations. The khaleen has refrained from Government aid.\(^1\)

Today the khaleen of Umz Jawan Bin, like almost all of the main khaleen centres of Northern and Central Sudan, has developed an efficient, though traditional, administrative machinery.

At the top of the administrative hierarchy was the khallifa of the khaleen - al-Shaykh Yusuf (grandson of al-Shaykh al-'Ubayd), who was said to have had his post by descent\(^2\). Al-khallifa Yusuf was in charge of all the khaleen affairs - educational, qūl activities and maintenance of all those under his guardianship.\(^3\)

In order to carry out his duties effectively, he had been assisted by a number of sakall (sing. sakall) deputies. It should be noted that the khallifa himself did not take part in teaching.

The khallifa’s deputies in 1981 were the following: the deputy for teaching was al-faqīh 'Ali b. Qālib, an old experienced teacher who was assisted by two able younger teachers:

1. Information from al-faqīh Yūsuf al-Qasūl, Umz Jawan Bin, November, '81; see “Financial aspect”, below.
2. Information from al-faqīh Yusuf al-Qasūl, op. cit.
3. Ibid.
Other deputies who assisted the Khalifah on administrative matters and services were:

- The Khalifah’s personal secretary, who would attend to the Khalifah’s personal services; he was also called al-maggadem.¹

- The Khalifah’s deputy for financial affairs, revenues and expenditure. In 1981, this post was held by Khalid al-Takint.²

- The deputy (sakil or maggadem) for Sufi rituals, especially naqsha, dhikr.

- The deputy for guests’ affairs - the man in charge in 1981 was ‘Ali Musa b. al-Khulafa Barrar. His function was to receive the Khalwa guests and to arrange their accommodation and hospitality in accordance with their social status.³

He was usually assisted by a number of old students.

1. Interview at the Khalwa with these three teachers.
2. See “Methods of teaching and learning”, below.
3. The writer’s visit to the Khalwa, November 1981.
4. Ibid.
5. Interview at the Khalwa with the deputies, November 1981.
- The deputy for grain and flour. This post was said to have been held by descent by al-Zayn Ṣibā'ir al-Zayn, whose duty was the storage and supply of grain and flour to the families of all people living on the khaṣṣa - the khāṣṣa, his deputies, the guests and for the preparation of the students' meals, 'ṣida. (1)

- The deputy for meat, vegetables and cooked nāfūk (to be distributed to the students). The person in charge in 1981 was Ḥāṣib al-Rasūl Ḥad al-Fuwain. (2)

- The deputy for spices, sugar and tea, cooking oil, etc. The man in charge was al-'Awd al-Qāhir. (3)

Besides these deputies was the šāhī of the mosque - for Friday prayer - al-Shaykh Muṣammad 'Alī al-Muḥāfīl. (4)

However, despite the impressive material changes and reforms the khaṣṣa of Ṣum Ḷuṣwa Ḫān, like most khaṣṣas of Northern and Central Sudan, does not seem to have introduced any significant reform on the educational aspect. Not only that but the traditional relatively high academic standard and broad progress of study have been seriously eroded.

1. Interview at the Khaṣṣa with the deputies, November 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Although, as a Qur'anic teaching centre the khalwa seems to rank amongst the top khalwas of the country, its general educational role does not seem to have responded to the changing needs of the age and the environment. It is largely for this reason, it seems, that its traditional clients - the people of the locality - have by-passed it to the modern school. To illustrate this, no learner from the populace village around it was studying at the khalwa - even the Khalifa's son has joined the primary (complementary) school.\(^1\) Hence, all the khalwa students were said to have come from outside the region - mainly from Western Sudan.\(^2\) Learners from outside the country have also been attracted to this khalwa. In 1981, there were about 70 foreign students at the khalwa of Umm Qawwen Ban - from such countries as Eritrea, Chad, Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Zaire.\(^3\)

However, as a famous traditional Sufi centre, the khalwa's popularity and social status does not seem to have declined. It has been actively engaged in its mass Sufi rituals. Its nearness from the capital, Khartoum, seems to have encouraged the President and notables to frequently visit it.

1. The writer's visit to the Complementary School of Umm Qawwen Ban, November, 1987.
   The writer's own observations at the Khalwa.
3. The writer's observations and meeting with these students.
v. The Khalwa of al-Shaykh al-Ja'ali at Kadabas

This is another example of the traditional Sufi Khalwa that survived the Condominium period and which under the national rule was renovated, and today is considered as one of the most flourishing Khalwas in the Sudan.

The site of the Khalwa has been at the Village of Kadabas which lies on the eastern bank of the Nile just north of al-Ghubash and about twenty kilometres from Albera. (1)

The region is inhabited mainly by the tribes of the Ja'aliyyin, the Shayiiyya, the Khabab and al-Kangir - who all depend, to a great extent, on the river irrigated cultivation for their living. (2)

The origin of the Khalwa goes back to about 150 years, when it was first founded by al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ja'ali. (3)

As a young boy Ahmad al-Ja'ali was said to have migrated to the Khalwa of al-Hasan Ahmad al-Qasim al-Kurri, at Kurri, where he learnt the Qur'an and studied fiqih (Shafi'i) under him. (4)

1. Interview with Mutah Ali, brother of the Khalifa, Kadabas.
2. Ibid.
3. Interview with Mutah Ali, brother of the Khalwa Khalifa (al-Kabir Yasuf) at the Khalwa of Kadabas, November 1964.
4. Ibid.
On completion of his khalfa studies Ahmad al-Ja'ali was reported to have engaged himself in China pottery trade between his district Berber, al-Qobad in Kordfan, and al-Qihir.\(^1\)

Then all of a sudden he is said to have abandoned his trade and embarked on meditation and prayer — secluding himself at a khalfa which he established for the purpose.\(^2\)

When he was asked by his relatives about the motives behind his change of behaviour he was said to have told them that he had been instructed by the Prophet al-Khifar to do so.\(^3\)

Ahmad al-Ja'ali was reported to have secluded himself then, at his khalfa for about seven years, during which time he corresponded with a number of the famous Shaykhs of the day — such as al-Sayyid al-Hasan al-Kirghani\(^4\), al-Shaykh Muhammad al-'Ubayd b. Badr of Harm Dawan Ban\(^5\) and al-Shaykh

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1. Interview with utbah 'Ali, brother of the Khalwa Khajfa (al-Hajj Hamad) at the Khalwa of Kadahbas, November 1961.
2. Interview with al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghaffar al-Ja'ali (about eighty years old), the uncle of the Khajfa, Kadahbas, November 1961.
3. Ibid.
5. See the Khajfa of Harm Dawan Ban, above.
The region at the time was said to have been dominated by two rival ḥarāms: al-Khatrīyya - under al-Sayyid al-Yasir al-Yārghani - and al-Shādīliyya of al-Kazímīth, but when al-Shaykh al-Ja’ālī spread his ḥarīfī it eclipsed both of them.

Besides his ḥarīfī of initiation, al-Shaykh al-Ja’ālī was said to have established another ḥarīm for teaching the Qur’ān.

1. Head of the Ismā’iliyya Ta’lifī, a branch of the Khâzīniyya (al-Mazî’ī, p. 8.)
3. Ibid.
4. See the ḥarīm centre of al-Maṣfūkī, above.
5. Interview with al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḫešfī, al-Ja’ālī.
6. Ibid.
over the Khalwa, founded by his grandfather al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Jas'ali I. (1)

It was under al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Jas'ali II, whose khilafa lasted for fifty years (1927-1977), (2) that the Khalwa was said to have steadily flourished and risen in fame and status. (3)

During this period, which extended over the latter part of the Condominium rule (1898-1955) and the period of national rule (1956 - ) and since then, the Khalwa of Kassala seems to have become the most important one in the region, north of Khartoum. It has become well established, influential and active in playing its educational, spiritual and social roles.

Al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Jas'ali II seems to have restricted his activities to the overall administration of the Khalwa - assisted by a number of deputies - while the teaching function was taken by a hired faqi for the Quran, and since 1970, by a faqi from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, for the teaching of t'lim. (4)

Since 1970 the khilafa of the Khalwa has been taken over by the late khilafa's nephew - al-Shaykh Raghad b. Naamad. (5)

1. Interview with ustasa'ali al-Jas'ali, brother of the khilafa.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
The present khālīfah was reported to have been a graduate of al-Radī ahad al-fāshir of Omdurman. (1)

Like his predecessors, he was in charge of the overall khālīfah administration, the şī'ī affairs and the spiritual leadership over his numerous followers across the region, assisted by his brothers. (2)

The teaching of the Qur'ān - which was the main function of the khālīfah - was assigned to, and successfully shouldered by, a hired deputy to the khālīfah - al-fāshir 'Ali Dūdū, who was said to have been carrying this job for more than forty years. (3)

The teaching of 'ilm which was introduced relatively recently (since 1970) which consisted of afternoon lessons of šīb, taṣawwīr, ʿaṣrā, tawbīh and ḥadīth, was the responsibility of a wālib or a murabih (a preacher) from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. (4)

Both teachers received salaries from the Government and additional financial aid from the khālīfah, and seem to have been enjoying a comfortable life at Kabadīs.

1. Interview with *ustād* 'Ali, Kabadīs; al-Ha'ab al-ilm of Omdurman, has been transformed into the Islamic University of Omdurman.
2. Interview with *ustād* 'Ali, Kabadīs.
4. Interview with *ustād* 'Ali.
Aside from its educational role, the other main function of the *khalsa* - or perhaps its more important role in the region - seems to have been its active engagement in the Qadiriyya *ṣūrī* *tarīqa*.

Since the introduction of the *tarīqa*, for the first time, by al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ja'allī, the founder of the *khalsa*, his successors were said to have inherited his titles, posts, responsibilities and privileges. Hence, such of the successive *khālīfah* was in charge of the overall administration and upkeep of the *khalsa* and was responsible for the perpetuation and the spread of the Qadiriyya *tarīqa* and the guardianship of his *ṣūrī* followers, who were said to have remained loyal to the *ṣūrī* in charge, rendering to him their moral and financial support.

The manifestation of this phenomenon at Kadsbās today - as at other active *ṣūrī* khalsas - has been exemplified in the erection of the *qubbas* over the *sarkhs* of the founder, al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ja'allī and his successive *khālīfahs*, the visitations by followers who frequently flocked to the *qubbas* and, also, to the *ṣūrī* of the day seeking the *baraka* of their spiritual Shaykh and in the performance of such *ṣūrī* rituals as the

1. Interview with Ṣāhīḥ 'Abī Kadsbās.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
popular mass "\textit{mahsa al-\textit{mikra}}".\(^{(1)}\)

In addition to the above, the \textit{khalwa} of Kadabas has been famous for the treatment of mentally sick individuals - \textit{al-\textit{madda}}.\(^{(2)}\) It seems interesting to note that once these insane persons were seen by the \textit{khalifa} of the \textit{khalwa}, he would read \textit{‘asa} for them and then they would be allowed to move about freely around \textit{al-\textit{madda}}, though chained by the feet, without harming anybody.\(^{(3)}\)

It is the perpetuation of the popular activities of the \textit{Sufi} path which seems to have welded the \textit{Sufi} followers together in a brotherhood that has always provided the \textit{khalwa khalifa} with the moral and financial support he needed.\(^{(4)}\) As a result of this, the whole of the \textit{khalwa} cultural heritage, its pattern and practices, seem to have been successfully preserved and perpetuated - including the educational. Not only that but the \textit{khalwa} has witnessed great material progress.

Under the period of national rule (since 1952) and as a

1. Such activities are exercised at almost all of the active \textit{Sufi} \textit{khalwan} such as \textit{Abu Qur\textsuperscript{an}}, \textit{Uma Dawan B\textsuperscript{an}}, \textit{Tayba Qurash\textsuperscript{i}}, etc.
2. Interview \textit{with \textit{al-\textit{Ali}, Kadabas.}}
3. The writer, on his visit to the \textit{khalwa} of Kadabas (November, 1981) saw a number of these \textit{muj\textsuperscript{ah}} moving about freely with their chains.
4. Interview \textit{with \textit{al-\textit{Ali}, Kadabas.}}
result of the Government's supportive attitude and policies
towards the Khalema and in line with the general trend of Khalema
revival, the premises of the Khalema of Kadhba were said to have
undergone substantial material renovation and improvement.(1)

Starting as a humble Khalema for meditation - a mud room (jilīs)
and another larger Khalema for study, also made of jilīs(2), the
Khalema complex or al-masjid of Kadhba, today, comprises the
following: the modern built Khalema or reception hall of the
Khaliṣa; the qibba of al-Shaykh al-Ja'ali the great and his
successors; the spacious red-brick built Khalema of study - in
the form of a large rectangular hall supported by columns of
concrete, with paved sand floor (with no furniture), the strange
sight of a blackboard,(3) and the prayer mosque with its high
minaret.(4) All these have been white-washed and the spacious
courtyard of the complex surrounded by a wall.(5) The masjid has
been provided with water taps and an electric generator for
light.(6) All the study and Sufi activities were performed
within these premises, which occupy the centre of the village.(7)

1. Interview with ustād alān.
2. Personal observations of the writer, on his visit to the
Khalema centre of Kadhba, November 15th, 1981.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
The students' khelma of accommodation, however, lie on the outskirts of the village. What seems to be interesting about these hostels was that they were originally established as blocks of jālī-built houses, with the approval of the khaliṣra, by groups of his ḍūl followers (each group from a certain tribe or village) to use for their own accommodation, when they came for visitations or attended the seasonal ḍūl parīga celebrations at Kadaṣā.¹ However, since for most of the year these houses would be vacant, they have been used for the accommodation of the khelma large student population of about 350, who all came from outside the village.² All these houses were furnished, equipped with cooking utensils and tap-water.³

In addition to the comfortable accommodation the students were provided with food raw materials - flour, meat, cooking oil, spices, sugar, tea, etc.⁴

Not only that but they were said to have been provided with clothes and pocket money, too.⁵

In all its expenditure the khelma was said to have been dependent, mainly, on the financial support of its ḍūl.

1. Interview with ṣāhib ʿAllī, Kadaṣā.
2. Ibid.
3. Personal observations of the writer, Kadaṣā.
5. Ibid., see financing below.
followers — in the form of ḥalī, mutīrur and ḥāṣṣṣār.\(^1\)

what seems unique about the ḥalī of Kadabās, in this respect, is that it owns rich endowments, in the form of shops in the main cities and towns of Khartoum, Omdurman, Berber and Atbara, and houses for rent, at the industrial town of Atbara, and in addition to all these, it has agricultural schemes.\(^2\)

Hence, the ḥalī of al-Shaykh al-Ja‘āli at Kadabās seems to have been one of the most prosperous ḥalī in the Sudan today — providing comfortable life for the ḥalīfa, his assistants and the students, too.

Moreover, the ḥalīfa, as a spiritual leader and a social reformer seems to have been very influential — not only at Kadabās but across the region of Berber.\(^3\)

Because of his high position, the village of Kadabās has been provided with all the necessary social services — water, medical care and modern schools for both boys and girls.\(^4\)

In addition, the ḥalīfa of the ḥalī was said to have

1. Interview with mutāḥ al-ʿĀlī, Kadabās.
2. Ibid.
3. All those who believe in the ṣaḥīh tawādas in the region paid tribute to the ḥalīfa (information from mutāḥ al-ʿĀlī).
4. Information from mutāḥ al-ʿĀlī, Kadabās.
introduced many social reforms such as encouraging simple marriage festivals at minimum costs, simple funerals and minimum expenditure on the occasion of death; and the promotion of brotherhood and cooperation amongst his followers and the people of Kadsabūs.\(^1\)

On the educational aspect - our main concern - and in comparison with most of the other traditional khalwa, the khalwa of Kadsabūs seems to have had a superior academic standard - especially after the introduction of film lessons. In this respect, it was, in effect, providing a multi-course religious education, comprising of the teaching of the alphabet and the ability to read and write, the memorization of the Qur'ān, fiqh, ṭawāḥid, hadūth and math.\(^2\)

Despite all this the khalwa of Kadsabūs has not been able to compete with the modern primary school to attract even the children of the numerous qālī followers of the khalwa Shaykh. There was not even a single child enrolled at the khalwa of al-Shaykh al-Ṣawālī from the large village of Kadsabūs, in which it has been functioning.\(^3\) Children of the village and the region have - for long - been sent to the modern school where through its superior educational facilities they could be better prepared for practical life, for higher education and for employment in the modern sector.

1. Interview with ʿAlī al-Ṣawālī.
2. Interview with ʿAlī Dūṭū.
The present day concentration of *khalwa* in Eastern and Western Sudan, as indicated by the table above, seems to have been building up in each of these two regions, over two different periods of time - greatly varying in length, and as a result of different factors.\(^1\)

In Western Sudan - and especially in Darfur region - as indicated earlier,\(^2\) the build up of *khalwa* has been a long process that could be traceable to the reign of Suleyman Solong. Throughout the ages it was encouraged by the Sultans and the public.\(^3\)

Under the Condominium rule, paradoxically, while the *khalwa* expansion and role were actively opposed in northern and central Sudan\(^4\), it seems to have been left to expand in Darfur region.\(^5\) The *khalwa*’s position seems to have been consolidated by the fact that modern sector jobs were rare, school education very scarce and the region, generally, was and still is dominated by

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1. See the table no. III above.
2. See the Turco-Egyptian Period, above.
3. Shuqayr, vol.II, pp.112-1. Further every village had a *masjid* (*khalwa*) for teaching the qur’an and writing; each *gala* had a *masjid* for prayer and *khalwa* for teaching shari’a sciences to *al-muqawwilin* (Shuqayr, vol.II, p.146).
5. See the Period of the Condominium, above.
6. See Table No. 1, above.
subsistence level economy. (1)

Under national rule, too, the majority of the population of the region are engaged in pastoral and traditional agricultural activities. Hence, modern employment opportunities and modern educational services are still meagre and the traditional popularity of the khalwa has continued. (2)

Today, encouraged by the general trend of khalwa revival, which has been consolidated by the government's moral and financial support, and backed by the positive public response, in this region, hundreds of khalwas seem to have emerged to the extent that each village - even the small ones - has its own khalwa. Hence, the fact that 65% of the total number of the country's khalwas are located in Western Sudan. (3)

As examples of the hundreds of small-day khalwas that spread all over the region of Western Sudan - especially in Darfur - reference could be made to two khalwas:

A) the khalwa of al-fakih Muhammad Nūr ‘Isī at al-Fāhūs, the provincial capital of Darfur; and
B) the khalwa of al-fakih Yāhū at the village of al-Nīma, Tawila Rural District.

1. Darfur Province is one of the least developed regions in the Sudan - especially in modern education.
2. See Table No. III above.
His khalwa in al-Żahir has been established adjacent to the
tomb (qubba) and the mosque of Sultan ‘Ali bin al-Mā‘īn. It was
held around a large and shady 'hashī' tree surrounded by
an enclosure of straw. Today the teaching of children
continues to be conducted under the same tree, in the courtyard
of the mosque, but surrounded by a brick-built wall.

When asked why the children couldn’t be taught inside the
mosque the reason given was to keep the mosque clean and żahir
and free from the children’s noise, lest it distracted and
disturbed the worshippers.

1-2. Interview with al-fasl Muhammad Mür ‘Isa at his khalwa in
al-Żahir, December 6th, 1981.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. The writer's own observations.
6. Interview with al-fasl Muhammad Mür ‘Isa, op. cit.
   See p.8 above.
The khalaṣā has been a non-boarding day khalaṣa. It is interesting to note that, like most of the village or neighbourhood khalaṣā, it has been conducting a sort of co-education. Young children of both sexes study at the khalaṣa, but each group has its own circle. (1) The maximum number of boys studying at the khalaṣa was 88 whereas that of the girls was 53 (2) in the 1950s. Today the khalaṣa holds 27 boys and one girl in the mornings, and 40 boys and 10 girls in the afternoons. (3)

The main function of the khalaṣa has been the teaching of the Qur’ān, reading and writing and elementary fīqh. (4)

However, the khalaṣa of al-fakīr Muhammad Nur has been playing three roles:

(a) As a preparatory stage to the khalaṣa for those who have travelled especially to study (muhallabīn khalaṣa) and to the primary school.

Children join this khalaṣa at the age of 4–5 years, learn the alphabet, reading and writing and the short surahs of the Qur’ān. (5) By the time they learnt the Surat al-ʾasyūnā.
(āfarījā) and managed to have its ʿarāfār on their laṣāfā.\(^{(1)}\) They would move to the advanced distant ḥalawā of the ṭūfātinyā.\(^{(2)}\)

However, by the age of 7-8 they usually leave this ḥalawā and move away to join a distant ṭūfātinyā ḥalawā.\(^{(3)}\)

On the other hand, more and more children who have had this preparatory stage, as described above, leave the ḥalawā, but are sent by their parents to a primary school in the town instead of allowing them to go to a ṭūfātinyā ḥalawā.\(^{(4)}\)

(b) The ḥalawā as complementary to the school.

In the afternoon many schoolchildren were said to come to this ḥalawā to study the Qurʾān under this fakīḥ. Here they would usually learn more of the Qurʾān than was covered by the school.

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1. For ʿarāfār and laṣāfā see "Methods of teaching and learning" below.
5. Interview with al-fakīḥ Muḥammad Nūr.
The khalwa as an adults' teaching centre:

In addition to the above, the khalwa of al-falâli Muhammed Nûr ʿIsâ conducts a weekly long study session for adults. Every Friday, after the Jum'a prayer, al-falâli Muhammed Nûr usually gave instruction in the Qur’ân, teaching those interested how to read the Qur’ân correctly. He would also give instruction on elements of Fiqh, especially on 'ibâdât. The lesson would usually take place inside the mosque instead of under the tree.

Al-falâli Muhammed Nûr ʿIsâ is in charge of his khalwa and the discipline of his students. He seems to believe in, and practice, severe corporal punishment as an aid for effective teaching - a

1. Information from al-falâli Muhammed Nûr.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
practice which he seems to have transferred from his experience in Chad.\(^1\)

Al-faksi Muhammad Nūr seems to have been uneasy of the diminishing high social and financial status of the Khalwa as a result of the spread of the schools.

His main financial income seems to come from the salary which he obtains from the Department of Religious affairs (now, 1981, raised to LS 28 per month), from the LT 50 which he charged each learner reaching the stage of anārta and about to join a suhbaīrin Khalwa, and the writing of amulets.\(^2\)

The second example of the small Khalwa of Western Sudan was that of al-faksi Yaqūb Faṣl at the village of al-Nīma, Janīl's Rural Council.\(^3\)

The Khalwa was established about 1965. The Khalwa was a sort of large flat-roofed Ṣaḥiba built of local material, like the rest of the village buildings, of wood and straw. It was surrounded by a Ṣaribah (thorn enclosure) and lies in the centre of the village.

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1. Interview with al-faksi Muhammad Nūr at his Khalwa, al-Fashir.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
The buildings of the village itself are low huts (*qaliyyas*), every two or three of them were bound by enclosures of straw (*gari*) and thorny branches of trees. Around the village were the tobacco plantation fields of the villagers.

The main function of the *khalwa* - like all other *khelwa* today - was the teaching of the Qur'ān in addition to reading and writing.\(^1\)

As alluded to above, the *khalwa* was a non-boarding institution, like a great number of similar *khelwa* it was attended by both boys and girls.

In 1981 it had two *khalwas*: one for boys comprising thirty children and another for girls consisting of twenty.\(^2\)

Like almost all of the small countryside *khelwa* of Darfur, this *khalwa* had three roles:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Preparatory stage to the *muhārīrin* *khelwa* and the school: As explained above,\(^3\) children join this *khalwa* also at the age of about five years to learn the short suras of the Qur'ān and reading and writing. They would study for a short
\end{enumerate}

1. Interview with al-fārīd Yāḥya.
2. *Ibid*.
3. See *khelwa* of al-fārīd Muḥammad Dīr, above.
session in the morning and in the evenings. Then they would either join the village school or a distant muhārīrin's khalwa. (1)

b) Complementary and consolidating centre to the school:
Like the khalwa of al-fakīr Muḥammad Nur Fāsūr, at al-Ṭūshir, (2) schoolchildren used to come to this khalwa in the late afternoon to study the Qurʾān. They study throughout the early evening. During the day, however, the children went to school or assisted their parents in their fields.

Al-fakīr Yāqūt, the khalwa teacher, seems to be reasonably contented with his social and financial status. He receives a salary from the Government and at the same time he owns a tobacco field and some livestock to live on. (3)

Most of the khalwa children aspire to join the school - the khalwa fakīr's own son, Muḥammad, was studying at the secondary school at the time; yet he and four of his fellow students regularly attended the evening session for the study of the Qurʾān. (4)

From the above, it could be seen that almost all of the small village khalwas conduct part-time teaching, early morning

1. Interview with al-fakīr Yāqūt.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
and late afternoon or early evening. In comparison with the khalwas in other parts of the country - especially in Northern and Central Sudan - they are by far lagging behind in this respect.

Further, these village khalwas in Western Sudan do not seem to be concerned with teaching the whole of the Qur'ān, as do the khalwas of Northern and Central Sudan, but rather a very small portion of it, one to three "juz"; it seems. Their role has, in fact, been a preparatory one only - for the ineffective mohāfrīn khalwa or the school which is less concerned with the teaching of the Qur'ān.

From a survey of lists of hundreds of khalwas that are spread all over the region of Darfur, the writer has realized that as regards their student population these khalwas are extremely small.

For example, of the 128 khalwas of the Western region of Darfur, 80 khalwas held under 20 children each, 36 had between 20-30 learners and only 12 of them seem to have had more than 30 children each. (1)

Viewed from another angle, the small size of the student population of each khalwa seems to reflect the size of each

1. Records with the writer.
village in which the *khailas* operates, while the great number of these *khailas* seems to reflect the popularity of the *khailas* institutions.

As an indication of the increasing popularity of these *khailas* the writer has found out that the 105 *khailas* of South Western Darfur have been established in the period between 1932-1980.\(^1\)

To confirm such a trend the 54 *khailas* of Kutum Rural Council were recorded to have been established between 1935-1979.\(^2\) In other words, these *khailas* in comparison with the *khailas* of Northern Sudan, for example, appear to be very young.

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1. Records with the writer.
The muḥājirīn's camp of Nāṣī was said to have been founded by al-fakī Ḥabīb ʿAbd al-ʿUmar, father of the present Khalwa Shaykh, Ṣāḥib al-Mawāniʿ in 1941.¹

It seems relevant to state that al-fakī Ṣāḥib al-Mawāniʿ himself, had experienced study and living at a muḥājirīn's Khalwa.² He started learning the Qurʾān at the same muḥājirīn's Khalwa camp of Nāṣī, Jawli district, under his father, al-fakī Ḥabīb ʿAbd al-ʿUmar.³ Then, like almost all of the youth of the region, he set out at an early age to study at a distant muḥājirīn Khalwa in Zalingi region.⁴ There he seems to have had a long experience with the practices of this type of Khalwa life, for he had to spend about fifteen years just to study the Qurʾān and its Tajwīd.⁵

On completion of his study he returned to his home district where he embarked on his father's muḥājirīn's Khalwa, at Nāṣī, and established himself as the Khalifa, in charge.⁶

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¹ Information obtained by the writer from al-fakī Ṣāḥib al-Mawāniʿ, at the muḥājirīn Khalwa camp of Nāṣī, December 9th, 1987.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid.
His muḥāfīrin’s khelwa at Ṣuđūl, as was seen by the writer, was a sort of separate khelwa students’ village or camp, situated near the village of Ṣuđūl, composed of about forty khelwas for students’ accommodation — in the form of low quttiyyas or huts. They were built by the muḥāfīrin themselves, around the Ṣuđūl khelwa of study and residence. Each khelwa (quttiyya) could accommodate up to ten children. However, each of the old and advanced muḥāfīrin would have his own independent quttiyya or khelwa of accommodation.

It seems interesting to note that at this camp and in line with the general practice each group of students coming from the same locality, or related together by way of kinship, would usually live together under the same roof or in adjacent quttiyyas that are bound together by a thorny enclosure. To consolidate this sense of relationship, or of being distinct from the others, each such group would have its own ḥarab (wood fire) around which these students sat to read the Qurʾān. About a hundred and twenty muḥāfīrin were living and studying at this khelwa in 1981.

The khelwa chief administrator and principal teacher was

1. The writer’s visit to the muḥāfīrin khelwa of Ṣuđūl, 9th December, 1981.
2. Interview with al-Ḥassān ʿAbd al-Mūsi, 9th December, 1981.
3. The writer’s observations.
4. Ibid.
'Abd al-Wäl. He was in charge of the general supervision of shalwa affairs, in addition to teaching the Qur'an - almost the only subject taught at this shalwa.

Like almost all the traditional shalwas that exist all over the country, the main function of the muhāfitīn's shalwa is to teach the Qur'an together with practical elementary skills, especially 'ibādah. (1)

However, unlike most of the boarding shalwas, the Shaykhs of muhāfitīn shalwas - as that of Nāṣīl - are not responsible for the upkeep of their large students' population. Hence, the whole burden of living - accommodation and upkeep - has been shouldered by the muhāfitīn themselves. (2)

Faced with this serious problem, being away from their distant homes, and finding no other reliable source of securing food, it seems the muhāfitīn have been forced to go round the villages asking for food. (3) This action has developed throughout

1. See "shalwa curricula", below.
2. Interview with al-fakīh 'Abd al-Wäl Abu Umar at his muhāfitīn camp at Nāṣīl, December, 1981; Interview with the muhāfitīn (students) of the camp.
3. Ibid, this has been an established practice in Dūr-Fūr and was confirmed by all the fakīhs I met in the region and by the officials of the Department of Religious Affairs al-Fūhir.
4. Interview with al-fakīh 'Abd al-Wäl and the muhāfitīn at Nāṣīl, and confirmed by other fakīhs.
the years into an established tradition that seems to have been socially acceptable to both the *mubāhirīn* and the local communities in Dār-Fūr.\(^1\)

To the *mubāhirīn*, it seems to have been an easy way of securing food and often the only possible way, to the rural society it seems to have been regarded as a charitable act to the ones most entitled, and that God would reward them for it.\(^2\)

In line with such a traditional practice, every morning and early evening the young boys of *al-mubāhirīn*’s šalwa at Dār-Fūr were sent out by their group leaders to go around the houses of the village and ask for food.\(^3\) The children would usually chant prayers to the housewives so that their hearts might soften and that they would give more generously.\(^4\)

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2. Interview with *al-mubāhirīn* at Dār-Fūr, and their teachers.
3. Information from the *mubāhirīn* of Dār-Fūr and confirmed by their fakīr, ‘Abd al-Dālā. The old *mubāhirīn* do not go round the village asking for food because they would have done so when they were young, and they would have a feeling of embarrassment if they did when they were adults.
4. Information from the *mubāhirīn* at Dār-Fūr. The same practice was confirmed by many *ex-mubāhirīn* such as al-Shaykh Abū Bakr Naji al-‘Āin al-Fāshir and *al-Fakīr* ‘Abd al-Dālā.
On their return, the young boys would prepare the food and distribute it amongst all the members of the group.

On Tuesdays of every week the young *muhāṭirān* were sent out on their weekly four day tour round the neighbouring villages, carrying their *lāyān* - decorated with the *shurāfa* - and chanting prayers in a chorus asking for grain at the door of every house of the villages.1) They usually returned on Friday loaded with what mixture of grain and raw food material they would be fortunate enough to secure.2) *al-fakîr* usually would have his share from the grain collected.3)

At the camp these groups of children would be engaged in collecting firewood, fetching water from the well, grinding the grain into flour and cooking the food. It should be added here that the work would be divided amongst the groups of children by their group leader.4)

During the rainy season study at the *khuţa* was usually suspended. All the *muhāṭirān* would go out to the land where they would help *al-fakîr* 'Abd al-Ḳülî to cultivate his land and also sell their labour to other village cultivators.5)

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1. Information from the *muhāṭirān* of Nāţī.
4. Information from *al-muhāṭirān* at Nāţī.
Because of their preoccupation with the problem of securing food for their existence and because of their engagement in working for the faqi, the mühāṣiyrīn at the khilafa of Nāmī would usually need between ten and fifteen years just to learn the Qur'ān; and to study fīlūj, hajjarīn, and hajjīn they would need another ten years.\(^1\)

However, even when the advanced mühāṣiyrīn student was about to finish his studies, his graduation was often delayed by the faqi for up to another four years so as to assist the latter in carrying out his functions.\(^2\)

When the mühāṣiyrīn finally finished his study he would be provided with about four or five learners by the faqi to take with him to his home district so as to serve as a nucleus for the new khilafa the graduate would open at his home, if there had been none before.\(^3\)

From the brief foregoing survey of the mühāṣiyrīn’s movement in general and the living example of this institution as seems to have been represented by the mühāṣiyrīn’s khilafa of Nāmī, it seems clear that the movement has been deeply rooted amongst the people of Dir-i-Für. The parents, as alluded to above, seem

\(^{1}\) Information from the mühāṣiyrīn at Nāmī.


\(^{3}\) Information from al-mühāṣiyrīn and confirmed by their faqi, see “Methods of teaching and learning” below.
to have been motivated by their deep conviction of the necessity of leaving the Qur'ān, to allow their children to set out on hīrah (migration) they would devote all their time and effort to enable them study at the hands of highly regarded religious khālīm Shaykhs, and at an ideal spiritual environment. In addition, they seem to have hoped that their mubāhirin— the muhājirin—who would open khālwas at their villages or at least come out as respectable religious men.

This attitude towards the hīrah seems to have been backed by the relatively high social and financial status the khālīm still enjoys in the countryside. As an indication of this, a khālīm in the countryside in Dīr-Fūr province is often offered two wives in marriage on the same day. In addition, the villagers (and the learners) usually help him cultivate his land.

The natives of the locality where the mubāhirin's khālwa is situated, on the other hand, have continued for ages to extend a charitable hand to the needy learners of the Qur'ān as

1. Interviews with al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rā'īd Ismā'īl, al-Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and al-Shaykh Aḥū Sa'īd Najm al-Dīn, al-Fāshir, 7th December, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. See "Teachers' Status", below.
4. Information from al-Shaykh Ṣa'īd, Department of Religious Affairs, al-Fāshir; confirmed by al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Yāsīn al-Mūsīn, Ṣā'īlīs.
a religious duty.

Another factor which seems to have encouraged the perpetuation of the muḥājirīn khalwa, in addition to factors already mentioned, is the fact that the khalwa in Dīr-Fūr had been, till the mid-1930s the only educational institution in the region, and since then has remained the main one.

However, under national rule, traditional muḥājirīn khalwa practices seem to have been subjected to increasing investigations by both Government bodies and/or by interested individuals.

As a result, many serious shortcomings in addition to some of the positive contributions of the muḥājirīn khalwa, for example, have been brought to the surface.

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1. Interview with al-Shaykh 'Abd al-‘Ālid Irmā‘ī, op. cit.
2. The present writer; and see below.
3. See below.
G. The Khaliwān of Al-Shaykh 'Alī Bitāī at Hamishkorayh

Since the dawn of Independence, in the early 1950s, the mountainous border Beja region of Eastern Sudan - now known as the Borders Rural Council(1) - seems to have been witnessing an unprecedented outburst of khalaqa revival, centred on Hamishkorayh, which seems to have resulted in an overall social change.

However, before elaborating on the development of these khalaqa and their wide social impact, it seems relevant to shed light on the social aspect of life in the region before the recent emergence of these institutions, and the forces behind it.

Nomadic life had been for centuries the striking feature of almost all the region of Eastern Sudan. The different Beja tribes were said to have been always on the move in quest of water and suitable grazing areas for their animals. The region, on the whole, was reported to have been stricken by poverty, ignorance and inter-tribal conflicts and mistrust; and the masses

1. The region lies in the northern part of Kasala Province on the eastern borders of the Sudan with Kriteria, Ethiopia, between latitudes 15.5° and 18.5°N, and longitudes 36°E and 38.5°E. The area covered is about 34,660 square kilometers, holding a population of about 60,000 inhabitants. The region is mainly populated with the Beja tribes - such as the Beni 'Amir, al-Shawkāyyīn, al-Asmar ār, al-MRAYM, al-Shuaybūn and al-Kashiti (Office of Assistant Governor for Education, Kasala, December, 1981).
were said to have been living in darkness for lack of religious knowledge and practices.⁽¹⁾

Although there had existed a handful of traditional khalwas in the region that were said to date back to the Turco-Egyptian period in the Sudan (1256/1841-1302/1886) such as those of Awī, Arīf, Arīfīn, Salūs, Sāqīg and Takalānayib, which were established by the Samarandawāb tribe,⁽²⁾ yet they do not seem to have had any significant impact on the people there.⁽³⁾

Hence, ignorance, irreligiousness, murder, armed raids, banditry and taking pride in evil-doing and criminal practices were said to have been the common features of social life.⁽⁴⁾

Today, however, the situation has changed completely. Huge and populous khalwas for the teaching and learning of the Qur’āns and ‘ilm, for both men and women, young and old, have spread all over the region. As a result, it is generally held that social life has been dramatically transformed; peace, stability and a spirit of brotherhood has reigned, and overall social and economic development has been taking place.⁽⁵⁾

2. The fāqi of the khalwa of Awī.
5. Ibid., p.31; see below the achievements of the khalwas of ‘Allī Bitīf.
Such a miraculous change seems to have been generally attributed to the initiative and efforts of a “God-sent saviour” to his lost people - al-Shaykh ‘Ali Mahmūd Bitār. The man was said to have been inspired to call upon his people to return to God by erecting khamsa and embarking on learning and reading the Qur’an and complying with the teachings of Shariah. His call seems to have met with enthusiastic positive response from the repenting masses, and social change followed.

But who was ‘Ali Bitār and what helped him succeed in causing a very great revival in a relatively short period, i.e., since the start of his Khalwa in 1957?

‘Ali Mahmūd Bitār was reported to have been born, to a nomadic family, in 1930 in the region of Hamishkorayb. But his ancestry is said to be traced back to al-Shaykh ‘Abdallāh Jama’l, leader of the Arab tribes and first vicerey to the Punti King of Senmar (913/1504) and hence, ultimately to Wāsū al-Ḫadīm.

1. See below, for further information.
3. See below for social changes.
5. Al-Hidāya, p.14; Hamishkorayb has developed into the largest village in the region and has become the Khalwa centre of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitār and successors.
and Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and Fatima, daughter of the Prophet.\(^1\) Accordingly he claims to have been of a shaytani descent.

At the age of four his father died and he was left in the custody of his mother and elder brother - Muhammad Ahmad - who was said to have been a man of piety and insight. He took care of him and supported him, especially through the years of shaybuna or a state of near unconsciousness,\(^2\) and backed the null afterwards to return to the Qur'an.\(^3\)

The origin of his call:

By the age of six, according to al-Shaykh 'Ali Bital, he started seeing the Prophet in a vision - a thing which became so frequent that he used to experience it day and night.\(^4\)

Nevertheless, he seems to have continued, up to the age of

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1. Al-Hisay\(\text{a}\), pp.17-18.
2. Ibid., p.74; shaybuna or near unconsciousness was said to have been a state of jahab or a state of stupor believed to have been caused by being engulfed in a state of spiritual intoxication. (Information from al-Say\(\text{a}\) al-F\(\text{a}\)mir Abu Sakr, companion of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bital, now (1981) in charge of the women's khawla at Hamishkorayb, December, 1981.
3. See below.
seventeen, leading a normal nomadic life like his fellow youths, taking part in all their activities - their games, ceremonies, music and smoking the local tobacco, َشَيْحَة.\(^{(1)}\)

At the age of seventeen, however, he reports, he seems to have been engulfed in a state of َشَيْحَة which he attributed to the constant vision of the Prophet.\(^{(2)}\) That state of َشَيْحَة was said to have lasted for three years.\(^{(3)}\)

It was during this state of َشَيْحَة that he was reported to have emerged as a man endowed with ُحَرَكَة and َكِرَمَة (blessings and miracles making)\(^{(4)}\). Numerous stories were reported about his َكِرَمَة. The following could be mentioned as examples:

(a) One day, seeing a nomad riding on his camel back, he stopped him and bluntly told him that he would die after three months, and asked him to repent to God. The man, called َأَبُو َأَبَنَّ ُهَمْذَر, was reported to have died on the very date foretold by َأَبُو َأَبَنَّ.\(^{(5)}\)

2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. Information from َأَبُو َأَبَنَّ ُهَمْذَر, Namishkorayb.
(b) While still in his state of ghaybah, he was reported to have been visited by a delegation from the village of Tahsîlî. The people brought with them a man who was a hâfitz of the Qur’în, whom they had nominated to be an imâm of their mosque, and hoped that ‘Allî Bîtâlî would bless his appointment.\(^\text{(7)}\) Instead, ‘Allî Bîtâlî was reported to have opposed such an action. Not only that, but he was said to have warned the delegation that their nominee would commit major crimes and indulge in evil-doings - such as drinking alcohol and committing murder.\(^\text{(2)}\) Hence, they immediately rejected their nominee and appointed instead another one of their lads called Tâhir Ahmad Adam whom ‘Allî Bîtâlî had chosen.\(^\text{(3)}\)

As for the original nominee, he was reported to have committed, afterwards, all the crimes foretold by ‘Allî Bîtâlî.\(^\text{(4)}\) Consequently that man - his name was Muhammadzûn Adârâwî - was reported to have been jailed for life.\(^\text{(5)}\)

Many similar karûnûjû were said to have been attributed to ‘Allî Bîtâlî the emerging young šâykh of bârâkî, and have been circulating all over the region.

1. Al-Mâşyâs, p.47.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.48.
4. Ibid., p.47.
5. Ibid.
As a result many of the people became apprehensive that 'Ali b. Abī Tālib might reveal their crimes - and consequently a considerable deal of the lost or stolen property was said to have been returned to its original owners, including camels and cattle.\(^1\) Not only that but the people became so conscious of the karmāt of 'Ali b. Abī Tālib to the extent that even if they found gold lying on the ground nobody would dare to pick it up.\(^2\)

Following the successful manifestation of such karmāt, the stories of which seem to have been spread all over that closed region, people - especially those around him, gradually came to believe in him as a wall.\(^3\) This stage seems to have served as a preparatory for the next major, and more important one.

By the end of his three-year state of ḥayāt, 'Ali b. Abī Tālib was reported to have again seen the Prophet, in a vision, in the direction of Mecca.\(^4\) According to him, on that occasion the Prophet Muhammad instructed him to call upon the people to return to God and Repent to Him - warning that: "Tāmirī (my community)", repeating the word seven times, "had relied on its

2. Ibid.
3. Interview with al-fakī al-Ṭāhir Abū Bakr, Hamama, 2nd December, 1981.
present and neglected its future \( \text{in the Hereafter} \). 

Dwelling thus to repent to Allah, to read the Qur'an and adhere to the \( \text{tahlîl} \).

Then, according to 'Allî Bîtâ'î, the Prophet indicated a spot where a mosque should be erected for prayer and teaching of the Qur'an, and he ('Allî Bîtâ'î) was chosen by the Prophet for the guidance of his people.

It was immediately after this vision that 'Allî Bîtâ'î was said to have awakened from his three-year's state of \( \text{shorîba} \). He became fully conscious of himself but greatly preoccupied with the huge responsibility put upon his shoulders. However, he determined to carry out the mission he was entrusted with.

The message of al-Shaykh 'Allî Bîtâ'î - which he was to call upon all his people to follow - was exemplified in the following main principles:

1. Al-Midâya , p.15; al-tahlîl refers to "\( \text{la ilâh illa Allah, Muhammad rasûl Allah} \)" (there is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger). The writer has heard this tahlîl chanted frequently after prayer at the mosque-akhâma of Hamishkorayh.
2. Al-Midâya , p.15.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.58.
(a) All people must pledge their sincere and ultimate repentance to God.

(b) They must perform their five daily prayers in a group - (jama'at prayer).

(c) All people, men as well as women, must embark on learning and reading the Qur'an.

(d) They must forgive and tolerate each other - and live in brotherhood.

(e) They must abandon and refrain from discrimination, whether ethnic, economic or social - amongst groups or individuals.

(f) All profiles must settle down - in order to carry out these religious duties, especially learning the Qur'an.

(g) All people must earn their living by lawful means, and must rely on themselves.

When he conveyed this message to those around him he was said to have found an immediate response from his elder brother, Muhammad Ahmed, who supported him and accompanied him, on camel back, to spread his call to his extended family and to the people of the region generally.(1)

1. Al-Khidya, p.20.
The first people to respond to his call were the clan of his father at Sagid, then, the tribe of his mother Hilil, then the tribe of Quraysh and the tribe of Shar'ab. Other groups and individuals - even from across the borders of Sijuria, such as al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'm, leader of the tribe of Banu 'Amir - were said to have responded positively to his call.

While the message continued to spread fast across the region, many started to speculate about who al-Shaykh 'Ali bin Hisham was. To one group he was the expected Mahdi, to another he was a renovator of Islam, while to many of the masses, he was believed to have been the Prophet's son sent by God to salvage the people and to fill the earth with justice and equity through the teachings of Islam.

