



AL-TAFSĪR AL-TAWḤĪDĪ: A STUDY ON THE
IDEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF HASAN AL-TURABI'S
EXEGETICAL WORK

BY

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ABSTRACT

Dr. Hasan al-Turabi is considered one of the eminent figures in international Islamic movement and one of its most influential as well as controversial thinkers. He authored numerous books in the field of Islamic Studies; among the most prominent and recent is his Qur'anic exegesis entitled "*al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī*". This research aims to study the ideological aspects of al-Turabi's exegetical work by outlining his ideology, and explaining its impact on his exegesis methodology. Furthermore, the research discusses the general intellectual theory of al-Turabi, and the axis and fundamental ideological rules of his exegesis. The research relies on analytic and inductive methodologies to