However, there seems to have been a general belief that the message conveyed by al-Shaykh 'Ali bin Hisham by the Prophet, in a vision, was an authentic one.

Consequently, a wave of religiousness seems to have swept

1. Al-Miṣṣaṣṣ, p. 20.
2. Ibid., p. 15; confirmed by al-Fadl al-Farh al-Sabri.
3. A hadith reported by Abu Hurayrah and narrated by al-Shaykh and al-Farh according to which the Prophet said: "Whoever saw me in a vision [while asleep] must have seen me, for the devil cannot impersonate me". (al-Miṣṣaṣṣ, p. 13).
all of the region; and people of all walks of life were said to have been dominated by a spirit of self-awareness of their own past wrongdoings. In response to the call of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl, and motivated by both fear of God and desire to please Him, the masses, all over the region, were said to have declared their utter repentance to God and pledged their loyalty and submission to the guidance of their spiritual leader. They embarked on erecting khalwas for the Qurʾān and prayer and began to comply with the different aspects of the call of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl, not only at Hamishkorayb, where the mother khalwa mosque was established, but also in their own localities.\(^1\)

As a result of all this a drastic and overall positive change was said to have taken place.\(^2\)

It was not only amongst the people of his own region that his call seems to have met popular response, but even across the borders in Eritrea his message was being welcomed.\(^3\)

The region of Eritrea seems to have been suffering from almost the same miserable conditions of life.\(^4\) The people

1. Interview with al-fakhr al-Ṭāhir Abū Bakr at Hamishkorayb, 2nd December, 1981.
2. See below, for the social change brought about by the khalwa of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl.
there, following the news of the positive changes that were
taking place across their borders in neighbouring Sudan as a
result of the religious call of Al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl desired to
have the same introduced in their region. (1) Hence, their
deleagations were said to have invited Al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl to
visit their region. (2)

Al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitāl, for his part, did not only welcome
the invitation, but further enlisted their support for his
call through a well-proven and most effective spiritual appeal, for
it seems he told the Eritrean delegations that he had already
seen, in a vision, their most revered pious Eritrean
saint - Al-Shaykh Ḥujjāja b. Al-Shaykh Ṣawāb who had entrusted
him with a special message to the masses of his people in
Eritrea. (3)

Hence, on his arrival in Eritrea and throughout his tour
across the countryside, he was said to have been warmly received
by the masses who were eager to see him and to hear his call
and to receive the message of their dead saint. (4)

The masses were reported to have readily responded to

1. Information from Al-Fakhr al-Tāhir Abu Sikr.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Nilāṣr, p.25.
4. Information from Al-Shaykh al-Tāhir Abu Bakr.
al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitā’i’s call to return to God, revive the Qur’ān and its institutions and to live in brotherhood in accordance with the teachings of Islam.\(^1\)

The message of the Eritrea that was said to have been entrusted to Shaykh Bitā’i seems to have been a confirmation of the religious call of the latter - it was a warning to the people of Eritrea against conflicts and bloodshed and a call to return to God and join hands in brotherhood.\(^2\)

Consequently, the masses in the region of Eritrea like those of Nazishkorayb region in the Sudan, were said to have declared their absolute repentance to God and pledged their submission and loyalty to the guidance of al-Shaykh Bitā’i.\(^3\)

At this stage, the Government circles in both the Sudan and Eritrea were reported to have become greatly worried and concerned about the emergence of such a spontaneous and popular religious movement that could undermine their authority if left unchecked.\(^4\)

Hence, they were said to have acted swiftly and al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitā’i was reported to have been discreetly deported, escorted.

2. *Ibid*.
3. Information from *Al-Fā’il al-Tāhir* Abu Bakr.
4. *Ibid*. 
to the Sudan. (1)

On his return home, al-Shaykh 'Alī Ṣittā was summoned by the Hadändawa tribal leader who, on the instructions of the Government, interrogated him on his unwarranted visit to Eritrea. (2) Then he was confronted with the following serious Government charges: (3) a) that he was claiming prophethood; b) that he was inciting the tribes against the Government; and c) that he was trying to exploit the masses.

On the other hand, the tribal leader was reported to have promised al-Shaykh 'Alī Ṣittā that all those could be dropped on condition that he carried out the following:

(a) To dismantle all ḥalēmūn of the Qur'ān, which he and his followers had established, together with the settlements which the nomads build around those ḥalēmūn. (4)

(b) Further, he was to order his settled followers to return to their nomadic mode of life, and to warn them that failure to comply with these orders would result in six months' imprisonment or LE 18 pounds fine against each adult male. (5)

1. Al-Hādāya, p.25.
2. Ibid.
(c) He should stop advising people on religious matters.

(4) He must not mention anything about his vision of the Prophet.\(^{(1)}\)

(e) Further, if 'Ali bin ‘Alî would positively respond to such conditions, the tribal leader offered him the opportunity of living with him, and at his expense, and would offer him a teaching and learning post, at his mosque-Khalwa.\(^{(2)}\)

The response of al-Shaykh ‘Ali bin ‘Alî, however, seems to have been very disappointing to the Government. He strongly rejected the allegation that he had been a man of violence and reaffirmed that his call was a peaceful one, and in support of this he referred to his instructions to his followers to abandon carrying their customary tribal weapons and to carry instead their lamps, ablution jugs, prayer mats, some rosaries and to seek refuge in reading the Qur'ûn at their Khalwa-mosques.\(^{(3)}\)

As regards his vision of the Prophet, al-Shaykh ‘Ali declared that it was a fact that could in no way be denied.\(^{(4)}\) And, in reference to the order to pull down the established Khalwas and settlements, he confirmed to the tribal leader that it had been his dream to multiply their number and he would not

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
destroy any.\(^1\) Not only that, but he declared his readiness to bear all the consequences.\(^2\)

Hence, in an attempt to stamp out the movement, al-Shaykh 'All Bīṭār was detained and further interrogated at Arima then Kassala's provincial prison and eventually sent into internal exile to Wādī Haifa.\(^3\) with the result that he remained in prison from 1954-1960.\(^4\)

Paradoxically, the news of his imprisonment seems to have given to al-Shaykh 'All Bīṭār more publicity, and to have aroused the interest and support of the masses to his call, not only in his own region but in the different parts of the country. Delegation after delegation of religious oriented people were said to have flocked to visit him at his prison to receive the Prophet's message from his lips, and returned to their own regions, intent more than ever, to establish Khilāfa for learning the Qur'an and mosques for prayer.\(^5\)

Then, as a result of public pressure, and in attempt to enlist the support of al-Shaykh Bīṭār's followers, sympathizers and many others interested in the cause of religion, General Abūd's Government, urged by the religious leaders, it seems,

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2. Ibid.
3. Al-Hidāya, p.49.
4. Ibid., p.16.
5. Ibid., pp.16, 50-51.
not only decided to release al-Shaykh ʿAli Blitān but took positive steps to back his call for the revival of the khalwā of the Qurān. (1)

As alluded to above, the basis of al-Shaykh ʿAli Blitān’s inspired religious and social movement was mass religious education disseminated through the network of khalwās he and his followers established all over the region, for both men and women.

The first effective and main mosque—khalwā has been the one established at Hamishkorayb at the site said to have been indicated to him by the Prophet, in a vision. (2) It lies at the foot of Mount Hamishkorayb, on flat, open land. (3) It started as a humble, relatively small khalwā built out of perishable local building material—al-ṣawwār tree stems, branches and leaves in the shape of a flat-roofed hut. (4)

Today, despite the building of an elaborate brick-built mosque, the original khalwā structure seems to have been retained

1. Information from al-ṣafāt al-Ṯāhir Abū Bakr, a companion of al-Shaykh ʿAli Blitān and in 1981 in charge of the khalwā of women at Hamishkorayb.
3. The writer’s visit to the khalwā and the region 1-4 December, 1981.
but of course enormously expanded and renewed to cope with the huge student population it accommodates. The khelwa was still, in 1981, a sort of huge flat-roofed mosque-like, building made of the same local material - jome tree stems, branches and leaves. It was in the form of a spacious mosque of about 60 x 40 metres in dimension, with a high thatched roof supported by pillars of jame tree stems. Hence, in view of the fact that it has been a huge hut-like building with its walls of thatch and with numerous entrances, it seems to have been more convenient to its eight thousand learners, who assembled for study and prayer under its roof during the day, and outside in its spacious courtyard during the cool nights.

Like almost all khelwas, it had barely any furniture. The learners group themselves in ja'las (circles) on the sand-covered floor or on the burush (prayer mats made of date-palm leaves). When they were not using their la'abs they used to stand them against the walls or Pierce them through the thatched walls.

The spacious khelwa courtyard was surrounded by a wooden fence. The learners usually would keep it clean. As the courtyard around the khelwa was generally considered as part of the

1. See the students' population of the khelwa, below.
2. The writer's visit to the khelwa.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Khalwa, the students were in the custom of taking off their shoes outside its entrance and walking about it bare-footed, as was the practice at almost all of the Sufi Khalwas elsewhere.\(^1\)

On the sides of the courtyard there were about twenty mound-like heaps of raised earth, each about twenty metres from the others, which were said to have been the sites of the huge tappas (wood piles) around which the learners used to sit for study during the night.\(^2\) Since 1978, however, the Khalwa has been using electric light produced from an electric generator donated to it - which seems to have been of great help for learners during their evening session.\(^3\)

About five hundred metres away from the Khalwa lies the qubba (shrine) that has been erected on the tomb of the founder al-Shaykh 'Ali Bistā\(^4\) who died in 1779.\(^5\) That was a clear

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1. Out of reverence to sacred places like the mosques and the Khalwas of the Qur'ān, Muslims take off their shoes before entering these places, lest they pollute them with an unclean substance they might have trodden on.
2. For further information on tappas see "Methods of Teaching and Learning", below.
3. The writer's observations and interviews with the learners at the Khalwa, Keshmshorayb.
4. This was an evidence that he was almost regarded as a Sufi Shaykh with a qubba on his grave (the writer's visit to the Khalwa.
5. Al-Midūs, p.6).
indication that he has been regarded as a saint, although during his lifetime was said to have been against such an attitude.[1]

The shaykh has been surrounded by the students' or māfiṣiṣīn's khāwāṣe of accommodation which were said to have been built by the māfiṣiṣīn themselves, but assisted by the residents who provided them with the local building materials.[2] The students' khāwāṣe of residence were huts built in the form of kutṭāva (sing. kutṭāwa) [3] each accommodating about five learners.

As a result there developed a huge students' village, with the residential village of the natives and their families lying nearby.[4]

Within the residential village, on the other hand, there has emerged the largest women's khāwā in the country.[5]

As a result, the population of Hamisborayb (which was non-existent before the call of al-Shaykh 'All Ḥasab, and which was

1. Information from al-taḥ al-Ṭabir ʿAbū Bakr.
2. Ibid.
3. A kutṭāva is a hut with a cylindrical base and a conical top, usually all made of wood and thatch, but sometimes the base wall is made of mud or unbaked brick.
4. The khāwā was the nucleus for the village, see above.
5. The writer's observations and visit to the khāwā.
said to have emerged as a result of, and developed with, the khalwa) was estimated in 1987 at twenty-five thousand inhabitants.¹ Except for those who were too old or too young or the sick, almost all the residents of Hamishkaryb — men, women and children — were said to have been regular attendants of the khalwas, full-time or part-time.²

It seems relevant to refer briefly at this stage to the main features of the development of both khalwas.

The khalwa for men at Hamishkaryb, as indicated above, was said to have come into being in compliance with the instruction of the Prophet — in a vision — to al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bihār.³ The latter, in turn, was reported to have directed his people to embark on learning the Qur'ān and to establish its institutions, as he was often reported to have preached:

"Kindle the flame of the Qur'ān and erect khalwas for the Qur'ān and places for prayer at your settlements. Erect a khalwa for men and another for women — even amongst five abodes, or teora."⁴

1. Information from al-fakih al-Tāhir Abū Bakr.
2. Ibid.
3. See above.
In response, a humble *khilafa* for learning the Qur'ān and for prayer was established, in 1991, for men only.\(^1\)

The learners, old and young, earnestly and enthusiastically embarked on learning the Qur'ān, the rudiments of Islamic teachings together with reading and writing.

However, since the Beja tribes are non-Arabic speaking people, the tremendous difficulties in learning the language and the Qur'ān could not be over-emphasized. As an indication of such difficulties, it was said to have taken the first generation of old learners about four years just to learn reading and writing in Arabic, and memorize only three *juz'* (parts of the Qur'ān).\(^2\) Nevertheless, as a result of their persistence, and the encouragement and perseverance of their able teachers,\(^3\) they were gradually and steadily said to have been transformed.

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1. Information from *al-fākh* al-ṣāhir Abū Bakr.

2. For convenience, for learning purposes, the Qur'ān has been divided, in terms of volume, into thirty almost equal *juz'* or parts. The last *juz'* embraces the shortest sūras (chapters) of the Qur'ān. Beginners usually learn the Qur'ān in a reversed order - starting with the shorter sūras (see "Methods of Teaching and Learning," below).

3. These were, at the time, the following: *al-fākh* Ṭāhā Muhammad Hāmid Āmmawī, and his assistants *al-fākh* al-ṣāhir Abū Bakr, *al-fākh* 'Umar Bashir Ahmad, *al-fākh* Ṭāhā 'Ali, Sayyidūna Hāmid Usāín, *al-fākh* 'Abd Sājī al-Dīn and *al-fākh* Husayn Muhammad Ahmad (information from *al-fākh* al-ṣāhir Abū Bakr).
into a religiously oriented and educated people.\(^1\) Hundreds
of Qur'\textsuperscript{\i}n learners graduated from this kh\textit{alwa} and the best amongst
them usually volunteered to teach at the kh\textit{alwa}, too.\(^2\)

The \textit{kh\textit{alwa} for men at Hamishkorayb was reported to have
steadily expanded. By 1970 its student population rose to
1,200 learners, by 1974 it rose to 5,000 learners and by 1981
it exceeded 8,000 learners.\(^3\) It is worth noting that about
half of the student population was said to have come from
outside the region, not only from the other parts of the country
but from other countries as well - such as Nigeria, Kali,
Somalia, Eritrea and Yemen.\(^4\) To illustrate this phenomenon
it has been said that the \textit{kh\textit{alwa} attracted learners of such
different ethnic origins that thirty dialects were spoken by
the student population in 1981.} \(^5\) - all were united in brotherhood.

In addition to the mother \textit{kh\textit{alwa} of Hamishkorayb, other
\textit{kh\textit{alw}as have been established all over the region, with villages
developing around them, and by teachers graduating from the
central \textit{kh\textit{alwa} - Hamishkorayb.} \(^6\)

1. Information from \textit{al-fak\textsuperscript{\textit{i}} al-\textit{T\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}hir Ab\textsuperscript{\textit{b}} Bakr}.
2. \textit{Ibid}.
3. Information from \textit{al-Sayyid \textit{T\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}ha, Deputy for the \textit{kh\textit{alwa} of
al-Shaykh \textit{Ali Bit\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}}, Hamishkorayb, 3rd December, 1981.}
4. \textit{Ibid}.
5. \textit{Ibid}.
6. Information from \textit{al-fak\textsuperscript{\textit{i}} al-\textit{T\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}hir Ab\textsuperscript{\textit{b}} Bakr}.}
Similarly, and in response to the call of al-Shaykh ‘Ali bitāl, women khalwas have emerged on an unprecedented scale, thus representing the most striking feature of the region.

The first woman’s khalwa in the region was said to have been established in 1954 under the sister of al-Shaykh ‘Ali bitāl, ‘Alīya. After her premature death she was succeeded by her sister ‘Ayyub bitāl.

Before 1954, it should be noted, the womenfolk in each family were said to have been taught the Qur’an and elementary Islamic teachings at home by their guardians or immediate relatives who had acquired such knowledge at the men’s khalwas. (2)

After 1954, however, small and humble women’s khalwas were said to have gradually emerged at Hamishekorayb and other settlements. (3) By 1970 the number of women’s khalwas reached 12, comprising a total of about 500 women; (4) by 1974 the number of women’s khalwas at Hamishekorayb alone rose to thirty khalwas, embracing about three thousand women. (5)

1. Information from al-fakhr al-thir ‘Ayyub Bakr; al-‘Idāya, p. 41.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
At that time there seems to have arisen a need to give women further systematic instruction on the recitation of the Qur'an (tajwid), fiqih (law), taafsir (exegesis), sira (biography of the Prophet) and hadith.\(^{(1)}\) Hence, at the instructions of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bitar, it was found necessary to gather together all the women learners of Hamishkorayb at one large khalwa at the centre of the village.\(^{(2)}\)

By 1981 the student population of the women's khalwa was said to have risen to about 5,000 learners.\(^{(3)}\) It seems worth noting, in this respect, that a large proportion of the women learners, like the men learners, came from outside the region. While the majority of these accompanied their husbands, about five hundred unmarried girls were said to have been brought by their parents and left in the custody of some of the families of Hamishkorayb.\(^{(4)}\)

The teaching staff of the women's khalwa was composed of about sixty shaykhs, who had learnt the whole of the Qur'an by heart, in addition to a larger number of women assistants - all were accountable in 1981 to al-fadl al-Tahir Abu Bakr, the chief supervisor of women's khalwa education at Hamishkorayb.\(^{(5)}\)

1. Information from al-fadl al-Tahir Abu Bakr.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
It should be added, also, that there were fifteen other khalewas for women in the villages of the region.\(^1\)

Hence, at almost every one of the main villages of the region there was a khalew for men and another for women.

Reference could be made here, in addition to Hamishkorkh, to the following places:\(^2\) Tsūân, Yaram, Tawayalt, Tamarit, Zaranstan, Tahdā and Talkūs.

It is worth mentioning that since the emergence of his khalew in 1951 and throughout his lifetime\(^3\) al-Shaykh 'Allī Bītār was reported to have been spending on the upkeep of those khalewas (students and teachers) mainly from his own purse.\(^4\)

However, he seems to have been receiving assistance, in this respect, from his dedicated followers in terms of cash or kind. Al-Shaykh 'Allī used to depend on extensive rain cultivation to secure grain for his own and expanding dependents and learners.

After his death in 1976, his successors continued cultivating the rainy lands to maintain the khalewas. However, they were also reported to have been receiving increasing aid from the Government and especially from President Nnamayri and the regional

1. Information from al-fakï al-Tâhir Abû Bakr.
2. The writer's visit to these villages.
4. He was said to have had a number of commercial lorries whose revenue was exclusively spent on the khalewas.
government, in the form of grain and cash, to help them meet their 
obligations. (1) As an example of this aid, President Numeiry was 
reported on two occasions to have provided the *khalaṣ* at 
Hamishkoryb with 5,000 and 3,000 large sacks of *sura* (grain) from the 
Government. (2) Grants in cash to the *khalaṣ* and salaries to 
the teachers have been, of late, of great help to these *khalaṣ*. (3)

It should be noted that the *khalaṣ* of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bīrī, 
all over the region, have been serving as full-time institutions 
of study to their full-time devoted learners, whether they were 
local or *muhādirīn*. (4) The best example, in this respect, was 
the mother *khalaṣ* at Hamishkoryb. This seems to have been a 
clear indication that the main role of these *khalaṣ* has been 
teaching and learning.

Further, it should be emphasized that the main function of 
the *khalaṣ* of ‘Ali Bīrī was the teaching of the Qur'ān, with 
reading and writing as a means to that objective; and the 
teaching of *tālq*, *tafṣīr*, *hadith* and Arabic grammar, as 
auxiliary subjects. (5)

1. Information from the Deputy for *khalaṣ*, Hamishkoryb, 
   3rd December, 1981.
5. Information from al-`Asr al-`Iṣbīr Abū Bakr; see also
   "Curricula and Books", below.
In addition to the above, the learners usually attended to the 'after prayer lesson'. In accordance with the guidance of al-Shaykh 'Ali Sittâl, immediately after each of the five daily prayers, the imâm, or anyone of the people authorized, would of deliver a ṣan'îtâ (sermon) - comprising mainly sûra Hûdûn, verses of the Qur'ân or a fiqh problem.\(^1\) The ṣan'îtâs would usually address itself to the treatment of a current social and religious problem.\(^2\)

As well as its educational role, as has been alluded to above, the khalwa has also been used as a mosque for the five daily prayers and for the Friday prayer.\(^3\)

It seems obvious that the khalwa has been used also, in effect, by almost all the male residents of Medinakoirûb - barring those who were too young or too old - as their main meeting place. In this capacity the khalwa seems to have served as a socio-religious club, where all the problems of concern could be treated.\(^4\)

The khalwa for women, likewise, was said to have been conducting the same functions.\(^5\)

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1. Information from al-fâhûl al-fâhir Abu Bakr; the writer has witnessed such a ṣan'îtâ.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Information from al-fâhûl al-fâhir Abu Bakr.
During the lifetime of al-Shaykh 'Alī Bitūrī, as the initiator and spiritual leader of the movement, he was said to have been the sole person in charge of all his 'khālīs'.¹

However, since al-Shaykh 'Alī Bitūrī was almost an illiterate person - having studied the Qur'ān only up to the sura of al-qalasādh (chapter of the earthquake)², he could not be expected to have been engaged in the actual instruction of the learners. Hence, since the emergence of the 'khālās', in 1951, al-fakīh Ḥamīd Muḥammad Ḥamīd Adarsīb had been the one in charge of the teaching functions at Hamīsh Korayb, assisted by very able fucarr.³

Al-fakīh Adarsīb, as had been alluded to before, was assisted in this role by a number of able and dedicated teachers.⁴

In 1961 under the principal teachers there were more than fifty assistant fakīhs or fucarr who usually chaired the 'khālās' for learners.⁵

The first 'khālās' for women, on the other hand, was run by

1. Information from al-fakīh al-Tāhir ʿAbū Bakr.
4. See above, p.
5. The writer's visit to the 'khālās' of Hamīsh Korayb, 3rd December 1961.
the sisters of al-Shaykh 'All Bītār - Hāfīsa, who was then succeeded by her sister Hāfīzah.\(^1\) A number of assistant women teachers helped in the instructional activity.\(^2\) After 1970, however, when the thirty women's khalwas at Hamisbhorayb were amalgamated into one huge central khalwa, al-fākī al-ṣāhir Abū Bakr was transferred from the men's khalwa and put in charge of the women's khalwa.\(^3\)

\[\text{Al-fākī al-ṣāhir was assisted in his role by about sixty women teachers (ṣayḥat) who had learnt the whole of the Qur'ān by heart, and studied 'ālim at the hands of the khalwa teachers.}\]

\[\text{Under these, were a larger number of assistants.}\]

Generally speaking, there seems to have been a great similarity between the khalwas of al-Shaykh 'All Bītār and the old revised khalwas of the riverain region\(^5\) in such matters as the focus of khalwa education - the Qur'ān - the methods of teachings,\(^6\) the preparation of teachers and their functions.\(^7\)

1. Information from al-fākī al-ṣāhir Abū Bakr.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.; observations of the writer.
7. See "Teachers" below.
the daily programmes of study, students' life at the *khalwa* \(^{(1)}\), and administration and financing of the *khalwa*. \(^{(2)}\) And, indeed, in view of these similarities in the major areas identified, the *khalwas* of al-Shaykh 'Alī Bīṭār could be regarded as an extension to the old traditional *khalwas* of the riverain region. \(^{(3)}\)

However, the major difference between the *khalwas* of al-Shaykh 'Alī Bīṭār and the rest of the *khalwas* of the Sudan seems to have been exemplified in the drastic positive impact of al-Shaykh Bīṭār's *khalwa* on the different aspects of life in his region on the one hand, and the passive, little or even negative effect other *khalwas* seem to have had in their immediate environments, during the same period, \(^{(4)}\) on the other.

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1. See "*khalwa* students", below.
3. The reference could be made to the *khalwas* of al-’Uqabush, Kadabas, al-Majidī, and to Umm Dāwān Bān and Wād al-Fānī, for example.
4. See the passive impact of the *khalwas* of Kadabas, Umm Dāwān Bān and Wād al-Fānī on their localities at present as regards their educational roles.
The erection of the khālwa of al-Shaykh 'All Bītāl in the region led to unprecedented widespread diffusion of Islamic teachings amongst the community of that region, most of whom were either learning or teaching.\(^1\)

In effect, a learning society seems to have emerged - intent on religious education.\(^2\)

This emerging new society seems to have been influenced and guided by a class of dedicated and pious 'ulama' - both men and women.\(^3\) These have come to constitute the new religiously-oriented leadership of an aspiring people. They seem to have set good examples for their students to follow - in word and deed - and in compliance with the guidance of Shaykh 'All Bītāl.\(^4\) Hence, the high regard they seem to have been enjoying.\(^5\)

As a result of their positive response to the Islamic teachings and guided by the example of their teachers, it appears, new religious people seem to have been born. In evidence of such a phenomenon it was said as a prerequisite for marriage, both men and women would demand, as a proviso, that the other partner

1. Information from al-fākī al-Ṭāhir Abū Bakr.
2. The writer's impression.
4. See the principles of his teachings, above; al-Maṣāḥif, p.28.
5. Information from al-fākī al-Ṭāhir.
must have studied the Qur‘ān.\(^1\)

Another effect of great importance of the widespread khalwa education in that region seems to have been exemplified in the total eradication of illiteracy in all areas covered by the khalwās of ‘Allī Sītāl.\(^2\) This achievement resulted from the fact that learning the Qur‘ān at the khalwa in the Sudan has been associated, if not preceded, with the acquisition of the ability to read and write.\(^3\) Hence, mass khalwa education has resulted in mass literacy at Hamishkorayb.\(^4\)

For a developing country suffering, amongst other things, from the acute problem of illiteracy, both the contribution and the approach of the khalwās of al-Shaykh ‘Allī Sītāl in this respect must be of great significance and of far reaching implications.

Perhaps an equally significant achievement of the khalwās of al-Shaykh ‘Allī Sītāl was the spreading of the Arabic language amongst a non-Arabic speaking people\(^5\) so that the

3. See "Methods of Teaching and Learning", below.
5. Al-Shaykh ‘Allī Sītāl has urged his people to embark on learning the Arabic language and use it as a medium of instruction. (Al-Hidāya, p.34).
writer, whose mother tongue is Arabic, could easily communicate with all individuals in the many different villages of the region he visited.\(^1\) Moreover, having recorded on tape all the speeches given by representatives of the villages on the occasion of the visit of the regional governor and members of his government across the region, and having observed the spontaneous responses of the masses to all the speeches spoken in classical Arabic, and their complete comprehension of all that, the writer is sure that the cultural process of Arabization has taken root in that region.

Not only that but the transformation seems to have been taking place at an accelerated rate. According to the regional governor, who had worked as an administrator in the same region twenty years before, he would not have dared of finding even a few individuals to communicate with in Arabic; hence to him the change had been beyond all expectations.\(^2\)

As a direct result of the Islamic orientation and the spread of the Arabic language, the region has become culturally closely linked with the rest of Northern Sudan and the Arab countries.

1. The writer's visit to the region, 1-4 December, 1981.
2. From the speech of al-Sayyid Ḥāmid 'All Shāhā, the Regional Governor, on his visit to Hamishkorayb on 2nd December, 1981. (The writer had the opportunity of visiting the region in the company of the Governor and members of his government.)
Hence, in effect, the *khalwas* of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bithi seem warriors who lay down their arms and forgot about past hostilities, conflicts and anti-Islamic practices — such as robbery, murder and tribal armed conflicts. Instead they were said to have rendered absolute submission to the laws and authority of *Shari'as* as the most effective self-restraining power.\(^2\)

1. See pp.531-2 and *khalwas* under the Punj period.

2. What Ibn Khaldun has stated about the restraining power of religion among the insubordinate Arabs seems to have applied to the Baja tribes of Hamishkorayb region:

"...because of their savagery, the Arabs are the least willing of nations to subordinate themselves to each other, as they are rude, proud, ambitious and eager to be the leader. Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion among them, through prophecy or sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves. It is then easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite as a social organisation." (Ibn Khaldun, *The Modjaddims*, vol.I, p.305).
As a result of their submission to the authority of the
In accordance with the teachings of Islam to observe tahāra
(cleanliness) of body and clothes, all the nomads who pledged to
comply with the call of al-Shaykh 'Allī Bītāl - men and women -
abandoned their previous attitudes and practices and took to
keeping their bodies and clothes in a state of tahāra whenever
they were performing the rituals of prayer or reading the Qur'ān. (1)

Further, to make it feasible for them to keep to the rules
of tahāra the men, in particular, abandoned their centuries long
tradition of growing long hair (which because of their nomadic
mote of life often became filthy) and, instead, had their heads
shaved and for the first time in their lives the masses took
to wearing the turbān. (2)

Before the emergence of al-Shaykh 'Allī Bītāl taking revenge
for the murder of one's relative from any member(s) of the tribe

1. Information from al-Fakīr al-Ṭāhir Abū Zakr.
2. Ibid.; report of Daw al-Bayt, 1970; the writer's observations
on his visit to the region.
of the murderer was the established custom of the Baja tribes.\(^1\) Following the teachings of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitālī, however, peace, tolerance and forgiveness seem to have reigned high, and mediation for reconciliation and acceptance of the qiyasa (compensation) was said to have become the norm.\(^2\)

The women’s customs, too, seem to have undergone great changes.

Before the call of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitālī women in his region lived under very strict tribal traditions. Marriages, for example, were arranged by men and the girl had no say whatsoever as regards the choice of her husband.\(^3\) Now, and in accordance with the teachings of Islam, the girl was said to have been fully consulted.\(^4\) Not only that, but instead of arranging the marriage on the basis of the dowry (which was simply two cows or L.S. 50-100 paid by the husband), the main condition required by the partners was that each of them must have learnt the Qur’an.\(^5\) Hence, a girl would make provision that her husband must be a religious man.\(^6\)

1. Information from al-Fatīmī al-Fāhir Abu Bakr: Divīsa Ḥīṣba, p.5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp.5-7; also Report of Daw al-Bayt, 1970.
6. Ibid.
Women's appearance was said to have changed too. All females have been wearing Islamic dress.\(^1\)

The change in women's customs brought about by the teachings of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bītāl seems to have been also clearly demonstrated in the practices of mourning. In the past when a relative or a leader (tribal or spiritual) died, women, in particular, would wear the dead person's clothes, carry the sword and yell while dancing wildly to the beat of their drums, tearing their dresses, and would continue doing so, mixing with the men, and accompanying the funeral, till the dead person was buried.\(^2\) With the rise of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bītāl, such a practice of ḥabiliyya was abandoned. Instead women would chant the tahāl and pray to God for forgiveness for the dead.\(^3\)

Another important achievement resulting from the khilāfa of 'Ali Bītāl seems to have been the intertribal unity and the dominance of a spirit of Islamic brotherhood. This seems to have been also a direct response to the direction of their spiritual leader to refrain from prejudices and discrimination towards ethnic groups, and to live in brotherhood.\(^4\) As an

\(^1\) Information from al-fakih al-Tāhir Abū Bakr; the writer's observations on his visit to the women's khawās.

\(^2\) Information from al-fakih al-Tāhir Abū Bakr; Divān Ijtima'īyya, p.7.

\(^3\) Information from al-fakih al-Tāhir Abū Bakr.

\(^4\) See the principles of the teachings of al-Shaykh 'Ali Bītāl, above; al-Midāya, p.58.
embodiment of this social change, the main khalwa at Hamishkorayb comprised, in 1981, learners belonging to the different tribes of the region and from outside it, such as the Hademiawa, the Sani 'Amir, the Bihiariyya, the Anza 'Ar, the Artaya, the Zubayriyya, the Sariya, the Khassa, the Kamillah and many others to the extent that thirty-six different dialects were said to have been in use at the time - reflecting the variety of ethnic groups.\(^1\)

On the economic side, the changes that have taken place as a result of the khalwas of al-Shaykh 'Ala' Bitar seems to have been equally important.

As a result of their settlements around their khalwas, and under the guidance of their spiritual leader, the people of the region were said to have taken to agriculture and trade instead of their previous pastoral activities. Many of them have embarked on land cultivation during the rainy season, and many have been engaged in irrigated agriculture - growing cotton - in the Sash and Tokar delta schemes.\(^2\) Members of whole families have been employed to work on the fields, while many others became small traders in the villages or even in such towns as Kasala and Aroma.\(^3\)

1. Information from the Deputy for Khalwas, al-Tabi 'Abd
   at Hamishkorayb.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
In response to the guidance of Shaykh 'Ali Bihārī to his followers to depend on God and to develop self-reliance and co-operation, the people seem to have adopted a new and positive attitude towards work in order to earn their living through lawful means and in accordance with Shari'ah. (1) Hence, they seem to have been competing to secure labour for living and to join hands to build their region.

As a result of all that, there has emerged a united religiously orientated enlightened people, conscious of their needs and problems and aspiring, through their efforts, to introduce and sustain an effective change and a comprehensive development - in line with their convictions. They seem to have emerged as a power to reckon with in that corner of the Sudan.

Consequently, they have become the focus of increasing government attention whether on the regional or central level. This has involved many visits by the President, members of the government and government officials. (2) In addition, interested groups and individuals too have been attracted to the Alwal region of Hamishkorayb.

On the occasion of such official visits the people of the region seem to have been keen to explain their needs and to

1. See the principles of the teachings of 'Ali Bihārī, above: al-Nidāya; p.38.
2. Information by the Deputy for Alwal.

demand reforms. For example, on the occasion of the recent visit of the Regional Governor and his ministers, the male inhabitants of every village and locality visited gathered in their entirety to welcome the visitors, offer their generous tribal hospitality and then voiced their needs and requests.\(^1\)

The general pattern was that, at every gathering, the opening speeches of the spokesmen would focus on the indebtedness of the emergence of the region and its new Muslim society to the Qur'ānic teachings disseminated through the ḫalwas of their great spiritual leader al-Shaykh 'Alī Bīrān.\(^2\) Their prime demands were the consolidation of their ḫalwas through governmental financial support in the form of salaries for those working in these institutions - such as the ṭābi'īs (leaders in prayer) and muṣāhhibs (callers for prayer) of the mosques and the fatīs of the ṭalwas for men and women.\(^3\) Next, came their demands for the provision and consolidation of social services and economic schemes, such as the consolidation of the many primary schools for boys that have been introduced at the initiative of al-Shaykh 'Alī Bīrān\(^4\), health and veterinary

1. The writer's visit to the region in the company of the Regional Governor and his team, December '84, 1981.
2. This was referred to at the following places for example: Ṭuqān, Māsan, Tawayṭ, Tamākrif, Shīla Biyāt, Tahadāl, Tallūk and Nāmisākhoryb.
3. The writer's observations on his visit to the region.
services, piped water, electricity, dams for the streams and agricultural schemes.\(^1\)

It was due to the settlement of the nomads induced by al-Shaykh 'Ali Rīfā'ī that it became feasible to introduce social services - schemes and institutions - in the ḥulām region; and has also been realised that such social services have led to the consolidation of the settlement\(^2\).

In view of the problems created by the inflow of refugees from neighbouring Eritrea demands for police stations have also been raised.\(^3\)

What seems of importance was the emergence of the people of the region who were previously existing on the margin of life. This has been exemplified in the consciousness of the needs of their region, the aspiration of all the people for a better life, the voicing of their demands. What seems to have been of even great significance, was the sense of solidarity, brotherhood and unity of purpose and the feeling of self confidence that they could enforce change by creating a good Muslim community through the participation and joint efforts of all members of that region - men and women, young and old, and in accordance with the guidance of their dedicated ḥulām teachers, companions and

1. The writer's observations on his visit to the region.
2. See Mālīk Mīrāj, p.9.
followers of their great spiritual leader - al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitār - and through their network of khalwas that spread all over the region.

It is worth noting that besides his greatest concern for and preoccupation with his khalwas as vehicles for the dissemination of Islamic teachings amongst his people and, hence, transforming them into a better Muslim community, al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitār was said to have encouraged the introduction of the modern school in his region and urged his people to send their sons to the schools. As a result, a number of primary schools have been established in the region as could be seen from table no. IV below. Not only that but al-Shaykh ‘Ali Bitār was reported to have urged parents to encourage their sons to pursue education to the higher institutions; and he even raised their aspirations to think of producing ministers, ambassadors, ‘ulama’, lawyers and holders of the highest degrees - for, according to him, they were people of superior qualities: morality, hospitality, rationality and courage. It was through education, he reminded his people, that others of less noble descent and of inferior attributes could advance and excel them. (1)

However, the khalwas seem to have taken such a firm root amongst the people of Ramishkoray’s region that it was believed to have been behind almost all the social and economic achievements the region has witnessed. (2)

Hence, and in contrast to the situation in Northern and Central

2. See the social and economic changes the region has witnessed, as indicated above.
Sudan, the **kholwa** - and not the modern school - seems to have become more popular, as could be illustrated by the following indicators.

While the **kholwa** student population has constantly been on the increase for men\(^1\), as well as for women\(^2\), the school student population has been constantly dropping and especially towards the higher grades of the primary school, as has been demonstrated by table no. IV\(^3\). Not only that but the bulk of the **kholwa** student population was made up of the school age population as could be inferred from table no. V\(^4\).

Another indicator of the greater popularity of the **kholwa** is the considerable percentage of adults joining the **kholwa** - which varies between 20% and 60% for men, as could be illustrated by table no. VI\(^5\) and the highest proportion of women learners which varies between 50% and 99%, as could be seen from table no. VI\(^6\).

Certain factors, however, seem to have contributed to the preference and hence the popularity of the **kholwa**.

---

1. See the progressive increase in the student population at the **kholwa** of men, at Hanishkoryb, above.
2. See the constant increase in women learners at Hanishkoryb.
3. See table no. IV.
4. See table no. V.
5. See table no. V.
6. See table no. VI.
Table No. IV

Showing number of primary schools, date of establishment and the rate of dropout or the decreasing size of classes (1975-76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Primary School</th>
<th>Date of Foundation</th>
<th>P.I</th>
<th>P.II</th>
<th>P.III</th>
<th>P.IV</th>
<th>P.V</th>
<th>P.VI</th>
<th>Total Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamishkorayb</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawayyit</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahaṣṣā‘i</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talīlūk</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāman</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilātawayt</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darawa</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:

Adapted from tables (1) and (2) from the Report:

Wizarat al-Shu‘ūn al-Ijtim‘iyya. Idārat al-Bāth al-Ijtima‘ī

Dirāsāt Ijtima‘iyya

‘an Riff al-Qudūs bi Mis‘iryyat Kasala

### Table No. V

**Men Khalwas, showing number of Khalwas, size of enrolment and average ages of learners (1976)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Village Khalwa</th>
<th>Number of Khalwas</th>
<th>Size of Enrolment</th>
<th>Average ages of learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramishkoryb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,000-6,000</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawayayt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200-250</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahadāi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkūk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120-200</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilatwayt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darasta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200-250</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**

Adapted from Table (4)

*Muṣṣarat al-ṭuʾūr al-Ijtimaʿīyya.*

*Idārat al-Baṭṭūṭ wa al-Manṭūẓ al-Ijtimaʿī*

*Ditra al-Ijtimaʿīyya*

*an Mīṣr al-Naḍīd bi Muṣṣriyyat Kasala*

Khartoum, 1976, p. 16.
Table No. VI
Showing the number of women's Khalwas, the size of enrolment and the average ages of learners (1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Village Khalwa</th>
<th>Number of Khalwas</th>
<th>Size of Enrolment</th>
<th>Average Ages of Learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10-14 15-25 26-36</td>
<td>37+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamishkorayt*</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>20% 40% 30% 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawayyt</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>250+</td>
<td>25% 50% 20% 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahadi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>200-250</td>
<td>10% 45% 40% 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkuk</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>150+</td>
<td>10% 50% 20% 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namam</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>180-200</td>
<td>15% 40% 40% 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilatayt</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>180-200</td>
<td>10% 60% 20% 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darasta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>5% 55% 30% 10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Adapted from the Report of:
Wizārat al-Shu'ūn al-Ijtihādīyya
Idārat al-Da'wah al-IjtihādīYY
Māiṣa al-Ijtihādiyya 'on Rīš al-Maṣūm bi Nadiryyat Kasel
Khartoum (1976), table 3, p.17.

* Both the number of Khalwas and the size of enrolment has been amended in accordance with the data supplied to the writer by al-fāqih al-Tahir Abū Bakr who was in charge of the women's Khalwa.
The school was a relative late-coming (1) by the time the school was introduced, the khalwa had already taken root and had been in effect the basis of the settled communities of the region and associated with their transformation for the better.

The flexibility of the khalwa of study seems to have better suited the pattern life of the people of the region than the rigid nature of the school.

In the rural areas of the Sudan the children are usually active participants in the economic activities of the region. They help their parents in cultivation, animal rearing and in fetching water from wells or streams or in collecting firewood (2), and the more they progress in age, the more they are engaged in the pursuits of their parents - hence the increase in the dropouts from school towards the end of the primary school. (3)

Another reason for the dropout at that stage seems to lie in the fact that the people of the region used to get married at an early age - when reaching the stage of adolescence, for both boys and girls. (4) Hence, towards the end of the primary school the

1. Compare the beginning of the khalwa of al-Shaykh 'Ali Shafi with the introduction of the primary schools, as indicated by the dates of their foundation, table no. IV.
2. Dirāsa IltimāʾIyya, p.10.
3. See table no. IV.
the boys would be tempted to abandon their schools in order to engage in gainful employment and get prepared for marriage.

Moreover, the environment did not have as yet modern sector employment or post primary institutions of education to act as incentives to induce the learners, and their parents, to aspire for higher education and salaried jobs, as was the case in Northern and Central Sudan.\(^1\)

In contrast, the khalwa seem to have matched well with the conditions of people at this stage: unlike the school, and its because of individualized method of instruction\(^2\) it has made it feasible for the learner to interrupt his study whenever he needed and to resume it from where he had stopped.\(^3\) Thus the khalwa learners could combine study and work (whether for the parents or for himself). Unlike the school, the khalwa had no age limit, hence many of the learners joined it at an older age than would have been allowed at school, and continued their study at the khalwa when they were adults.\(^4\) - and most of them married\(^5\) - and, it should be added, that the khalwa was the

1. See above how under the Condominium period the school started to be used as the gateway for modern sector employment - to the disadvantage of the khalwa.
2. See Methods of teaching and learning, below.
3. Ibid.
4. See table no. V.
5. Information from the Deputy of Khalwas, al-fak\'i, Thaba.
only educational institution that was open for adults in the region.\(^1\)

Another important factor contributing to the preference of the \textit{khalwa} to the school in Hamishkorayb region was the fact that the \textit{khalwa}, unlike the school, provided its learners with meals and accommodation.\(^2\)

the \textit{khalwa}

Further, the extra-long working day of \textit{khalwas} and the availability of living facilities seem to have fitted well with the custom of the Boja tribe in the region according to which men were not allowed to return home during the day.\(^3\) Although from their religious study they came to understand that their custom was not based on \textit{Sharia}, yet they seem to have found it more convenient to spend the hours of the day at the \textit{khalwa}.

Young girls, up to the age of ten, were not sent for study but, like other children, they would usually help their mothers by collecting firewood, fetching drinking water or looking after animals.\(^4\) Since there was no girls' school in the region the women \textit{khalwa} was the only educational institution open for women in the region - hence the popularity of the \textit{khalwa} among women, as has been illustrated by table no. VI.\(^5\)

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1. The \textit{khalwa} was open for all ages, see table no. VI.
2. Such facilities are provided by all large \textit{khalwa} centres; see \textit{khalwa} centres above, including that of Hamishkorayb.
5. See table no. VI.
Thus the great positive changes that have taken place all
over the region have been constantly referred to as examples of
what the khulwe could achieve - given the right conditions.(1)

Now, in view of the success of the khulwa of al-Shaykh ‘Ali
Sita’s educational institutions and their far reaching impact
on all aspects of life in the region, and even outside it, one
would wonder about the main factors or forces that have led to
these marvellous khulwa achievements in that part of the Sudan,
and in contrast to the far less significant social impact of the
present day khulwa in their localities in the other parts of the
Sudan, (2) and even of the handful of khulwa that had existed
before the movement of al-Shaykh ‘Ali Sita’s, in the same region. (3)

The answer seems to lie in the fact that economic and social

1. Reference could be made to almost all reports on individuals
or groups who have visited the region, in particular to the
report of Nawal Bayt, 1970, Dirasat Fatima’yya; speeches
of the Regional Governor Kamal on his visit to the region
and the speeches of representatives of the villages visited.
(The writer’s observations).

2. Reference to the present day khulwa in North and Central
Sudan - see above.

3. These are the khulwa of Samarandawab tribe at Awil, Arild,
Arfin, Sallem, Ngaya and Falemany and which have been in
existence since the Turco-Egyptian period (see above).
conditions were ripe for change. However, such change needed a charismatic figure to bring it about. Al-Shaykh 'Allī Bīlānī was such a charismatic figure. Inspired himself by his profound involvement with Islam, he, like the early Qur'ān saints before him, was able to revive religion to bring about this change.

He successfully used the religious educational institution of the Waila to combat ignorance and to spread and promote people's knowledge of Islam as a socially cohesive force, and he inspired many able and dedicated teachers (men and women) to carry on his message.
PART III

ANALYSIS OF THE KALANA AS
AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION
CHAPTER ONE

KHALSA TEACHERS

A. Categories of Khalsa Teachers and their Titles

As could be seen from the Khalsa surveys mentioned above - and indeed as could be inferred from the biographies noted in al-Jaḥṣaḥāt, there seem to have been three categories of Khalsa teachers in the Sudan, especially during the Funj and the forco-Egyptian periods. These were: the ḡūff Shaykhas or saints, the teachers of ʿilm, and the teachers of the Qurʾān. Further elaboration seems to be needed:

a) The ḡūff Shaykhas - the saints

As alluded to above, owing to the dominance of Ṣālima during the Funj era, almost every teacher was a follower of the ḡūff path, or as one of those who combined ʿilm and Ṣālima. However, it was as miracle-working saints with reputations for sanctity - that is, as awliyāʾ, sing. ʿawlī (saints) that they won the loyalty of the majority of the Sudanese. The representatives of this group were the ḡūff Shaykhs who distinguished themselves from the ranks of teachers by the manifestation of baraka and nāʿūti, and who became heads of decentralised ḡūff taṣāṣf, and were, in effect, founders of ḡūff dynasties. The following could be cited as representatives.

of this category:

- al-Shaykh Idrīs b. al-Arūd; (1)
- al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Nāṣir; (2)
- al-Shaykh al-Nasr b. Fāsīn; (3)
- al-Shaykh Khūjāi b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; (4)
- al-Shaykh Shīr ʿAbd al-Maṣūm; (5)
- al-Shaykh Sāwā ʿAbd al-Dalāyq; (6)

The above mentioned Shaykhs were professional ǧūrīs who were more preoccupied with the ǧūrī activities than with anything else.

The common title which has been used consistently throughout the ages in reference to each member of such a group was the term "al-Shaykh". With very few exceptions, the title "al-Shaykh" was used as denoting, not temporal power, but the spiritual authority of the superior of a religious order. (7)

The term al-khalīfah (the successor) was also often used to denote the superior of the ǧūrī Order, when in office. (8)

1. Al-Qabasī, pp.50-66.
2. Ibid., pp.317-23.
3. Ibid., pp.134-49.
5. Ibid., pp.239-44.
6. Ibid., pp.176-84.
The same trend seems to have survived across the ages, except during the short period of the Mamluks when all titles - together with Sufism itself - were prohibited.\(^1\)

During the Turco-Egyptian rule, as representatives of this group, the following could be mentioned:

- al-Shaykh Muhammad al-`Ubayd b. Badr, the founder of *Umm al-Dawwa Bani*;\(^2\)
- al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Ja`al\(\bar{\imath}\), the founder of the khalwa of Kada\(\bar{\imath}\)as;\(^3\) and
- al-Shaykh al-Qurashi b. al-Zayn, the founder of Tayba Qurashi.\(^4\)

Today, the same trend has been perpetuated, as exemplified in the Sufi Shaykhs of the same khalwas mentioned above:

- al-Shaykh Yusuf b. `Umar of *Umm al-Dawwa Bani*;\(^5\)
- al-Shaykh Hayduq of Kada\(\bar{\imath}\)as;\(^6\)

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1. See the “Teachings of al-Mahdi”, Feldman above.
2. See the Khalwa of *Umm al-Dawwa Bani*, above.
3. See the Khalwa of Kada\(\bar{\imath}\)as, above.
4. See “The Mamluks Period”.
5. The writer’s visit to the Khalwa of *Umm al-Dawwa Bani*, in November 1984.
6. The writer’s visit to the Khalwa of Kada\(\bar{\imath}\)as in November 1986.
al-Shaykh Ibnhīm al-Dīnīl of Fayhaa. (1)

It is worth noting that some of the early Ṣūfī Shaykhs used to engage in actual instruction of Shari‘a subjects - besides being engaged in their Ṣūfī activities. (2) Today, however, almost none of the Ṣūfī Shaykhs is engaged in actual teaching at the Khalwa level. Each Shaykh seems to have restricted his efforts to the overall administration of his Khalwa complex, in addition to guiding his followers of the Order and practising his Ṣūfī activities. (3)

The follower or disciple of the Shaykh in the Ṣūfī Path was called al-faqīr, pl. fuqara (poor in the sight of God) (4); or al-baṣīr, pl. barāın, (5) or al-murīd, pl. al-murīdīn, (6) or taṣīrīn, pl. tahlīdān. (7)

b(i) The teachers of ḥalwa

The next category of Khalwa teachers were those engaged in

1. The writer’s visit to the Khalwa of Fayha in November 1961.
2. Al-Tahānī, pp. 252, 251-2; see also the Khalwa of Umm Baswan Bān, Kadabās, for example.
3. See the Khalwa of Kadabās, Umm Baswan Bān, above.
6. Ibid., pp. 252 and 302.
7. Ibid., pp. 197, 305 and 317.
the instruction of ʿilm - teaching the various subjects or books of ʿilm - at the second stage of ḥalāta education. Although many of these teachers were also recognized as prominent ʿulāma Shaykhs, yet all of them were more preoccupied with the dissemination of the ḥalāta subjects than with the ḥadīth activities.

As representatives of such groups during the Funj and Turco-
Egyptian periods, reference could be made to the following:

- al-Shaykh Mahmūd al-ʿArakī; (1)
- al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir; (2)
- al-Shaykh al-Zayn Qushayrīn; (3)
- al-faqīh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣamad al-ʿAshbashī; (4)
- al-faqīh Arūbī al-Khīshtī; (5)
- al-faqīh Ṣaqrālī b. ʿAllī; (6)
- al-faqīh ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; (7) and
- al-faqīh al-Aqīn al-Maqādīshī. (8)

1. Al-Tasābīḥ, p. 345.
2. Ibid., p. 252.
3. Ibid., pp. 74-6.
4. Ibid., p. 281.
5. Ibid., pp. 100-1.
6. Ibid., p. 246.
7. Founder of the ḥalāta of al-ʿulāmāʾ al-ʿArāq at al-Ṣadaf, after the dispersal of al-Ḥāḍirī by the Turco-Egyptian invasion 1820 (see "The Turco-Egyptian Period", above.)
The common term for the teacher of 'ilm was al-faqih; however, out of reverence to the Sufi status of some of the fuqaha' who also enjoyed a high reputation as Sufi Shaykhs, the term "Shaykh" was used. (1)

b(14) The assistant of the teacher of 'ilm

It seems that the teachers of 'ilm were assisted, in their teaching functions, by their outstanding students. Al-Tabrīzī makes several references to such a phenomenon as exemplified in the teaching assistants who were in charge of mallas al-taftīha. (2) Examples of persons occupying these posts are

2. Mallas al-taftīha was the introductory session to the new lesson of 'ilm, for example, where the person in charge - usually the most versed student in that subject or book - would read the text before the teacher commented on it (al-Tabrīzī, p.77, n.77; Abd al-Wahid, Vol.II, p.177).
given below:

- Madani al-Qajar b. 'Umar b. Sarban was chosen by his cousin al-Shaykh al-Zayn to be in charge of maliis al-taftiha. (1)
- Ibrahim al-Qajar shared with his brother al-Shaykh al-Zayn in teaching - by holding maliis al-taftiha. (2)
- Abu al-Hasan Salihi al-Shafi'i was put in charge of maliis al-taftiha by al-Taghib Ballal. (3)
- Muhammad b. Madani al-Naqi' chose to chair maliis al-taftiha. (4)
- 'Abdi al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Madani (Abu Nayar) was in charge of maliis al-taftiha. (5)

Under the Nahdiyya the teaching of 'ilm books was prohibited for they were accused of confusing the masses and concealing Orthodox Islam. (6)

Under the Condominium rule, when conditions permitted, some of the Khalis resumed their traditional teachings and Sufi activities and retained the same classification of teachers and

1. Al-Taheri, p.361.
2. Ibid., p.77.
3. Ibid., p.78.
4. Ibid., p.354.
5. Ibid., p.286.
their titles. Of the few khulwas which resumed the teaching of 'ilm were the khulwas of Umm Dawk Ste, and al-Gūrī al-Āṣraq.

However, the common term for the teacher of ilm (as well as of the Qur'ān) came to be increasingly known as al-fakī. The assistant - the person in charge of māli'is al-taṣfīha - was called al-muqābil (the opposite to the teacher).

At present, the teaching of 'ilm has been taken over by al-maṣāḥid al-'ilmīyya (the religious institutes) and consequently it has almost disappeared from the traditional khulwa. Hence, in effect, the category of ilm teachers at the khulwa has, as a result, also almost disappeared. However, at the very few khulwas which still provided courses of 'ilm - such as Hasihkorayb and Kadsbeh - the 'ilm lessons have been conducted by the fakīs and shaykhīs (as Hasihkorayb for men and women respectively), and by a murshid qādī (a religious guide) such as

1. Fāshābī, p.65.
2. Ibid.; see the khulwa of Umm Dawk Ste, above.
4. Ibid.
8. See the khulwā of 'Alī Sitāl at Hamshkorayb, above.
that of Kadhābās. (1)

c) The third category of khalwa teachers was that of the
teachers of the Qur'ān - at the basic or the elementary stage. (2)

The common term used by the author of al-Tabaqāt to denote
the Qur'ān teacher was also al-faqīh. (3) One explanation for
this indiscriminate usage of the title could be justified by the
fact that many of the teachers of the Qur'ān, noted in al-Tabaqāt,
seem to have attained the academic status of faqīh - such as
al-faqīh 'Abdallāh al-Aghbāsī (4), al-faqīh Nasr al-Farjāzī, (5)
Tūrāhīm b. Barrī, (8) and al-faqīh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Uwayd. (9)

However, the term "al-faqīh" seems to have also been in use -

1. See the khalwa of Kadhābās, above.
2. See the Qur'ān stage at the khalwa of al-Shubeib, above
and khalwah at present.
3. See "Teachers Academic Qualifications ...", below.
4. al-Tabaqāt, p.280.
5. Ibid., pp.90-91.
6. Ibid., p.278.
7. Ibid., p.110.
8. Ibid., p.314.
denoting the Qur'ān teacher. (1) On his visit to al-Damer, and
in particular to the khalwa of al-Masāhhī, Bureghardt (1814)
refers to the principal teacher or the chief spiritual leader
as al-fākī al-kabīr. (2)

Under the Turco-Egyptian rule the term al-fākī was often
mentioned as the title of the teacher of the khalwa of the
Qur'ān. (3) According to al-Shaykh Ḥabībīr Badrī, the khalwa
teacher was called "al-fākī" - whether he was teaching the
Qur'ān, like his teacher al-fākī al-Karrān, or whether he was a
teacher of ḍa'ī, like his teacher al-fākī al-Asayriq, at Wad
Hadda. (4)

Since then, that is, throughout the Mahdiyya, the Condominium
rule and the present period, the main teaching subject at the

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1. As to the origin of the term al-fākī, there seems to have
been a consensus that it has been a corruption of the term
al-fāqīh, or a confusion of the words al-fāqīh (the scholar).
and al-fāqir (the poor in the sight of God). (See ʿAbdīn,
p.19; Lane, vol.II, p.74; MacMichael, vol.II, p.27);
Hilljelius, RAO, p.664; Tinkham, Islam in the Sudan,
p.140; Shuqayr, vol.I, p.141.)
Khalwa has been the Qur’ān, with the ability to read and write as a means to that end.\(^1\) Hence, the dominant category has been that of the Qur’ān teachers who have been universally known as the fakīh, assisted by their senior students - the ‘urafā’ or the Shaykhs of the hālaqah.\(^2\)

In a similar way the women khalwas of the Qur’ān have been run by Shaykhat, sing. Shaykhah, of the Qur’ān (women teachers of the Qur’ān) - assisted also by halaqah-shaykhat.\(^3\)

However, the large riverside khalwas centres have been revived under the successors of the founders of the original khalwas and have now established themselves as another distinct influential category of Qūṭī Shaykhs or khulāsāt, sing. Khulīfa, (successor(s)) over their khalwa centres, in charge of the tasks of overall management and the guidance of their followers in the Qūṭī Path - assisted by a number of deputies.\(^4\)

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1. See “Methods of Teaching the Qur’ān”, below.
2. Ibid.
3. See the khalwas of Ḥamishkoryāb for women, below.
4. The reference could be made to the ‘adab of Kāshāra, Umm Dawwān Bān, All Qur’ān, Tarba; see khalwa administration, below.
3. The academic qualifications and calibre of *khala* teachers

For a better understanding of the academic qualifications and calibre of *khala* teachers it seems essential to take into account the external and internal conditions that seem to have had impact on the education of teachers and their calibre.

Externally, as has been alluded to above, at the time of the emergence of the first Muslim state in the Sudan - the Punj kingdom of Sennar - at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Muslim world around it was passing through a long period of cultural decline and stagnation. Such a situation had a direct bearing on the teachers' calibre - for it was from these Islamic lands, at the time, that the Sudan received almost all of its pioneer teachers and *'ulama* who laid the foundation for its Islamic cultural heritage.

Internally, there were major environmental and social problems that seem to have hampered the efforts of teachers and drastically affected the calibre of the future generation of teachers. As alluded to before, the centuries-long processes of slow Arabization and Islamization - in the absence of the *'ulama* - resulted in a superficial state of Islam among the first
generations of Muslims. In effect the Sudan, at the time, was
said to have been passing through a long transitory stage when
the older religion, Christianity - and the indigenous
institutions were fading out, and the new religion - Islam -
and its institutions were struggling to take root.

Further, the pioneer teachers had to contend with the
problems of harsh environmental conditions, of backward means
of communications in a vast country, and with the more relevant
problems of inducing the nomadic Arab tribes to settle down; of
communication with the indigenous non-Arabic speakers and
disseminating the genuine Islamic teachings - employing meager
means and equipment that were at their disposal at the time.

Nevertheless, the pioneer teachers of the Funj period - as
could be evidenced from the survey of the khalwa centres of the
time - seem to have succeeded in laying down the solid
foundation for the badly needed Islamic teachings and their
institutions. The popularity of their khalwas, and the extent of
their spread seems to have been indicative of the success of their
efforts.

1. See "the pre-Funj era", above.
2. The Arabs, p. 178.
3. Such conditions prevailed, later, in Eastern Sudan, in the
khalwa region of Hamishkorayb (see khalwas of 'Ali Bitā').
4. See khalwa centres of the Funj era of Mahmūd al-'Arakī, Sons
of Jābir, Saghayrūn, etc.
5. See the khalwas of Saghayrūn and al-Qubūsah, above.
However, by time, and as a result of the internal and external factors mentioned above, the intellectual efforts of those 'ulama' and teachers seem to have been bogged down and to have degenerated in a state of cultural stagnation that was perpetuated as a state tradition handed down from generation to generation almost without any improvement.

Commenting on such a state of affairs, Hillelson says,

"the general level of scholarship (during the Punj era) never amounted to very much, and we have to think of these scholars as men of a particularly dark age, endeavouring with the scanty means at their disposal to serve the cause of religion and learning in an environment not far removed from barbarism." (1)

At any rate, the 'ulama teachers seem to have reached the height of their intellectual calibre by the 11th/17th century when the second and third generations of the pioneer scholars of the Punj era united 'ilm and Sufism and established themselves as teachers over their 'ulama centres and emerged as scholars of relatively high intellectual status and made positive

contributions to the Kheleva teachings. (1)

These subsequent generations of Kheleva teachers, however, not only continued on the trodden lines of their predecessors but even came to depend more and more on local training, study and production.

1. Reference is made here to prominent teachers of that period such as:
   al-Shaykh al-Zayn Sughayrun (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 74-8; see also the Kheleva centre of Sughayrun, above);
   al-faqih 'Ali b. Barri (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 294-5);
   al-faqih 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Amsdr (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 292-3);
   al-faqih 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ghāmid al-Dawāsh (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 281);
   al-Shaykh Dafa'allah al-'Araki (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 295-6);
   al-faqih Ibrāhīm al-Faraji and his son al-faqih Muhammad al-Qaddāl (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 80-1);
   al-faqih Arūn b. 'Awwa (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 100-101);
   al-faqih 'Ammār b. Abd al-Gaffī (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 260-3);
   al-faqih Malik b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Hamdātu (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 351-2);
   al-faqih Muḥmad akaddawī al-Niqāf (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 102-4);
   al-faqih Sayfullāh b. 'All (al-Tabaaqāt, pp. 246-7).

2. Ibd.
From now on, with few exceptions, almost all the descendants and successors of these ʿālīma founders and teachers seem to have restricted themselves and their students to local study - and to have been followed by generations of teachers. A quick survey of the biographies of these scholars in al-Tabaqāt would further illustrate the point.\(^1\)

Furthermore, tracing the notes on the scholars of consecutive generations in al-Tabaqāt shows clearly that almost every one of such teachers had studied the same material as a student and then passed it down to his own students when he became a teacher.

This could be demonstrated by the fact that most of the teachers - especially teachers of "ilma - were reported to have studied, in addition to the memorization of the Qurʾān, primarily the same two standard textbooks of the Malikite fiqh - Khaṭṭī and al-Risāla and, then, to have followed the Ḥanīfī path, under the guidance of a renowned Shaykh.\(^2\)

Teachers of the Qurʾān, too, were reported to have followed the same or a similar course.

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1. See the khulqat of Ṣughayrūn, Suwar al-Dhahabī, al-Ghubush, above.

2. Ibid. See also the examples of al-Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArakī (al-Tabaqāt, p.253); of al-Shaykh Dafaʾallāh al-ʿArakī (al-Tabaqāt, p.261); and of al-fazīl Ṣafīrallāh b. ʿAli (al-Tabaqāt, p.246).
As referred to in the introductory note of al-Tabaṣṣūt, the pioneer teacher of the Qur'anic sciences (jūlūṣ al-Qur'ān)⁴ in the Fudh Kingdom was al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā Suwār al-Dhahab.⁵, who was said to have first learnt the Qur'ān, studied khaṭṭī under his father, then was instructed in ḥabīl al-Qur'ān (Qur'anic rules of correct readings) and initiated in the Ṣūfī Path by al-Tūnīsī al-Maghribī.⁶ He was also said to have studied ḥabīl al-Qur'ān under Muḥammad al-Qināwī al-Miṣrī.⁷

His teachings in the Qur'anic sciences were reported to have spread by his students such as the renowned teachers of the Qur'ān and its sciences - Ḥabīl al-Akhbār, and his descendants afterwards at their famous khalwa centre at al-Ghushah, and by their students, too.⁸

The other famous teachers of the Qur'ān and its sciences - from the first generations of the Fudh era - were al-Faḍlīn Abū Sinaynah al-Farjānī, a student of Suwār al-Dhahab who flourished at Arbaṭī,⁹ and al-Faḍlīn ‘Īsā b. Kāhin.¹⁰

1. Al-Tabaṣṣūt, p.42.
2. See the khalwa centre of Suwār al-Dhahab, above.
3. Al-Tabaṣṣūt, p.42.
4. Al-Tabaṣṣūt, p.348; see the khalwa centre of Suwār al-Dhahab, above.
5. See the khalwa centre of al-Ghushah, above.
6. Al-Tabaṣṣūt, p.42.
7. Ibid., p.278.
It was through these pioneer teachers and their students afterwards that the Qur'anic sciences were said to have spread in the Sudan, and that the same material was studied by the subsequent generations.(1)

Al-Tabaqat gives many similar references to teachers of the Qur'an and/or 'ilm who seem to have followed almost the same pattern of study in order to qualify as recognized teachers in their fields of interest.(2)

It seems clear from the academic preparation and practice for the teaching profession under the Funj rule as the editor of al-Tabaqat has rightly indicated that the highest objective of the Sudanese scholars at the time was exemplified in memorizing the Qur'an by heart; study of al-Risala, Khayli, introductory of al-Manafi in tafsir [and/or the study of ahkam al-Qur'an] and following the qira'at Patha.(3)

In addition to the above we find references to individual

1. Al-Tabaqat, pp. 154-5, 211.
2. Ibid., pp. 290-91.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
teachers who seem to have been more ambitious than the average

scholar and hence had more access to a variety of subjects and,
in turn, emerged as teachers of several courses of \textit{fɪlm}.

Reference is made here to famous scholars of exceptional calibre
such as \textit{al-faṣīḥ} 'Ammār b. 'Abd al-Ḥafīṣ, (1) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Śāliḥ b. Sām al-Maḍārī, (2) and his son, Ṭāṣān. (3)

Under the Turco-Egyptian rule almost the same calibre and
qualifications of teachers of the Fatimid period seem generally to
have been sustained. Reference could be made in this respect to
teachers of the Qur’ān such as \textit{al-Shaykh} Ahmad al-Jā‘alī at
Kadabās (d. 1999) (4), \textit{al-Shaykh} Muhammad al-Ṭayy b. Badr
at Umma Ḥasan Bān (d. 1302/1885) (5) \textit{al-faṣīḥ} Ḫabrā‘ī b. Ahmad Ḫasī at Kutrānī (d. 1395 H) (6), and to the higher calibre of the
teachers of \textit{filim} (or \textit{fɪlm} and the Qur’ān) such as \textit{al-Shaykh}
Muhammad al-Khayr, teacher of al-Mahdī at al-Ghubush, (7) \textit{al-faṣīḥ}
al-Fā‘lim Ahmad al-Badwī (d. 1286/1869) at Kutrānī, (8) Muhammad
Ahmad al-Mahdī (d. 1302/1885). (9)

1. \textit{Al-Tuhfāt}, pp. 260-263.
4. See the \textit{khalwa} centre of Kadabās, above.
5. See the \textit{khalwa} centre of Umma Ḥasan Bān.
7. See the \textit{khalwa} centre of al-Ghubush, above.
8. See \textit{Kutrānī}, p. 73.
9. See "The Mamlīya Period".
Under the Mahdiyya short-lived rule, the teaching of traditional *fikm* together with the practices of *ṣūfism* were reported to have been restricted.\(^1\) Hence the academic qualifications of the ordinary *khalwa faqîh* was drastically reduced. In effect, the academic preparations of the *khalwa* teacher were restricted mainly to the teaching of the Qur'ān (with reading and writing and al-Mahdi's prayers (*ṣūrah al-Mahdi*))\(^2\).

Under the Condominium rule, as a result of the hostile attitude of the regime against the traditional *khalwas* and their teachers, both were discredited, and hence fell in disfavour, to the advantage of the newly established modern *muttaṣel* and subgrade schools and their teachers.\(^3\)

Consequently, the teaching function of the traditional *khalwas* that persisted was almost reduced to teaching of the Qur'ān, and the main qualification of their teachers to its memorization\(^4\) and how to teach it.

1. See Attitudes towards, and developments in *khalwa* education under al-Mahdiyya rule, above.
2. Ibid.
3. See the Attitudes ... towards *khalwas* under the Condominium period", above.
4. Information from *al-khalīfa* al-Rayyūb, the *khalwa* Shaykh of *wad al-Fādi*, *al-fakī* 'Ali, Kadabens.

However, some of the *khalwas*, like Umz Dawwan Būn, taught *ilm* too (*fīrah*, p.65).
On the other hand, as a result of conversion of many of the traditional khalwas to khalwas nizāmiyya during the 1920s and 1930s, many of their previously traditional fāsiḥ were exposed to short retraining programmes, where they were exposed to short-course methods of teaching new subjects that were introduced into the khalwa nizāmiyya — such as Arabic, arithmetic and elementary fiqh.¹

When the policy of conducting the khalwa nizāmiyya was abandoned by the Government, the teachers' academic qualification at the few khalwās that survived was again restricted to the traditional teaching and memorization of the Qur'ān.²

The teaching of 'ilm, on the other hand, was organized and disseminated privately by qualified 'alimān first at their homes,³ and then by Government sponsored 'ulamā' from a central specialized institution, al-Maḥfīz al-Fīl of Omdurman⁴, which has evolved from the old mosque of that city and now has eventually been transformed into Omdurman Islamic University.⁵

1. See Attitudes towards traditional khalwa under the Condominium period", above. See also the Khalwa centres of al-Shubush, and that of al-Majāshib, above.
3. Šaykh al-Nīl, p.15.
4. Šibid., p.16.
As far as the teachers' academic qualifications were concerned, the most prominent at this time seem to have been those of the khalwa of Kutrubj and its branch mosque-khalwa al-Kasid. Here, it was reported that a considerable number of these two institutions had their study at al-Azhar and were granted ijārat by the 'ulama' there. The khalwa of Kutrubj, it is worth mentioning, was established in the 10th/16th century by al-Shaykh 'Isa b. Bashara al-Aŋārī - who migrated from Medina - studied at al-Azhar and finally settled in the Sudan and established his mosque-khalwa at Kutrubj for the teaching of 'ilm and the Qur'ān.

His khalwa continued to flourish under his descendants throughout the Punj, the Turco-Egyptian, the Nahdiya and the Condominium periods. It reached its golden age, it seems, under the Turco-Egyptian rule when many of its teachers received their study at al-Azhar in Cairo, and the mother khalwa itself.

2. Ḥarābī, p.8.
3. See Ḥarābī, Kutrubj (for detailed study).
4. Even before the Turco-Egyptian period al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādī ʿAbd al-Baqī (d.1239 A.H.) was said to have spent about twenty years of study at al-Azhar, and when he came back he greatly revived the khalwa teachings at Kutrubj (Ḥarābī, pp.16-18). The following had their studies at al-Azhar during the Turco-Egyptian regime (Ḥarābī, pp.28-65): ʿal-faqīh Ṣādāwī al-Bāṣāwī (d.1286 A.H.), Nāṣir Ṣādāwī al-Bāṣāwī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣādāwī al-Bāṣāwī (d.1344/1924), ʿAbdallāh ʿAbd al-Bāṣāwī (d. in Cairo), al-Amīn ʿAbd al-Bāṣāwī (d. at al-Azhar).
extended its teaching services to two other branches - at al-Kasīd (established 1256) and at al-Kāshīlīyya (flourished under al-Faṣīḥ Bābikīr Ahmad al-Badī d. 1297 A.H.).

At any rate the khawā teachers - or the ṣulā'h of Kutrānī and al-Kasīd - during the Turco-Egyptian period - seem to have had a great impact on the khawā teachers of the period who happened to receive their studies in ṣim at their hands.

1. Irbā‘ī, p.90.
2. Ibid., pp.55-6.
3. Reference could be made here to the following prominent khawā teachers:
   - al-Faṣīḥ Muhammad al-Azarqī, founder of the khawā of al-Sūfī al-Azarqī at al-Gadārīrī, who studied under al-Faṣīḥ Ahmad b. ‘Īsā (d.1285 A.H.) (Irbā‘ī, p.54);
   - al-Faṣīḥ Muhammad al-Khayrī, teacher of Muhammad Ahmad (later al-Wahīdī) at al-Ghushūsh, who received his studies at the hands of al-Faṣīḥ Muhammad al-Azarqī, at al-Sūfī al-Azarqī (see the khawā of al-Ghushūsh);
   - al-Faṣīḥ Muhammad Ahmad (al-Wahīdī) who studied at the khawā of Kutrānī under al-Faṣīḥ Muhammad al-Amin al-Sawwāqī, (Irbā‘ī, p.10);
   - al-Shaykh Muhammad al-‘Ubayd b. Badr, who studied under al-Faṣīḥ Ahmad b. ‘Īsā al-Amānī (Irbā‘ī, p.56);
   - al-Faṣīḥ Bābīl Abū Ṣafīyya who studied under al-Faṣīḥ Ahmad b. ‘Īsā, also, and established a khawā at al-Obeid, (Irbā‘ī, p.17).
In the provinces, branch mosque institutes for teaching 'ilm were also established during the Condominium period.\(^{(1)}\) Thus, teaching of 'ilm, with the exception of a few khallas, was generally separated from khallas.\(^{(2)}\)

Under the present period of national rule (since Independence) the revived khallas have been concerned primarily with the teaching of the Qur'ân together with the ability to read and write. The main academic qualification of their teachers, likewise, has mainly been reduced to the memorization of the Qur'ân, learnt at a khalle.\(^{(3)}\) A few khallas, however, seem to have been maintaining, relatively, higher standards through doses of 'ilm lessons - such as that of Hamishkoryay\(^{(4)}\) and Kadâbâs.\(^{(5)}\)

This could be supported by recent statistical surveys. According to a survey carried out in 1976, 88% of khalle teachers were themselves graduates of the Qur'ânic khallas\(^{(6)}\) - that is, they learnt the Qur'ân by heart and acquired the ability to read and write and to teach (at the khalle).\(^{(7)}\) The remainder had post-khalle education at such institutions as Sharwâni Qur'ânic

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1. Fasad al-Nil, p.17.
2. Such as Hamishkoryay and Kadâbâs.
3. See below.
4. See the khalle of Hamishkoryay, above.
5. See the khalle of Kadâbâs, above.
6. MS. p.12.
7. See "Methods of Teaching", below.
Institute, Alit and al-Khazīl - all of intermediate level, and from the secondary section of al-Ma'āsh al-'Ilmi, Ozdurum.(4)

In 1979, however, another survey conducted on khelwas revealed that 90% of the khelwa teachers had only shā'wa education while 8% had elementary, secondary general religious education.(2)

Further, from his survey to the khelwas in the different parts of the country in 1981, the writer has found that the following were the main qualifications of the khelwa fakih:

a) To be a ḍaffa (to have learnt the Qur'ān thoroughly well by heart).(3)

b) To have mastered reading and writing the Qur'ān according to one of the two main Qur'ānic readings followed in the Sudan (al-Duri's or Warsh's).(4)

c) To have mastered al-rasya to a group of learners of different standards (in learning the Qur'ān).(5)

1. NUR, p.12.
2. NOON, p.11.
3. This was the main requirement; however some of the teachers of the village khelwas in Darfur are not ḍaffa. At any rate their teaching was restricted to Juz' 'Ameen.
4. See "Subjects and Books", below for further information on these two readings.
5. See "Methods of teaching and learning", below.
d) To be acquainted with principles of *fikih* - especially *al-'ibadat*. (1)

e) To be a practising religious man of good behaviour, in order to set a good example for his students and to give the *khalва* a good name. (2)

f) To be free from any speech defects - and to have a clear voice. (3)

g) To lead in prayer and to instruct his students how to do it. (4)

h) To be able to manage his *khalва* and to have such qualities as patience, maintaining discipline, establishing good relations with his employer, the *khalaifa*, and with his students and the public at large. (5)

Usually the *khalва* *fakir* does not hold a written certificate but would be nominated by his previous *khalва* teacher. (6)

From all the above, it seems clear that, and with reference

1. Some *khalва* had special teachers for *ilm* (*fikih* and other subjects); see Kadaаbа, Hamishkorayb, below.
2. This was a universal prerequisite.
3. This is important because *khalва* education depends largely on verbal dictation (see Methods ..., below).
4. At large *khalsa* centres the Friday prayer was led by the *khalaifa* or another imаm (see *Imаm Dаhаwаt Bаn*).
5. The writer's observations.
to the different periods (the Punj, the Turco-Egyptian, the Kabsiyya, the Condominium and the period of National rule) the qualifications of the khalea teachers at present have declined to their lowest level. In view of the requirements of the age and the needs of the people, they seem to fall short of giving adequate preparation for the khalea teacher to play a more effective role in his district.
The training of khalwa teachers:

Before finally taking his job as an independent khalwa fa'il, the 'graduating' student would be required by his former teacher to stay at his mother khalwa to gain further training in teaching and help in carrying out other duties for a period that varied from one khalwa to another - depending on the circumstances of both the new fa'il and the khalwa.

Al-Majāshīb of al-Damer used to retain each of their graduates for a year in order to have more practical experience and to assist in teaching at the khalwa. (1)

That practice seems to have continued throughout the ages. Today, at the khalwas of al-muhāṣirīn in Darfur, in Western Sudan, the very senior muhāṣirīn, who were about to graduate, would be delayed and retained by their fa'ilūn to help them, as assistants, for a period that could extend to four years. (2)

At the khalwa of Mad al-Pādīnī, in Gezira, Central Sudan, a number of students who had already completed their khalwa study were, in 1981, working as assistants to the fa'ilūn, presiding over khalwas of the Qur'ān - such as al-Šay' al-Šālim and Sālik 'Allī.

1. Information from ʿudāh al-Naqṣar, al-Damer, November, 1981.
2. Information from al-fa'il ʿAbd al-Mūsālī Abu 'Uṣār at the khalwa of Rūm, ʿAlīla District, Darfur, December, 1981.
both from Kordufan, Amîr (the blind) and al-Tayyib Hannad.\(^{(1)}\)

Although this traditional practice would give the prospective teachers more practical training experiences and would have given them more administrative and other experiences from their attachment to their former teachers, yet it seems to have been equally, if not more, beneficial to the mother khalwa.\(^{(2)}\)

Providing the starting fakî with a few students from his mother khalwa:

When the student finally completed his khalwa studies he would look forward to work as a khalwa fakî.

When he was chosen to open a new khalwa, or revive an old one, he would usually be provided by his old fakî with a handful of funarâ' to act as a nucleus for the new khalwa.

There are many references to such a practice in al-Tanûrî.\(^{(3)}\)

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1. The writer's visit to the khalwa of Mad al-Fâhmi.
2. Some of the old teachers at the khalwa could be relieved of their work for days by such assistance.
The trend seems to have been perpetuated across the ages.

In Darfur, in Western Sudan, when a muḥājir had finally completed his studies and practical training as a muḥājinīn khalaṣ, he would usually be provided with a number of junior muḥājinīn (pupils) to accompany him to his home district, and with them, to start a muḥājinīn khalaṣ near his village, or a village khalaṣ. (1)

In the Gezira, too, the same practice has been followed. When the khalaṣ of Ṭayba Qurashi was revived in the late 1970s, the hired teacher, al-fakīḥ Naṣr al-Ḥin - a graduate of the khalaṣ of Ǧad al-Ḥinī - was said to have been provided by his mother khalaṣ with a number of students from Western Sudan studying at the latter khalaṣ, and could thus, successfully, revive the khalaṣ educational role. (2) In 1981 the khalaṣ of Ṭayba Qurashi was


2. Interview with al-Shaykh Ḥāris ʿAbd al-Mālī, khālīfa of the khalaṣ of Ṭayba in November, 1981.
embracing more than fifty students studying the Qur’ān.\(^1\)

The practical advantages of sending a few students with the new fakīr who was starting an independent new khalwa are obvious. The practice seems to have served as a moral support to and a practical recognition and approval by the ex-teacher of the new fakīr. In addition, as alluded to above, with that core of pupils the new fakīr would start his new khalwa and attract others to join it. Moreover, these same students would serve as assistants to the new fakīr - helping him to carry out his instructional, administrative and social functions successfully, as was the practice at the established khalwas.\(^2\)

1. Interview with al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Dūsūqī, khaliqa of the khalwa of Ṭayba, in November 1981; the writer’s visit to the khalwa.

2. See Wad al-Qānī, Yamāqawwaan Bān and Hanishkoyb, for example.
Further Teacher's Training

Khalwa teachers - the faqīh - throughout the ages, seem to have experienced retraining after they had taken their jobs as independent teachers, managing their own institutions. The justification for such a practice has always been to enable those faqīh to promote their knowledge and experiences in order to live up to the standards and expectations of their age.

Al-Tahāwī gives a number of references to that practice.

When al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kisānī arrived from Egypt and finally settled at Berber (second half of the 16th/17th century), he was said to have introduced the teaching of ḥijām al-ṣafādī, (2) The following 'ulamā' and khalwa teachers were said to have come to his ḥalāfa and attended the course he was giving. They were (1):

- al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-'Arakī, who had studied under al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir,
- al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣamādū,
- al-Qādī Dushayn,
- al-faqīh Juwayda, and
- al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Wāri.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
When al-Shaykh Dafa'allah al-'Arakî (d.1094/1683) took over his job as a khalîfa teacher, he was said to have complained to the acting khalîfa, al-Shaykh Muhammad b. Dawûd al-Aghar, that he had not studied the science of tawhîd; hence al-faqîh 'Allî b. Barî was said to have been summoned to instruct the Shaykh in tawhîd.\(^1\) In addition, al-Shaykh Dafa'allah was reported, also, to have received further instruction in 'Aqîda al-qur'ânî from al-faqîh 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Aghbash, who was trading in horses in the region at the time.\(^2\)

When al-faqîh Muhammad b. Medînî Dushâyûn changed to teaching al-Risâla instead of khalîfa which had been recommended by his teacher - al-Qâdî - he found that he needed further study of al-Risâla. Hence, he was said to have gone to al-Shaykh Dafa'allah al-'Arakî (d.1094/1683) every week-end, in order to be instructed and to read “Rayhân al-Ushârî” (to read the following week’s lessons) which he wanted to teach to his students.\(^3\)

He benefited from his inservice training and his halaq of ‘ilm grew in size to the extent that it embraced more than five hundred students.\(^4\)

When al-faqîh 'Allî b. Dînâr al-Qarayshî went to express

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2. Ibid., p.281.
3. Ibid., p.332.
4. Ibid.
his condolences to the family of his dead teacher, al-faqih
Salam al-Wajid, he was requested by the family to take over his
master's teaching post. He responded positively. But, when he
actually started teaching he discovered that because he had not
been teaching for a long time it was, in fact, difficult for him
to satisfactorily carry out his job without receiving further
training.\(^{1}\) Hence, he used to go to al-faqih Shauq b. 'Adlan,
every week-end, at Arbaa to study the lessons of the next week
and continued to do so till he consolidated his academic standard\(^{2}\)

The trend seems to have continued. The Khsawa of al-‘Aziz
al-Azraq at al-Hasarif, in Eastern Sudan, was said to have been
used as a retraining centre by its ex-students, who later became
Khalis fakil in the region.\(^{3}\)

The teachers used to assemble on week-ends at the **Khalis** to
discuss the academic problems each had faced during the week.
Hence, making use of the Khalis library and through their
deliberations, they would arrive at the relevant solutions to
the issues raised by their respective students which would be
carried back to them.\(^{4}\)

1. **Al-Talqin**, p. 287.
2. **Ibid**.
3. Information supplied to the writer by the present **Khalis**
of the Khalis, Ustaz 'Abd al-Rahman al-Gurti, al-Gurti,
29th November, 1981.
4. **Ibid**.
On the other hand when, under the Condominium rule, many of
the traditional khalwas were transformed into khalsa nizamlyya,
the first task the Government did in this respect was to expose
the selected traditional khalsa fakia to a three-month retraining
course on the methods of teaching arithmetic, Arabic, fiqh and
taswi'd, and to use the school teaching aids— the blackboard,
chalk and the pupils' slates. (1)

Under National rule, the agency of Ḥaḍār al-Qur'ān succeeded,
by 1967, in establishing several training centres for the
retraining of reciters of the Qur'ān, at the hands of 'ulama'
from Egypt. As a result about 300 reciters and khalsa teachers
were said to have received training or retraining in taswi'd (2)
and recitation of the Qur'ān.

Moreover, the envisaged Government's policy was to prepare
reciters of the Qur'ān and experts in the Qur'ānic readings in
sufficient numbers in order to revive the country's religious and
cultural heritage. (3)

However, in actual fact, khalsa fakia have continued perpetuating
their traditional system of education and training.

3. Al-Nakrafi, p. 28.
A khalaṣ learner in the Sudan used to have different titles, such as:

a) A ḫuṣnā ( pł. ḫayrān) [1]

This term is now one of the common titles used, especially at the Ṣūfī active khalaṣa, to denote both the learners and the followers of the Ṣūfī Shaykh. [2]

The author of al-Ṭabāqāt confirms the old usage of these terms. [3]

1. "The word is Arabic for a young camel, the metaphysical message denoting that a pupil follows his master as the young camel follows its mother" (al-Ṭayyib, "Changing Customs", p.59). Shuqayr, vol.1, p.140.

2. This has been a common usage for the term, and was confirmed by most of the khalaṣ fakīn at Kadasās, Abū Qūrūn, Sam Dawwa, Bn, Ṣayba, etc. (The writer's visit to these khalaṣa, November, 1981). See also the Teacher's Categories and Titles, above.

3. Al-Ṭabāqāt, pp.81, 117, 218, 224, 304.
b) A fāṣīr (pl. fāṣārūn)  
This term denotes a ʿāmil (1) one who is poor in the sight of God (2); it applies to both learner and teacher of the khalaṣa. (3)

The following examples from al-Jahānī will illustrate the usage:

When al-fāṣār ʿAlī al-Gurayyahāl travelled to pay tributes on the death of his ex-teacher, al-fāṣār Salam al-Naydi, his followers requested him to take the place of his ex-teacher and to teach "al-fāṣārūn" until his son Muhammad completed his study and came back for his masjid and "fugārūn." (4)

At the khalaṣa of al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Qudāl it was reported that when "al-fugārūn" rose up from their council and shook off dust from their prayer mats, a cool wind would seem to blow. (5)

c) A ṣʿāmadī (pl. ṣʿāmadīn or ṣʿāmadān)  
This term denotes a pupil or a learner and has been more common with the learners of the Qurʾān than ṭīla, but was also used for both categories.

3. See Khalaṣ Teachers' Categories and Titles, above.
5. Ibid., p. 8.
Al-Shaykh al-Gaddāl was told that al-Shaykh ẓāmâyrun had commented that "ta'āidhat al-ḍalāl min tālāidhat ma'llūd al-Farağī..."(1) "my pupils are more knowledgeable than the pupils of the son of al-Farağī..."

d) ẓīyān (sing. ẓiyyā) - a youth.
   In the biography of al-Mansûl al-Ṣaghīr it was reported that when he visited al-Shaykh Zafā'allāh al-'Arâkî at his khâla at Abū Ṭarās - posing himself as an ignorant man from al-būţiya (the desert) he was first admitted to "the khâla of mu'allīt al-ẓīyān"(2) (the Khâla of the teacher of the youth).

e) tālib (pl. tālībah or tālibūn)
   The term stands for a student or students; it has been used more to denote the learner(s) of ẓīla than the learrer(s) of the Qur'ān.(3)

f) muțwīr (pl. muțwīrin)
   These two terms stand for neighbouring, i.e., living near to the mosque - a reference to the learner(s) who would live close to the mosque of study.

In Dār-Ṭār region, in Western Sudan, according to Shuqayr,

1. Al-Jabagāt, p.81.
2. Ibid., p.84.
3. Ibid., p.87.
the common term for a learner was a muḥāṣir, (pl. muḥāṣirīn).\(^1\)

g) muḥāṣir (pl. muḥāṣirīn)

These two words stand for migrant(s) - denoting learners, especially in Dār al-Furqa' region who migrate internally or externally, for study, and who have come to be known as al-muḥāṣirīn.\(^2\)

h) Titles of women learners:

The feminine form of the above terms is used for female students.

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2. See khālas of al-muḥāṣir, above.
B. Categories of Khalwa Students

From the surveys of the khalwa centres, above, it could be seen that there were three types of khalwa students or fugara'; the fugara' of the Qur'an, the fugara' of 'ilm and the fugara' of al-tarbiya (the Sufi Path).(1)

The fugara' of the Qur'an were the learners of the first stage of the khalwa of the Qur'an(2); and the fugara' of 'ilm were those studying 'ilm at the second stage of the khalwa(3); and the fugara' of al-tarbiya were those - usually - advanced students, or adults, who had completed their study and then sought initiation in the Sufi Path.

C. Khalwa Students Age

Since its emergence, in the 10th/11th century, as an institution of learning the khalwa in the Sudan seems to have been following a traditional practice of open admission to all deserving learners - that is, without restriction on age or even the physical abilities of the learner. Hence, a khalwa could embrace learners of all ages and stages under the same roof and

1. See reference below in the section.
2. See "Methods of teaching and learning".
3. Ibid.
among them would be the blind and the handicapped.\(^{(1)}\)

In practice, the mosque and the khalwa were - up to the 19th century - the only institutions of education in the Sudan\(^{(2)}\) and the khalwa was the more important.\(^{(3)}\) Further, for practical and religious reasons, the mosque was not always open for educational purposes to both children and adults, as was the khalwa.\(^{(4)}\)

Accordingly, it has been the tradition of the khalwa to set no restriction on age for the learners. The common practice, however, was that a child could join the khalwa any time between the ages of five to fifteen years, the earlier the better.\(^{(5)}\)

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1. There were always references, even to blind khalwa teachers - such as al-taqih 'Abd al-Wajii b. Yaseen al-Asbash who taught for more than fifty years (al-tabaqat, p.280); al-taqih 'Abd al-Wajii b. Yaseen (al-tabaqat, p.270). At present the tradition of admitting the blind and the handicapped to the khalwas continues; the writer found a number of such students at the khalwas of Um 'awan Bani and 'Ab al-Fadhl.

2. Al-Sa'qir, "Religious Education".


4. Unlike the mosque, the khalwa could be established anywhere and for the least number of learners, and could serve the function of the mosque as well (see al-tabaqat, p.1). According to al-Imam Malik b. Anas, children are not allowed to study at the mosque (Saheeh al-Abnani, p.315).

As an indication of the ages of *khalwa* students during the Puni period, Burckhardt stated that respectable families used to send their children at the ages of 12-14 to study at the *khalwa* of al-Majadhīb and at those of the Śāfiyya.\(^1\)

The *khalwa* tradition of open admission for study to people of all ages has been perpetuated up to the present time.

In his tour to *khalwas* in the different regions of the Sudan,\(^2\) the writer found the boarding *khalwas* of Northern, Central and Western Sudan populated by learners the overwhelming majority of whom were of ages between eight and twenty years;\(^3\) and the village day *khalwas* were attended by learners of ages between five and eight years\(^4\) - a pre-school and pre-hijra (migration) age.\(^5\) At the *khalwa* of Hamishkorayb - the largest in the country - the age range of learners seems to extend from five to about over sixty years - i.e., almost the whole community.\(^6\)

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1. Burckhardt, *Travel in Kharga*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Ibid*.
6. The writer's visit to Hamishkorayb, December, 1981.
The survey of the Education Sector Review (1) gives a detailed picture of the khalwa students classified according to age groups.

The survey reveals that 26% of the khalwa male students and 30% of girl students were under seven years of age, and the percentage of both sexes under the age of seven was 20%. (2)

Those between ages seven and twelve (i.e. primary school age in the Sudan) constituted 42% of boys and 38% of girls and 42% of children of both sexes at the khalwa. (3) Those khalwa bayān between ages thirteen and fifteen represented 16% of boys and 12% of girls, and 15% of both sexes; (4) those over sixteen (i.e. 16 - 60+) represented 16% of male students, 15% of female learners and 15% of both sexes. (5)

From the above it seems that the overwhelming majority of khalwa children in 1976 - 75% of all khalwa learners - were under age twelve years, and hence within the primary school age group. (6)

1. That survey was carried out in 1976.
2. Êür, p.7.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
D. Female Students

The overwhelming majority of Khole students has always been the male learners. Most of the women and girls seem to have been taught at home by the male members of their family.

However, there are a few references to individual women said to have been faṭḥāt (sing. faṭḥa - woman teacher). For the Funi period, al-Tabaqāt cites Faṭima bint Jābir - sister of the famous ‘ulamā’, the sons of Jābir\(^1\), and mother of Ṣughayrūn who was equal to her brothers in ‘ilm and piety\(^2\). Al-faṣīḥa bint al-Qaddāl was conducting a kuttāb for teaching children at which al-Shaykh Khujāī\(^3\), as a boy, was reported to have started his education under her\(^4\).

Further, according to al-Tabaqāt, the majority of the followers of al-Shaykh Ḥasan b. Jaryūs\(^5\) were women - especially

1. See the Khole of the Sons of Jābir, above; (al-Tabaqāt, p.47).
2. See the Khole of Ṣughayrūn, above.
3. A famous qāḍī Shaykh of the Shābānīyya Order (d.1155), (al-Tabaqāt, p.2).
5. A famous qāḍī who was known for his orthodox teachings, (born 1055/1646), al-Tabaqāt, p.174.
those from the tribe of Fassara who followed his orthodox teachings and became faṣiraṭ.\(^1\)

At the khalwa of al-Kaṣāḥib there were said to have been individual faṣiraṭ from the family of al-Kaṣāḥib such as al-Ḥāfa Mārūm Ḥāfīz ‘Ayūba who used to teach girls the Qur’ān and elementary fiqh.\(^2\)

Under the Turco-Egyptian rule in the Sudan the khalwas continued as before - still predominantly populated by male students. However, there were also references to women conducting their khalwas - most probably for girls, or at least for children of both sexes - such as the two old ladies Amīnah and ‘Ālia& of Sharkayla, in Kordofan, who requested aid for their khalwas from the government, then.\(^3\)

In Western Sudan there was said to have been a number of khalwas for girls in the province of Darfur.\(^4\)

However, the greatest rise in khalwa girls education seems

1. al-Tabaqat, p.177.
to have taken place under National rule and in line with the trend of Ḫalwā revival. It is not only in Eastern Sudan that there has been a steady rise in the number of Ḫalwa girls, but even more so in Eastern Sudan. At the Ḫalwa of ‘Ali Ṣitu’i, for example, the number of female learners rose steadily from individual women taught at home by their male relatives to about five hundred Ḫalwa female learners by 1970, to three thousand by 1974 and to about five thousand by 1981.\(^2\)

In relation to the total number of Ḫalwa learners, the female students were reported to have constituted 13% by 1976.\(^3\)

However, in terms of Ḫalwa institutions, exclusive girl Ḫalwas represented only 24, but co-educational Ḫalwas (for young children of both sexes) constituted 34%, while Ḫalwas exclusively for male students represented 64%.\(^4\)

As has been referred to above, the exclusive girl Ḫalwas were run by women teachers (or Ḫayḥa - Sing. Ḫayḥa) such as those of Eastern Sudan: the Ḫalwa of Sīt al-Ŷasan at Sūkin, (Red Sea); the Ḫalwa of Kahiyya Bint Abī Fātimaw at Sūkin; the Ḫalwa of Muntīb Dhrāqaw at Sūkin also the Ḫalwa...

1. See the Ḫalwa of Hamishkoraya for women, above.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.6.
of bint 'Umar - Rural Council of Western Red Sea region and the khalwa of Saynab Ahmad at 'Umar. (1) Further, the largest women's khalwa in the country at Hamishkorayb was run by more than sixty nayhāt in 1981. (2)

Most of the co-educational khalwas, however, (which existed largely in Western Sudan) were run by male teachers (the faqīm). (3)

It should be added here that almost all of the female khalwas - exclusive or co-educational - are in the regions of Western and Eastern Sudan. Hence, there is hardly any khalwa for women in the riverain regions of Northern and Central Sudan, as there are for men. However, there have been established under National rule balasrā for women for the recitation of the Qur'ān with a few nurseries attached to certain mosques in the capital. (4)

1. Qur, p.11.
2. See the women khalwas at Hamishkorayb, December, 1981.
3. Information from the Department of Religious Affairs, al-Prāhir, December, 1981.
4. Information from the Department of Religious Studies, Khartoum, October, 1981.
P. Students for Study

In the Sudan, the tradition of Hijaz for study seems to have been established by the pioneer teachers of the Funj era. As alluded to above, almost all of the famous teachers of the Fulaa centres of that period had experienced Hijaz for studying the Qur'an - and more so for the study of 'ilm - when they were students. Such a Hijaz for study could be abroad or within the Sudan.

Of the pioneer students who emigrated for study, reference could be made to the following: Mahmoud al-'Arabî (1); the Sons of Jibrîl (2) - ibrâîîn al-Sulîmân (3) 'Abd al-Karîm b. Jâbîr (4); Ismâ'îl b. Jâbîr (5); their nephew Muhammad Suhayrîn (6); 'Abd al-Karîm Yamâmî (7); Ahmed b. 'Isâ of Kutâmî (8), and others who were not engaged in teaching. It should be added that all of these students had their studies at al-Tashr in Egypt. (9)

Other students emigrated for study to al-Hijaz and became famous Fulaa teachers during the Funj period, such as 'Abdallâh

1. Al-Tahâsîr, p. 345.
2. See the Fulaa of the Sons of Jâbîr, above.
3. Al-Tahâsîr, p. 41.
4. Ibid., p. 252.
5. Ibid., p. 47.
6. Ibid., p. 236.
7. Ibid., p. 257.
8. Irshad, p. 16.
9. See "Teachers", above.
al-‘Araki'\(^{(1)}\) and Muḥammad b. Ḥadīl al-Shāfyī.\(^{(2)}\)

However, the internal students' aims for study was, understandably, greater. When each of the above-mentioned students came back from their study abroad, they established themselves as renowned khalwa teachers and, in turn, became centres of attraction for internal students' migration, as could be exemplified by the Sons of Jābir and their students.\(^{(3)}\)

As indicated above, many of the outstanding khalwa teachers of the Pund period had migrated, as students, to the famous mosque-khalwa of the Sons of Jābir.\(^{(4)}\) Of these, reference could be made to: ‘Abdallāh al-‘Araki,'\(^{(5)}\) ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Maṣḥakh,\(^{(6)}\) ‘Abdallāh al-Magbashi,\(^{(7)}\) al-Hasālātī b. Ḥabīb al-Waṣī,\(^{(8)}\) Ḥasan b. Ḥādīl al-Fadālī,\(^{(9)}\) Ya‘qūb b. Zān al-Maṣā‘ūn;\(^{(10)}\) Muḥammad Qasā‘ūn,\(^{(11)}\) and ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ḥasanū.\(^{(12)}\)

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2. Ibid., pp. 559-60.
3. See their khalwa centres.
4. See their khalwa centre, above.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 280.
8. Ibid., p. 80.
10. Ibid., p. 373.
11. Ibid., p. 47.
12. Ibid., p. 257.
Likewise, many of the students who studied at the khaled centre of the Sons of Jābir seem to have, afterwards, established khaled centres in their own home districts and, similarly, attracted greater numbers of mukāhirīn.

The khaled centre of Ṣughayrūn at al-ṣūr under his son al-Shaykh al-Zayn was said to have attracted more than a thousand learners⁴ - most of whom could be mukāhirīn. Students were reported to have flocked to the khaled of al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Qadi'ī - a successor of the khaled of Abū Ḥanīfa - from all over the region as well as from outside the country, to the extent that the number of students attending the khaled exceeded two thousand students.⁵ Of these, about one thousand and seven hundred were said to have been takārīrī who seem to have immigrated from the region west of Dār es-Sūr.⁶

The khaled of al-Ṣubū, under al-fakih 'Abd al-Qādī b. Hammād, was reported to have embraced about a thousand learners,⁷ the majority of them was said to have migrated to the khaled from outside the region.⁸

Similarly, the khaled of Abū al-Khaṣāṣ b. Usayd at Nūrīt

1. Al-Tahānī, p.74.
2. Ibid., p.81.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.280.
5. Information from the khaled khalīf, November, 1981.
attracted a great number of hifāṣā. On one occasion his ḍāri master, al-shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Ḥalanqī, was said to have directed six hundred learners from Eastern Sudan to migrate to his khalwa in order to study under him the Qur‘ān and 'ilm. (1)

Further, as has been quoted above, according to Burekhārdt, Nubian children from Gukot and al-Ḫabas and other regions used to migrate to the khalwā of al-Każābīh for study. (2)

The same trend of students hifāṣa seems to have continued during the Turco-Egyptian rule — though owing to the financial constraints suffered by the khalwā Shaykhs and, as a result of the Government's policy the rate and size of students' hifāṣa appears to have been much affected. (3)

Nevertheless, the emigration of students to al-Ḫabar in Cairo seems to have increased as could be indicated by the establishment of riwāq al-Sinnārīyya and riwāq Dar-Fīr. (4)

2. Burekhārdt, L., Travels in Nubia, p.59; see also the khalwā centre of al-Każābīh at al-Dāmer, above.
3. See "Condition of khalwās under the Turco-Egyptian period", above.
4. Student hostels at al-Ḫabar established by the Egyptian Government for students from the Funj Kingdom of Sennar and from Dar-Šari; see also 'Abd al-Kājīd, vol.2, p.70.
Internally students' migration to *khulwa* fakās seems to have been widened by the considerable number of requests for financial and material aid submitted by these *khulwa* teachers to the Turco-Egyptian administration in order to help them maintain their away-from-home students.\(^2\) Reference could be made, for example, to the *khulwa* of al-Ḥubash under al-Ḥayth al-ṣāfi Aḥmad Ḥusayn and al-Ḥayth Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥusayn, and the *khulwa* of al-fakā Ḥusayn al-ṣāfi of al-Ḫaythā in the al-Ṣāfī district.\(^3\) The *khulwa* of al-Masīḥ also attracted a considerable number of muḥāfīzīn - about 130 of them.\(^4\)

Students were said to have migrated to the ṣūfī *khulwas* such as that of Ṣaym Jamālān Ṣūr,\(^5\) and Ṣaym Qarāshī.\(^6\)

Under the Ḥabdīyya period, as alluded to above, *khulwa* education was almost suspended and priority was given to ḥikā.\(^7\)

Under the Condominium rule, owing to the Government's hostile attitude and unfavourable policies towards the traditional *khulwa*,

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1. See "Financial Aspect of *khulwa* Education", below.
4. See the *khulwa* of al-Masīḥ, above.
5. See the *khulwa* of Ṣaym Jamālān Ṣūr, above.
6. Information from al-Ḥayth al-Dimāsī, the *khulwa* of al-Masīḥ.
7. See the *khulwa* in the Ḥabdīyya, above.
the latter, as has been referred to above, was gradually displaced by the elementary and subgrade schools.\(^{(1)}\) Hence, in effect, the students' \textit{hijra} to the \textit{khalwa} seems to have been drastically eroded and restricted to the few \textit{ṣūrī} \textit{khalwas} that survived the Condominium regime - such as that of Jam \textit{Dawwān} Bān and Kadābān, and the like, and to the traditional \textit{muḥājirīn khalwas} in Western Sudan - especially in Ḍir-Ṣūr.\(^{(2)}\)

Under National Rule, and in line with the general trend of \textit{khalwa} revival as referred to above, a considerable number of the old \textit{ṣūrī} \textit{khalwa} centres has been revived in Northern and Central Sudan. However, despite the change in time and conditions of life, requirements of the age and the needs of the people, the \textit{khalwa} educational practices have been conducted on the traditional lines of the \textit{Punj} era - though the main \textit{khalwa} centres have witnessed substantial material renovations.\(^{(3)}\)

Hence, as indicated above, the revived \textit{khalwa} centres of Northern and Central Sudan seem to have been practically shunned - as educational institutions - by the people of their own

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2. See Condition of \textit{khalwas} under the Condominium Rule", above; see also the \textit{muḥājirīn} \textit{khalwas}, above.
3. The reference is made here to such \textit{khalwa} centres as Kadābān, Abū Qurūn, \textit{Wawwāwan} Bān, \textit{Had al-Fādāni} and \textit{ṣayḥa} Qurashi.
localities. (1) Parents in these regions have, for long, switched their children to the modern primary schools which have been the recognised gateway to higher education and, above all, to employment in the modern sector. (2)

Faced with this serious problem, the traditional Khalīfah in charge of the revived Khalwa centres of Northern and Central Sudan seem to have turned their attention to the traditional hijra of students as a guaranteed source of student population. Hence, they seem to have encouraged the hijra of students coming from distant regions, and provided them with all the necessary facilities of living, in addition to tuition, at their boarding Khalwa. (3)

The students, on their part, seem to have found the conditions of life and the academic atmosphere at these Khalwa centres much better than in their own regions. (4)

In effect, the main Khalwa centres of Northern and Central

1. See the student population of such Khalwa centres as Kadaabā, Abu Qurūn, Um Jamwan San, Wad al-Fadni and Tayba Qurashi.
2. See Conditions of Khalwa under the Condominium period, above.
3. See these Khalwa centres for their living facilities.
4. Information from the students from Western Sudan at the Khalwa of Kadaabā, Tayba and Wad al-Fadni, November 1981.
Sudan seem to depend almost entirely for their supply of learners on the students hizb and al-muhajirin - especially from Western Sudan. (1) In evidence of this, the writer in his tour to these main khelwas centres has discovered the complete absence of learners from the populous villages, in which these khelwas are located, amongst the large student population of each khelwa - not even the sons of the ġūrṭ Shaykh or the fakirs of these khelwas. (2)

At the khelwas of Eastern Sudan, such as those of Hamishkorayb, however, although the overwhelming majority of khelwa learners were from the same village communities, yet, there were also substantial numbers of muhajirin coming from outside the region and even from beyond the borders. The bulk of migrant students to the khelwa was the tribes of the different parts of the region and the country. However, there were students from countries such as Somalia, Eritrea, Yemen, Mali and Nigeria. (3)

As an evidence of the hizb of students to that khelwa, it was said that in 1981 the khelwas embraced about 8,000 learners of thirty different languages. (4) Further, the women's khelwas of

1. Learners from Western (especially Jā’īr-Jībūr) constitute about 80% of the student population of these khelwas (the writer's visits).
2. See the khelwas of Kabābā, Umm Jasswan Bān, Taybe and Wādī al-Fadīn, for example.
3. Information from the deputy, the khelwas of Hamishkorayb.
4. Ibid.
Hamishkorayb was said to have included, in 1981, about five hundred women learners who migrated for study from outside the region. (1)

In the region of Western Sudan - Kordofan and Darfur - and especially in the latter, hijra for 'ilm has been a deep-rooted traditional practice.

Religious teachers and 'ulama' were said to have been encouraged by the hospitality of the Fur sultans to migrate to their kingdom and to institute their centres of learning. (2) Students, too, used to travel for study to the different khalwas centres of the Junj kingdom and to al-Ashar in Egypt where a special rwaq was established for their accommodation. (3)

In time, in Western Sudan, and in particular in Darfur, the practice of hijra seems to have become so widespread that it has developed into a recognized institution of distinct characteristics. Almost all over the region, prior to the hijra, at the ages of 5-6 years children join their local village khalwas where they learn the rudiments of religious education -

1. Information from al-Shaykh Sahir Abu Sair who was in charge of the women's khalwas at Hamishkorayb.
2. See Condition of khalwas and the Junj period", above.
the alphabet and the short suras of the Qurʾān.\(^1\) At the ages of 9 - 12 they usually set out on hijra to another larger and distant boarding khalwa where a well-known fakīr they had heard of was teaching.\(^2\) Such a khalwa has been known as khalwat al munālikīn - khalwa of migrants.

The practice of hijra seems to have been developed into a deeply rooted custom amongst the FUR people. The main reasons behind this phenomenon have been held to be the following.

There seems to have developed a conviction amongst the people of FUR that it is the duty of every individual - and in particular the males - to learn the Qurʾān by heart.\(^3\) But, on the other hand, it is equally believed that one cannot attain this objective while studying at his home khalwa - hence the necessity of hijra.\(^4\)

This belief seems to have been based on and consolidated by the widely held argument that khalwa learners would prefer to study away from home so as to avoid the home duties - such as

1. Such as the khalwāt of al-fakīr Muhammad Fūr ‘Īsā at al-‘Ashīr and the khalwāt of al-fakīr Muhammad Yahyā at al-Nā’ī village, see above.
4. Fb.\(^5\)
Looking after cattle and sheep, assisting parents in their cultivation, and so on. In this way, it was generally believed, a learner could devote all his efforts and time to his study. In addition, the muḥāṭirīn’s khallā was usually superior in its academic standard to the small village khallā. Consequently, the hijra for learning has become a deeply-rooted tradition.

As an evidence of this widespread and deeply rooted practice of hijra, the writer has found out that almost all of the khallā teachers interviewed in the region have experienced hijra, and has been told that almost every khallā teacher in the region must have studied at a distant muḥāṭirīn’s khallā. (1) Today, despite the widespread khallā in almost every village, learners continue to join the roving armies of muḥāṭirīn. Subsequently, the student population of each muḥāṭirīn camp was composed almost entirely of learners coming from different distant places. (1)

1. For example al-fakīr ‘Abd al-Ḫādīd Abū ‘Umar of the muḥāṭirīn’s khallā of Nūfūz (see below); al-fakīr ‘Abd al-Yāsīn Abī Ṣayd of the khallā of Ṭawīla, previously was the Shāykh of al-muḥāṭirīn’s khallā at the village of Nī’īm. Although his father was the khallā fakīr, he ran away to join a muḥāṭirīn’s khallā. In turn, while he was managing his muḥāṭirīn’s khallā his own son joined another one. (Interviews with the above-mentioned fakīrs at Nūfūz and Ṭawīla, December, 1981).

It seems interesting to mention that in the past young girls, too, were said to have gone on hijra and many of the old women of the Region of Darfur and Kays were reported to have learnt the Qur'an at the muhajirin's camp for women. (1)

Today, however, the practice of hijra has been restricted to males only, while girls still study at their village khallas. (2)

It is also worth mentioning that the "muhajirin's" movement which was said to have been widely spread amongst all the tribes of Darfur, in the past, seems now to have been restricted to and perpetuated by the Fur tribe. (3)

Today tangible evidence for the widespread practice of hijra for learning amongst the people of Western Sudan, in general, seems to be manifested also in the existence of large numbers of learners constituting the bulk of students population in each of the main khallas centres of Northern and Central Sudan today. (4)

However, the muhajirin's movement in Darfur seems to have

1. RSS, p.138.
2. The writer's observations at al-muhajirin's camp of Nazi; information from al-nahi 'Abd al-Jamis Marun.
3. RSS, p.138.
4. The reference is made here to the khallas of Kordofan, Abu Qurin, Um Barwan San, Fayba Qurashi, for example.
had a different concept from what has been known and experienced throughout the areas in the other parts of the Sudan.

The mubṣirin’s movement, as a traditional practice that has been handed down from generation to generation seems to be manifested today, in Darfur, in the form of separate students khalwa camps established in the neighbourhood of the main villages.¹ Each camp is composed of tens of low qāśli (sing. qūšīyyah) (hut(s)) built by the students themselves around the faši’s residence and his khalwa of study.²

Although hirra for study has been a widely practised Islamic tradition, as has been alluded to above, and has been followed in the Sudan since the emergence of the Funj state, yet in Darfur province, the concept and the established Muslim practices of this tradition seem to have been greatly distorted.

Here, in contrast to the established practices of the khalwā in other parts of the country,³ and in contrast to the practice of khalwā under the Fur sultans it seems,⁴ the khalwā learners

1. Ess, p.136.
2. For further information on a mubṣirin camp, see the mubāhila khalwa of Nūn, Jawa District, Darfur, above.
have been denied the traditional maintenance (exemplified mainly in the provision of food) which the khalwa Shaykhs used to provide to their students with (from the hakura and donations they used to receive).¹

Hence, full of the conviction that the hikma as embodied in the muḥādirīn khalwa was the effective and established means for the acquisition of the Islamic learnings, the learners in Dār-Ṭur came to depend on themselves in securing their living.²

However, in order to secure food they seem to have fallen into bad practices - morally and socially.

Unfortunately, such malpractices seem to have been a characteristic of the muḥādirīn khalwa as has been illustrated by the muḥādirīn khalwa of Nāmī.

The trend seems to have caused the muḥādirīn movement to give rise to another manifestation, which has been the sight of groups of young children (the muḥādirīn) moving from village to village, on their weekly four-days tour, carrying their jasba and chanting at the door of every house, asking for ḥarama (charity) for their living.³

¹. See the “Financial aspect of education” for the Punj period below.

². Ibid., see the “Contribution of the Sultan’s of Dar-Ṭur”.

³. See the muḥādirīn khalwa of Nāmī, above; Birmingham, op. cit., p. 118; ASI, pp. 147-2.
It is this muḥādirin's way of living and the social and educational implications that it involves that seems to have made the muḥādirin's movement the focus of attention.

Since Independence, Dār-Fūr, in contrast to the Condominium period, has been widely open to outside contacts with the rest of the country. The government's concern with the promotion of its social and religious affairs has been on the increase. With the creation of a provincial department for religious affairs and a Khalwa inspectorate at al-Ṣāhir, and the establishment of local governments in the region, traditional muḥādirin's khalwa practices seem to have been increasingly exposed to scrutiny, and even to justified severe criticism as has been alluded to.\(^1\)

Of the main muḥādirin khalwa centres that flourished in Dār-Fūr region, reference could be made to the following: Kalz, Karama, Hijayr, Bayla, Kajjar, Sāndu, Taraj, Shanka, Jabal Kūnū, Qaldāya - all in Eastern Dār-Fūr.\(^2\) Many other muḥādirin's khalwa camps are spread all over the region, and they seem to share almost the same characteristics.

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1. See the Khalwa of al-muḥādirin at Dāmi, above.
2. BBU, p.141.
   The bulk of al-muḥādirin Khalwas seem to have been concentrated in Western Dār-Fūr.
3. A typical muḥādirin's khalwa, which was visited by the writer in November 1981, was that of Dāmi, Tavīla District, Northern Dār-Fūr.
F. *Khalwa Students' Accommodation*

There seems to have been two main types of student accommodation:

(a) living with families, and
(b) living at special *khalwa* of accommodation.

(a) Living at home or with families:

This type of living generally included two categories of *khalwa* learners:

i) The village *Khalwa*  *

As could be expected, almost all village *khalwa* learners, another young or old, would live with their parents and families and attend the daily programmes of the *khalwa*.

ii) The away from home learners:

At first *Khalwa* do not seem to have had special accommodation facilities. Hence, out-of-village children would live with relatives at the village in which the *Khalwa* was located, or with families who would maintain such learners, as an act of charity pleasing to God, and as a symbol of support to the *khalwa*.

1. This depended on the availability of a *khalwa* in the village.
Shaykh in his mission.\(^1\)

The following examples are cited to illustrate how some of the away-from-home ḥalawā learners used to live.

According to al-Ṭabarānī, Fajīma bint Jābir, the learned and pious sister of the four sons of Jābir, used to accommodate and maintain twenty-four of the students of her brother - al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir, at Tarānj - at her expense.\(^2\)

At Kūtrānīj, ḥalawā students (away-from-home), used to be distributed over the families - old students would take their meals with the heads of the families and sleep in special ḥalawas around the masjīd, while the young learners would be living with the families who would treat them like their own children.\(^3\)

At the ḥalawā of al-Shubush, too, the away-from-home learners used to be distributed over the families who would be in charge of their upkeep.\(^4\) Those few who were not attached to families, however, used to live at the ḥalawā but were said to have been supplied with food from the people.\(^5\)

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1. See the examples, below.
5. Ibid.
(b) The khalwas of accommodation

When the number of away-from-home learners increased and it became difficult for the village families to provide accommodation and maintenance for these migrant learners, a need seems to have risen to erect special rooms around the khalwas of study, for such learners to live in - as student hostels.

These student hostels around the khalwa of study came to be known as the khalwas of accommodation of the learners - al-fugar - or the khalwas of al-fugarwān.

1. This seems to have been an established Muslim tradition:
   a) In reference to the city of Ṭābit, in Iraq, which he visited, Ibn Batūta states that the city had a magnificent college for the memorization and recitation of the Qur'ān, and in order to enable the out-of-town learners to study at the college, three hundred khalwas were established for the lodging of strangers (Ibn Batūta, The Travels of Ibn Batūta, vol.II, p.272).
   b) In Damascus, at Dār al-Qur'ān, established by al-Sabūnī (A.H.863) there was said to have been provision for the lodging of the jādīd and ten khalwas for the lodging of his students, the fugarān (al-Huṣainī, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, al-Dāris fi Tārikh al-Xadārīn, Damascus, 1976, pp.13-15).
   c) Sultan Ǧaytibānī was said to have built in 1477/881 near Bāb al-Salām in Mecca seventy-two khalwas for the lodging of teachers and their students ('Abd al-Malīki, vol.I, p.102).
In terms of the source of maintenance, however, these *khulwas* of accommodation could be classified into two categories, as shown in (i) and (ii).

(i) *Khulwas* of accommodation provided and maintained by *khulwa* Shaykhs and followers:

Traditionally, *khulwas* of students' accommodation were usually maintained by the *khulwa* Şíf Shaykhs, who were helped in this respect by generous donations from followers, rulers and through personal revenues from Şíf and saint-cult rituals.1

Al-Tabaṣṣūt contains many references to this phenomenon of student accommodation and maintenance at the expense of the *khulwa* teacher or Şíf Shaykh.

Al-Shaykh ʿAbān b. Ḥasan was reported to have been maintaining between eleven to thirteen *khulwas* of al-fugara, as to their food, he was said to have ordered that for each *khulwa* two goats were to be slaughtered, daily.2

Al-fakī ʿAbūnā b. ʿAlī b. Raṣūl was reported to have had five hundred learners at his *khulwa* living at his expense.2

1. See "Financial aspect of *khulwa* education", below.
2. Al-Tabaṣṣūt, p.139.
3. Ibid., p.315.
continued during the Turco-Egyptian rule, despite the financial constraints to which the Khalwa Shaykhs were exposed. (1) Al-Fakr Khalaf Allah of al-Kitayyib, Zaidab district, was reported to have been maintaining one hundred and seventy two students — most of whom were away-from-home learners. (4)

Similarly, each of the Khalwa Shaykhs Bedawi Abu Safiyya, al-Sayyid al-Makkib b. Ismail al-Balib (both from Kordofan) and al-Shaykh Muhammad Taww of Sennar district, was maintaining more than one hundred students. (5)

1. Al-Yabasedi, p.74.
2. Ibid., p.218.
Many other Ḥanafī Shaykhs seem to have been following that tradition even during the Condominium rule.\(^{(1)}\)

Today almost all of the old ḥalwa centres which have been revived under national rule have special ḥalwa of students where hundreds, and indeed thousands, of ṣugārū are accommodated and maintained - mainly at the expense of the ḥalwa Ḥanafī Shaykhs. The reference is made here to such ḥalwa as Kadabas, Abū Qūrūn, Umm Rawaan Bān, Ṭadd al-Ṭāfīnī, Ṭaybā Qarashi, Ṣad al-Zaqūl and Hamishkharayb, as alluded to above.\(^{(2)}\)

(ii) Ḥalwa of accommodation maintained by the students themselves:

In Western Sudan, and Dar-Pur province in particular, unlike the traditional practice in other parts of the country, alluded to above, or within the same region as under the Pur sultans when ḥalwa students had been accommodated and maintained by the faqīh who used to live on the revenue of the ṭakūra granted to him by the Sultans, there emerged a new type of students' accommodation - the muqāṭirin ḥalwa camps.\(^{(3)}\) Here, as referred to above, young learners leave their homes and migrate to distant

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1. Information from ustād Allī, Kadabas, and al-faqīh Yasb al-Hāshī, Umm Rawaan Bān, November, 1981.
2. See these ḥalwa centres for students' accommodation, above.
3. See the ḥalwa of al-muhādidīn, at Hammā, Ṣawīla district, Dar-Pur.
Khalwa Shaykhs, and there each group coming from the same locality or tribe would join hands and build their own khalwas of accommodation and maintain themselves through direct charity from the villagers around them.\(^{(1)}\)

It seems interesting to note that besides serving as a sultan hostel for the large numbers of its migrant learners, as referred to above, the traditional Sufi khalwa used to provide accommodation and food for the masses of followers of the Sufi Shaykhs who would come for visitations, seeking the baraka of their Shaykhs.\(^{(2)}\)

In addition, before the spread of the modern means of transport - and especially during the Punj period - the khalwas centres were constantly used as stopping places for the caravan routes and wayfarers.\(^{(3)}\) Here, special guest khalwas were established to provide accommodation for the travellers, food, water and, above all, protection from the bandits, were provided by the Sufi Shaykhs.\(^{(4)}\)

Most of the expenses of such a social function were met through the generous donations which most of the Sufi Shaykhs

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1. See the khalwa of al-makhdum at Mārij, Ta'lla district, Darfur.
2. See Pt.1, ch.1 for "kurban and visitations".
3. See below, the khalwas of guests.
4. The reference is specially made to the Khalwa of al-Kajāšīch or al-Damir, above.
would receive, or met from the Khalwa Shaykh's own expenses in the case of those who refrained from accepting such alms and hadhar.  

Al-Tabarānī makes many references to this social function of the khalwa – being used by travellers and followers as a guest house, at the expense of the Qalī Khalwa Shaykh.  

1. Most of the Qalī Shaykhs accepted such pious gifts, as was illustrated in "Financing of Khalwa education", below.  
2. The reference is made here to al-Majāṣhīt of al-Dīnār and their descendants of al-Qalī al-Azraq.  
CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING IN THE KHALWA

A. Background to teaching in the khalsa

Traditional Muslim educational practices were transferred and established in the Sudan by the pioneer teachers of the early Funj era and were perpetuated, afterwards, by their students.

In line with the personal responsibility of Muslims in respect to learning and teaching, as alluded to earlier, they were said to have developed a system of individual instruction that was based, essentially, on dictation and memorisation, especially in respect to the teaching of the Qur'an.\(^1\)

The origin of such an established practice, however, could be traced back to the way the Prophet himself received and transmitted the revelation to his Companions. Muslims believe that the Qur'an in its entirety was dictated orally in pieces to the Prophet through the angel Gabriel.\(^2\) The Prophet, in turn, memorized it and dictated it to his Companions in the exact text and readings, as it was revealed to him.\(^3\)

The subsequent generations of Muslims, following the example of the Prophet, and urged and encouraged by the Qur'an and hadith\(^4\) embarked on learning and teaching the Qur'an through

2. 'Ali, Abdallāh Yūsuf, Translation and Commentary on the Glorious Xarṣa, p.15.
4. See the Introduction, p.3, n.7, above.
the same method.

Other factors, however, were reported to have made it imperative to rely more and more on individual instruction and more so on the dictation-memorization. Furthermore, and as a result of developments in the written Arabic language, it was realised that there was a discrepancy, in some respects, between the script of the 'Uthmānic copy of the Qurān - as regards some words such as 'ṣalāt, 'ṣaḥāi', 'riḍā', 'Nuhāwāk' and the rules of the standard written language.\(^1\)

Hence, in order, on the one hand, to preserve the original written form of the Qurān - the script of the 'Uthmānic copy - and, on the other, to correct the discrepancy in reading referred to above, dots and grammatical signs were added to the basic fifteen letters - thus making them twenty eight.\(^2\)

However, in view of the general level of illiteracy at the time and the scarcity of paper, Muslims had to rely on memorization.\(^3\) They realised that the practical and most effective safeguards against faulty reading of the text of the Qurān was the constant presence of sufficient number of reciters

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1. Y. al-Khalifa, al-Rasā al-Qurānī, p.3.
2. Ibid., p.11; the fifteen original Arabic letters were: ۰۱۲۳۴۵۶۷۸۹\(\mathfrak{a}\)\(\mathfrak{y}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\)\(\mathfrak{n}\)\(\mathfrak{m}\)\(\mathfrak{b}\)\(\mathfrak{t}\)\(\mathfrak{q}\)\(\mathfrak{e}\)\(\mathfrak{m}\)\(\mathfrak{n}\)\(\mathfrak{b}\)\(\mathfrak{n}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\).
3. Ibid., p.18.
who had learnt the Qur'ān by heart according to the exact text and the standard reading(s). Hence, the necessity of the continuity of a chain of reciters from the time of the Prophet to the present date, to act as guides to learners of the Qur'ān wherever there are Muslims. (1)

Then, as a result of the expansion of Islam to territories of non-Arabic speaking people there arose the problem of tendencies towards widening differences in reading the text of the Qur'ān. (2)

In order to put an end to such differences and to unite the Muslim around one authenticated copy of the Qur'ān, the third caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affār, ordered that one standard form be copied out from the original text compiled earlier by the first caliph, Aḥū Bakr, be sent to the provinces and all other existing copies be prohibited and burnt. (3)

To facilitate the dissemination of the 'Uthmānic copy reciters were reported to have been sent with these copies to instruct the Muslims how to correctly read the text of the Qur'ān. (4) The message was carried over by their students. Such a practice seems to have greatly emphasized the dictation-memorization method started earlier.

Another important factor which seems also to have consolidated this approach arose from the fact that the text of the Qur'ān

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2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 19.
script of the day which had neither dots nor vowel points.
Henceforth, in order to learn the Qur’ān and/or study a book or any branch of ‘ilm, the learner—and in particular the prospective teacher—in the Sudan (as in other parts of the Muslim world) in the absence of professional teachers’ training had to get in touch with a well-experienced faqīḥ and to attach himself to him for study and training.

This seems to have developed into a universal practice during the Funj era, and could be attested by the numerous references to the attachment of almost every scholar noted in al-Tabaqāt to a teacher of his choice, to learn the Qur’ān and, in particular, to study a subject of ‘ilm or a book in which the student was interested and the teacher versed, and to follow a Shaykh in the ṣāḥīḥ path.¹

In all this the role of the teacher seems to have been crucial. This was regarded more so, it seems, because of the high importance attached to authentic transmission in respect to such matters as the correct readings of the Qur’ān and its interpretation and the narration of hadith.

This could be evidenced by the fact that, in line with the practice of Muslim scholars elsewhere, almost every Sudanese scholar noted in al-Tabaqāt was reported to have learnt the Qur’ān under a faqīḥ, then studied ‘ilm at the hands of another

¹. See the qualifications of teachers during the Funj era, above.
ones (each branch under a fakī), and was initiated in the Sufi Path by a different Shaykh. In all such cases, it was the individual teacher—and not the institution—from whom the student acquired his knowledge and experiences.

The justification for the perpetuation of such a system in the Sudan, in addition to the inherited Islamic experience mentioned above, seems to reside in the fact that the khalwa teacher of the Funj era was, in most cases, the only source of knowledge in a region engulfed by ignorance of the Shari'ā, illiteracy and lacking in source material—such as text and library books. Hence, the reliance on the efforts of the one teacher, not only in teaching but also in shouldering other important religious and social functions.

On the other hand, both the khalwa teacher and his institution seems to have remained, throughout the ages, extremely conservative. Hence the preservation and the perpetuation of almost the same traditions and practices, with all their merits and shortcomings, across the generations. This seems to have been especially true of the Funj, the Turkish Egyptian and the Mahdiyya periods, as has been explained earlier.

Remarkning on this phenomenon, and in reference to the khalwa
educational practices under the Turco-Egyptian rule, Abd al-Majid stated that the same pattern of mosque/khalwa practices, methods and techniques that were followed under the Fatimids were, in turn, perpetuated under the Turco-Egyptian period in the Sudan.\(^1\)

The same view was shared by Kamil al-Baqir, who also holds that under the Turco-Egyptian regime (1821-1869) the learning system in the Sudan retained its traditional form in aims, policy and means. The areas of teachers, syllabuses and methods of instruction remained unchanged from what they had been.\(^2\)

Under the Mahdiyya rule, as was alluded to before, the top priority was given to the question of \textit{fitrah}.\(^3\)

Nevertheless, the revolution was extended to the content of education but not to the methods and practices. At the instructions of al-Mahdi, \textit{Shi'i} teachings and practices were banned; sterile and divisive books and commentaries of \textit{fikh} were also prohibited and burnt, and even the four orthodox Sunni madhabs were suspended; and the overriding message was the call for the return to Orthodox Islam.\(^4\) However, as far as the methods and techniques of teaching and learning were concerned, no change seems to have been introduced.\(^5\)

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3. See Conditions of \textit{khalwas} under the Mahdiyya, above.
4. See the teachings of al-Mahdi, above.
5. \textquote{Abd al-Majid}, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.18-19.
Under the Condominium rule, though the khalwa position and rules were drastically undermined by the establishment of the rival institution - the modern school - and by the temporary conversion of many khalwas to khalwa nizāmiyya (1), yet the khalwa's traditional methods of teaching and learning were said to have persisted. Not only that, but there were complaints that they were even transferred into the modern school. (2)

However, it was those traditional šarī khalwas that survived the Condominium regime - such as those of Kadabās, (3) and Umm Qawwan Šām (4) - which seem to have preserved the khalwa traditions and practices.

Under national rule (since 1956) and in line with the Government’s supportive policy towards khalwas’ revival, hundreds of traditional khalwas have emerged, retaining and perpetuating almost the same traditional methods of instruction and practices - including teachers’ preparation - with all their merits and weaknesses.

In evidence of the above, almost all of the khalwa teachers visited by the writer, confirmed that they were following almost the same methods and techniques of teaching and learning that

1. The khalwa nizāmiyya under the Condominium period, above.
2. See Conditions of khalwa under the Condominium period.
3. See the khalwa of Kadabās, above.
4. See the khalwa of Umm Qawwan Šām, above.
had been handed down by their ancestors. (1)

No doubt this seems to be a clear illustration of the state of stagnation which the khalwa has been undergoing for centuries.

However, by adopting the traditional method of individual instruction by khalwa teachers in teaching the Qur'an, as alluded to above, it became feasible for khalwas to follow a system of open admission throughout the year. (2) Not only that, but it became also feasible for a learner to reconcile his study and his work - that is, he could break his study for any length of time and rejoin the khalwa again to resume his study from where he had stopped. (3)

As a result of the above the typical khalwa would include learners of different academic standards - ranging from beginners

1. The reference is made here in particular to the main khalwa centres such as those of Kadabas, Abu Qur'an, Imam Kawsar Han Wad al-Fadhl, Shayb Qurashi, Wad al-Maqbul, Hamishkoyab, which are all almost following identical methods of teaching and learning - especially teaching and learning reading and writing Arabic and the Qur'an.

2. This has been the universal system followed by khalwas all over the country and for generations. (Information obtained from different khalwa rakim.)

3. Ibid.; this seems to have been, in effect, a recurrent type of education.
Moreover, in line with the direction of the Prophet's Hadith, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave," and the religious obligation to teachers to provide education to their fellow Muslims, the khalwa teachers have been receiving learners of different ages - from about the age of five to over seventy.

Furthermore, because of their great piety and hospitality - as exemplified in the provision of free education and upkeep (accommodation, food and clothes) the khalwa teachers have for long been attracting learners from all parts of the country.

In effect, the typical traditional khalwa usually included learners of different ages, academic standards and environmental backgrounds - all to be taught by the one khalwa teacher and under the same roof of the one-room school, the khalwa.

One would imagine that this would have been too difficult a

1. The writer's observations from his visits to the different Khalwas.
3. See attitude of Islam towards education, above.
4. The writer's observations at the main Khalwa centres - especially at Hamishkorayb.
5. See "Khalwa Students", above for accommodation, Lijsn.
6. The writer's observations from his visits to the Khalwas.
task to be managed by a single teacher. However, in practice
the traditional khalwa teacher has always carried out his teaching
function (in addition to other religious and social functions)
effectively within the context of what was required of him.

In order to conduct their teaching role efficiently the
khalwa teachers have taken recourse in a monitorial system of
instruction. The heterogeneous khalwa student population has
been divided and subdivided — depending on the number of learners
at the khalwa — into a number of halasas taking into consideration
such factors as the student’s academic level, age and region. (1)
In other words, each halasa would embrace a group of learners of
approximately similar academic standards such as beginners,
middle-level and advanced groups of learners. In such grouping
other factors, such as age-group, and often locality or region,
are to some extent also taken into account. (2)

The khalwa teacher — the Qur’ān tālī, in this respect —
would usually be in charge of instructing the senior or the
advanced halasa of learners, while still responsible for over-
seeing the management of instruction of the junior halasas. (3)

1. This procedure was followed at all of the main boarding
khalwas: Kadabās, Abu Qurūb, Um Dawawān Bān, Wad al-Fānī.
2. For example, when there were several students of similar
standards but of different age groups, they would usually
be broken into smaller groups or halasas of young and old. (The
writer’s observations at Wad al-Fānī).
3. The writer’s observations at the main khalwas centres.
To help him carry out his teaching function, the khalwa fakî would normally appoint each of the more able students of the halâq of the advanced learners to preside over one of the middle level halâq and to instruct the learners of that halâq in the same way he had been taught.\(^1\)

In a similar way a selected number of hâyân of the middle-level halâq would be appointed to be in charge of teaching the short sûras of the Qur'an to the junior halâq of beginners.\(^2\)

Other members of the middle and senior halâq would be appointed to be in charge, each, of a newly admitted individual learner to the khalwa - mainly teaching him the Arabic alphabet.\(^3\)

All the halâq shaykhs (junior instructors) would be under the constant direction and guidance of the chief khalwa fakî, who would be keen to see that each junior or halâq shaykh was conducting his specified task, according to the best of his abilities, and all the time following his example (the fakî's).\(^4\)

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1. This has been a universal practice at the big khalwât. The writer has observed this system followed at Kadabez, Abu Qur'an, Umm Dâwan Bân and Hamishkorayb.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Information from al-fakî Ḥâsh al-Masûlî at Umm Dâwan Bân.

The writer's observations.
The function of junior shaykhs was not restricted to teaching but was also extended to other areas. (1)

A striking feature and indeed an essential component of traditional khalwa education has been the upbringing of the hujjar in an atmosphere of religiousness and according to the khalwa moral behaviour. While learning the Qur’an the learner would acquire basic knowledge about Islam. In particular he would receive instruction by the khalwa Shaykh, his assistants or by a murshid qadi, on ‘ajhadi - how to observe tahrir, to make wajah, to perform prayers (the five daily, Friday’s, ‘id’s, funeral’s and rain’s prayers), to observe fasting and know the conditions of zakah and the rituals of hajj, and he would also practise the guri rituals. (2)

Throughout his years of study the hujjar would be subjected to the pervasive spirituality of the khalwa as exemplified in the constant loud recitation of the Qur’an, the adhan for prayer, the group prayer, the guri shafir, the visitations of the musafir and their anecdotes about the kar hồng of the khalwa Shaykhs. All this seems to mould the personality of the khalwa learner - giving rise to distinct qualities such as religiousness, modesty, dependancy on charity, respect to elders, and above all unquestioned respect and loyalty to his guri Shaykh, the spiritual father. (3)

Let us now see how the teaching and learning of the Qur’an has been conducted.

1. See khalwa administration, below.
2. The writer’s observations from his visits to the different khalwas.
3. Ibid.
3. Teaching the Qur'an

Although there has been no restriction on admission to the khalwa, children have always constituted the bulk of the student population. In this respect, a child could join the khalwa any time between the ages of five and fifteen, but the earlier the better. (2)

Long before joining the khalwa, however, the elders of the family, and especially the parents, would have aroused the interest and encouraged the child to join the khalwa to avail himself of the baraka (blessings), and knowledge of the Shaykh or the fakih of the khalwa and to come out as a great fa'il, as the fakih himself or one of his ancestors.

In practice, before officially being admitted to the khalwa, the child's interest would usually have been aroused, also, by his visits to the khalwa when accompanying his father to the mosque for prayer, or on visitation to the Shaykh or the khalwa fakih. Normally, on such occasions the fakih, who knew and was known to almost all the people of the village, would have expected and agreed with the father to admit his son to the khalwa when he was mature enough for khalwa education. (3) Hence,

1. See "Khalwa students", above.

This applies to small villages, and depends on whether the fakih had grown up in the village or stayed long enough to know the people.
he would show a parental attitude towards the child and usually hand him dates as a symbol of ārāpūm and an effective incentive to the child. (1)

In addition, the child would have been attracted by the sight of the ḥulūm of learners chanting the Qur'ān, each with his ālaṣh in his hands. Among these he would normally have recognized many of the older children of his neighbourhood who would be delighted to see him join their ḥulūm.

On the day of admission, the father would take his son to the village ḥulūm fakī, at sun-rise, usually on a Wednesday. The choice of Wednesday for admission of the new āraqī seems to have been an old custom.

The justification for such a practice seems to lie in the fact that the ḥulūm working day was relatively lighter on Wednesdays. Instead of working from before dawn up to late into the night, on Wednesday's late afternoons the ḥulūm study would be suspended and the āraqī would be engaged in the preparation of the weekly bārīq or bārīq al-ʿurūbī (Wednesday offering) (3) which was usually a sort of grain and beans collected from about the village and cooked and eaten by the āraqī and their fakī at the ḥulūm. (4)

1. Information from Ṣalāḥ al-Naqīr, al Damr, November, 1981.
2. Ibid.
Moreover, Thursday would be a half working day, and more important its afternoon was the beginning of the week-end.\(^{(1)}\)

All this would give to the new humar the impression that the khala was a pleasant educational environment.

However, when the child was officially presented to the faqi for admission, the latter would kindly receive him, bless him on the head and reassure his father that he would be instructed and brought up in the best possible way, for God's sake.\(^{(2)}\)

Then, turning to the new humar, he would ask him about his name, his age, his relatives and friends amongst the hayran. All this was meant to check on the child's ability to hear, understand and talk, and at the same time to establish a rapport between the humar and the faqi and diagnose some of the apparent difficulties of the child before assigning him to an advanced assistant.\(^{(3)}\)

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1. The established weekly holiday in all Muslim countries has been Friday; in addition the afternoon of the preceding Thursday has been the start of the weekend. (See Shugayr, vol.1, p.146).

2. The khala teacher received no fees (see financing aspect below).

3. Since the khala is open to all, no applicant is rejected, however, it was found helpful to give special care to those who needed it such as those who had speech difficulties. (Information from al-Nagar.)
The faki would then provide the bawar with the necessary writing implements (1) - a light laqab, an ink-pot, a pen and a piece of limestone.

Next, the khalwa shaykh or the faki would write the verse "bism Allāh al-Rahmān al-Rahim" (In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful) at the top of the laqab. Underneath it, on a separate line, he would write the prayer "Rabb Rabbi as yassir wa la tu'assir 'alaykā ya karim" - meaning "Oh God, make it easier - and not difficult - for us, oh king God". (2)

Then the khalwa (ṣūfī) Shaykh would send the new bawar to his deputy for teaching - the khalwa faki, for teaching the Qurʾān (at small village khalwas the faki himself would have received him). (3) The faki, in turn, would appoint an advanced or semi-advanced bawar to be in charge of the new bawar and to teach him the alphabet and hence reading and writing. (5)

1. See the teaching aids, above; in Eastern and Western Sudan the bawars were required to bring their own laqabs.
2. This has been an established practice at the main khalwa centres such as Kadas, Abū Qurūn, Um Dawwan Bān, Ṭayba and Wad al-Fadhl.
3. The Ṣūfī Shaykh is now responsible for all administration, he does not teach himself, but delegates this function to an assistant - a faki. (See Khalwas of Kadas, Um Dawwan Bān, above).
4. Such as village khalwas in Western Sudan.
5. See below.
Such a practice seems to have been in line with the system of individual instruction and at the same time it was a practical training to the prospective teacher.

On the other hand, in order to be able to learn the Qurʾān by heart—which is the main objective of the first stage of ḥalwa education—the Qurʾān would have first acquired the ability to read and write. Learning to read and write, it should be noted, was not an end in itself, but was regarded as an essential means to correctly read and learn the Qurʾān. (1)

This seems to have been dictated by the fact that in order to memorize the Qurʾān one would need to read it to oneself repeatedly; but there were not enough copies of the Qurʾān—especially during the Punj period. Hence, the necessity of first learning to read and write and copy the Qurʾān, portion by portion, on the wooden slates and every day memorizing the written text from one's lemb. (2) Another obvious justification, and indeed an advantage, of acquiring the art of reading and writing, was that it would acquaint the learner with the Qurʾānic script and give him a practical training on the correct way of reading the Qurʾān, so that he would be able, not only to

1. See above.
2. This has been the established practice of Ṣalwān all over the country. (See Shuqayr, vol. I, p. 141.)
read it for himself, in future, when a copy was available, but also to teach it to others, even from memory.

Further, as a literate person - with practice - he would be able to read any other written material.

At any rate, that seems to have been the universal khalwat method of introducing the kallam to learn the Qur'ān. When teaching the art of writing the established khalwat practice has been to start with teaching the alphabet. Reference in al-tabaqāt to such a practice could be traced back to the 11th/17th century when it was related that al-Massallamī b. Abū Naṣīr who, in order to have access to al-Shaykh Dafṣallāh al-'Arā'ī (d.1034/1623) and ask him for admission in the qūfī path, was said to have posed himself as an ignorant man coming from al-bābiya (the desert). Hence, he was admitted to khalwat al-bābiya (the children's khalwat) where he started by learning the alphabet and the children were helping him trace the letters on his jawb.

As alluded to before, almost the same pattern and methods of teaching and learning that were used during the Fāṭimī era were

1. In contrast to the past, today more and more copies of the Qur'ān are being donated to kallams and could be obtained by large khalwa, yet the khalwat kallān stick to their traditional methods.

2. Most of the teachers of the khalwat teach from memory. (The writer's visit to the khalwa.)

3. Al-tabaqāt, p.84.

4. Ibid.
reported to have been perpetuated by the traditional *kha'la* even up to the present time.\(^{(1)}\) In other words, the present day traditional *khalwa* methods of teaching and learning could be regarded as a reflection of the methods and practices of the Funj period. This could be substantiated by surveying the methods of teaching and learning now and then. Below is an illustration of how the ability of reading and writing was taught at the *khalwa* and how then the process of teaching and learning the Qur’ân was accomplished.

The stage of reading and writing was usually started by learning the alphabet according to the following steps.

First, the *fakih*, using a date-stone\(^{(2)}\) would draw horizontal lines on the white-washed sides of the *lawh*\(^{(3)}\). Then he would write - using the pen, dipped into al-‘imār\(^{(4)}\) (the ink) the first group of the alphabet, یِ ٰ ٰ (a) ٰ ٰ یِ (b) یِ ٰ َ (t) and یِ َ َ َ (th) on one line\(^{(5)}\), and underneath that he would write the same letters, but using a date-stone instead of the pen, in order to make them just visible for al-huwâr, to trace on them, using pen and ‘imâr, for practice.\(^{(6)}\)

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1. See the Attitudes towards *khalwa* education under the Funjo-Egyptian rule, above.
2. See Teaching Aids, below.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*.
5. At the *khalwa* the *hawâr* is taught the shape of the letter together with its classical Arabic name - shown underlined above.
6. The writer’s observations at the *khalwas*.
However, to make the instruction more effective, the faqīḥ would call up the senior ḥawārī he had assigned to be in charge of the new ḥawālī in order to teach him the alphabet. Hence, the senior ḥawālī - the instructor - would take the beginner ḥawālī (usually in the mornings and late afternoons) to the sandy courtyard of the khalwa. There, he would write the first four letters of the alphabet assigned to the new ḥawālī, one by one, on the sand, and while doing so, he (the instructor) would pronounce the name of each letter and the new ḥawālī would repeat after him. The new ḥawālī would then be instructed to write each letter, in turn, on the sand underneath the letters written by his instructor pronouncing the name of each letter as he copied it. Then, under the direct supervision of his instructor, the ḥawālī would practice writing down each and all the assigned letters several times on sand. Finally, the new ḥawālī would be instructed to trace the same letters he had learnt on his list and would be asked to memorize them by heart.

1. Note the use of sand as a teaching aid, see below.
2. The writer’s observations at Kadabās, Abū Qurūn, Ṭayba, Wad al-Padmī and Hamishkorayn.
3. The writer’s observations at the khalwa.
4. Information from the khalwa faqīḥ at Kadabās, Um Dāwan Bān, Wad al-Padmī and Hamishkorayn and al-Pamhir.
5. Ibid.
The following day the new ḵwām would continue practicing each of the assigned group of letters, from memory, on sand.\(^1\)

When he mastered that he would be tested by his instructor who, when satisfied about his 'pupil's' achievement, would teach him the next group of letters.\(^2\)

Thus, the same procedure would be followed in teaching and learning the rest of the alphabet:

\[\text{ жен} (d) \quad \text{ на} (g) \quad \text{ х♥} (gh) \quad \text{ вен} (x) \quad \text{ син} (s) \quad \text{ ин} (n) \quad \text{ ин} (n) \quad \text{ син} (s) \quad \text{ шин} (sh) \quad \text{ жин} (zh) \quad \text{ тин} (t) \quad \text{ вин} (f) \quad \text{ гин} (q) \quad \text{ кин} (k) \quad \text{ лин} (l) \quad \text{ нин} (n) \quad \text{ ва} (y)\]

Secondly, the new ḵwām would be taught by his instructor to recognize and memorize those letters which had dots and those without dots as follows.

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1. Information from the ḵalwa ṣaltā at Kadabā, Um Dəwwan Ḥan, Wad al-Fadil and Kamishkureybh and al-Pashir.

2. The writer was told by the ṣoltā of the ḵalwa mentioned above that the established procedure they were following in teaching the learners was the one described here.
Thirdly, the new בונא would be taught the four grammatical signs:

a) נאשא (fatha); b) קיתא (kaara); c) רבא (reva); and d) סאא (sukun) as applied to each letter

א (a) נאשא; ב (b) קיתא; ג (ג) רבע; ד (d) סאא.

These four grammatical signs would be applied to all the letters of the alphabet. Through repeated practice on the sand and finally on his .listeners, the new בונא would have learnt these signs by heart.

Fourthly, the new בונא would be taught הTween as it was applied to each letter of the alphabet, as follows:

ב (b) after הTween would be transformed into the following forms:

1. The equivalent to the terms used by the קחלא is bracketed such as נאשא (fatha), קיתא (kaara), רבע (sukun) and רבעא stands for רבע. (Interview: המלך עבד אל-ארקא, at al-צִּיְדֵי.)

2. The writer's observations at the קחלא.
(bain) = b. rafh (two strokes above the letter)
(bain) = b. duadatta (two strokes underneath it)
(bain) = b. rad fatha (two commas above the letter)
(bain) = b. fath 

Then the same tanwin would be applied to the rest of the alphabet, such as: ٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩ ٨٩٠١ ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩ .

The new huruf would practice writing these signs of tanwin on each of the letters of the alphabet on sand and finally on his lamb and committing all to memory.

Fifthly, the huruf would learn from his instructor the signs of tashdid - (doubling of letters) in pronunciation, as it applies to the letters of the alphabet:

( bbb) ( bbb) ( bbb) : ( ttt) ( ttt) ( ttt) and so on with the rest of the letters, and according to the manner of teaching and learning described above.

Sixthly, the long vowels. The huruf would learn these in connection with each of the letters of the alphabet, as follows:

( b) learn: as b. tash alif’ . i.e., (the pronunciation
of ba with the long vowel ā would bring in the letter َ (alif). (23) lears as ‘bā ḍābih, i.e., the pronunciation of bā with the long vowel (l) would bring in َ (alif). Similarly, bā (bā) learnt as ‘bā ḍābih wann alif’, i.e., the long vowel َ would bring in the two letters َ (alif) and َ (alif).

The khalwas hayrān usually chant the three forms of vowels while writing or memorizing them: ‘bā ḍābih alif, ḍābih wāw, ḍābih wann wa alif’. (1) The same rule would apply to the rest of the letters which would be learnt in the same previous way.

It is worth noting that at some of the khalwas, such as Hamishkorayb in Eastern Sudan, the hayrān are taught these long vowels in a different pattern from the traditional one followed, almost, by all other khalwas. The Hamishkorayb version runs as follows: ā (ānwā) (ā) (ānwā) (ānwā), i.e., they add the letter ā (ānwā) after every long vowel. Then, in the same way, they apply these vowels with the rest of the letters, such as ā (ānwā) (ā) (ānwā) (ānwā) (ānwā), and so on.

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1. In the Sudanese colloquial Arabic the word ḍābih means brought in. It is a corrupted form of ḍā bi comes with see al-Tabānicos, pp. 121, 141, 208.

2. These are meaningless words meant to give practice in the use of the vowels.

3. Ibid.
In each of the above mentioned six steps, the *hafir* would be expected to follow the procedure of learning described in respect to the first step - i.e., learning.

At this stage, when the *hafir* had successfully learnt the alphabet with the different grammatical signs, described above, he would be trained to write down single words dictated to him by his instructor such as: قَتَبَ الكِتَابَ كَيْتِبَ حَبْبَةٍ الكِتَابَاتِ، etc., in order to test the *hafir*s newly acquired ability of reading and writing using the different signs he had been taught.\(^1\)

After acquiring the ability to combine letters and form words through dictation, the alphabetical stage would come to an end and a new advanced stage would start - learning the Qur'ān through writing.

**Al-Ramya Stage**

The culmination of the alphabetical stage and the beginning of writing the Qur'ān through dictation has always been exemplified in surat al-Fātiha (the opening chapter of the Qur'ān).

Reaching this stage was always regarded as a considerable

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1. This procedure is used in almost all the *kaighth* visited by the writer.
step forward in the learner's academic progress. The hawār would have been required by the fakī to have his lawḥ clean and white-washed by lime stone and lined and his pen prepared in the best condition and his ink-pot in its richest form.\(^{(1)}\)

The fakī then would dictate 'ṣūrat al-Fatīha' (Qur'ān: 1) clearly, word for word, twice, reminding the hawār of the grammatical signs. Whenever the hawār finished writing a verse he would have been taught to repeat its last two words so that the fakī could continue dictating the following verse - i.e., the dictation would be geared to the learner's individual pace.\(^{(2)}\)

When the hawār finished writing 'ṣūrat al-Fatīha' the fakī would correct his writing paying particular attention to the spelling and grammatical signs. Then he would read the written text from the lawḥ and the hawār would repeat after him.\(^{(3)}\)

By this time the hawār would have already learnt by heart 'ṣūrat al-Fatīha' from his parents, companions and the fakī. Testing his ability in memorization of the first chapter he had written on his lawḥ, the fakī would order the hawār to stand up and recite the sūrah, which he would do successfully, and to the

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1. The writer's observations at the Mshalan of Kadahān and Wad al-Raḍānī. Information from ustād ‘Uthmān al-AIraq.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
satisfaction of the fact. (1)

Reaching this stage was always regarded as a landmark in the learner's khala'ah study. (2) For this reason the occasion would be celebrated by the khala'ah and the parents of the child. (3)

From now on the buwär would join a junior halqa of colleagues of similar age and standard praised over by an advanced buwär - a halqa Shaykh. (4) Here each buwär would be dictated, individually - depending on his ability and the level he had reached - an appropriate portion of the Qur'ân.

This has been known as the stage of al-ramya. The ramya being the term denoting a portion of dictation from the Qur'ân - consisting of a verse or a part of it - literally meaning a "throwing". (5) The idea and the practice was that the fact or the halqa Shaykh surrounded by a halqa of haybân of different standards would rapidly dictate, individually, to each one of them, from his memory, a verse or a part of the verse from the relevant and different chapters of the Qur'ân, each was learning. (6)

1. Information from al-faṣl Ḥabst al-kasûl, at the khala'ah of Umn Dawwan Bân.
3. Ibid.
4. See the khala'ah of Wâd' al-Pâdâl above, for reference to such junior halqas.
6. Ibid.; the writer's observations.
In effect, he would be dictating, simultaneously, a number of pieces of dictation - portions of the Qur'ān - equivalent to the number of the hajraḥ constituting that hulga.\(^1\)

The procedure was that the hulga Shaykh, addressing a certain hujur would dictate to him the first verse of the daily portion of the Qur'ān he had to learn. The hujur, repeating the verse for himself in a low voice, would write it down on his lawh. Meanwhile, the hulga Shaykh would turn to another attenative hujur and dictate to him the first verse of his relevant chapter and while he was taking it down, the teacher would move to a third, and a fourth, and so on.\(^2\)

When a hujur finished writing down the dictated verse, he would raise up his head and in order to draw the attention of the faqīḥ, for continuation of the dictation, he would repeat loudly the last two or three words of the verse he had written. The teacher, then, in response to the hint of each pupil would dictate, each of them, the following relevant verse(s) of his assigned portion.\(^3\)

However, as there were usually many hajraḥ of different standards

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1. The writer's observations at Wad al-Fānih and Hamishkorayb.
2. The writer's observation at Wad al-Fānih and Hamishkorayb.
   The hulga varies between a handful of hajraḥ to about forty for the well experienced faqīḥ. (Information from al-faqīḥ Amīr at Wad al-Fānih.)
3. The writer's observation on his visit to the hulga.
at the hālīa, each shouting simultaneously the last words of his written verse, and since there were similarities of such hints the teacher had always to be on the alert, to sort out, and dictate to each pupil, the relevant continuation of his assignment. (1) Hence, the more experienced the teacher, the more qualified he would be to dictate or "throw" to any hālīa of whatever size or standard it might be. (2)

Similarly, the more experienced al-huwār, the better his ability would be to grasp al-rānya. For this reason when al-huwār was able to memorize the verse that was dictated to him, at the rapid pace of al-fātī, and could write the whole of it on his šawb, without forgetting a word, he was said, in the terminology of the khalwas to have shāl al-ramya (attained the dictation level), which was normally reached by the average learner when he had learnt 1/4 of the Qurʾān – i.e., up to sūrat Yāsīn (Qurʾān, sūra/36). (3)

The next stage would be the sība (the correction) (4) which was composed of two parts: a) correction of writing; b) correction

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1. The writer's observation at Hanishkorayb and wād al-Fāharī.
2. Often the ṭabārī boosted the size of their hālīa for the rānya session – an indication of their experience and the advanced level of their students.
3. Al-Bīlī, p.10.
4. Information from the khalwa fakīh at Kadābās, Abū Qurūn, Umm Dawwān Rāh.
of reading:

(a) Each hawān of the palga would come forward, with his leash to the teacher who would correct the spelling and the grammatical mistakes he might have done whether from dictation or from copying from the text of the Qur'ān. (1)

(b) The teacher would, then, read the written text and the pupil would repeat after him — as a form of model reading. The same procedure would be followed with the rest of the bayrān of the balqa. Then, when the correction tasks were completed, the teacher would instruct his pupils to retire to their places and embark on learning by heart the written daily portion of the Qur'ān.

This would usually take the form, as correctly described by Tringham, of all the bayrān of the different halāqas chanting together in monotone, swaying back and forth in rhythm, droning the portions indefinitely until they were memorized. (2)

In the evening all the bayrān would assemble in the spacious courtyard of the khālwa round the huge wood fire or its symbol (since now, many of the big traditional khālwa centres have

1. The teachers' observations at Abū Qurān, Tayba and Umm Dawwa in Sān; see references to al-Sibāḥa in al-Jabāl, pp. 234, 284, 337.
2. The writer's observations at the khālwas — Tringham, Islam in the Sudan, p. 117.
introduced electricity). The hayān would be ready for recitation of the daily assignment of the Qur'ān before the khalwa Shaykh of the chief faizi.

This recitation has been known as the 'arda. The recital was always very formal, the rules of the Qur'ānic recension were strictly observed. The faizi would usually be seated on his bed or prayer carpet and the huwar would recite from a standing position with haw standing at his side held by one hand.

If the 'arda was satisfactory the huwar would be passed for the daily assignment, but if he failed he would have to repeat the memorization and present himself the following day. In such a case he would be called muqayyid (staying in one place for a long time) - a repeater.

Those who have passed would be allowed to wipe or wash off

1. Almost all of the main khalwa centres have introduced electricity - such as Kadabā, Abū Qūsim, Um Dawwas Bān, Wad al-Šāsī, Ṭayba, Hamishkorayb.

2. The origin of 'arda could be traced back to the act of the Prophet of reciting the Qur'ān in its entirety before the angel Gabriel ('Allā, Ḥādālāh Yūsuf, op. cit., p.17; al-Bīlī, p.9; see al-Ghabānī, pp.284, 314 and 337 for references to al-'arda).


4. Ibid.
their hands and prepare for learning the next section of the Qur'ān - in the same way. (1)

As the hayrān of the khulwa, and indeed of each halāq, were of different standards the portions of the Qur'ān learnt varied in length from one to the other. Hence the junior hayrān would start by memorizing the shortest portion called the kharrūba (8-10 lines) (2). It should be noted in this respect that the text of the Qur'ān, for the sake of learning, has been divided and subdivided according to the following order: (3) thirty juz' (parts); each juz' has been divided and subdivided into smaller sections in such a way that the juz' is made up of eight magra; the magra is composed of two thumām - i.e., each of the thirty juz' (parts) of the Qur'ān is composed of sixteen thumām and each thumām is made of three kharrūba. (4) Hence, the smallest portion is the kharrūba which is assigned to beginners, and for the more advanced the khumur in his learning of the Qur'ān - i.e., when reading the Qur'ān for al-'āwda al-nurra and al-'āwda al-bilwā (second and third rounds) his daily assignment of the Qur'ān to memorize would be a thumām and a magra respectively. (5)

For learning purposes the beginner learns the Qur'ān in a

1. Information from al-fakih Haib al-Rasūl at Umm Dawsan 520.
2. Al-Bili, p.11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., Information from the Khulwā fakih of Abu Qur'ān and Kadiabān.
reversed or ascending order - starting from the end and going to the beginning of the Book.\(^1\) The reason and the established khalwa practice was always to teach the shorter Sūras first and progress towards the longer.\(^2\)

In his endeavour to learn the Qur'ān the ḥawār would usually need to make four rounds of reading, writing, memorising and reciting the whole of the text of the Qur'ān, in the manner described above.\(^3\)

The first upward round is called the Nādi (the beginner's) stage. The subsequent rounds are usually done in the logical order - from the chapter of al-Cāṣība\(^4\), then al-baqara\(^5\) (the cow) and down to the last Sūra of al-mān.\(^6\)

The second downward round is called al-fāṣāda al-murr (the bitter round), the third downward round is called al-fāṣāda al-bilwa (the sweet round), and the final one is called al-khatma.

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1. Information from ustādh 'Uthmān al-Àrāq at al-Sūq al-Àrāq.
2. This procedure has been followed all over the khalwas and at the modern schools too. The shorter Sūras are easier to memorise and would be needed for prayer.
3. Those are nūd (beginner), fāṣāda murr (bitter round), al-fāṣāda al-thanthya (the second round) and al-khatma (the sealing or the final).
5. Qur'ān, Sūra 2.
(the sealing) round.1)

The duration of thoroughly mastering the Qur'ān would naturally differ according to individual and environmental differences.

As alluded to above, in regions where Arabic was not the mother tongue of the learners - such as some parts of Darfur or in the Beja region of Hamishkorayb, it seems to have required a long period for learners to master learning the Qur'ān - much longer than it would have taken Arabic speaking learners of Khabba of Northern and Central Sudan.2)

To further illustrate this, the writer was informed that at the beginning it took learners of the Khabba of Hamishkorayb four years just to learn reading and writing and to memorize the first three juz' of short surahs of the Qur'ān.3) As a result of a number of factors associated with the mudājirīn khabba camps such as that of Nāmi, Tawila District in Darfur, a mudājir would need about fifteen years just to learn the Qur'ān - in comparison to

2. Information from al-fakī al-Sāhir Abū Bakr at Hamishkorayb and al-fakī Abū Mūla Abū 'Ushar, Nāmi, Tawila; see Nūr, table 6.
4. The writer's visit to the mudājirin camp at Nāmi, Tawila, Darfur.
an average four years a learner would need to memorize the Qur'ān at the khalwa centres of Central and Northern Sudan.\(^{(1)}\)

\[\text{al-Sharifa}\]

The word stands for "honouring", it refers to the traditional celebration which was made whenever an individual hujja, at the bāṣi stage (the beginner's) reached a certain level of achievement in his academic progress, i.e., in his effort to write and memorize the Qur'ān.

The first sharīfa experienced by a beginner was that of fust al-ṣawāba\(^{(2)}\) (the opening chapter of the Qur'ān), also known as sharīfa al-husnā, for the first verse of that sura starts with the words al-husnā lil-Allāh (Praise be to God).

The sharīfa on the lohā takes the form of a rectangular frame of design or decoration of colours available to the harān - usually black, white, yellow and red.\(^{(3)}\) There were always advanced harān who had acquired more experience, or who were gifted, in making colourful sharīfa or decoration around the written portion of the Qur'ān reached by the celebrated hujja.\(^{(4)}\)

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1. Nūr, p.10
2. Qur'ān, Sūra 1.
4. Information from khalwa faktu at Ummīdawwān Bān.
following form. The honoured huwar, in accordance with the khalwa tradition, would carry his decorated jash in front of his and, accompanied by two or three of his fellows, would first go to his home - to his parents who would be greatly pleased with their son's achievement. Here, they would prepare special food for the occasion - which would vary depending on the condition of the family and the stage of the shahrat - and bring it to the khalwa for the fakir and the hayran.

Further, and also according to the tradition, the celebrated huwar and his companions would go around the houses of the village to show his shahrat and ask for karana (offering) on the occasion. The families would usually offer them some grain and dry beans - which the huwar and his companions would take to the khalwa. There, all the collected stuff would be boiled in a large pot by the hayran and when cooked, all of them, together with their fakir, would have their share of it. Then, all would read prayers for

1. Information from khalwa fakir at Ham Rawwab Ban.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
the hawār concerned, for more progress. It also seems to have been employed as a well-appreciated colourful reward for the hawār's academic effort and also as an effective incentive for the hawār to reach the next stage or 'sharī'a'. It seems also to have served as a reward for the beginner in his effort to read and memorize the whole of the Qur'ān.

The different positions of al-sharī'a for the hawār in his upward round to read and memorize the Qur'ān as follows: (2)

a) al-fā'īla (sūra 1); b) al-Ra'yīna (sūra 98); c) al-A'fā (sūra 27)

1. Al-Tayyib, "Changing Customs", p.59. Information also from the hawās fakās of Kadabān and Iam D'awwān Bān. However, these rituals of al-sharī'a are no longer practised at the hawās but al-sharī'a occasions seem to be exploited for collecting food by al-mubītā in Bārīn.

2. These are the main positions which were used usually to monitor the learner's progress in his effort to cover the first round of reading and memorizing the Qur'ān. (Information from the hawās fakās of Kadabān, Iam D'awwān Bān and Mad al-Fadnl.)
When successfully memorizing al-Baqara the 

waqar would have it, 
effect accomplished the first khatma (sealing of the Qur'ān).

Whenever al-baṣār successfully progressed in his study his 
parents, depending on their economic conditions, would usually 
prepare a meal or feast and a present to the faqī. At first it 
would be of little cost but with their son advancing in his studies, 
the value of the feast and the present of the faqī would be of 
higher value too.¹) For example, while for al-sharīf of 
el-Ḥayyūn (sūra 98) it was a makan of tasād (a large basin-like 
dish of traditional food), the feast for reaching Yā-sīn (sūra 36) 
which represents one quarter of the Qur'ān, a lamb would be 
offered; and when reaching al-kahf (sūra 18) which represents 
one half of the Qur'ān, a big ram was slaughtered, but when 
reaching the khatma (sealing) stage, a bull would be offered. 
Correspondingly the khatma faqī would be given appropriate

¹. Information from ustāshāḥ hamīn al-ʿaṣrāq, al-ṣāḥib al-ʿaṣrāq; 
and al-faqī Ḥabīb al-Ḥusayn, Unn Dawān Ban.
presents—in cash and in the form of clothes.\(^1\)

When the [\(\text{hawār}\)] finally graduates, however, that would be
the biggest occasion to celebrate, at the [\(\text{khālīfa}\)] and at his
home.\(^2\)

\textit{\textit{Al-Jafrāṣī}} refers to this occasion when \textit{\textit{al-fakīh}} `Abd
al-\textit{Rahmān} b. Usayd (d.1127/1715) was given, as a present, on
that occasion, a horse, by the father of his ex-student, `Abdi
\textit{al-Rahmān} Wālid Dūwayḥ.\(^3\)

At present, the graduates [\(\text{hawār}\)] would distribute dates and
tea to the rest of \textit{\textit{al-hayrīn}} and make celebrations at home.\(^4\)

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1. Information from the \textit{\textit{khālīfa}} of \textit{\textit{kadābās}}, Umm Dāwwan
\textit{Rāh} and Wād al-\textit{Fādī}.  
2. \textit{Ibid}.  
3. \textit{Al-Jafrāṣī}, p.286.  
4. \textit{The Khālīfa fakīh of Kadābās}, Umm Dāwwan Rāh and Wād al-\textit{Fādī}.  

C. The Teaching of 'ilm

As has been alluded to above, after learning the Qur'ān at the first stage of khalwa education, desirous students would travel to a khalqa of a renowned teacher of 'ilm - at the higher stage. (1) Here the learner would embark upon studying the subject - a branch of 'ilm or a book - that this teacher was reputed for and after mastering that he would move to another teacher for another subject or book and might go to a third one, and finally he would usually join the gūrī Path. (2)

The procedure of learning 'ilm was to study one book at a time, and to start with the easier - and not to study more than one subject or textbook simultaneously, for it was believed that such a practice might hamper learning. (3) This could be traced back to an old Arab tradition. (4)

Al-Qādārī is full of references to illustrate this point; al-Wāghch 'Alī b. Harīr (d.1073/1663) studied the Qur'ān under

1. Such as the Khalwas of the Sons of Jābir, Qahrayūn, (above).
2. See "The academic qualifications ... of Khalwa teachers," above.
3. Interview with mu'tam 'Uthmān al-Abad, al-'Arīf, November 1981.
4. A father advising the mu'addib of his son said "Do not move them from one 'ilm to another until they have mastered the one before it (Ibn qutayba, 'Uṣūl al-akhbar, vol.II, Part VI, p.167).
al-faqīh Busrah, Khalīl under al-Shaykh Ǧughayrūn, theology under al-faqīh Ǧusayn Ǧubayr, and then followed al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ǧawār al-Agharī.(1)

Al-faqīh Ǧayyallāh b. ‘Alī (d.195/1674) learnt the Qur’ān at the mosque of al-Ǧayyūnī, studied al-Ǧisāla and Khalīl under al-Shaykh al-Ǧayn b. Ǧughayrūn, taḏālī and grammar under Ḥanīd al-Qāridī, and followed al-Shaykh Dafāʾallāh al-Ǧarākhī in the Ǧūfī Path.(2)

For more examples, the surveys of khawāfa centers described above could be consulted.(3) Some of the outstanding teachers, however, were reported to have been conducting several courses of ‘ilm each day – each involving the study of a different textbook – such as al-faqīh Ǧabd al-Raḥmān b. Uṣayrī (d.1127/1715)(4) and before him al-Shaykh Dafāʾallāh al-Ǧarākhī (d.1094/1683)(5) and his contemporaries al-faqīh Ǧawār b. ‘Abd al-Ǧafīr(6) and

2. Ibid., p.246.
3. See for example the khawāfa centers of “The sons of Ǧābir” and those of Ǧughayrūn and al-Ǧubūsh, above. The notes on the biographies of ‘ilm of al-Tabassāṭ give ample evidence.
5. Ibid., pp.261-2.
Tays at al-Mass'ad, at the end of the thirteenth century, is reported to have stated that they would study one textbook after the other - starting with the easiest of each subject. For example, in the study of fiqh they would start with al-
Ashūbī, and then al-Ashābī, and, at last, study Khallīi. Similarly, when studying Arabic grammar, they would start with al-Afrūsyya and end with al-Afīsyya.

Almost the same trend and practices were confirmed to have been adhered to at the present time.

As to the actual procedure and techniques of instruction in an 'ilm lesson, al-Tābaqāt gives brief and general references to this matter. The procedure followed by al-faṣīḥ ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Usayd in teaching the 'ilm lessons and textbooks could

1. Al-Tābaqāt, p.262.
4. Ibid.

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illustrate the point. The same procedure was perpetuated during the subsequent periods - except for the Mahdiyya during which the teaching of 'ilm was almost banned. Further elaboration is given below.

The teacher would sit on his mat surrounded, in a semi-circle, by the students of that subject, or indeed of the textbook studied, each with a laء or a notebook in hand. He would open the session by reading al-ṣūrah and praise on the Prophet and then would beckon to an advanced student of 'ilm called al-muṣābil (i.e. the opposite) to introduce the new lesson. Al-muṣābil would read the whole text of the lesson of the day, then the raʿīṣ would read the same text or even recite it from memory, stopping at each phrase, explaining the linguistic and giving the general meaning. The students would copy the lesson on their 'lābā and embark on its memorization. Next day he would read the ḥakhim (the commentary) on the text. Lastly the teacher would give the students a chance to discuss the lesson, relate it to practical problems of life - illustrating

1. Al-Tārikh, pp.283-4; see “the Daily Programmes”, below.
2. See Attitudes and Condition of khulwas under the Mahdiyya period”, above.
3. Interview with ʿUthman al-Anṣāq at al-Ṣufi.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
by examples — and the teacher might add his own commentary.\(^1\) Meanwhile, these advanced students would go, one by one, to the teacher to recite the lesson they had copied and memorized, and a new assignment would be set.\(^2\)

The duration of the lesson would usually take about two to three hours,\(^3\) or the period between two consecutive prayers — zuhr and 'asr, 'asr and maghrib, maghrib and 'ishr'.\(^4\)

The teacher, as indicated above, would be conducting several different lessons to different groups of students — i.e., the groups would rotate around the same teacher assisted by a mu'allif from each group.\(^5\)

At present, the teaching of 'ilm is rare at the kholawas.\(^6\) It has been taken over by the modern religious institutions, and the traditional kholawas have been, in effect, restricted to the teaching of the Qur'an — described above.\(^7\)

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1. The same method was confirmed to the writer by ustaz 'Uthman al-Araaq at al-Duff, November 1981.
2. Tringham, Islam in the Sudan, p.119.
4. Information from ustaz 'Uthman al-Araaq.
5. Ibid.
6. Very few kholawas teach 'ilm such as Hamishkoryab and Kadaba, above.
7. See "Methods of teaching the Qur'an", above.
SUBJECTS, BOOKS AND TEACHING AIDS

A. The Qur'an

This is the main source and text book. It has been used as both a means of learning (reading and writing) and above all as an end in itself, as the Muslims' sacred Book to be learnt, and its teachings to be complied with.

In the past there were a few handwritten copies of the Qur'an for the shalwa fakåts and the advanced hayrån - all bound loose in order to be easily divided into parts and distributed to the hayrån concerned, each according to his standard. (1)

Today there are still very few copies in circulation in each shalwa, despite the availability of printed copies of the Qur'an. This seems to be so because shalwas, under their traditional fakåts, still rely more on memorisation and the use of their leabas, than on reading from the printed text of the Qur'an. (2)

1. Interview with al-Naqar, al-Damer, November, 1981.
2. From the writer's observations and from confirmation from all the shalwa fakåts he has met, this seems to have been the universal practice of shalwas.
Although there seems to have been a consensus on what was taught at the basic stage of *khalwa* education as exemplified in the teaching of the Qur’an and the ability to read and write, no such agreement on what specifically was to be taught at the higher stage of the *khalwa* seems to have been reported. This seems to have been so because of the fluid nature of the term *ilm* which came to incorporate not only the religious sciences but also other studies, regarded as complementary to it and helpful in understanding the religious texts—such as literature, grammar, language, commentary on *tanzil* and *gazza*—and without which the education of men of religion was considered as incomplete.\(^1\)

Further, each *khalwa* remained autonomous from the others—drawing its own policy and devising its own curricula and syllabuses.\(^2\)

However, owing to the state of ignorance under which the first generations of Muslims of the early Punj period were living, the pioneer teachers of that period found it necessary, in order to consolidate Islam, to concentrate on the essentials—

1. ‘Abdīn, p. 94.
2. Āl-Baṣīr, “Religious Education”, p. 80. Today the teaching of *ilm* is conducted by only a handful of *khalwas*, such as Al-Qulī al-Āzraq and Hamīshkorayt, which still use a selection of the textbooks mentioned here (the writer’s visit to the *khalwas*).
the basic Shari'a studies – through the study of a few abridged text-books and commentaries that were in vogue in the Muslim world at the time, as will be indicated below.

Owing to the conservative nature of the Khalwa, and because of the continuous need to, and popularity of, these studies and books among the Sudanese of the past periods, the same type of education - in terms of subjects and text-books - introduced by the Khalwa founder or its first renowned teacher(s), was perpetuated by the subsequent successors and even extended to other regions by the Khalwa graduates. Hence, as was alluded to above, during the Funj era, next to the Qur'an, the most popular subjects taught at the Khalwa were:

a) Fiqh, which seems to have been introduced, first, by al-Shaykh Muhmmad al-Iraqi, and later emphasized and disseminated on a wider scale through the efforts of the Sons of Jābir in the 10th/16th century, and seems to have been the most popular subject afterwards. The popularity of Fiqh among the first generations of the Funj period seems to have arisen in response to a vital need of knowledge of the Shari'a law to regulate the life of the Sudanese Muslims then.

1. See pp.413-5, above.
2. See the reference to al-Shaykh Muhmmad al-Iraqi, Part I.
3. See the Khaliwa of the Sons of Jābir, Part I, Chapter Four; see Milharm, NH, p.300.
4. See Part I, Chapter One, above.
Khallī and al-Ṭabāṣr

At any rate, during the Fāṭimid era, the most popular fish books were the two Malikite standard text-books, Duḥṣaṣan Khallī or Khallī, and al-Risālah which were both introduced in the Fāṭimid land by al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Būlāb b. Jābīr.

These two text-books were spread in the Fāṭimid lands mainly through the outstanding students of the Khulan of the Sons of Jābīr, who flourished as prominent khulan teachers in their own...

1. The author was al-Shaykh Khallī b. Ibrāhīm (d.766/1365) - a Malikite jurist who was said to have been in charge of al-ṣatwa in Egypt. The book was used at al-Ashar and was popular in al-Maghrib, Egypt and the Fāṭimid kingdom. It was said to have been translated into French (Qaribullāh, p.43).

2. The author of al-Risālah was Imām Abū ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abī Lāyli of Qayrawān (d.366 A.H.). He was head of the Malikite sect during his time. The book was originally written for beginners; in the Sudan it was taught as a popular fish text-book - usually before Khallī in order (al-Tabaṣrī, p.46).

3. See the Khulan of the Sons of Jābīr, Part I, Chapter Four, above.
right, and continued the efforts of their teachers. (1)

(a-2) Ṣūrūh (sing. Ṣaḥā) and Ṣawāsī (sing. Ṣawāsiyya) on Ḳhālīl and al-Ḫālidā

As complementary to Ḳhālīl and al-Ḫālidā, Ǧaḥbāri includes references to a number of Ṣūrūh (commentaries) and Ṣawāsī (glossaries) on these two text-books and others, and which were in circulation in the Sudan, such as:

1. Reference could be made to the following:

(i) Al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-Ḫaṣān who flourished as a Ḳhālīm teacher at Muri in the Ṣawāsiyya region, and to his descendants afterwards (see Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 257, 351, 272, 227, 307, 280, 262-4, 351 and 352).

(ii) Al-Ṣayḥ Muḥammad Ṣagāyūn and successors at al-Abūḏ (Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 361-6, 246, 352, 267 and 363).

(iii) Al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbdallāḥ al-ʿAṣālī and successors at Abū Ḥarār on the Blue Nile (Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 25), 323, 326, 161, 97-2, 338 and 335).

(iv) Al-Qaḍāʾ al-Baṣāliḥ Abū Ǧaḥūs and successors (Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 80, 372-3, 82-81, 93 and 373).

(v) Al-Ṣayḥ Yaʿqūb b. Ǧaḥūs al-Qaḍāʾ and successors (Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 372-3, 325 and 327).

(vi) Al-Qaḍāʾ Ḥayfālīn b. ʿAllī and descendants at al-Ḫalfūsyya (Ǧaḥbaḏāri, pp. 246, 364, 274 and 188-9).
The author 'Abd al-Sāqī b. Yusuf... al-Zurqānī, the Mālikī šaykh (born and lived in Egypt 1020/1610 - 1099/1688); he taught at al-Ashār and among his many works was his famous šarh on Khaḥlī (which was later printed in Egypt in 1303 A.H., in 6 vols. (al-Ṭabāṣrī, p.183, n.12).


3. The author was 'All b. Ḥayr al-'Ubaidīn... al-Asbūrī also became šaykh of the Mālikites in his country Egypt at his time (967/1550 - 1066/1656). Of his popular works were his three šahāḥ (commentaries) on Khaḥlī (al-Ṭabāṣrī, p.52, n.11).

4. Al-Asbūrī also wrote a šahāḥ on al-Ḍikṣāra (al-Ṭabāṣrī, p.52, n.11).

5. See n.(ix).

6. See n.(v).

7. Al-Ṭabāṣrī, p.349.
and al-Risāla were exemplified in the following:

(1) Al-faqīh Sayf Allāh b. 'Allī (d.1095/1684), ṫashīya 'ala Sharḥ Mukhtār Khālīfī. (1)

(11) Al-faqīh al-Muhājir Akaddānī al-Miqrī (d.1095/1684), wrote Sharḥ 'Adīdat al-Risāla, and al-Tashīya which was considered as his best work. (2)

(111) Al-faqīh Muḥammad b. 'Abdālāh al-Asbāsh, al-Tashīya 'ala Khālīfī. (1)

(14) Al-faqīh Mukhtār b. Jādāt Allāh, Sharḥ al-Risāla. (4)

[a-4] Other Ḥalīki fīsh books and commentaries

In addition to Khālīfī, al-Risāla and to their sharīʿah and hadīthī, the Sudanese ʿulāmaʿ also used other Ḥalīki fīsh works as their khulṣaṣ, of which the following could be mentioned:

(1) Al-Akhḍārī, Mukhtār al-Akhḍārī fī al-ʿAkhḍārī. (5)

1. The author was the great-grandfather of the author of al-Tahāqāt, whose father relied on it in his teachings at al-Salṭānā (al-Tahāqāt, p.246).

2. The author was the grandson of al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Miqrī, a student of Sālim al-Sanḥūrī (see above), (al-Tahāqāt, pp.109-10).


4. Ibid., p.346.

5. The author was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhḍārī, from Algeria (912/1512 - 983/1575) (al-Tahāqāt, p.283, n.21).
book was a summary on religious observance and was meant for the instruction of beginners, and was among the textbooks used by al-faqih Šābd al-Rahmān b. Usayd, at his khwāja, at Ḥārān. \(^{(1)}\)

(ii) al-faqih Ṣaḥḥār Jādat Allāh, Šarḥ Muḥtamar al-Adabār. \(^{(2)}\)

(iii) Al-'Aṣhāwī, Kāmi al-'Aṣhāwiyya, an introduction on Malizite ṣiqa, was used also by al-faqih 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Usayd. \(^{(3)}\)

(iv) Al-Shabārkhī, Šarḥ al-Shabārkhī 'qūb al-'Aṣhāwiyya, introduced into the Sudan by al-faqih Ḥāsid al-Layyin. \(^{(4)}\)

(v) Saḫnān, al-Mudwjan al-Dubra, a compilation of about 36,000 of the ṣawās of al-Imām Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣaḵār, was arranged by his followers and was spread especially in al-Taghrib and hence contributed to the spread of the Malizite rite. \(^{(5)}\)

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1. Al-Tabaqāt, p.283.
2. Ibid., p.346.
3. The author was Imām 'Abd al-Ṣāliḥ al-'Aṣhāwī al-Rifā'i, (al-Tabaqāt, pp.283,22 and 283).
4. The author was Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Shabārkhī, a Malizite Ṣāliḥ at al-Asfar (al-Tabaqāt, p.183).
5. The compilers were first Asad b. al-Purāt, then reorganized by Saḫnān - 'Abd al-Salām b. Saʿīd al-Darākhī (2nd century A.H.) (al-Tabaqāt, p.183, n.7).
It was used in the Sudan by Khalifa Shaykhs as a source book. (1)

(a-5) Shafi'ite Fiqh:

Although as could be seen from the above the dominant teachings in the Sudan at the time were those of the Maliki rite, yet al-Tahānāt makes references to individual teachers who were engaged in the dissemination of the Shafi'ite madhab. Al-Shaykh Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. Qara al-Kula unh who came to the Sudan and settled at Darfur in the second half of the 10th/16th century was said to have introduced the Shafi'ite madhab and as a result of his efforts it spread into the Gezira. (2) However, due to the dominance of the Maliki teachings and their widespread through the khalas teachers and students of the popular Maliki Fiqh and textbooks, as illustrated above, the Shafi'ite rite lost the battle to the Maliki, and seems to have been restricted to the coastal region of the Red Sea – to the districts of Sunkin and Tokar. (3)

The Shafi'ite books which were in use during the Funj period were:

1. Al-Tahānāt, p.185.
2. Ibid., pp.43, 445-6.
3. Ibid., p.6.
- Zarkariyya al-Anṣārī, Ishaq b._COLLIDE(1), and
- al-Rawa'i, Abu Zarkariyya, Ishaq b. COLLIDE.(2)

Both text-books were used by the adherents of the Shafi'iite rite.(3)

(a-c) 'Ijt al-Qarā'ī (Islamic Law of Inheritance)

This science - or branch of fiqh - was said to have been very popular amongst the early Muslim generations who were greatly concerned with the settlement of disputes on practical problems of inheritance in accordance to the Shafi'i law, especially problems arising from the distribution of land and animals and other types of property.(4) It was concerned with all aspects of "Islamic law of descent and distribution", and hence it became popular.

This branch of fiqh was reported to have been introduced into the Funj kingdom by al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Sharaf al–Kamānī, the Shafi'iite, who taught it to the following Sudanese

1. The author was Zarkariyya b. Muhammad Sayyid al-Dīn al-Anṣārī, (d.926/1520); he was a Shafi′ite fiqī and at one time reluctantly accepted the post of a ṣāḥib (al—Tarāṣṭ, p.234, n.3).
2. The author was the Shafi′ite fāqī, Abu Zarkariyya Ḥabīb al-Dīn b. Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Rawa'i (Syria) (1,676/1277), (al—Tarāṣṭ, p.234, n.1 and 2).
4. Ibid., p.7.
to his son Malik,
- al-Qāfi 'Ushays, and
- al-Raqībi 'Ibrāhim al-Saraqī.

Of those who became highly reputed for the dissemination of 'ilm al-Saraqī were:

1) al-Raqībi 'Uthmān b. 'Abūl-Dī, who was said to have written a Kitāb al-muṣnūn on the subject, which he called al-Farāṣiyya. Hence, he came to be known as 'Ibrāhim al-Saraqī.

2) al-Raqībi Malik b. 'Abbād al-Rabī'ī hadhūdūd was reported to have become highly versed in the science of inheritance and wrote three treatises on the subject. Kubra (major), muda (medium) and sughra (junior) were described as being most useful.

1. Al-Tabaqāt, pp. 354-5.
2. Ibid., p. 31.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 351.
al-Tahābāt by three interrelated terms - taṣbīh, aqā'il and ḥalāqah. (1)

The study of theology was mainly centred on the text-book in vogue - Maṣāʾīl al-Sāhīṣiyā, which was a prolegomena in taṣbīh (theology) and had three treatises on the creed: (2)

(1) Khuṭra al-Sāhīṣiyā, known also as 'Aqā'il al-Ṣāliḥ al-Taṣbīḥ (the creed of believers in the oneness of God);
(2) Jasta al-Sāhīṣiyā, known as al-Furṣūidence.
(3) Sanṣaṣ al-Sāhīṣiyā, also called 'Umm al-Burāhīn (Mother of Arguments). (3)

(2-7) Of the main 'ulamā' and khalṣa Shaykhs who contributed to the dissemination of this science through teaching at their khawasq or through writing sharī' or nāṣiḥiyā, mention could be

1. Al-Tahābāt, p.6; Millarmon, SHK, p.200; Trimmingham, Tahābāt in the Twelver, p.119.
2. The author was 'Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Ṭālī Yaḥyā al-Rishāyī of Trimmingham, 1295/1480 (al-Tahābāt, p.6; Qaṣīṣullāh, p.260).
3. The first treatise to have been used in the Funi land was 'Umm al-Burāhīn, the other two (1), (3) above were introduced from Ḫuzā' by al-Taṣbīḥ Muḥammad b. 'Adīn al-Shāfiʿī (al-Tahābāt, p.360).
made of al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Isā Qawār al-Dhabāb who, as has been indicated earlier, received instruction in the science 'ilm al-Kalām or tashbīh, together with the sciences of the Qur'an and Sunnism, at the hands of al-Shaykh al-Tirmidhī al-Naghshībī.\(^{(1)}\)

He further received instruction in the same fields—al-aqā'id—at the hands of al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Naghshībī.\(^{(2)}\)

It was through the efforts of al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Isā and his students and al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Naghshībī and his students that the science of tashbīh was spread throughout the Punj lands. Of their students who contributed considerably in the field, reference should be made to al-Shaykh 'All b. Barri\(^{(3)}\), his student al-faqīh Arbāb b. 'Amīn who became so known for teaching tashbīh or al-aqā'id that he became better known as Arbāb al-Aqā'id,\(^{(4)}\) al-Madārī al-Kudsī\(^{(5)}\) and al-faqīh Muhammad b. 'Azīz al-Qawār\(^{(6)}\).

1. **Al-Dabāhī**, pp. 43, 346; see also the Khaiba of Qawār al-Dhabāb, above.
5. **Ibid.**, pp. '02-4.
- 'Ali b. Barri wrote two commentaries on Umm al-Barakān.
  (i) al-Sharh al-Kabīr (in 40 notebooks).
  (ii) al-Sharh al-Jasāhir (in 20 notebooks).

- Al-Mudawi Akaddawi wrote
  (iii) fourteen commentaries on Umm al-Barakān (2)
  in addition, he wrote
  (iv) two commentaries on taqwīm. The large one in
  sixty notebooks and the small in seven. (3)

- Al-faqīh Arbūb b. 'Awn (Arbūb al-'Agā'id)
  (v) al-Jamāhir. (4)

- Al-faqīh Muhammād b. 'Abdān al-Shāyqī, (5)
  (vi) Ǧamāt al-Farqīn.

1. Al-Tamnātī, p.298.
2. Ibid., p.103.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.260.
As has been alluded to above, during the Funj period, and with the dominance of Sufism, the Sufi Shaykhs and their followers from the masses seem to have been preoccupied mainly with the practical aspect of Sufism as exemplified in the manifestation of baraka and wannan. However, in order to be initiated in the Sufi Path and to progress along the Path, the followers had to perform certain rituals including memorization and recitation of certain sawād (sinc. īrād) or ṭālīb dictated to him by his Sufi Shaykh.\(^2\) Al-Tanqīāt includes references to the initiation into the Sufi Path, at the ḫutūb of certain individuals, to their sawād and how they came out as

1. See Part II, Chapter Two of this study, above.
2. The term īrād or ṭālīb denotes prescribed Sufi prayers to be read or recited at specified times of the day, and could be accompanied by other physical Sufi rituals (see ḡaribullāh, pp.68-72).
it was said that the wide spread study of text-books had helped in preparing the scene for the systematic study of as a subject, for it seems to have highlighted the

1. See pp. 84-9; 241-21 and 230. For more details see The Sufi Orders, pp. 186-90; and Qandullah, pp. 66-72.
3. p. 252.
4. p. 67.
5. p. 262.
6. p. 263.
8. pp. 67 and 103.
1. Quribulla, p.260.
2. Al-Tabaqat, p.252.
3. The book was about the glorious deeds of al-Shaykh Abd al-Qasem al-Sa'di, head of the Shadhiliyya Order.
4. This was a Ghirā prayer written by Ibn 'Atallah. (Quribulla, pp.241-2). See also al-Tabaqat, pp.232, 232, 231, 247.
5. Al-Tabaqat, p.93.
6. This was a wārid read by the followers of the Qadiriyya tariqa; it was said to have been originally written by Imam 'Ali b. Abi Tālib. In the Sudan it was used by al-Sharkh 'Abdallāh al-'Arusi (see 'Abd al-Qasim, vol.III, p.5; Al-Tabaqat, p.87, n.4).
The sciences of the Qur'an include a variety of subjects. The Sudanese Khulais Shaykhs and students were more concerned with the practical aspects of these sciences than with the theoretical aspects, i.e., qira'at and tajwid, and the rules of writing the transcription of the Qur'an (the text) according to the rules set by the expert 'ulama' in this field.
At any rate the khalwa Shaykhs of the Funj period seem to have depended in this respect on al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Izā Suwār al-Thahab and his students such as 'Abdallāh al-Aghbash and descendants and students.  

(1)

Of the textbooks in common use at the time were the following:

- Abū al-Qāsim b. Fayza(2), Muṣr al-Shatibiyya, or biār al-Anāni wa majāh al-Tahānī (which was a poem on writing the transcript of the Qurān - its rules).
- Al-Jazārī, Muṣr, al-Jazāriyya fī al-Ṭājīd wa al-Tilāwā(3) (which was also a poem on the readings of the Qurān and its recitation).

The Sudanese 'ilmār also contributed in this respect by writing books or commentaries such as:

- Tuhfāt al-Maṣā'id, which was a poem composed by 'Abd al-Hebān al-Aghbash also, on the transcription of the Qurān. (5)

1. See the chapter of al-Ghushāf, above.
3. Ibid., p.103, n.8.
4. Ibid., p.281.
5. Ibid.
(4) The Prevalent Reading of the Qur'an in the Sudan:

The variant readings of the Qur'an were introduced during the Fuḍūr period and have flourished in the country since then. These were:

- The reading of Mārah in western Sudan - in Darfur and Kordufan.
- The reading of Aḥābūl 'Umar in northern and central Sudan.

1. Al-Tahāsāt, p. 201.
2. Ḥaṣbā'
3. Ḥaṣbā', p. 103.
5. This is the reading of Mārah according to Mafī, reciter of Medina.
6. The reading of Aḥābūl 'Umar al-Dūrī, according to 'Amīr b. al-'Ālā', Imam of reciters of Baṣra.
Both readings are believed to have been transferred into the Sudan from al-Maghrib. With the spread of modern schools, a third reading - the 'reading' of 'Abd al-Malik (1) - has steadily flourished in Northern and Central Sudan.

In addition to the above, other subjects relatively of less popularity were taught at the khalwa. These were exemplified in the following.

(d-2) Tafsir of the Qur'än

A few khala Shaykhs were reported to have engaged in teaching of tafsir of the Qur'än. (2) Although no common textbooks were mentioned, yet there are references in later periods to al-Jażâ'irî (3), which was said to have been handed down from the Sunnah period. (4)

1. This refers to the khalwa of Hafs b. Khalaymîn b. al-Maghâra (d. 190 H.) of the 'reading' of 'Abd b. 'Abd al-Malik of Khaṣa (d. 127/348 H.) (al-Dâmi, al-Ta'zîl, pp. 6-7).
3. Irwâd, p. 65; see the khalwa of Umm Jawwar Bân, above.
4. The same textbook was used by the khalwa of al-Sûfî al-Azraq at al-Nâdirî in 1981. (Interview with ustâd 'Uthmân 'Abd al-Rahmân, at his khalwa, November, 1981).
(d-3) **Khalw:** (Khalw is mentioned here, though it is not directly related to 'Ulm al-Qur'ān).

Similarly a few khalwās seem to have been teaching Hadīth as a subject to their students of 'ilm, such as the khalwās of Kutānī (1), and al-Majāhib (2), in addition to individual khalwā teachers. (3)

Of the few text-books in use were the following:

- Ḥāfiz b. Anas, al-ṣawātit (on Hadīth and Fiqh) (4) and

e) Arabic grammar and sciences:

A few individual khalwā teachers were mentioned as having engaged in teaching Arabic grammar, (6) and other sciences of the language such as al-bāṣṣāf (science of metaphor), 'ilm al-bayān and 'ilm al-ṣawārīf (both could be termed as rhetoric),

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2. Information from ustādh al-Naqar.
3. Al-ḥabīb, p. 323.
4. Ibid., p. 184.
5. Ibid., p. 263.
6. Ibid., pp. 104, 106.
C. Khala Teacing Aids:

The teaching and learning implements that have always been in use at the traditional khaleas are the following.

(a) Sand and earth floors

Almost every khala in the Sudan seems to have been surrounded by a spacious enclosure or courtyard. Both the surrounding space and the khalea rooms have always been covered with sand or earth.

Since the khalea learners sit on the floor for study, they always made extensive use of sand floors in teaching and learning the alphabet and the elements of reading and writing. The practice is still widely used by khaleas all over the country.

(b) The laq (the wooden tablet)

Laq is an old Muslim teaching and learning aid. It has been referred to in the Qur’An and used by the

1. Personal observations of the writer on his visits to the khaleas, November – December, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. See “Teaching the Qur’An,” above.
Companions. (1)

In the Sudan it has been in use since the early 10th/16th century, when the sons of Jabir were children. (2)

It is usually a rectangular wooden tablet with a handle at the top and a small tail at the bottom with smooth polished sides. These kama were usually made out of khar, kistili or karan trees which were available in almost all regions of the Sudan or easily obtained.

Old established khalsas always seem to have had a stock of kama given to the khalwa Shaykh by individuals seeking God's reward and the Shaykh's baraka. (3) Some of the kuyrân would bring their own kama and leave them for the khalsam to use when they had finished their study. (4) The young, new muwár would be given a smaller and lighter kama when he progressed in study he would be issued with a larger one.

1. Tujâhid used to ask Ibn 'Abbâs about the exegesis of the Qur'ân and used to have alâmî to write on (al-Tabarî, Tâfzîrî, vol.1, p.31).
2. Al-Tabaqat, p.47.
all of which seem to have always been available in abundance in the Sudan agricultural environment.

The teeth of the pen were usually curved with great skill in order to make the right inclination which was said to have varied from about an angle of 45° to 90°. (1)

The new hukār would usually be taught by his instructor how to curve out the teeth of his pen and to have more than one in his possession when attending al-ramya. (2)

(1) Al-dawāb (the ink-pot)

Like the jawāb, the ink-pot is an old writing aid that could be traced back to the early period of Islam, and in fact has been mentioned in the Qur'ān. (1)

The ink used by khalwas in the Sudan has been known as al-fumrān. For centuries al-fumrān has been made by the Khalwa Sayyān out of gum, gum Arabic and water. (4)

1. Al-Tayyib, "The Changing Customs", OR., BIT., P.
2. The writer's observations at almost all of the khalwas he visited. For ramya, see below.
3. The second chapter (of the Qur'ān) revealed, opens with the words "bīna wa al-salam" (the ink-pot and the pen) (Qur'ān, 66:1): bīna means ink pot (al-Qalqashandi, Bahb al-'Ashū, II, 447/3.
4. This has been a common practice in almost all khalwas - confirmed by all rāfs and sayyān, met.
The soot would be collected from underneath the cooking pots (resulting from the use of wood as a fuel), and gum Arabic would be made into powder. Then both would be mixed together in the ratio of about 70:30, and small lumps would be made out of the mixture. (1)

The lumps would then be placed in small jars of, preferably clay, or glass and would be separated by layers of cows' or horses' tail hair; water would be added in a reasonable portion and the jar closed and left to mature; the layers of hair were said to help the mixture to precipitate and the ready 'amār would then be tested for its richness. (2)

The hawār would usually use the jar in which he had prepared al-'amār as an ink-bank from which he would take his daily requirement of 'amār in a smaller ink-pot or dawār. Sometimes the lumps of mixture are preserved as undissolved balls of ink which would be mixed with water and made ready when needed. (3)

(1) Date stone

Date stones have been used by Khalas fālās and their students:

2. Ibid., confirmed by the writer's personal observations at the Khalas of Umz Qasim Bn and Wad al-Saini, see above.
learn by imitation and practice.

(g) **Al-miḥāya (the washing-off of jamā'a)**

Every morning, usually before sunrise, the ḥāfrān who had successfully recited their jamā'a before the fāṭiḥ - i.e., passed the 'arda the previous night - would be allowed to wash off their jamā'a, in order to white-wash them in readiness for the new lesson.

The process of washing-off the jamā'a has been known as al-miḥāya. The separate and untrodden spot on which these jamā'a were washed off has also been called al-miḥāya.

The object on which al-miḥāya was done was of different forms. At some khilwas such as that of Kutranj and al-Sūf al-Azraq, it was a log of wood placed at a corner, at each of them. At the khilwa of al-Mu'adnib of al-Damer, it

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1. See the teaching of the alphabet, below.
3. Common usage at almost all khilwas.
4. The writer’s observations at the khilwan.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
was a large curved stone. The washed-off water in all these cases would splash and dry off.

At some of the flourishing Sufikhalems, such as those of Kabadâb, Aâbû Qârîn and Umm Qaswân Bân, the lawâs were washed off in small basins with water, brought in buckets, by the learners in turn. Here the water washed off (also called al-mîhâma) would be collected in the small basins. Then the followers of the respective Sufi Shaykhs would take from the collected mihâma and splash it on themselves, or take it home as a sort of baraka.

The justification for washing the lawâs at an untrodden spot was to preserve the mihâma of the sacred scripture without disfigurement.

Such a practice of the mihâma seems to have been handed down intact from the time of the Companions and would be

1. The writer's observations at the khalwas.
2. Fuli.
3. This has been a common practice especially at Sufi khalwas such as those of Kabadâb and Umm Qaswân Bân.
4. Anas b. Malik, the Companion of the Prophet, in a reply to a question about the practices of the tutors with the children (the learners) during the reigns of the Orthodox Caliphs - Abû Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Ali - was reported to have said:

"The tutor used to have a jar where, every day, each boy would m
metre high, and placed at the corner of each khalwa room for the lamps to be placed on (when not in use).\(^{(1)}\) Again this was an act of respect to the Sacred Word copied on these lamps.\(^{(2)}\)

At some khalwas the katī was built in the form of a platform\(^{(3)}\), while at others the khatūrūn would pierce their lamps into the straw-walls of the khalwa.\(^{(4)}\)

However, on the occasion of Shabī‘īn the decorated lamp would be hung high by a loop of string against the wall — a sign of distinction for the occasion.

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1. The writer’s observations at the khalwas visited.
2. Information from the philha Shakh.
4. Usmanhurayb khalwa was built of straw and reeds.
for light on the tughābas.

Today, however, most of the large khalwa centres that are in existence have been supplied by electricity or electric generators and have been using neon light instead. (1) Hence they have been enabled to make the practice of conducting study from early dawn and deep into the night much easier.

Today, the visitor would observe round earth - indicating the spots of the traditional huge tughābas. Indeed, at Abū Qurūn, Ṣum Dāwwan Bān the tughāba is still retained as well as electric light, in case of the latter's failure.

However, the hundreds of khalwas in eastern Sudan still rely on the ṭughāba as the only source of light.

1. Ḫudabās, al-Kajādaib, Abū Qurūn, Ṣum Dāwwan Bān, Ṣad al-Ṭāwlin, Ṣayba, Ṣad al-Ḫaqūbūl, Ḫamishkorayt.
khaleen in the Sudan. Hence it seems inconceivable to expect the programming of khaleen activities to be conducted on modern lines of school practices, for example, as in respect to division of course of study, according to term, weekly teacher's load or specific periods in terms of minutes.

In general, the established practice of the traditional khaleen, which seems to have been handed down from generation to generation, in respect to time dimension, seems to have been crystallized in the fact that the typical traditional khaleen have never had what is now known as the academic year. Instead, the khaleen would remain open for study, or related khaleen activities\(^1\) throughout the year. The exception has been short holiday periods, on religious occasions such as the "Id al-Fitr" at the end of Ramadân (the month of fasting) and for "Id al-Adha" (Feast of sacrifice) of about two weeks holiday each.\(^2\)

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1. In Darfur, in Western Sudan, except for the senior old students all the nubajirin would abandon study and go on a three-day weekly tour round the villages collecting food and during the rainy season they would cultivate the Fakis farm.
2. Information from khaleen fakis at Kabadâs, Abd Qure'n and Jayba.
The daily programme of activities, however, seems to have been closely linked with the times of the five daily prayers. In that the khalwa working day would start before dawn prayer (the first prayer of the day) and would end after the last daily prayer (fajr), and the duration in between would be geared to the rest of the prayer times - which are generally flexible. The following description gives further elaboration.

The Daily Programme:

The typical traditional khalwa day has always been an exceptionally extra-long day. It would start before dawn prayer (about three hours before sunrise) and would continue throughout the day, and even would go far into the night after 'ishā' prayer - up to about 10 p.m. However, there were little breaks, especially during prayer times, to modify the situation.

Below is a detailed description of the daily programmes of the established khalwas of Northern, Central and Eastern Sudan.  

1. See Method of teaching the Qur'an, above.
2. This system applied to the main boarding khalwas in centres in Northern, Eastern and Central Sudan, the sun sets about 6 p.m.
3. Khalwas such as Kadahâb, Abū Qurūn, Um-Dawwan Bân, Wad al-Fâdi, Tayba, Wad al-Wâcbûl and Haziahkorayb, see above.
usually by the khālan Shaykh.\(^1\)

The subah prayer was usually succeeded by short duʿāʾs (prayers)\(^2\) dawn ṭaḥāb\(^3\) or ṭaḥāb and duʿāʾ accompanied by a short session of nawʿāṣa.\(^4\) This would end al-duḥṣāhīya al-kabīra.

Al-duḥṣāhīya al-qasḥīya (the short dawn session):

This session would start with al-mūḥāna when all those who have successfully memorized their layḥa would wash them off using clean water for al-mūḥāna (wiping off).\(^5\) Then they would make their layḥa white, using limstone, in order to make the writing clearly visible.\(^6\)

Just about sunrise (around 6 a.m.) the harām would assemble in halqas around their respective instructors - the more advanced around the chief fakīr and the less advanced and the junior learners around his assistants. The ṭanīya session, as described

1. The writer's observations at Kadsībā, Abū Qurūn and Tayba.
2. At Kadsībā and Tayba.
3. Ṣuḥūr refers here to the regular function of prayers, repeated several times by the fakīr and their students believed to guard the khāla complex from harm - as was experienced at Umm Jawwān Bān (the writer's visit).
4. At Hamishkorayb, see the khālan of 'Ali Bitāl, above.
5. See "teaching aids" for al-mūḥāna, above.
6. See "teaching aids" for al-nīr (limstone) above.
above,(1) would be conducted. It should be noted in this respect that the *ramya* has always been restricted to the *kādī* (beginners') stage - i.e., those engaged in the first upward round of learning the Qur'ān. The main objective of this round, it should be added, is to give the *huwār* both intensive and extensive training on reading, writing and, above all, to make him acquainted with the chapters and verses of the Qur'ān.(2)

At the beginning of the session, i.e., at sunrise, the young day learners would arrive to the *khalwa*. Each would start reading his *lawh* or practicing writing on sand.(3)

When *al-ramya* was over, *al-fakīh* and the *hayrān* would take a short tea break.(4)

The tea or, in fact, the coffee-break, at the *khalwa* of Hamishkorayb for men is usually longer - lasting from about 7 a.m. to about 9 a.m. - during which time the *film* session would take

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1. See "teaching aids" for the description of *al-ramya*.
2. Y. al-Khalifa and Khaṭṭir, p.6; information from al-fakīh Masb al-Rasūl at Umm Qawwan Būn, and from Iḥtād 'Uthmān al-Azraq at his *khalwa* - al-ṣāliḥ al-Azraq.
3. See below for instructing the beginners on the alphabet.
4. This seems to have been a new development - *khalwa* learners in the past were not provided with tea. (Information from al-khalifa al-Rayyab at Wād al-Fīnī.T.)
Then the nihaha (correction) of the jamaa by the fakih for the advanced hajrin and by his assistants to the junior learners, would be conducted. Next would be the qayilah (mid-day nap and rest). This has been generally an established practice all over the khawas. It usually starts from about 10 a.m. and may last up to the time of al-tuh (mid-day) prayer around 1.30 p.m.

During the qayilah break the hajrin would usually take their main meal (breakfast or lunch) and take a badly needed nap - especially for the young boarding learners. The fakih, too, would retire to their homes or private khawas for rest.

Then al-qushubin would call for the shur (afternoon) prayer about 1.30 p.m. The prayer would be attended by all as jamida led by the fakih.

1. Hamishkoyan is one of the very few khawas that teach fi'il in.
2. It was said to have been a helpful rest and break from the extra long sessions, and during the hot mid-day.
3. The writer's observations at Abi Qurun, Mad al-Fudin and Mad al-Maqbul.
4. Some of the young learners would be so tired that they would miss their meal, for they would immediately fall asleep (the writer's observations at Mad al-Maqbul, for example).
5. Information by al-fakih 'Abd al-Karim at Abi Qurun.
6. This has been a universal practice, to train the learners on the performance of fi'ilat in practice.
Again, at some khalwah, like Hamishkorayb, the prayer was succeeded by a hadith or tafsir - as a maw'iza (preaching).

Al-mawṣira is (the afternoon session) which continues up to
the maghrib prayer (late afternoon) was devoted to individual reading and memorization from lessons written in the morning.

During this period the advanced bayān of the hadith stage, one by one would go to the fakī to read from their hadith to make sure that they read the text correctly. The junior bayān would read before their senior instructors.

At the same time the fakī would find time to check on the progress of the junior bayān by himself. (1)

Then al-mašadhīn's call for salat prayer (late afternoon) the session ends at about 3 p.m. All the bayān would attend the prayer, led by the fakī, as usual.

At Hamishkorayb the prayer was immediately succeeded by a maw'iza - a hadith or tafsir, attended by all. (2)

Al-fasīriyya (late afternoon) session would then start and would last up to the maghrib prayer (first evening or sun-set prayer).

1. The writer's observations at Kadabas, Abū Qurūn and Umm Dawān Ban.
2. See "Subjects and books", above. See Hamishkorayb, above.
During this session, individual reading and memorization of the daily assignment of the Qur'ān of each, continues. Some of the hayrīn, normally the advanced, would read from copies of the Qur'ān the assignment of the following day, in order to commit it to memory and then copy it down on their slates by themselves or familiarize themselves with it in readiness for al-masrib.

Beginners would continue practising writing on sand under the supervision of their instructors. (1)

Parallel with the Qur'ān reading session certain khālwas, such as Kadabūn, al-Ṭūf al-‘Iraq and Hamishkorayb, have been conducting a session of ḥusn for the senior hayrīn. (2)

al-maghriya session ends with the call for al-masrib prayer, about 5.30 p.m.

The maghrib prayer is succeeded at some of the khālwas by reading of ṭalib and normally (3) by a maw‘īz at Hamishkorayb. (4)

1. The writer’s observations at the khālwas.
2. The writer’s visit to these khālwas. For information on this aspect see the khālwas above.
3. At Umm Dawwān bint Sā‘īd prayer at the same khālwa above.
4. The writer’s observations at Hamishkorayb.
Immediately after prayer the very young learners would be

The fard session would continue for about two hours — from after al-maghrib prayer (late evening's). As alluded to before, those who successfully recited their lessons would be allowed to
wipe off or wash off their fards the following morning; others who did not would be mukayyime (repeaters) and would recite their
lesson the following day during al-taḥshiliyya al-kabīra. (2)

The fakīr would then give the hayran a break to take their
evening meal and prepare for the 'isha' (late evening) prayer. (3)

The hayran led by the khalwa Shaykh or the fakīr would perform
the 'isha' prayer in jama'a (group). This was followed, on
normal working days, by the last session of the day — al-suhur
recitation — which seems to have been a general practice at the

1. See description of al-farda (recitation) below; see al-
Tabaqat, pp.284, 314 and 337 for reference to al-farda (the
recitation).
2. See al-farda, below.
3. The writer's observations at the main Khalwa.
days of the week. For this reason the Qur’an is divided into seven equal portions - or seven *sub*'.

1. Unlike the majority of the main *khalwas* of Northern and Central Sudan which used to devote the last session of the *khalwa* day to recitation of *al-sub*’, some *khalwas* such as *al-Qifli al-Azraq* (at al-Qadaraf) used to conduct an *'ila* session which was also open for the public to attend and to forward their questions on *fiqh* problems (information from *ustabh* ‘Uthman al-Azraq); while at Hamishkoryb *khalwa* for men they would have the usual after-prayer session on *hadith* or *ma’rama* (the writer’s visit to the *khalwa*).

2. The first *sub*' starts with *al-fath* (Sura 1) and ends with Sura 4, verse 86. The second *sub*’ starts with verse 87, Sura 4, and end with verse 170, Sura 7. The third *sub*’ starts with verse 171, Sura 7, and ends with verse 27, Sura 14. The fourth *sub*’ starts with verse 28, Sura 14 and ends with verse 74, Sura 23. The fifth *sub*’ starts with verse 75, Sura 23, and ends with verse 23, Sura 34. The sixth *sub*’ starts with verse 24, Sura 34, and ends with verse 18, Sura 49. The seventh *sub*’ starts with Sura 50 and ends with Sura 114 (al-‘Ilfi, pp. 10–11).
Almost all the main khalwas of North and Central Sudan used to devote the last session of the day for al-sub'\(^1\) (one-seventh) recitation. All the hayrān would walk around the Qur'ān fire, the buqūba, and each would be instructed to recite a sub\(^\prime\) (one-seventh) of the Qur'ān, or as much as he could if he had learnt less than that.\(^2\)

The aim behind that daily exercise was to consolidate the memorization of the portions of the Qur'ān he had already recited at the jārda; such a practice seems to have been backed by a hadīth:

The Prophet was reported by Ibn 'Umar to have said, 'The Qur'ān is like the hobbled camels, if their owner constantly observes that they are hobbled he will keep them, if he does not, he will lose them. Likewise, if the possessor of the Qur'ān reads it day and night he will retain it, if he does not, he will forget it'.\(^3\)

At Hamishkorayb, in Eastern Sudan, as alluded to before, there are separate populous khalwas for women.\(^4\) Since women

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1. The writer has witnessed this tradition at Abū Qur'ūn, Tayba and Umma Darwan Bān when he visited these khalwas.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Qātī, al-Ahwānī, p.245.
4. See the women's khalwa at Hamishkorayb, above.
had to reconcile their home duties and looking after their children on the one hand with pursuing their study on the other, they have been following a flexible daily programme.¹

At dawn they would go to the khalwa to attend al-ghubr prayer under the leadership of a shaykh – imām (leader in prayer).² Then, like the khalwa men of Hamishkorayb they would chant tahli’ and then embark on reading prayers – certain āyāt and/or verses of the Qur’ān – for protection against evil.

Then they would embark on the study of their ʿawāʾid for reading and memorization in a similar way to the men. This was usually followed by a short session of ʿilm – fiqh, sirāq, tafsīr or hadīth.³ This was followed by about two hours’ break – up to about 9 a.m.

They would come back to the khalwa for an hour’s mid-morning session – devoted for reading and memorization of their assignments, after which they would return to their homes.⁴

At sunr prayer’s time they would come to the khalwa, attend ʿasr’s prayer.⁵ Then they would resume memorization of the

1. Information from al-fakih al-fāhib Abū Raʾīn, who was in charge of the women khalwa at Hamishkorayb.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
The last session of the women's khalwa day was the one conducted between the maghrib and 'isha prayers (early and late evening prayers), during which time they would revise from their laminate the lessons of the day, and above all make their 'arja (recitation of the Qur'an) for those concerned, while for others it would devote it to the consolidation of 'ilm lessons of the day. Generally, whether in learning or teaching, women khalwas were said to have been following the same methods applied at men khalwas.\(^{(4)}\)

The extra-long working day of the khalwa, however, which seems to have been the general trend in most parts of the country seems to have been confirmed by Shuqayr when he described the khalwa.

1. Information from al-Farî al-Fâhir Abu Bakr.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
day as follows:

"Khalwa study for the people of the Sudan starts in the last third of the night, and hence the pupils study sitting round the wood fire; they continue to study till late in the morning, when they would retire to their homes for lunch."[1]

"Then they return to the khalwa at al-zuhur (the afternoon) and continue studying till after the 'asr (late afternoon) when they would go to their homes for supper."[2]

"Then they would come back to the khalwa to study around the wood-fire, till the fath (late evening) prayer."[3]

"Afterwards they would sleep till the last third of the night, when they would rise up to resume their study..."[4]

In fact, this practice could be traced back to, and perhaps better illustrated by, the practice of al-faqih 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Usayd (d.1127/1715)[5]—a practice which he seems to have inherited, through his uncle, from his grandfather 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Qamaštû.[6]

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. 'Al-Tabaqat, p.285.
According to al-Tabaqṭāt, al-faqīh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Usayd was reported by his pupil Muḥammad b. al-Raydī al-Awādī, (1) to have been conducting his daily programme of studies at his khalwa, according to the following practice:

"Long before dawn, he would be awake, and one of the advanced students carrying a bundle of wood, would enter to his Shaykh to rekindle the wood-fire. Then, while al-faqīh was offering tarafful (prayer), his pupil would study by himself..." (2)

"Then with whip in hand he would wake up the ṣuqara of both ʿilm, and the Qurʾān, in order to wash off their lāmeṣ [which had been successfully recited the night before] and to write the new lessons. Meanwhile he would be performing his prayers - telling his 1000-tiny beads rosary." (3)

"When the ṣuqara finished writing their lāmeṣ [from memory] he would start doing the ʿalīma (the correction) for the Qurʾān students only, till he was called by al-muʿāshāhin for al-ṣubh (dawn) prayer." (4)

1. Al-Tabaqṭāt, p.283.
2. Ibid., p.284.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
“Then he would enter to read the last days lesson on Al-Mualij. (1)

“When he had finished that he would enter to the fugaara of the Qur’ān to finish the correction of their lexica.” (2)

“Next he would read the tafsīr (introductory first morning lesson) on Al-Mualij. Then there would come to him the fugaara reading Al-Khaarij, Al-Jazer and Al-Qadhbah. Next, there would come to him those studying Al-Aqā'id, Al-Akhḍāri and Al-Ashāwi.” (3)

“Then Al-Muqaddam would call him for the suhr prayer, when the prayer was over he gave the afternooon lesson on Al-Mualij.” (4)

“Then he would perform Al-Aghr prayer. Next, there would come to him those studying tafsīr; and next there would come those reading Al-Aqā'id, Al-Ashāwi and Al-Akhḍāri till Al-Muwaadhahin called for Al-Masūhir prayer.” (5)

1. Al-Tabaṣṣūṭ, p.283.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.283-4.
5. Ibid., p.284.
"Then he would recite al-maghrib lesson on Al-Malā' - the text - from memory, making a commentary on each verse equivalent to a magra' of the Qur'ān, in length." (1)

"Next, sitting on an 'andārūb (bed) he would listen to the Qur'ān students making their fardā (recitation), two at a time." (2)

"Then he would perform al-'ishā' prayer, and would rest for a while till the Fugara had their supper." (3)

"Next, sitting upright, with whip in hand he would hear those who had learnt the Qur'ān by heart, recite their daily sub' of the Qur'ān." (4)

"When that was finished, he would retire to his Al-Malā' [and thus ends the Al-Malā' day]. (5)

"During the resting days [week ends] he would give legal advice, conduct judgement and write amulets...That was his pattern of life till he abandoned this world. His death was caused by his long sitting for teaching the Fugara'."

1. Al-Tabasaṭ, p.284.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
till his back was broken(1)...He died in 1127/1715...(2)

In Western Sudan, especially in Darfur, there seems to have been no similar serious programme of study as that of Northern and Central Sudan, described above. The Khalwas there seem to have been following rather flexible programmes of daily activities that would reconcile their work and study. Hence, almost all of the Khalwas, of Darfur, for example, have been conducted on a part-time basis instead of being run on a full-time basis. (3)

Before the introduction of the modern school in Darfur, village Khalwas were said to have been conducting two sessions a day - an early morning session and an evening session - while during the day, Khalwa learners would join their parents working in the fields or looking after cattle. (4)

This point seems to have been confirmed by al-Tahawi who stayed in Darfur between 1218/1803 - 1225/1810. In Darfur,

"the learning of the Qur'an is very simple for the learners do not study except by night at the maktab (sing. maktab). During the day the boy is engaged in looking after his animals, goats or cattle; and when he

1. Al-Tahawi, p.284.
2. Ibid., p.285.
3. The reference is to the small village Khalwas and to the muhāhirīn Khalwas, too; see the example of both, above.
returns in the evening he takes his lawb and goes to the
maktab. Each day, every lad, by turn, brings firewood in
order to make fire by the light of which they write and
study for memorization. Their [standard] of memorization,
however, is not good, hence there is rarely one who has
learnt the Qur'ān very well. As for the study of al-'ulūm
(sing. ūlim) (the sciences) it was very backward too for
the lack of 'ulamā'...

The same practice seems to have been perpetuated up to the
present time. For example, under National rule, when primary
schools found their way to the villages, children in these villages
used to attend the khalwa very early in the mornings and during
the evenings only. During the day, however, they would either
join the primary school (for children of the more enlightened
parents) or work with their parents in the field or were engaged
in looking after the family's animals - cattle or sheep.

The practice of running the khalwa on a part-time basis seems
to have been clearly demonstrated also by the muhātirīn khalwa.

2. Information from al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Wālid Tamīmī, December, 1981. The writer's visit to the khalwa of al-Nī'am,
Tamīl District, see above.
3. Information from al-Fakīh 'Abd al-Yāsīn Harīmī, Tawīla,
9th December, 1981.
4. See the muhātirīn khalwa camp of Nāmī, above.
The Kbalwa Weekly Programme of Activities

In order to break the monotony of serious study, during the extra long working khalwa day,\(^{(1)}\) it seems, the typical traditional khalwas were reported to have had extra curricula activities which would modify the daily programmes, outlined above.\(^{(2)}\)

Saturday was the beginning of the khalwa week of activities. The learners would be expected to come fresh, after the week-end, and the daily programmes of study would be conducted on the lines described above.

Sunday and Thursday evenings at the active Sufi khalwas were usually devoted to communal Sufi dhikr rituals.\(^{(3)}\) The evening session would terminate earlier than usual so as to allow for preparation for the weekly occasion.\(^{(4)}\)

The courtyard would be cleaned by the mawālim and Sufi followers and heaps of firewood would be collected for the ṭuḡāba.\(^{(5)}\) The Sufi followers would usually attend the last

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1. See the daily programme of the khalwa, above.
2. Most of the traditional extra-curricula activities have disappeared.
3. Reference is made at present to such khalwas as those of Kadalās, Ṣū‘ū Qurūn, Ṣinā‘ al-Dawwar Bān, Ṣayba.
4. Usually the Sufi unit starts the long prayer.
5. Now almost all of the main Sufi khalwas are provided with electricity.
such as "Alian, Alian" or "Bay waayy", and so on.

The old ḫarrūn were usually allowed by the khāla Shāykh to participate in such rituals, while the young could enjoy attending the occasion if they could afford to stay awake deep into the night.

Monday was a normal study day. Tuesday was the fas'īa day (the day for collecting the firewood). The weekly gathering of firewood was called fas'īa. It was an occasion of outing - the ḫarrūn would usually make the actual collection of wood last

1. Information from most of Khalwa faqīta and personal observations at the Khalwa of Jyba, Abū Qurūn and Am Darrūn Dān.

2. Shuqair, vol.1. p.141. According to 'Abdallāh al-Ṭayyib, the word was derived from the Arabic root fas'ī which denotes communal gathering in face of danger (al-Ṭayyib, "Changing Customs", p.59). This students' task has now disappeared from the main Khalwas of Northern and Central Sudan. However, in Western Sudan (in Ḥarfūr) where wood was available it was practised on an individual basis, see below.
hayrān should not enter water, lest they would drown, if they were collecting wood carried down by the stream, from the river — and he would even mock the feet of the young hayrān with charcoal. (2)

In Western Sudan, where firewood was more available than in Northern Sudan, for example, each khalīa would fetch a bundle or a log of wood from his home if he was living with his family. (3)

Wednesday late afternoon was the occasion of karmat al-carbī'a (Wednesday offering). Every Wednesday afternoon, after the 'asr prayer, khalīa boys usually headed by a hawār who had just had his sharī'ah (4), during the buď stage (5) went out

2. Information supplied by the fals of Kadabas, al-Hubush and by al-kāzar at al-Damer; of course such a precaution would apply only to khalīas near the river.
3. Information from al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Majid Iμz'Il, al-Fāshir.
4. Sharī'ah (honouring) refers to decoration of the hawār lawh when reaching a certain level in his learning progress, i.e., it denotes his promotion (see above for more information).
5. Buď stage refers to the first beginners round of reading the Qur'ān.
in small groups of three or four ḥayrān to "beg" the housewives for offering of karāma of grain or beans. (1) Whatever they gathered would be collected together in a large pot and then boiled. The cooked grain and beans were called baṭilla. All the ḥayrān and their fakī would share in eating the Wednesday karāma or baṭilla, and each would even take a little of it to his family as an act of blessings. (2) The remainder of the collected grain or money would go to the fakī’s household. (3)

It should be added here that usually the collection of dura (grain) and beans by the ḥayrān was done on Wednesday which was usually the shارafa day. It could be assumed then, that the origin of the ṣubḥ al-sāḥibīn widespread practice of daily "begging" of food and their three-day tour around the villages to collect grain or beans, in Dārfur in Western Sudan, (in which also the sharafa occasion was exploited) seems to have been based on, and transferred long ago, from this Wednesday karāma occasion practiced by ḥalawān ḥayrān in Northern Sudan - see the ṣubḥ al-sāḥibīn ḥalawān, above.

Wednesday evening was devoted at many of the traditional ḥalawān to a weekly memorization game known as al-murrūkīn, derived

2. Shughayr, p.141.
Every Wednesday evening after the *iṣṭaḥ prayer the *ḥayrān would assemble and the senior students would arrange themselves into two camps. Each camp would select a representative and both would face each other in the middle of the *balqa. Then one of them would start testing the ability of the other in respect to memorization of different verses of the Qurʾān - similar to the *muḥātha situation, as described above. For example, one would ask the other to mention the verse that contained ten consecutive grammatical signs of *ṣāhid, or to name the āyām in which a certain verse was repeated, or to complete a certain verse from a clue as in the *ḥayya position - and in each case if the challenged *ṣurūʿ failed to respond or made a mistake, all the audience would shout together the word *ṣaqqad (lie down) indicating that he was defeated and another one would come up to the challenger. In the end the team with less mistakes would be hailed as the winner of the night.\(^2\)

Thursday morning was devoted to the cleansing of the *khila premises by all the *khila students.


2. Information from *al-ṭālī Fāsh al-Rasūl at *ṣaḥīh Dawwān Mīn.
In the afternoon, the week end started. Thursday night, however, was one of the twice weekly communal dhikr occasions at the active gūřī khalwas.\(^{1}\) On Thursday, which was the beginning of the weekly holiday—more people would attend the qawwāl dhikr, followers and students permanently living at the khalwa.

Friday was universally taken as the weekly holiday by all the khalwas.

Usually the gūřī followers of the khalwa Shaykh come to the qubbas of the founder and to the khalifas for visitations seeking the baraka of the Shaykh and would be provided with amulets to take home for themselves and sick relatives while the Shaykh would earn some financial revenue.\(^{2}\)

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1. The gūřī dhikr was held twice a week: on Sunday and Thursday nights—after al-ṣuhūr sessions. (Information from the khalwa fakīh at Kadasbās, Abū Qurūn and Ṣayba.)

2. Information from the khalwa fakīh at Kadasbās, Abū Qurūn, Umm Dawsan Ṣām and Ṣayba. (The writer’s visits to these khalwas.) See financial aspect of khalwa education, below.
This phenomenon seems to be indicated by the established practice of kissing the hand of the Shaykh, or the faqi', and walking bare-footed in his presence - as signs of respect;\(^1\) there was complete submission of the learners to the authority of the faqi' - and hence the absence of any sort of protest, strike or revolt to undermine that authority.\(^2\) The faqi's absolute authority amongst his students at the khalwa seems to have been a reflection of his spiritual influence amongst all sectors of the society - rulers and lay - out of desire for his jarab, or of fear of his wrath, as alluded to above.\(^1\)

1. These established practices in the Sudan have been always observed at the ziyāt khalwa centres but not at the khalwas of Dār-Fūr, for example, whether those of al-muhajirin or the small village khalawa (the writer's visits and observations).

2. This seems to constitute a contrast to the behaviour of school students which was often characterized by revolt and opposition and manifested in strikes and marches of protest (the writer's experience, his own schooldays in the Sudan).

3. See the Teachers Status, especially during the Fum era, above.
However, the punishment of the child was supposed to be carried out for disciplinary reasons, and at the minimum level.

Abu ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmī was reported to have narrated a hadith by the Prophet that read: “The discipline of the child was three lashes, any excess over that would be accounted for on Doomsday.”

Nevertheless, according to Sahhān, the teacher could exceed the three lashes limit when disciplining a child for such offences as engaging in play, absenting himself from study or causing harm to others; but for not learning the Qurʾān the punishment was to be restricted to the three lashes.

As a Muslim practice, it was not only the children of the common people who were exposed to corporal punishment, but even the young princes were beaten up by their teachers for the sake of discipline.

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1. See below.
3. Ibid.
Abū Muhammad al-Yaṣīrī, the tutor of al-Masūn was reported to have said: "Try your utmost to reform him through lenient treatment... but if he did not respond, resort to severity and harshness."[2]

However, the most detailed treatment on discipline of learners seems to have been written by the Malikite faqīh al-Qādisī (d.403/1012).[3]

According to al-Qādisī, if the learner had to be punished the teacher should see to it that it did not exceed three lashes; and that such a punishment should be carried out for defective learning, as outlined below.

a) for negligence; b) failure to respond quickly to the teacher; c) failure to memorize on time; d) making many mistakes in reading the assigned portion or writing his

should apply milder forms of punishment, such as:

a) warning time and again;
b) suspension for a while;
c) reprimanding - but to avoid using insulting language.

As a disciplinary measure for offences other than those concerned with learning, al-Qābisi would recommend corporal punishment ranging from three to ten lashes but in this case the child's guardian had to be consulted for approval, if the child could bear the punishment. The cases which would justify such a punishment were enumerated by al-Qābisi as the following:

a) causing harm to others;
b) engaging in play;
c) running away from the 'kutūb';
d) staying away beyond the holiday (without an excuse).

In addition to the above mentioned punishment, al-Qābisi pointed out that there might be at the kutūb some unruly

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
adolescents who would not heed the ten lashes punishment; in such
physically punish the child before the age of ten. This was reported to have been based on the *hadith* that was transmitted by Abū Dawūd and al-Qāsim and which reads: "Order your children to perform prayer at the age of seven, but beat them [if they do not respond] at the age of ten."(1)

This is a clear indication that the physical punishment was only to be used as a last resort, and in this case it was to be preceded by three years of inducement and parental guidance.

In the Sudan, the *khulwa* teachers - the *faql* - with whom we are more concerned in this study, have also practised corporal punishment. The practice could be traced back to the 11th/17th century.

According to *al-muhabbat*, Muhammad b. al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Turayfī, as a child, was reported to have been studying the Qur'ān under Gharbāwī who used to beat him severely and hence he complained to al-Shaykh Dā'afālallāh al-'Arakī (d.1094/1683).(2)

The phenomenon of corporal punishment at the *khulwas* seems to have also been evidenced by the practice of *al-faqir* 'Abd al-Muḥammad b. Usayd (d.1127/1715) who, as indicated above, used to take his whip at the early dawn and wake up the *fugata* for the new day.

and also be his practice of sitting on his bed, with whip lendent to his students that he had neither showed harsh treat-
ment to the students of the Qur'an nor had he beaten them
falaqa (on the soles of their feet), as was the common
practice of the Qur'an teachers, but he used to order them,
or dissuade them, by means of kind and tender speech.

That common practice of corporal punishment at the khilwa
during the Fum period was also referred to by 'Abdallah
al-Tayyib who stated that "The discipline of the khilwa was
harsh, bastinado and hitting with firewood at random were among
the commonest of the khilwa disciplinary measures." (6)

Not only that, but the attitude of the public towards such
harsh punishment seems to have been of full support and even of
encouragement. This is evidenced by the saying that when a hukm-

1. Al-Fatatī, p.284.
2. Ibid., p.213.
3. See below for more information on al-falaqa.
5. Ibid.
To assess the harshness of the punishment inflicted upon the learners by their teachers it seems relevant to describe the different forms of punishment that were in common use, as has been confirmed by almost all of the ḥalwa fakhr mentioned by the writer, (3) and which were exemplified in the following:

a) Use of the whip and the stick at random to urge or punish the negligent learners of the Qurʾān. The fakhr or his assistants would pass around the balqa of bāyān at any time of the day — but especially at the time just before al-faṣr (4) — lashing the boys on their heads, backs or limbs urging them to read aloud from their ḥāraka, their daily assignments of the Qurʾān.

2. Ibid.
3. Of these reference could be made to the ḥalwa fakhr of Kadahān, Abu Qurān, Jamīrmanī Ṣāḥib, Ṣayba, Ṣad al-Maqūb and Muhammad Nur Ṭāhir of al-Fāshir.
4. Recitation session before the fakhr; see "Methods of teaching and learning" for more information.
the ḥakī both feet of the offender would be fastened to the piece of the wood, which would be twisted round and round to make the grip both tighter and painful. (2) Then two strong boys would be holding each end of the piece of wood and raise the offender’s feet high while the ḥakī would be flinging his arm, with whip or stick in hand, flogging the boy on the soles of his feet. (3) There was no limit to the number of the ḥakī’s severe blows which could be continued till the stick was broken, or the ḥakī satisfied, and the boy’s voice lost screaming. (4) It should be added, here, that this type of punishment is no longer practised. (5)

c) al-nikkīya (6)

This was another horrible device which used to be employed.

1. Often the piece of wood had no holes, but the rope was tied to it at both ends (al-ḥakī) Ahmed Wad al-Maqbūl.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Confirmed by the ḥakīs of Kadabās, Abū Qurūn, Umm Fawwām Bān.
Al-nikkīyya was usually used to keep in chain the ḥawār, who had attempted to run away from the shalwa. Because of the harshness of this device and perhaps owing to its negative psychological effect among the learners who would resent it as a symbol of compulsion against one's will, and indeed a sort of harsh imprisonment, the fakīhs usually consulted the parents before using it.

The parents on their part did not only approve of it, but in many cases were reported to have brought the device themselves and put it around their children's legs. Their main justification was that they were doing so for the good of their sons - to discipline them and induce them to learn the Qur'ān.

1. Information by al-fakīh Ahmad Wad al-Maqbūl at his kholas, 15th December 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. According to al-fakīh Ahmad Wad al-Maqbūl those whose parents approved of al-nikkīyya were the ones who were too difficult to be handled at home.
completely learnt the Qur'an by heart, i.e., for about three years. (1)

d) Dismissal

Older learners who joined the khalwa on their own accord and who, for one reason or other, might not comply with the practices of the khalwa fa'il would be — if all advice failed — told to leave the khalwa. (2)

Nevertheless, despite the severity of the disciplinary measures the traditional khalwa used to employ against their hajj, the society at large seems to have been in support of them as necessary means for good education and better behaviour. (3)

This view seems to have been shared by 'Abdallah al-Ṭayyib, according to whom such a "system was not entirely devoid of sound educational policy". (4) He went on to emphasize that "the

1. Information from al-Ṭayyib Ahmad and al-Maqbul.
2. Information from the khalwa fa'il at Wadi al-Fadil, Tayba and Wadi al-Maqbul.
Today, the traditional disciplinary khalwa practices have, in general, become much modified. However, there seem to be some regional differences in this respect.

In Northern and Central Sudan, where the modern school has overshadowed the khalwa, which, paradoxically, have also been revived in forms of big centres, the more severe forms of corporal punishment seem to have disappeared. The common form of physical punishment is the whip or even al-fartawq - which is a sort of long belt tied to a short stick and used to cause a loud sound when beaten in the air, and meant to merely frighten the young negligent learners.

The reason behind this development could be attributed to

2. Ibid.
3. In these regions parents have practically switched their children to the modern schools - the khalwa centres in reference are those of Kadabén, Abd Qurín, Umm Dawwan Bán, Wad al-Fahni, favha - see these khalwa centres, above.
4. This sort of whip was used at the khalwa of Umm Dawwan Bán (the writer's visit to the khalwa, December, 1981).
opportunities, on the other. It should be added that in Western Sudan and especially at al-muhājīrīn camps, the khalwa fakīh did not use physical punishment against these muhājīrīn.\(^1\) However, the smooth running of these khalwas with the minimum use of physical punishment at most of the main khalwa centres in these regions.\(^2\)

The exception, however, seems to have been exemplified in the khalwa of Wad al-Maqbūl.\(^3\) Unlike almost all of the existing traditional khalwa centres of the region, Wad al-Maqbūl was a non-Ṣūfī dependent khalwa. Hence it has remained an isolated separate camp of khalwas with no village of followers and without moral and financial support of Ṣūfī followers.

Hence the khalwa fakīh and his students continued to exist

1. See the muhājīrīn khalwa at Nasīr, Kawla District, Dar-Fur, above.
2. The khalwa centres referred to were those of Kadabūs, Ahū Qurūn, Wā Ḥāwan Hān, Wad al-Fāhrī, Tāyya.
3. The khalwa of Wad al-Maqbūl started originally at al-Diwayní village in 1944; 18 years later it was moved across the river to its present site, south of Ṣufa'a (from al-fakīh al-Maqbūl).
In general, life at Wad al-Maqbul ran on traditional lines whether in living or in facilities or methods of learning. In fact the seventy-year old founder and Shaykh of the khala - al-faki Ahmad b. al-Maqbul - who did not practice any zahir rituals remained all his life an extremely traditional faki who seems to have been reliving and recreating his own past experiences. Indeed he confirmed to the writer that he was following almost the same practices and methods of learning he had experienced, as a young learner, at the khala of Wad Abu Salih, sixty years before.

As far as discipline was concerned, the khala of al-faki

1. The writer's visit to the Khala, 15th December, 1981.
2. Ibid., for the description of suqai'a, see "Teaching Aids".
3. The writer was informed by al-faki Ahmad wad al-Maqbul that an electric generator was donated to the khala in September, 1981.
5. Ibid.
The writer was informed by al-fakih Ahmad b. al-Maqbûl that he would apply severe flogging against any young learner (adolescents included) if he committed any offence such as failure to carry out his learning duties, quarrelling with one another or even be seen playing or running about. (2)

However, because of the harsh discipline, the strictness of study, the lack of adequate living facilities and the dryness of the khalwa life, as exemplified in absence of celebrations, Suni rituals, and holidays; and above all the lack of any sense of spiritual loyalty towards al-fakih, the adolescent learners often tried to run away from that khalwa "camp".

Unfortunately, when they were caught or brought back by

1. It posed a contrast in this respect to all other khalwas visited.
2. Interview with al-fakih Ahmad b. al-Maqbûl at his khalwa on 15th December, 1981. The writer was informed that the offender would be beaten up till the stick broke into pieces and the learner fell twisting and screaming.
put in al-sikkiyyah. Not only that but, walking around the khالma courtyard, the writer found fourteen of those who had been put in al-sikkiyyah were all chained together round an unshady tree and left lying under the mid-day sun. (3)

When asked about their crime they told the writer they had made recurrent attempts to run away for freedom from the khالma camp and had they succeeded they would not even return to their homes, let alone to the khالma, or in their words "that dreadful prison". (4)

In Western Sudan, at the village khالma, corporal punishment seems to have been a common practice. The fakل would use the stick and the whip in addition to the threatening by shouting at the young learners in order to maintain discipline or to urge

1. See description, above.
2. Interview with the fakل Ahmad b. al-Maqqūl, 15/12/1981.
3. The writer's visit to the khالma on 15/12/81. The writer has recorded the names of those boys.
4. The writer's visit to the khالma of Wad al-Maqqūl, 15th December 1981.
the established tradition has been to delegate his authority, in this respect to his assistants - the group leaders. As has been alluded to above each group of muhājirīn coming from the same locality usually lived together in one or adjacent huts, and selected their own group leader who would be entrusted, among other things, with maintaining discipline amongst his group. (4)

As for the other traditional big khalwas in the large villages or towns - such as that of al-fakīr Sulayman, (5) or ʿĀzikir Nāšir, (6) in al-Ḏāhir, they were said to have been following almost the same disciplinary system of the khalwa of

1. The writer's visit to, and interview with, al-fakīr Muhammad Nūr ʿAbd, al-Ḏāhir, 6th December 1981.
2. The writer's visit to the muhājīrīn khalwa at Nāšir, December 1981.
4. Interview with al-muhājīrīn at the khalwa - see the muhājīrīn khalwa at Nāšir, above.
5. Information from al-fakīr Jiddū, former teacher at the khalwa, 7 December 1981.
6. Information from al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥādī ʿIsmā'īl.
punishment took the form of verbal reprimand and ordering the punished person to stay behind at the khalwa, after the other students had left, and to repeat the lesson or do additional pieces of learning.\(^{(3)}\)

1. Information from al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Majid Isā'ī.
2. Information from al-fakīh al-Tahir Abū Bakr.
3. Ibid.
As could be seen from the survey of representatives of the main khalwa centres that flourished during the different periods of the history of Muslim Sudan, since its emergence in the 10th/16th century (1) and throughout these periods, the khalwa has remained largely a charitable, independent and non-Government institution. Hence there has almost been no direct State control except during the Condominium over the khalwa nizāriyya - and that was exercised indirectly through political pressure and grants-in-aid to induce khalwas to comply with Government policy. (2)

During the Funj period (910/1504 - 1226/1810), as has been alluded to above, (3) the rulers and the tribal leaders were not directly concerned with the educational activities in their regions - though they were often reported to have created favourable conditions for the arrival and settlement of the ‘ulama’ and in particular the khalwa Shaykhs (4), and to have provided them with their moral and material support. (5)

1. See Part I, Chapter Three.
2. See khalwa nizāriyya, above.
3. See attitudes and condition of khalwas during “the Funj period”, above.
4. Ibid.
Hence the responsibility for establishing, running, of learning (a mosque or a khalwa) or had it built for him.\(^1\) Then as a self-appointed teacher each one seems to have established himself and embarked on voluntary teaching amongst his own people or in a region of his own choice.\(^2\)

With the dominance of the Ḡanī Order as has been alluded to above, almost all of the khalwa teachers were at the same time followers of the Ḡanī Path - thus combining Ḥilm and Ḡhīrīs.\(^3\)

Not only that, but many emerged as saints, believed by their followers to have been possessors of baraka and men of ḳaramāt (miracles).\(^4\)

Such a development led to saint-cult - manifested in the visitations to the khalwa Shaykh and the erection of shrines and qubbah over his tomb when he died.\(^5\)

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1. See "Teachers" above. Reference could be made to such teachers as al-Shaykh Ḥujjāl al-ʿArābī, ʿIbrāhīm al-Balāṣī, Muḥammad Sughayrūn, ʿAbd al-ʿRazāq Ṭamātīḥī, Ḥaḍāʿallīḥ al-ʿArābī.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. See Part I, Chapter Two.

5. Ibid.
as evidenced today by the names of the villages and towns that bear the names of those pioneer khalwa founders and/or saints of the gubbas. (2)

As a result, more and more people joined the khalwa and were induced to seek learning and bārā'ah at the hands of the khalwa Shaykh, not only from the locality but even from distant regions (2) - this gave rise to the erection of khalwas of accommodation (4) for the large away-from-home student population (5) who would be living at the expense of the khalwa Shaykh. (6) Consequently, such a khalwa would develop into a large complex (7) often embracing the gubba of the founder, the khalwa of study, a mosque for Friday

1. See Part I, Chapter Two.
3. See "Students/hijra", above.
4. See "Students/khalwa of Accommodation", above.
5. See "Students/population", above.
7. Such as that of Mānasūr al-Ḥurt, Bughayrūn, al-Majdūd, see above.
However, it was largely because they were believed to have been men of *bara'ah* and piety — in addition to their devotion and great task of disseminating religious teachings — that the *qārī* Shaykhs were able to secure the moral, and above all, the material and financial support of the masses (and rulers) to effectively maintain, throughout the generations, their *khālwa* centres. (2)

Further, as founder of their own institution of learning (mosque and *khālwa*) as chief *qārī* *khālwa* Shaykh (or *khālīfa*) such a man was, in effect, in charge of the administration of his institutions, the initiation of his followers in the *qārī* path and, above all, holding the post of the one or principal

1. All of the main *qārī* *khālwa* centres have been surrounded by or adjacent to large residential areas, which grew around it.

2. See "Financial Aspect", below. This phenomenon still holds true for the *qārī*-dependent *khālwa* centres, such as Kadābās, Umm Dâman Râh, Aţâ Qurūn, Tayba, etc. This seems to explain their relative prosperity. In contrast, non-*qārī*-dependent *khālwa*, such as those of al-*ṣahāirân* in Western Sudan, could not maintain their students whom they turned into semi-beggars (see above).
prayer, the healer and the leader of his followers.\(^4\)

Not only that but the occupants of these posts used to hold them as life jobs — shouldering their responsibilities and enjoying their privileges.\(^5\) Moreover, when the founder died his posts, titles and functions — including teaching — were inherited by his descendants, often by his nominees.\(^6\)

In reference to that tradition Hillelshem stated that,

"the office of Khalīfa of the Khāla was hereditary, though it did not necessarily descend to the eldest son. The Khalīfa inherited his predecessor's administration and teaching office and the right to initiate the disciples into the Sūfi path; he was the guardian of the tomb and

1. Reference could be made to almost all the pioneer Khāla teachers such as al-Shaykh Māhūd al-'Arba'ī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jābir, Muḥammad Ṣuṣṭa'ūn, Ṣumā'ī, 'Īsā al-Andārī, 'Abdallāh Ashbash.

2. See "Methods of teaching and learning", above.

3. Ibid.

4. See Part I, Ch. Two; see "Teachers" for more functions.

5. See Khāla centres survey above, and khāla teachers of n. 1, above.

6. Ibid."
administered the revenues... (1)

intact all the Khalwa educational experiences and practices of their predecessors - with all their merits and shortcomings - and seem intent to perpetuate them - hence the extreme conservative nature of Khalwa education. (3)

However, as far as Khalwa administration was concerned, such a tradition seems to have consolidated the authority of the founder as chief administrator or indeed as the first leader in his community. Moreover it has, in effect, secured the continuation of that authority in the descendants of the founder and have transformed them into families of Khalwa teachers - and indeed an elite

1. Millar, 368, p.228.
2. See that hereditary system of administration and other Khalwa practices was demonstrated by almost all Khalwa centres surveyed above during the Funj period - such as those of Kutran, Zuguayrun, al-Kajudih, al-Shubushi. See below for more elaboration.
3. See "Subjects and Books", "Methods of Teaching", "Teaching Aids" etc. above; see the perpetuation of these practices by the present-day Khalwa such as Kadabun, Um Nawwan Ban, and al-Padi, above.
Under the Turco-Egyptian rule in the Sudan (1236/1820 -
1302/1885) as alluded to above, when the early period of invasion
and national resistance and general unrest was over, general life,
gradually, came to normal and traditional khalwa education was
resumed. (2) The Turco-Egyptian administration was reported to
have adopted an attitude of non-interference in the organization
and the internal affairs of the khalwas. (3)

Nevertheless, the Turco-Egyptian government was said to have
extended financial and material aid to a great number of khalwa
fakis, on request, (4) and encouraged the khalwa graduates to join
al-Ashar in Egypt.

Hence, it was assumed that almost the same pattern, type and
practices of mosque and khalwa education that were prevalent during

1. Such as al-Unubush and al-Halidhīb.
2. See Attitudes and condition of khulwas and the Turco-Egyptian
   Period", above.
3. Ibid.
The period of the Mahdiyya, as referred to above, was devoted to Jihād and hence most of the Khalwa Shaykhs suspended their educational functions and embarked on mobilizing their followers in support of al-Mahdi's call.\(^1\)

Although al-Mahdi carried a drastic change in the content of Khalwa, the traditional administrative aspect of Khalwa education seems to have continued as before. Nevertheless, as a result of al-Mahdi's ban on ḥifẓ and its rituals - such as ḥalq of hair, visitations of qubbah, writing of amulets and saint cult in general - much of the traditional authority of the Khalwa Shaykhs seems to have been undermined, and the Khalwa Shaykhs were, in effect, reduced to Qur'ān fakis.\(^2\)

However, al-Mahdi's premature death did not give him time to carry out wider social reforms in such fields as education.\(^3\) His successor, al-khalīfa 'Abdullahi, although he enforced al-Mahdi's teachings, seems to have been greatly preoccupied with consolidating the revolution, and the whole period was too short (1885-1890) to effect any significant change.

During the Condominium rule (1896–1955) the Khalwa, as

1. See Attitudes and condition of Khalwas under "Al-Mahdiyya Period", above.
2. See al-Mahdi's teachings, above.
3. See Attitudes and condition of Khalwas under "Al-Mahdiyya Period", above.
indicated above, (1) was subjected to a systematic hostile policy that resulted, almost, in its liquidation and substitution by the modern elementary school. (2)

Nevertheless, those khulwa - especially the traditional ḍālī-supported khulwa - which could survive the Condominium period, seem to have been following almost the same inherited traditional khulwa practices as far as the internal administration of the khulwa was concerned. (3) The imposition of the khulwa nizāmuya seems to have modified important aspects of the khulwa system - such as the content of education, the in-service teacher training and financing and inspection, but not the traditional general administrative set-up of the khulwa, where the traditional šayk was still in charge of his khulwa.

However, as alluded to before, many of the traditional khulwa were induced to introduce secular subjects, to have their teachers restrained (in order to teach these secular subjects) and to accept regular supervision by the Government educational authorities (4) - and against that the khulwa teachers would be paid grants in aid. (5)

1. See Attitudes and condition of khulwa under the "Condominium Period", above.
2. Ibid.
3. Such as Umm Dawūn Bān, Wad al-Fānī and Kadābās.
4. EPACS, (1925), p.45; see Attitudes and condition of khulwa under the "Condominium rule", above.
5. Ibid.; see "Financial aspect of khulwa education", below.
have been supportive - morally, financially and technically.\(^1\)

All this seems to have been in response to demands from interested khalwa Shaykhs and from the masses in regions of traditional khalwa dominance, as a result of which thousands of khalwas have emerged - concentrated in the regions of Eastern and Western Sudan.\(^2\)

Most of the State's effort, however, seems to have been directed to the building up of administrative machinery at the central, regional and departmental levels, to the creation of agencies and the setting out of supportive policies.\(^3\)

In spite of the building up of an impressive hierarchy of administrative machinery at the central and provincial levels - as exemplified in the creation of the Department of Religious Affairs on the eve of Independence in 1955, (with one of its objectives "to look after khalwas and institutions concerned with the memorisation of the Qur'ān")\(^4\) and the establishment of the Agency of Ḥiyāh al-Qur'ān in 1965 (with the objective of promoting the memorization of the Qur'ān through training of reciters and, specifically, by provision of technical supervision

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1. *See* *Attitudes and condition of khalwas under National Period*, above.
to khaliwas\(^1\) and the transformation of the Department of Religious Affairs into the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Agency into a Central Department of Religious Studies,\(^2\) and the subsequent creation of regional departments for religious affairs at the provincial capitals,\(^3\) in addition to the creation of the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs,\(^4\) and despite the much rhetoric by the President that was echoed by the Minister of Religious Affairs, and the State's policy repeatedly expressed in the official documents - which all pay tribute to the khaliwa institution as the basis of the Islamic cultural heritage in the Sudan and hence emphasizes the urgency of looking after its affairs by transforming it into a better Islamic educational institution - despite all the above, in actuality very little seems to have been done to improve the conditions of the khaliwa institution and transform it into an Islamic institution that would positively respond to the needs of the people and the requirements of the age.\(^6\)

1. Hamad al-Nil, pp.59-60; Tarīgh al Qur'ān, p.25; see also Attitudes and Condition of khaliwas under National Period\(^5\), above.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See the President's speeches on the occasions of the Annual Festivals of the Qur'an (see Attitudes and conditions under "National Period").
6. In Northern and Central Sudan khaliwas, institutions seem to have been shunned by the people of their localities because they fail to attract them; (see khaliwas of Kabinib, Umm Jawaab Bani and Wad al-Yahoud, above).
In effect, it seems to have been given lip service merely to encourage it to revive on almost the same traditional lines of the Punj era.(1)

On the administrative aspect the Department of Religious Affairs maintains nominal linkage with the individual khalwas through the payment of the nominal monthly allowances to the khalwa fakhs.(2)

On the aspect of technical supervision the contacts between the Government officials and the fakhs of the khalwas were reported to have been extremely weak. According to a survey conducted in 1976, only 41% of the khalwas were covered by the representatives of the inspectorates and the visits of these were very occasional - once a year or two years.(3)

Hence the whole responsibility of running the khalwas seems to have been left almost entirely to their individual shaykhs.

At the khalwa level, however, almost the same traditional practices that were handed down from the Punj era seem to have

1. See the proposal of the Chairman of the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs, (Y. al-Kalifa) above.
2. See "Financial aspect of khalwa education", below.
been handed down to and perpetuated by the present day khulfa. (1)

On the administrative aspect of khulfa education with which we are more concerned, the same pattern of khulfa administration under the Fihri and the subsequent periods could be illustrated below as follows.

At the summit of the khulfa administrative hierarchy is the khalifa or the khulfa shaykh who was handed down his post and titles through a hereditary system - by descent. (2)

The khalifa is in charge of the overall administration of the khulfa complex, his gurî followers (in the gurî-supported centres) and the learners and their teachers. (3)

To help him carry out his functions smoothly and efficiently, the khulfa khalifa - according to the inherited practices - usually delegates his functions to a number of relatively efficient and dedicated followers, who serve as his deputies or assistants (wuzûrî). (4)

1. The reference is to the main khulfa centres such as those of Kadaba, Umm Dawsan Bân, Wad al-Fâhîrî, as surveyed above.
2. See the administration of the khulwas of al-Maâmûb, Umm Dawsan Bân and Wad al-Fâhîrî, above.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
8. The Financial Aspect of Kholwa Education

On the financial aspect, and in comparison to the administrative, the kholwa seems to have witnessed more important and significant developments.

As alluded to above and as evidenced by the survey of the kholwa centres(1), the kholwa has continued functioning as a private enterprise, providing throughout the ages, not only free education but also accommodation, food, clothes, and sometimes pocket money, for an unrestricted student population, which would reach hundreds and often exceed a thousand.(2)

We are concerned, in this section, with shedding light on the ways and means through which the kholwa authorities, across the ages, seem to have managed, effectively, to meet the costs of running and the upkeep of their kholwas - especially the large kholwa centres.

A variety of factors and means of help seem to have enabled the kholwa authorities to carry out their difficult task.

In the past - especially during the Punjab period - life seems

1. The reference is made to all the kholwa centres surveyed, above.
2. See the size of student population at some of the kholwas surveyed in the chapter "Students", above.
to have been considerably simpler and the people's needs and requirements for living were humble and seem to have been met from their immediate environment to which they were attached.

That simple mode of living which characterized life of the past generations could be evidenced by the fact that, even up to the present time, the Sudan has remained, in the main, a rural country dependent largely on pastoral and traditional agricultural activities with vast agricultural resources - land, water, pasture, forests and considerable animal wealth.

The people were leading a modest life as reflected in their modest lodgings, clothes and food. According to Shugayr the inhabitants of the sedentary regions of Northern Sudan (along the Nile, north of Khartoum) used to live in humble houses built of unbaked bricks or of mud known as jalka;\(^1\) in central Sudan they lived in outliya;\(^2\) in the Beja region in Eastern Sudan and the nomads, in tents; and western Sudan in huts.\(^3\) Their clothes were simple and made of cotton or wool woven locally (jasmin), and their food was mainly sorghum (dura), meat (fresh or dried), vegetables and milk, all obtained from their local environments.\(^4\) All this seems to have made the

1. See al-La'Alhi\textsuperscript{a}, centre, above.
2. Because of environmental factors - rains in particular - houses were built in the form of cylindrical bases and conical tops.
cost of living considerably low.

Of more significance and relevance to the issue of cost of khalwa education, then, was the fact that the khalwa emerged as a Sufi institution and the Sufis, it should be emphasized, "came to represent asceticism, retirement from the world and devotion to the Divine worship." Hence, their institutions were more humble in form and their needs simpler than those of the houses of their followers at the time.

In fact, the khalwa has come to represent a humble form or structure consisting of one or two rooms of study surrounded by a spacious courtyard, and humble rooms of accommodating for the students, all embraced by a wall or enclosure of dry branches of tree. The khalwa could be a room of jāla, a hut, a tent, even a tree, depending on the environment. It has barely any furniture; the students would sit on mats made of leaves of.

1. See chapter (Part I) above.

3. This was almost a common characteristic of almost all of the Sufi khalwa Shaykhs of the Funj period.
4. Even at present the general mode of khalwa structure is generally simple. They are built of jāla (mud) in Northern Provinces.
5. They are built in the form of huts in Western Sudan.
6. They are built in the form of tents in the nomadic region of the Beja.
7. Because of the hot climate the khalwas are often held under shady trees.
palm trees (bīţūl) or on the bare sandy floor, while the faqīr sat on his sheep-skin mat. (1)  

The teaching aids have always been simple and made locally: the laqab (the tablet) made of wood, the pen of reeds or dīrū stems, the tābār (ink) made of gum Arabic and saffron, while firewood collected by the students themselves served as a source of light and fuel, and drinking water fetched from the river or wells. (2) Hence, the low cost of khalwā buildings and equipment.  

Another factor which seems to have contributed to the low cost of khalwā education was the perpetuation of the traditional practice of the khalwā as one-room school, embracing learners of different ages and stages of academic progress under one roof; (3) and by following a monitory system of instruction, the khalwā has been conducted as a one-teacher school, assisted by his own students. (4)  

Nevertheless, and in addition to all the above, the khalwā Gāfī Shāykhā used to receive substantial material aid and moral support from their followers, their students and from the rulers and tribal leaders.  

1. See "Teaching Aids" above, for further information on these points.  
2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid.  
4. Ibid.
The followers of the *khulwa* Shaykhs used to help their land or rearing his animals.

In addition, as alluded to before, parents and followers used to provide the *khulwa* Shaykh with symbolic presents on several occasions.

On the weekly occasion of *karaba* (offering) they would give the *khulwa* students, who went around for collection of grain, beans and even money. The *khulwa* students would boil some of what they collected to make *balila* (4), or *karaba* and the remainder would go to the *fakir*’s household. (5)

In addition, on certain days of the week, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, parents would give their children presents for the

1. See PP. 53-2, above.
2. This was the universal practice of the followers of the *attendance* Shaykhs, as often heard from the *fakirs* and the masses.
3. See "Methods of Teaching", above.
fact - usually in the form of money.

Further, on the occasions of al-scharif and the khamsa, \(^{(1)}\) parents and the village community would give gifts in cash and kind to the shalwa fact. \(^{(2)}\) On the occasion of the khamsa in particular, depending on the financial situation of the parents, in addition to the gift of a sheep or a calf which would be slaughtered for the feast of the shalwa residents, parents usually gave presents to the shalwa fact, in cash and kind. In confirmation of this old custom, al-Takāyat mentions that the father of the shalwa student ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUṭāj al-Duwayḥī, on the occasion of the completion of the study of his son, under al-faṣih ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Usayd, gave the teacher, as a gift, a horse with a servant to look after it. \(^{(3)}\)

However, it was on the small weekly gifts, according to ʿAbdallāḥ al-Tayyib, that the livelihood of junior instructors (faṣiḥ) depended - even in peasant and trading communities such as al-Qāmer and Serber. \(^{(4)}\)

The followers of the shalwa Shaykh used to pay, on visitations of the Shaykh or his qubba, presents, in cash or kind, which they had solemnly pledged to pay, when their wishes were granted - muḥāf and saṣṣāḥ. In reference to

1. See "Methods of Teaching", above.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Takāyat, p.286.
The Sufi Shaykhs used to receive pious gifts from followers, not only of the immediate vicinity, but even from tribes and individuals coming from distant and remote regions. According to al-Tabagāt Muhammad b. Pāyid, a disciple of al-Shaykh Idrīs b. al-Arba‘īn, used to come annually, for visitation to his Shaykh, accompanied by the tribesmen of Eastern Sudan - such as the Arab nomads of Aku'd and al-Taka - all loaded with gifts of money, silver, food (grain, flour, honey, etc.), animals (camels and horses), cloth and slaves.

1. Al-Tabagāt, p. 160.
2. Interview with al-Nāṣar (al-Namer).
3. Al-Tabagāt, pp. 58-60.
As an act of support to their 

1. 'Abd al-Majid, vol.1, p.120. See also "Accommodation of

2. Al-‘Ayyub, cit., p.98.


4. Ibid., p.146.

5. Ibid., pp.274-5.

6. Ibid., p.44.

7. Ibid., pp.141, 147, 274.
It seems interesting to refer briefly to the Shaykh's personal sources of income - by treating the sick. They seem to have been using different types of treatment, the common among them were the following:

a) 'Azīma: the faţī would recite some verses of the Qur'ān or read prayers asking God to restore the health of the sick - by driving away the evil eye that had caused the harm.

b) Al-+Wā: the khalwa Shaykh would write verses of the Qur'ān and prayers on the wooden lama and wash off the writing by pouring clear water over it. The washed off mixture is known as al-sihāva which the sick person would be told to use for rubbing, or sprinkling over the body, or even drinking it, in order to secure the treatment.

c) Al-bakhārāt: the faţī would write verses of the Qur'ān, prayers or sometimes charms on pieces of paper, fold them, and hand them to the patient to burn them over charcoal and expose his or her body to its smoke, and even inhale it, while wrapping his or her whole body, by cover, so as to use the smoke of the bakhārā (sing.) to the maxima.

d) Hāsh (pl. abīḥā or ḥāṣḥā): these were amulets for

1. Information from different Khalwa faţīs: from Abū Qurān, Umm Jawwān Bān, Ḥayba and al-Fāshir.
which the Khaleea Shaykh would write prayers on a piece of paper to be wrapped in leather and worn, by means of a string round the neck or on the arm. According to al-Tabaqî, al-Soqîn ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Usayd used to be engaged in writing amulets during the weekly holiday.\(^1\)

\[\text{e)}\]

\text{Hawâa: this was a sort of prayer to protect persons and property from harm and even to recover lost property.}\(^2\)

\[\text{f)}\]

\text{Herbalism: in addition to the above, some of the Khaleea Shaykhs were said to have been using some herbs and vegetable essences, whose efficacy they had learnt through long experience, in the treatment of their sick followers.}\(^3\)

\text{What is of more concern to us from the above is that the Khaleea shaykhs or fakîs were said to have been drawing some small profit, from the sale of these charms, which would enable them to live.}\(^4\)

According to Trimingham, such “industry is quite innocent, the talismans do no-one any harm and always produce a favourite effect upon the imagination. Besides, the fâkî does not seek to deceive others, he believes as they do in the efficacy of these

1. Al-Tabaqî, p.284.
2. Ibid., pp.121, 203.
3. Trimingham, Islam in the Sudan, p.140.
4. Ibid.
This led to other damage that seems to have been exemplified in the exploitation of the credulity of the innocent and ignorant masses by some pretenders to extract money or material benefit by alleging that charms and talismans could deliver the goods.\(^2\)

Further, through the ages, some of the descendants of the successive generations of Sufi Shaykhs seem to have developed an attitude against modern medication and education and seem to have influenced those followers around them, by inducing them to adhere to the old traditional healing practices, described above, thus risking innocent lives or precious lost property instead of seeking adequate modern medicine, or reporting to the police.\(^3\)

2. Interview with al-Naqar (al-Damer).
3. Interview with al-Naqar (al-Damer); the writer observed many different sick persons complaining from stomach pains, severe fever and persons whose animals were stolen - all going on visitations to the qubbah and Sufi Shaykhs of Kadabg, Abū Qurûm, Umm Dawwa Rûm (November-December, 1981).
Al-faqīḥ 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Usayd (d. 1127/1715) was reported to have discovered, one day, that five of his students (Ṣa'd al- دقائق, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hājj Dusayḥ, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abbaru, Ḥasāb al-Nabī b. Bāqr and Ḥamād al-Ṣād b. Ṭāliʿ) had irrigated his land which the river had failed to irrigate. (1) So he was pleased and prayed to God to bless them.

Al-faqīḥ Ǧaḏm b. Ibrāhīm b. Barī', according to al-Tabaqāt, was supporting at his ḥalāla about five hundred students of the Qur'an, whom he seems to have been employing in his fields; and for this purpose he had ninety sickles which were used by the students in turn - each group using them for a whole week. (2)

In addition to the traditional custom of collecting firewood and fetching the drinking water, ḥalāla students used to erect or help in the erection of their own ḥalālas and were always responsible for the cleansing of the ḥalāla premises. (3) Moreover, they used to give a helping hand to the village people - the followers of their Shaykh - especially during the harvest season. (4)

From the above, it seems clear that during the Funj period

1. Al-Tabaqāt, p. 284.
2. Ibid., p. 314.
3. Information from the muntakab of the ḥalāla of Ṭārib, below.
the khalwa students were contributing in sharing the burden of cost of their khalwa education. Such a positive contribution by the khalwa students seems to have been encouraged and perpetuated by traditional khalwas. However, this aspect of the students' activities seems to have been, later, exploited and distorted by the subkhan fakas. (1)

The contribution of the Sudanese rulers, in this respect, was also considerable. The Funj Sultans, the 'Abdallahi viceroys and the tribal chieftains, although they had no control over education, were reported to have been extending a generous hand to the khalwa Shaykhs and fakirs - granting lands, exempting them from taxation and furnishing them with presents.

According to 'Abd al-Majid, the Funj kingdom was subdivided into several small kingdoms and Shaykhdoms; each junior king or sultan was to pay to the Sultan of Sennar a fixed amount or a share of the taxation he would collect from his region. (2)

In a similar way, according to Shuqayr, the Sultans of Darfur, starting with Sultan Musa, divided the kingdom into sedentary and nomadic regions. (3) He subdivided the sedentary region into estates which he distributed among his relatives and his close associates of the notables. (4) He also assigned

1. See the Khalwa of al-Muhaddith, Naur, Darfur.
4. Ibid.
the princes and notables, each to be in charge of a branch of the nomadic tribes and to live on the revenues they collected.\(^{(1)}\)

In accordance with the Shari'a law the Pur sultans were said to have obtained their share of mazāj, fītra and 'ushūr.\(^{(2)}\)

As far as the khulāsa and their teachers were concerned, both the Panj and Pur sultan were said to have been exempting the khulāsa Shaykhs from taxation. Not only that but they used to grant them land, slaves for labour and other presents as can be illustrated below.\(^{(3)}\)

King Šāfī b. Rubāj (1020 - 23 A.H.) in response to a request by al-Shaykh Muhammad Sughayrūn, was reported to have granted him the clearance of land he had chosen for his settlement to establish his mosque khulāsa, to have access to the river, to own land for cultivation and a site for burials.\(^{(3)}\)

King Šāfī b. Rubāj was also reported to have granted al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Farī Suwār al-Dshahab a written ḫāl (written royal guarantee exempting the person concerned from taxation) - covering not only al-Shaykh Suwār al-Dshahab and his descendants but even all those studying under him.\(^{(4)}\)

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2. Ibid., fītra (sadaqa paid at end of Ramadān); 'ushūr (taxation 1/10th of produce).
4. Ibid., p.216.
When later his grandee al-Shaykh Ziyāda b. al-Nūr b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Īsā Suwār al-Dhahab became Khalīfa the
privilege of the al-Dāh was not only confirmed but even extended to include all the Danāqda (tribe of al-Shaykh Suwār al-Dhahab and
his successors). (1)

Al-Shaykh 'Aṭīb the Great, the 'Abdallābi viceroy of the
Sultan of Conna, was said to have granted the Khalīfa of the
al-Dāh, of al-Ghubush, Berber district, the river islands in the
vicinity of the Danāqda to cultivate for living. (2)

Al-Shaykh 'Aṭīb was also reported to have built a mosque
for al-Faqīh 'Alī b. 'Ishayb (3), and the Punj sultan granted
him extensive lands for cultivation in the region of al-Hawy,
and he was appointed as a judge. (4)

Sultan Da'īn b. Nāṣir, on one occasion, was reported to
have sent to al-Shaykh al-Nūr b. Suwār al-Dhahab fifty head of
slaves to work for him. (5)

Sultan Unṣūr b. Nāṣir (succession 1087/1677) when visited by

1. Al-Tabaqṣ, p. 216.
2. Information of the Khalīfa 'Abd al-Nājīd, descendant of
3. 'Alī b. 'Ishayb was a study companion of Ibrāhīm al-Būlād at
Azhah, in Egypt (al-Tabaqṣ, p. 257).
al-Fadl al-Kuwaiti b. al-Miqri (d.1095/1684) at his court in
Sennar, he was reported to have suspended his sufijs, embraced
al-Kuwaiti and presented him with lavish gifts. (1)

In the Funj kingdom, the notables too seem to have followed
their rulers in their generous attitudes towards the shalwa
teachers. For example, al-Fadl Sa'id b. Dawud was reported to
have built a mosque of brick for al-Shaykh Dafa'ullah al-'Araki
and to have granted him twelve head of slaves (six males and six
females) for his service, and was said to have endowed the shalwa
with twenty-two jad'a (about one hundred and ten acres) of
cultivation land in the region of al-Fawy (Gezira). (2)

In Darfur, as alluded to above, the sultans used to exempt
the shalwa sakihs from taxation and even to grant them the right
to collect the taxation, (mansa', zakat and fitra) of certain
villages and make use of their revenue in the maintenance of
their shalwa and their students.

In reference to such a practice Shqayr states that in
Darfur there were many mosques - in each village there was a
masjid (or shalwa) in which the Qur'an, reading and writing
were taught; and each 'adam used to have a mosque for prayer
near his house and beside it there were the shalwa of students

1. Al-Tabaqat, Pp.103-4
2. Ibid., p.330.
where Sharī‘a subjects were taught.\(^1\) In matters of finance each `īlim used to have a ṣakūra as a grant from the Sultan for the maintenance of his household and his students.\(^2\)

In further confirmation of this tradition, O’Fahey cites the example of al-`aqīf Muḥammad Ḥadīj al-`Aqīf who was reported to have migrated from the Blue Nile region to Darfur in the 12th/13th century, and established a mosque-qašāwa at al-Pirsh, near al-Pirshir, and was granted a ṣakūra by the sultan of the day, and the validity of that grant was confirmed by Sultan ʿAlī Dīnār.\(^3\)

Another example of the support of the Fur sultans to the qašāwa fakirs in their region seems to have been illustrated by the establishment of the mosque-qašāwa of Jaṣīd al-Sayl by Sultan ʿUmar Layl (about 1159/1746-7 - 1167/1753-4) on a piece of land said to have been granted earlier as a waqf (endowment) by Sultan Ahmad Bakr (1128/1715 - 1141/1729) to al-`aqīf Muḥammad ʿĪzz al-Dīn (of al-Jamūlīyya tribe) to help him and his descendants maintain their qašāwa of study and that waqf was reported to have been confirmed by the successive Fur sultans up to the reign of Sultan ʿAlī Dīnār (1316/1898 - 1335/1916).\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Shuqayr, vol. II, p.146.

\(^2\) **Ibid.** - a ṣakūra (pl. ṣakūrā) was an estate, consisting usually of a village or a group of villages, granted by the Sultans to title holders, members of the royal family or Muslim holy men - such as fakirs as a waqf (O’Fahey, I/44.)

\(^3\) O’Fahey, vol. I, pp.73-77.

Thus, as a result of the positive contribution of all the factors mentioned above towards the cost of khalwa education during the Fanj period, the khalwa teachers seem to have managed to maintain themselves, their khalwa and their students. Not only that but some of them seem to have accumulated considerable material wealth - such as al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman b. Jabir, (1) and al-Shaykh Hasan b. Hasina. (2)

However, some of the khalwa Shaykhs such as al-Majadhib of al-Dumer were reported to have refrained from following the tradition of the other Quraysh Shaykhs and khalwa ta'la of the time of accepting donations of sadqah (alms).

Unlike most of the khalwa teachers who used to depend for living - to a great extent - on the help and donations of their followers for the upkeep of their families and their khalwas, al-Majadhib of al-Dumer were said to have depended almost entirely, on themselves in maintaining their household and the large student population of their khalwas, in addition to the caravans of travellers and guests who used to frequent their khalwas. (3)

This independent attitude of self-support has been indicated in Al-Tabaqat in relation to their famous religious leader and

1. Al-Tabaqat, p.250.
2. Ibid., pp.138-139.
real founder of their khalwas, al-Shaykh Hamad al-Wajidhūb(1) who seems to have been earning his living from his own sources and trade as builder of his ma'īn (water-wheel). (2)

That practice of self-reliance in financing their famous khalwas of al-Dāmer was said to have been perpetuated by the subsequent generations of al-Wajidhīb - even up to the present time as could be evidenced by the example of the khalwa of al-Wajidhīb's descendants at al-Ṭūf al-ʿArraq at al-Jadārī, Eastern Sudan. (3)

In effect, al-Wajidhīb of al-Dāmer during the Punj period were said to have refrained from accepting any form of ṣadābat or madhūn, whether from their followers or from their students. (4)

Such a stand was said to have been based on legal basis: al-Wajidhīb were said to have estimated their economic and financial status and come to the conclusion that they were reasonably well-off and could afford to support themselves and those under their custody - their households, their students and their guests. (5)

Hence, according to their fatawa they were not entitled to

2. Interview with al-Ṭūf al-ʿArraq (al-Ṭūf).
4. Interview with al-Ṭūf al-ʿArraq (al-Dāmer).
5. Ibid.
receive or ask for ṣadaqāt, ṣadaqāt or ṣadaqāt because they could not be counted among the eight categories of people specified in the Qur'ān as entitled to ṣadaqāt (alms):¹

"Alms are for the poor and the needy and those employed to administer (the funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of God; and for the wayfarers: (Thus is it) ordained by God, and God is full of knowledge and wisdom."²

However, the ḥalwa traditional financial practices of the Funj period, described above, were disrupted by the Turco-Syrian invasion of 1236/1821. The first years of the occupation seem to have had serious repercussion on the hitherto established system of ḥalwa education and more relevant on their traditional sources of financing, in particular.

The Funj sultans and their 'Abdallāhī viceroys who were strong supporters of the ḥalwa Shaykhs and who often extended a generous hand to them, as has been illustrated above, were now deposed by the new regime. Unbelievably onerous taxation on wealth and property, which was said to have almost

¹. Interview with al-Naqar (al-Dāmer).
². Qur'ān, 9:60.
amounted to confiscation was said to have been imposed\(^1\) thus reducing to a great extent the traditional voluntary contribution of the well-to-do among the masses towards the costs of khalwa education.

As an illustration of the heavy taxes imposed by the Turco-Egyptian regime the following rates were charged:\(^2\)

Fifteen \textit{rival} (or dollars)\(^3\) were put on every head of slave;

ten \textit{rival} on every head of cattle; and

five \textit{rival} on every sheep or donkey.

The effect of these heavy taxes on khalwas seems to have been reflected in the fact that the burden of such taxation was to fall on the settled people of the riverain villages,\(^4\) who also seem to have been charged with land tax.\(^5\) And as has been referred to earlier, the riverain lands were the very region in which almost all of the main khalwa centres were flourishing.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Holt and Daly, p. 54.
\(^3\) Holt and Daly, p. 54.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Shibayya, p. 132.
\(^6\) See Appendix for the geographical spread of the main khalwa centres.
In particular, according to Holt, taxation on slaves would have far-reaching social and political repercussions, for it would jeopardize the livelihood of all but the very poor families, since slaves were universally employed in the households and in the fields,\(^1\) and were often used by the Şeyh Shaykh at their \(khalwa\) centres to help in serving guests.\(^2\)

Further, the Turco-Egyptian regime was reported to have followed a policy of repression to force the people to pay such taxes. For example, when some of the riverain people abandoned their region and started to flee to the Ethiopian borders, they were reported to have been pursued by the Government troops and shot down\(^3\) in heaps.\(^4\)

At any rate, opposition to the Turco-Egyptian occupation and the onerous taxes was building up among the people of the riverain lands and seems to have been consolidated by the religious-political stand of al-Maṣāḥib of al-Dā'ūr who were said to have issued a \textit{fatwa} opposing the regime on the grounds that it was not following the Şayfī law but rather imposing a secular law instead.\(^5\)

1. Holt and Daly, \textit{op. cit.}, p.54.
2. See references to such phenomenon, above.
3. Holt and Daly, p.58.
5. Interview with al-Naqār (al-Dā'ūr).
The retaliation of the regime was swift and brutal. Muhammad Bey al-Dafterdar, Muhammad 'Alī’s son-in-law, who was invading Kordofān at the time, was reported to have carried out a series of brutal punitive campaigns in revenge all over the riverain region causing devastation of property, ruin of the country and much bloodshed.1

In the course of such havoc almost all of the once famous kheleb centres of the region were said to have been destroyed,2 many of the fakirs fell, and many others abandoned the riverain region in mass-scale migration to Eastern Sudan, as did al-Majādhib3, and to the Eshnautian marshes such as al-'Arakiyyīn under al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Gayyar4, or to Kordofān as did the peasants of Dongola region.5

To make things worse, as alluded to before, the country was said to have been stricken at the time by a drought and an

1. Holt and Daly, p.55.
3. See developments under the Turco-Egyptian Period.
5. Holt and Daly, p.40.
epidemic of smallpox;\(^1\) and consequently half the population was
reported to have perished by the sword and sickness and famine.\(^2\)

As could be seen, as a result of the catastrophies and
calamities associated with the Turco-Egyptian occupation of the
Sudan, the khalwa seems to have suffered heavily - disruption
of established system, destruction and dislocation of premises
and, above all, loss of its traditional sources of income.

Then the turmoil subsided and conditions seem to have
returned to normal, the Turco-Egyptian regime was said to have
induced the people to resume their traditional life.\(^3\)

As far as khalwa education was concerned, the regime was
reported to have adopted a policy of non-interference in the
internal affairs of the khalwa.\(^4\)

However, on the financial aspect of khalwa education,
(though the needs of the khalwas, as described above, were
generally and relatively simple) now, under the Turco-Egyptian
rule, stripped of almost all their principal traditional

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2. Ibid.
3. See developments under Turco-Egyptian Period®.
to rely more and more for survival on grants-in-aid paid on
Muhammad Ali was said to have encouraged the Sudanese to join al-Azhar in Egypt and to help them in this respect he was reported to have responded positively in 1263/1846 to a request made by the Sudanese students - Muhammad Ali Hindi and his colleagues - and established a riwaq (a student hostel) for the students of Sennar, similar to those allocated to students of the other nationalities studying in Egypt.

The riwaq of the Sennar students was said to have been endowed with food, at the rate of fifty six loaves per day for its twelve students, then, and eight of them for their Shaykh.

A similar riwaq had already been allocated for the students of Dar-Fur.

The successors of Muhammad Ali Pasha were said to have continued encouraging the traditional system of Islamic education exemplified in the mosques and khawass.

Under 'Abbas II (1264/1848 - 1270/1854), however, the first-ever government school, the Khartoum primary school, under Rifai al-Tahawi was opened in 1269/1853, but continued for one year and was closed by his successor.

2. Ibid., vol.II, p.20.
3. Ibid.
4. See below.
Sa'īd Pasha (1270/1854 - 1279/1863) was reported to have aided the khalwas and their teachers, as was illustrated by his order to the Governor of Kordofān in 1273, to exempt the ārwān (water-wheels) and cultivation lands of al-Shaykh Ḥasan al-Walī from taxation, so as to help him maintain his khalaṣa of study and his students of the Qurʾān.\(^{(1)}\)

The greatest concern and financial support for the khalwas and their teachers under the Turco-Egyptian regime, however, were said to have happened during the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1279/1863 - 1296-1279).\(^{(2)}\)

Reference could be made in this respect, for example, to the requests for aid submitted through the Governors of the Sudan to the Khedive Ismāʿīl, by the following:

- The Khalifa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who was in charge of the mosque of al-ʿArabāb in Khartoum - which was devoted to the teaching of the Qurʾān and 'ilm - and which required renovation at the cost of £1,593.\(^{(3)}\)

The Khedive responded positively in 12 Rebi' al-Awwal, 1280, ordering that the mosque-khalaṣa be renovated at the expense of the government.\(^{(4)}\)

Al-fakr Ya'qub, Khalifa of the saint Muhammad b. Abūn at al-Bashaqra requesting, also, the renovation of that ancient mosque—khalwa. (1)

The Egyptian ruler approved of the cost of the renovation, estimated at P.T. 5261, on 27th Ramadān, 1280. (2)

Another example of the financial aid on request of the Khedive Ismā'īl to the khalwa teachers in the Sudan, was the approval of a monthly grant of P.T. 400 made to al-fakr Khalafallaḥ of al-Kitāyaūb, Saydāb district of Berber province. (3) Al-fakr Khalafallaḥ had had a tax-free fifty acres of land to cultivate in order to maintain his khalwa students of one hundred and fifty learners, of whom fifty seven were out-of-village students. (4)

However, later, on 8th of Shawwal 1280 he submitted a request to the Khedive complaining that the previous grant of land was inadequate for the maintenance of his student population which was found by the Turkish-Egyptian authorities in the Sudan to have grown to 172 students of the Qur'ān and 53 students of 'ilm. Except for 25 students who were living with their parents, almost all of them were living at the expense of al-fakr Khalafallaḥ. (5)

2. Ibid., p. 162.
3. Ibid., pp. 164-5.
4. Ibid., p. 163.
5. Ibid.
The Khedive responded on 3 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1280 by granting him a monthly grant-in-aid of £400 in addition to the fifty acres of land grant in order to help him maintain his family and his students. (1)

Also, in response to a request submitted by the Turco-Egyptian administration on 29 Dhū al-Mi‘ja, 1280, on behalf of three of the outstanding khalwa teachers: al-ḥasīn Badawi Abū Ǧasifīya and al-Sayyid Abū al-Makki b. al-Shaykh Ismā‘īl — both from Kordufān, and al-Shaykh Muhammad Tām of the district of Semqār and Faughli, for a financial aid for each of these dedicated teachers in order to help him maintain himself and his students who exceeded a hundred learners, (2) the Khedive ordered that they be granted financial aid and dura (grain) like other teachers of similar conditions. (3)

Al-ḥasīn Ǧirāf al-Dīn b. Yaḥūb, the imām of the mosque and the teacher of thirty students at the mosque-khalwa of Jum Shanka, requested the continuation of the concession — of collecting the revenue of five villages — that had been granted to him by the ex-Pur sultans, to enable him maintain himself and his students. (4)

2. Ibid., p.165.
3. Ibid., pp.166-7.
4. Ibid., p.190 (file no.3).
The Khedive approved the request of the Miskindar on 15 Sha'bân, 1291.\(^{(1)}\)

Due to the sympathetic responses to the requests of the khalwa teachers and the material aid they received from the Khedive, it seems to have encouraged more and more teachers to apply for aid on which they seem to have relied for living.

However, it was realized that it was not only the genuine teachers in charge of khalwas of study who requested grants, but even pretenders seem to have done so.\(^{(2)}\)

To combat such a trend the Khedive was reported to have approved a scheme proposed and carried out by his governor in the Sudan, Naghar Pasha, in 1283/1867, to inspect khalwa teachers in order to make sure that the financial and material grants were provided only to genuine teachers of khalwas and to stop such aid from those who were not entitled to it.\(^{(3)}\)

Eventually, towards the end of the reign of Isma'il Pasha, the financial and dura aid was reported to have been stopped from the khalwa takās and replaced by grants of small land holdings to be cultivated by the khalwa teachers, for the maintenance of their khalwas.\(^{(4)}\)

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2. Ibid., p. 189.
3. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 52-5.
4. See below, in the section.
This change of policy seems to have prompted a series of protests to the Khedive in Egypt from the ex-financially-aided Kholwa teachers, such as al-Shaykh al-Amīn Muḥammad Khūjālī and al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Khūjālī who were both Kholwa teachers at al-Ghubush, Berber. \(^1\) They used to receive financial aid and dūr a at the rate of P.T.400 and six ardah of dūr a, monthly, for al-Shaykh al-Amīn Muḥammad Khūjālī and his Kholwa students, and P.T.250 and four ardah dūr a for the maintenance of al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Khūjālī and his kholwa, according to the grant of the Khedive Ismā'īl, of 22nd Jumādā al-Aʿīd 1282 A.H. \(^2\) However, by 1291 they seem to have appealed to the Khedive against the decision to stop their monthly financial grants and aid of dūr a, and their replacement by a grant of cultivation land. \(^3\)

Similar appeals were submitted to the Khedive from the Kholwa teachers: al-Yahyā Mustafā al-Ṣawyiḥ (Kholwa) at Berber, and al-Shaykh Ṭālib al-Najāchā, one of the ‘ulama' and a Kholwa teacher at Berber, who both had their financial aid and dūr a replaced by land grants by 1292. \(^4\)

The Turco-Egyptian authorities in the Sudan and Egypt were

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3. Ibid., p.187.
reported to have ignored such appeals and enforced their policy of granting the Khalwa teachers pieces of land to cultivate and live on their crops, instead of relying on the government's aid for maintenance.\(^1\) The exception, however, were the disabled such as blind teachers.\(^2\)

Hence, it was reported that by the end of the reign of Isma'il Pasha - and indeed towards the end of the Turco-Egyptian rule - the government's aid was almost virtually withheld from Khalwa and the Khalwa teachers in effect had to depend on their traditional means for financing their institutions.\(^3\)

In reference to the traditional practices towards Khalwa, in this respect, Shugayr writes:

"The school of the Qur'an - the Khalwa - was either established by a waqif of the Qur'an (a fakih) at his home, where he taught learners and expended on them by himself for the sake of God; or it was established by a man of charity at his home, where he would hire a fakih at fixed pay and spend on him and the learners from his purse; or built and financed through the joint effort of all the inhabitants of the village who would

2. Ibid., p.188.
establish it in the form of a room adjacent to the mosque. \(^{(1)}\)

As could be realized from the general survey of the financing of khalwa education during the Turco-Egyptian period (1236/1819 - 1302/1885) at its beginning the khalwas were deprived of their traditional sources of finance, and towards its end they were virtually denied the government's vital material aid. \(^{(2)}\)

In view of such a critical financial situation, the khalwa Shaykhs and fatwas were said to have turned more than ever to the meagre contribution of their followers in the village communities and above all to the utilization and sale of their (spiritual) services to those who believed in their baraka - i.e., earning income through visitations of their followers to the qubbas of their ancestors, by means of mudhir, sadacat and by the sale of amulets, 'azima or talismans. \(^{(3)}\)

Under the Maldyga (1302/1885 - 1316/1898) as alluded to above, the top priority was given to ihlad, first to bring the revolution to victory against the corrupt Turco-Egyptian administration, and then to consolidate the Khalifa's rule against internal and external threats. \(^{(4)}\) Hence, education and its institutions do not seem to have figured high during that

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2. See traditional sources of financing khalwa education under the Funj rule.
3. Interview with al-Naqar (al-Damer).
4. See developments under the Maldyga Rule", above.
period.
The 

by joining the Mahdiyya armies, seem to have been in a
state of (jihād) teaching the children - contented with the
minimum essential for living, relying on themselves and the
support of their village communities.(2)

However, as alluded to before, the financial support of the
hundreds of Khalīfah in Osmanian - like the Mahdiyya armies -
were said to have been provided for by the State.(3)

At any rate, the Mahdiyya period was a short one and both
the Government and the whole people were preoccupied with the
jihād and almost all financial resources were devoted to it.(4)

1. See al-Mahdi’s teachings, above.
2. Interview with Shaykh Muhammad al-Faqīh ‘Umar at ‘ayba,
Quraishi, 21st November, 1981.
3. See the situation under al-Khalīfa ‘Abdallāh, above.
4. Interview with the uncle of the Khalīfa of Madīnā, 15th
November, 1981.
Under the Condominium rule (1898-1955) the first two decades, as referred to above, were devoted to security and order. Hence, the activities of all traditional institutions in the Sudan were said to have been viewed through that context.

Accordingly, the activities of the Sufi Orders and Yahdism were strictly banned and the attitude towards the traditional institution of education the *khalwa* and towards its teachers seems to have been unsympathetic and even hostile. Not only that, but the Government created a rival institution of education - the *kuttah* or the elementary school - to eventually replace the *khalwa*. The Government's design seems to have been a process of a gradual and systematic liquidation of *khalwas* for which purpose the financial aid would be used as an effective means.

When the Government created the modern *kuttah* school it provided it with better material facilities and better qualified teachers - all paid for by the Government whereas the hundreds of traditional *khalwas* which were reported to have been existing at the time were totally ignored.

However, to induce some of the *khalwas* to introduce new subjects in their curricula - such as arithmetic - limited monthly allowances of £8.2-4 were paid to selected teachers.

1. Griffiths, p.5.
3. Currie, pp.4-5.
5. Ibid.
As could be seen from the table above, mainly through provision of financial assistance the Government seems to have extended its control, effectively, over traditional khulas by succeeding in transforming them into semi-schools — into khulas nisāriyya, or assisted khulas.

The number of such khulas rose steadily from 6 (in 1918) embracing 200 learners, to 400 assisted khulas (in 1927) including 13,077 and reached their peak of 786 (1931) holding 28,366 learners. (1)

As alluded to above, hitherto the Government was using the khula nisāriyya as a substitute for the first year class of the kutīb school which had been abolished. (2)

However, when by the end of 1920, the Government reversed its previous policy of using the khula as a feeder to the kutīb (as a substitute to first year elementary school) and started the withdrawal of its grants-in-aid from assisted khulwas on the pretext of the academic failure of the khula nisāriyya, (3) the number of these dramatically decreased — from 786 in 1931, to 590 in 1939, to 178 in 1945 and to 104 in 1950. (4)

1. See table, no.5.
3. See Conditions of khulas under the "Condominium Period", above.
4. See the table, above, n.1.
As for the traditional khalwās— that is those unassisted (by the Government)— they were said to have been relying for living (for the teachers and students) on their traditional sources. They seem to have depended mainly, during the Condominium period, on cultivation of land by the faqīh and his students and followers, on donations from the gīfāt followers (when the Government allowed the traditional activities of the gīfāt orders) and on revenues derived from rituals of saint-cult— visitations to the qubbas and Shaykhīs, sales of amulets, 'aṣīqa, and so on.

However, these traditional khalwās, with their meagre resources, could not compete with Government-supported modern elementary schools— the four-year elementary and the three-year subgrade. This was so because of the Government’s policy of making the school education— and not that of the traditional

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1. See Conditions of khalwās under the “Condominium Period”.
2. See table no.I, above.
4. See the reference to these rituals, above.
Thus abandoned, by the end of the Condominium rule, the overwhelming majority of the traditional *khalwa* seem to have faded out in Northern and Central Sudan – the region where such *khalwa* were once the dominant feature. (2)

Nevertheless, some *Sunni* *khalwa* managed to survive in these regions: (3) however, the majority of the *khalaṣ* that continued to flourish under the Condominium period, as alluded to above, were in Western Sudan (4) especially in Ṣūfīr Province – dependent entirely on their traditional sources: cultivation by the fakhr and his students and sales of talismans, but not on Ṣūfīsm which was said to have been rarely practised there. (5)

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1. See conditions of *khalwa* under the “Condominium Period” pp.156-7, above.
2. See “Sites of *khalaṣ* centres under the Funj period, above.
3. Reference could be made to *khalaṣ* of Kadabūn, Abū Qurūn, Ḥayyabūn *jawwar Bān*, Ṣad al-Fasni.
4. See above.
In sharp contrast to the unsympathetic and even hostile attitude of the Condominium rule (1898-1956) towards the traditional khelwas as alluded to above, (1) the National rule (since Independence, 1956) seems to have been increasingly sympathetic, encouraging and supportive - morally and financially. (2)

As a result, the country, under National rule, has been witnessing a general trend of khelwa revival, especially in the eastern and western regions of the country, as was evidenced by the surveys, alluded to above and which indicated the existence of probably about three thousand khelwas in the Sudan today - 69% of which are in Western Sudan. (3)

On the financial aspect of khelwa education, with which we are more concerned in this section, in addition to recourse to the traditional sources of financing and upkeeping the khelwas, the Khelwa Shaykhs and teachers seem to have been receiving increasing Government material and financial aid.

One of the first concerns of the Department of Religious Affairs, when it came into being at the dawn of Independence in

1. See Condition of Khelwas under National Rule", above.
2. Ibid.
1956, was to provide financial help to some of the khalaṣ from its modest funds.\(^1\)

When the agency of Ḥijāb al-Qur'ān was created in 1956, main among its objectives were "...the provision of adequate technical supervision and financial aid to functioning khalaṣ;"\(^2\) and "provision of prizes to those khalaṣ learners who memorize the Qur'ān by heart."\(^3\)

In order to control the financial aid khalaṣ were classified by the agency of Ḥijāb al-Qur'ān into four categories - on the basis of their student population and whether they were boarding or non-boarding, and whether maintained by the individual khālaṣ Shaykh or by the local community.\(^4\)

The grants-in-aid which were paid to the khalaṣ through the regional inspectorates were in accordance with the following classification:

Category I Khalaṣ: These were boarding khalaṣ, holding large student population and maintained by the khalaṣ Shaykh.\(^5\) The financial aid to be received by each khalaṣ of this category

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1. Ḥamad al-Ṣāliḥ, p.59.
2. Ṭabībi al-Qur'ān, p.25.
3. Ibid., pp.25-6.
4. See classification, below.
5. NUR, pp.19-20.
was L.S. 40-60 annually. However, some khelwas of this category, such as Abû Qurdh, Umm Jawwan Bân, Abû Gâlik and al-Shilaykha, used to receive L.S. 120 each per annum.\(^1\)

Category II khelwas: These were boarding khelwas, each embracing a large student population but maintained by a group of people. The aid to be received by each such khelwa was L.S. 30 annually.

Category III khelwas: These were non-boarding khelwas, each of which used to receive L.S. 15 only, annually.

Category IV khelwas: These were small pre-school, day khelwas which used to receive L.S. 15 each per annum.\(^2\)

Although the Government seems to have been giving only nominal financial aid to the khelwa teachers, yet it was extended to all khelwa teachers. By 1976 only 43% of the existing khelwas were reported to have received such aid.\(^3\)

By 1979, the monthly khelwa allowances seem to have been slightly increased to an average monthly payment of L.S. 5.5 per teacher.\(^4\) In addition, the Government aid by that year was reported to have been extended to 85% of the existing khelwas.

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.30.
4. XCSW, p.10; p.40 (tables 20 and 21).
In addition to the above, the State, exemplified in the ex-President and the regional governors, used to provide khalwas and their families with aid in cash and/or kind when an official visit to the khalwas took place.  

As to the foundation of khalwas, the Government's contribution was reported to have been only about 5% (4) - hence the khalwa still remained as a private enterprise. According to the survey of the Education Sector Review of 1976, 95% of the khalwas were established through private effort (86% by individuals and 9% by groups of people). (5)

1. RCO, p.10.
3. On two visits to the khalwa of Hamishkorayt the President was said to have provided the khalwa with dura - of 5,000 and 1,000 mackers respectively - as aid to the khalwa (see the khalwa of Hamishkorayt, above. In 1981, December, the Regional Governor gave the khalwa he visited aid in cash: L.8,7,000.
4. NR, p.16.
5. Ibid.
As a practical manifestation of the State's encouragement and support to the khalwa teachers and learners to increase their efforts in teaching and learning the Qur'an, the President, since 1994/1995, used to allocate an annual money prize to be offered at the Qur'an Festivals to the top successful reciters amongst the competitors. (1)

It is worth mentioning here that the khalwa teachers, too, used to have their share in the President's prize. In recognition of their efforts and proficiency in teaching the Qur'an, those khalwa teachers whose students were among the successful candidates were paid money incentives, at the rate of L.S. 15 for each winning reciter he had taught. (2)

In addition, the Qur'an teachers of the top twenty khalwas - in terms of participants in the Qur'an festivals - would be invited to attend the Qur'an Festivals in Khartoum, where they would be received by the President, and granted the sum of L.S. 100 each. (3)

Perhaps the significance of the President's prize, aside from its material value, lies in its moral support, it seems.

1. See "Regulations of the President's Prize", below.
2. See "Regulations..." (82), below.
3. See "Regulations..." (80), below.
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Source: Compiled from al-Mahrajan
With the steady increase in the number of successful reciters to 1,272,000, the number of those who have already achieved the status of a professional reciter has increased to 7,000.

1. Akhbar al-Man al-Ta'amal

12 Jamad al-A'la, 1404 - 13th February, 1984

(Interview with President Nnamdi by the Weekly Arabic, in Khartoum).
4. Provincial Tests Committees for Selection of Competitors
   [for the Khartoum Festival]:

   (a) The Test committee should be headed by the Regional Director
       for Religious Affairs and Endowments, or by his deputy.

   (b) If there exists an Institute for Qur'anic Studies in the
       Province, one of its teachers should be chosen as a member
       of the Tests Committee.

   (c) The chairman of the Committee should choose a third member
       to his committee from the ma'mur of the Qur'an in the province.

   (d) Each member will be granted a remuneration of £15
       (twenty five pounds Guinean).

5. Timetable of Tests (for 1397/1977):

   (a) The preliminary tests in the provinces start on Saturday,
       17th Dhu al-Qa'da 1397/20th October 1977 and end on
       Monday 26th Dhu al-Qa'da 1397, 7th October 1977 [i.e., the
       Provincial tests continue for 10 days].

   (b) The final tests of successful candidates of the provinces
       for the Khartoum Festival start at the premises of
       Religious Studies in Khartoum on Wednesday, 19th Dhu
       al-Qa'id 1397/30th November 1977 and end on Wednesday, 26th
       Lu al-Ja'la 1397/7th December 1977 [i.e., the final tests in
       Khartoum continue for a week].
6. Successful ḥāfiz from the provinces coming to Khartoum for the final tests:

(a) The regional director for Religious Affairs in each province should send to Khartoum a list of the top successful candidates, for each of the four age-groups, at an early date, so as to be endorsed for the final competition.

(b) Each competitor coming from the provinces will be paid travel allowance to and from his home.

(c) Each ḥāfiz competitor will receive the sum of L.S.15 pounds for those coming from the provinces and L.S.10 for those from Khartoum, for living and accommodation expenses while attending the final competition tests in Khartoum.

7. Prizes of successful ḥāfiz in the Final Competition Test

(a) At the Final Competition Test the top thirty ḥāfiz, of each of the four age-groups, are sorted out, thus making the number of the best reciters of the festival 120 ḥāfiz (for 1997/1997).

(b) Prizes are distributed amongst them according to their categories.
(b) The teachers of the top twenty _shalawās_ in the competitions of the Qur'ān in the previous festivals are invited to attend the Khartoum Festival, where they would be received by the President, and each granted an encouragement reward of £2,100 pounds in appreciation and recognition of their role in the preservation of the Qur'ān.

As could be seen from the above, the Government's financial contribution to the _shalawās_ and their teachers, though as a constant guaranteed source of income was vital, yet it was too little to support the _fakhr_ and his family. Moreover, in view of the ever-rising cost of living in the Sudan, the _shalawās_ teachers still depend largely on the traditional sources of income to maintain their _shalawās_, students and themselves.

These traditional private sources of income and contribution towards the _shalawās_ costs of education have been exemplified in the following:

a) Donations from the individuals and groups, such as men of charity. For example(1) the Sudanese businessman - Maserra - in

1. Similar impressive renovations were accomplished through donations at Ṭayba, Abu Qur'ān and Umm Dawwa Rān.
Another example of khalwa sources of income was the rare phenomenon of rich endowments enjoyed by the khalwas of Ḥadabās, and which are exemplified in agricultural schemes, houses (for rent) and shops in the main towns and in the capital— all said to have been endowed by the ḥasā'ī followers of al-Shaykh al-Ja'āṣī and his descendants.

In addition to the above, the followers of the Shaykh always donated generously in cash and in kind, and in labour. One of their significant contributions to the khalwa has been the special quarter of jābān (ṣum) houses originally established by the followers of al-Shaykh al-Ja'āṣī for their seasonal visitation. However, since their period of stay (and their families’) in these furnished premises was usually short (i.e., days), the quarter has been used, in effect, almost throughout the year.

1. See the khalwa centre of Ẓal al-Fāṣnī, above, for the elaborate material renovations whose costs were donated by the khalwa followers.
2. See the khalwa of Ḥadabās, above.
the year as student hostels - or khalwa of accommodation.\(^{(1)}\)

Accordingly, the khalwa of Kadabas seems to have been one of the most materially prosperous khalwas in the Sudan.

In addition to his monthly salary from the Department of Religious Affairs, the Qur'ān teacher at the khalwa used to receive material assistance from the khalīfa, and through his long years of service (of over forty years) at the khalwa he seems to have grown rich, owning a farm and cattle.\(^{(2)}\)

Hence, as could be realized, there seems to have been no problem of living at the gūfi-supported khalwa of Kadabas. A glance at the expenditure aspect would illustrate the point. In addition to the cost of the great material improvement and maintenance of the elaborate khalwa buildings as alluded to above,\(^{(3)}\) the khalwa's large student population was provided with free accommodation, food rations - flour, meat, cooking oil, spices, sugar, tea and vegetables.\(^{(4)}\)

Not only that, but all the needy learners were provided with new clothes, twice a year and even with pocket money too.\(^{(5)}\)

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1. Interview with mārück All (Kadabas).
2. Ibid.
3. See the Khalwa Centre of Kadabas, above.
4. Interview with mārück All (Kadabas).
5. Ibid.
Hudayfah was said to have been a scholar and a great student, known for his extensive knowledge and scholarship. His name was recorded in the famous "Khalwah Centre of Islam". As could be indicated by the impressive renovation of buildings of the Khalwah Centre, it seems to have had considerable financial resources. To further substantiate this, in 1981 the Khalwah was embarking about five hundred and fifty dinaars, which it used to maintain - providing them, in addition to education, with accommodation, meals and clothes for the needy - all for free.\(^{(3)}\)

Not only the students, but also the teachers and other deputies and personnel working at the Khalwah were reported to have enjoyed such privileges, and more, as could be evidenced by the seasonal clothes they received and the daily rations of food assigned to individual members of the personnel, as illustrated below.\(^{(4)}\)

- Flour
- ½ kg. of fresh meat

1. Interview with ustadh Ali (Yadaba's).
2. See above.
3. Information from al-Dhahabi Hasb al-Rasul.
4. Ibid.
- vegetables and salads
- ½ lb. of cooking oil
- 1½ kg. of sugar and tea
- perfumes and soap (weekly)
- clothes for the family and members of his family - twice a year

The costs of all this and the maintenance of the complex were all paid for from the khalifa's purse.(1)

The Khalifa of Umm Dawwan Ban, as a tradition, refrained from accepting Government aid, and had no endowments. Hence, as a Sufi-dependent Khalifa, it relied heavily on donations, zakāt and pious gifts from followers of the Shaykh (khalifa).(2)

On their part the Khalifa Shaykhs - especially the Sufi Shaykhs - seem to have been deriving substantial revenues from the visitations of their followers, from pious gifts and ḥawāqī, against the sales of ṣa'īda, amulets, and so on, (3) believed to cure a variety of ailments of their followers. For example, the Khalifa Shaykhs of Kadāba(4) and Umm Dawwan Ban(5) seem to have acquired the reputation of curing, not only the mild complaints

1. Information obtained by the writer from al-fakih Hasb al-Rasul.
2. Ibid.
3. For more information on ḥawāqī, ṣa'īda, amulets, etc. see p.
4. See the Khalifa of Kadāba, above.
5. See the Khalifa of Umm Dawwan Ban, above.
of the moniterial system of instruction at almost all of the big khalwa centres in the Sudan has already been discussed\(^2\) - the payran of the khalwa were not only learners, but also shared in teaching their juniors.\(^3\)

Further, as alluded to above, on certain occasions, such as al-Sharif's and the Wednesday kareas the students would collect from the families of the village grain and beans to cook as balila and eat with their fax.\(^4\)

At the khalwa of al-Muhajirin in Darfur, as alluded to above, the upkeep of the large student population at each khalwa

1. In his visits to both khalwas in November, 1981, the writer found a number of persons said to be mad brought by their relatives to the Shaykhas. At Kedama these mad people were chained by the feet but were allowed to move about in the village and seem to have been harmless.

2. See "Methods of Learning", above.

3. Ibid.

4. This tradition seems to have been abandoned in Northern Sudan. However, it is still practised at the khalwa of Western Sudan - especially in Darfur. (Information from the khalwa Shaykh of Sani - al-Muhajirin.)
camp seems to have been a serious problem to both the teachers and the students. (1)

Unlike the situation at the big khalwa centres of the Şeyh Shaykhs of Northern and Central Sudan, here the khalwas and their teachers no longer received gifts or donations from the rulers or men of charity. Not only that, but even the zakat was not paid to the khalwa Shaykhs. (2) Further, these khalwas had no endowments, and the little monthly allowance paid by the Government to the teacher was too little to support even the šeikh himself, let alone his family. (3)

Hence the khalwa šaikhs have been encouraging their students al-muhādirīn to tour round the villages, three days a week, to ask for donations of food - grain, which they would share with their teacher and retain the remainder for their existence for the remaining days of the week. (4)

Moreover, the šaikh of al-muhādirīn's camp used to employ his students to cultivate for his big farm - without sharing with them its produce of grain. (5)

1. See the khalwa of al-muhādirīn at Nāmil, Darfūr.
2. Interview with šaikh 'Abū al-Māla Abū 'Umar.
3. Ibid.
4. See the khalwa of al-muhādirīn at Nāmil, above.
5. Ibid.
It should be noted here that making use of the khalwa student labour has been a traditional practice that has been handed down from the Punjer era.\(^\text{(1)}\) Today it is still practised at some of the khalwas in Northern Sudan, but here a considerable part of the return has been for the upkeep of the students themselves.\(^\text{(2)}\)

The students seem also to have been paying nominal fees at some of the small village khalwas in Western Sudan, such as that of \textit{al-fakh} Muhammad \textit{Fur} \textit{Taṣ} of al-\textit{Pašnir} who used to charge every learner, at the stage of his first \textit{shāfīf}, the small sum of P.T.\textdollar 50.\(^\text{(3)}\)

Although the overwhelming majority of khalwas in the Sudan provided education, lodging and maintenance for free, a recent survey has revealed that about 20\% of khalwa children paid nominal fees of P.T.\textdollar 10 - 50 per month to their teachers.\(^\text{(4)}\)

Hence, from the above, it seems that the main sources of

\begin{enumerate}
  \item See \textit{Contribution of students towards cost of khalwa education under the Punjer Period, above.}
  \item Information from the \textit{khalwa} Shaykhs of Wad al-\textit{Naqūl}, \textit{Jayba} and Wad al-\textit{Pašnī} (see above).
  \item Information from \textit{al-fakh} Muhammad \textit{Fur} \textit{Taṣ} at his \textit{khalwa}, al-\textit{Pašnir}, December, 1981.
  \item NSBN, \textit{op. cit.}, p.11.
\end{enumerate}
financing khalwa education have been exemplified in:

- Government aid to khalwas, and teachers (in terms of salaries)

- Donations from supporters and followers of khalwas and their Shaykhs, i.e., from individuals and groups

- Revenues derived from endowments to khalwas

- Revenues derived from visitations and sale of amulets to followers of the Shaykhs

- Labour and symbolic financial contributions from khalwa students.
CONCLUSIONS

Islamic education only really began in the Sudan with the emergence of the Funj Kingdom of Sennar, in the early 10th/16th century. It was only then that favourable conditions were created for the arrival, settlement and work of the 'ulema' who came from all parts of the Sunni dominated Muslim lands.

Under the influence of Sufism, which found in the Sudan an ideal climate to flourish in, the basic educational institution came to be known as the Khabsa. The khabsa has remained a private charitable institution with its one qadi teacher, or successor(s) afterwards, in charge of administration, teaching and the upkeep of its unrestricted number of learners of all ages. Except for religious holidays it is open all day, all week and all the year round.

For its requirements of teaching aids, the khabsa has been entirely self-reliant, utilising the local environment.

This institution was first and foremost an institution for learning the Qur'ân by heart. In order to attain this objective the students had to learn to read and write as a means to that end. In this process the text of the Qur'ân was used as the basic text-book.

An important by-product from this essentially religious operation has been that in this way literacy was attained by many
After the basic stage of learning, the learning of the Qur'ān, there were more advanced khalwas for the study of further Islamic sciences - mainly fiqh, hadith, ṣūfism, ṣubkan al-Qur'ān and tafsīr. These topics remained popular for a long time - perhaps an indication of the practical needs of the people at the time. Largely due to the scarcity of written material the method of learning followed here also depended heavily on rote learning.

The khalwa as an educational institution has continued up to the present day. Its methods, techniques and organization do not seem to have changed very much from the time of its institution.

There was a brief period of modification when the colonial administration in the Sudan early this century endeavored to use the basic stage of the khalwa as a feeder to the newly established state system of education. To make the khalwa more efficient, new secular subjects were added to the curriculum, its teachers were exposed to training and inspection and paid salaries.

However, this came to an end because both parties were dissatisfied as their aims were different. Consequently, the khalwa declined in favour while the modern-sector employment-orientated state system gained increasing popularity.
After Independence, in response to public demand and under a favourable attitude from the Government, Sufi Shaykhs in Northern Sudan and the masses in the less developed regions of Western and Eastern Sudan have embarked on reviving the traditional khalwas - with the result that today there exists in the Sudan more than three thousand khalwas. However, almost all of these institutions have been revived on the same lines as in the past.

At present, despite the rhetoric of the Government and its repeatedly expressed supportive policies for introduction of reform into those institutions, no genuine change has been effected. Instead, the Government has been using the khalwa system to boost its own Islamic image before the public and also as a means to supplement its educational system.

The khalwas of al-Shaykh 'Ali Biski at Hamishkorayt have demonstrated the exceptional qualities of the khalwa as an educational, religious and civilizing force and an effective agent of social reform in deprived areas - given a charismatic leadership such as that of al-Shaykh 'Ali Biski and the dedication and will of those around him to effect positive change.

There remains, then, the conflict between the modern educational system of the state with its secular orientation and the educational system employed in the khalwa with its all-pervading religious atmosphere and its reliance on rote learning.

Clearly there is a pressing need for the Government and those
responsible to embark on a comprehensive and drastic reform of this important traditional institution of learning while at the same time respecting the role it has played in the Sudan.

The khailas must become more effective in its educational role in the different regions where it exists today and it must be more responsive to the needs of the people and the changes that take place in these regions if it is to survive.

In the Sudan today there are different patterns of khailas. The first are the Qur'ani supported khailas of the riverain region of North and Central Sudan. These khailas, as the study has revealed, have been revived in regions which have witnessed a relatively higher expansion in educational opportunities to the extent that almost all their children have access to schools. Hence, in effect, the traditional khailas have been shunned as educational institutions by the people of their localities. If the khailas are to serve the local population in these regions, they should be transformed into Islamic cultural centres that provide more than the traditional teaching of the Qur'an. The khailas should extend their roles to meeting the religious and social needs of the local population.

The second group of khailas are in the region of Western Sudan. At the small village level, the village khaila is the only educational institution. There the khailas should be transformed on similar lines to what used to be known as the khaila ekipetw - i.e., secular subjects such as Arabic.
other khalwa as these students are so frequently exploited.

In places where there exists a primary school in the village, both institutions should be encouraged to coordinate their educational roles for the promotion of village life.

When each village khalsa is encouraged to develop as a "full-time" khalsa retaining all its learners, the source for al-muhājrīn khalsa, and indeed for the khalwas of the riverain region would be drastically reduced if not completely dried up. These could then become more advanced khalwas of study associated with al-ma'ārif al-fīlsīyya.

The third category is represented by the region of Hamishkoreyt. There the khalsa is rendering an excellent comprehensive community service. It is to be hoped that this momentum is maintained. Whenever possible there, the school and the khalsa should be encouraged to play a complementary role. The khalsa for women, however, - being their only educational institution - needs urgent attention and reform. There is a pressing need for secular subjects, practices and training relevant to the promotion of women's life and childhood, to be added to the khalsa programme.
The khalwa in the Sudan has always been an educational institution which has taught both the young and the adults. There is an urgent need for more adult literacy in the country - especially in the regions where the khalwa education is the main form of education. It would be extremely advantageous if this institution could be developed to help in this area.
Appendix I

Map of the Sudan showing Khalwa spread during the Funi Period

The Khalwas were concentrated along the Nile and across the Genira north of Sennar.
Appendix II

Map of the Sudan illustrating khele distribution at the present time - mainly concentrated in Western and Eastern Sudan.
Appendix III

List of persons concerned with the Khalwa met by the writer on his investigation about the Khalwa in the Sudan during the period September-December, 1981.

Khartoum:

Dr. Yusuf al-Khalifa Abū Bakr, ex-Director, the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs.

The Department of Religious Studies:

al-Shaykh ‘Uthmān Xanqūr al-Sajālī, Deputy Director of the Department;

al-Shaykh Hāmid Dāw‘al-Bayt, Chief Inspector at the Department.


Khalwa of Northern Sudan:


The Khalwa of al-Kayāshīt (al-Ganīr):

al-khalifa Majdūd Muḥammad al-‘Abīn;


The Khalwa of Kadaḫūs:

al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘lī, Khalīfa of the Khalwa since 1978;

‘Abd al-Qaḥḥāf ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘lī, uncle of the Khalīfa, about eighty years old;

al-fakīh ‘Allū Dūdū, the Khalwa fakīh since 1941;
ustādī ‘Allū Muḥammad al-Ja‘ālī, brother of the Khalīfa and headmaster of the Secondary Religious Institute for boys at Kadābās. He was well informed about the history of the family and the Khalīfa and was the chief assistant of his brother – the Khalīfa. He was the main source of information to the writer about the Khalīfa of Kadābās.

Khalīwas of Central Sudan:

The Khalīwa of Abū Qurūb:

al-Shaykh al-Jaylī Muḥammad Abū Qurūb, Khalīfa of the Khalīfa;
al-fakīr ‘Aṣāq al-Karīm Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Haṣan;
al-fakīr Bālla.

The Khalīwa of Jumūrān Būn:

al-khalīfa Yūnūs b. Ḥumar;
al-fakīr ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ;
al-fakīr ‘Uthmān b. al-Quṣūr;

The Khalīwa of Ḥayyān:

al-Shaykh ‘Ibrāhīm al-Muṣāfī b. al-Shaykh al-Zayn, Khalīfa of the Khalīwa (1981);
al-Nu‘mān b. al-Shaykh ‘Ibrāhīm;
al-fakīr ‘Abd al-Din;
Muḥammad b. al-fakīr ‘Abd al-Azīz.

The Khalīwa of Kutrānīj:

ustūdī Muṣṭafā ‘Abdallāh Ṣūr.
The Khalwa of Wad el-Fadhl:
al-khalifa al-Mayyath al-faki al-Yamad al-nil;
asistants (or halo Shaykhs):
al-day Ali Salim;
Ghith Muhammad Ibrahim;
al-Sayid Muhammad Yamad.

The Khalwa of Wad al-Maqbul:
al-faki Ahmad Wad al-Maqbul, founder and Shaykh of the khalwa.

Khalwas of Eastern Sudan:

Kassala - Eastern Region H.Q.:
Sayyid Muhammad al-Amin Yamad (Regional Minister for Services);
Sayyid 'Abbas Sa'id Muhammad Ahmed (Assistant Governor for Religious Studies).

The Khalwa of al-Qur St-Arrab:

The Khalwa of Hamishkoray:
al-faki al-Tahir Abi Bakr Muhammad Yamin (in charge of women's khalwas);
al-faki Yami Ahmed Yami (Deputy, in charge of the khalwas of 'Ali Bitsi).

The Khalwa of Amil:
al-faki 'Ali Muhammad Tahir Idris.
The Khalsa of Tawayyi:

al-fakû 'Ali Muhammad Dunwîr.

Khalsa of Darfur:

Al-Fashir/Darfûr Province:

Sayyid 'Abd al-Wâjid Ismâ'il, (ex-khalsa graduate, teacher and ex-inspector of Education);
Sayyid Abû Bakr 'Ali Na'im al-Dîn (charî'a judge, ex-muhâjîr student);
Dr. 'Âli al-Qâî (Regional Minister for Services);
Sayyid Muhammad 'Abdallâh Sharîf (Regional Minister for Administration);
unâdîn Sa'd al-Dîn İbrâhîm (teacher at al-makhtûb al-ilâhî al-Fashir, ex-student at the Khalsa of Jadîd al-Sayîl).

Al-Fashir, Department of Religious Studies:

Sayyid 'Ali Yusûf, (Assistant Governor for Religious Affairs);
Sayyid Huseyn 'Abd al-Mâjîd (Deputy, Department of Religious Affairs, ex-miqâṣîyya student).

Al-Fashir - the Khalsa of al-fakû al-Salâmîn:

al-fakû al-Fashir 'Abdallâh 'Abd al-Râfi' (Jidâñ) (ex-teacher at the above mentioned Khalsa).

Al-Fashir - the Khalsa of al-fakû Muhammad Nûr 'Îsâ:

al-fakû Muhammad Nûr 'Îsâ.

Al-Fashir, the Khalsa of Mîzikir Mahîr:

al-fakû Muhammad Yâhya Sirî(11,12),(991,986)
The khalwa of Ṭawīla:

al-fakīr ʿAbd al-Ṭālib Marūn;

al-fakīr ʿAbdir-Raḥmān Faḍl.

The khalwa of al-muhājirīn at Ṭawīla District:

al-fakīr ʿAbd al-Ṭālib ʿAlīs Abū ʿUmar;

assistants:

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAdlī;

Ishāq ʿAlīs Abū ʿUmar.

The khalwa of al-Nīma village:

al-fakīr ʿAbdur-Raḥmān Faḍl.
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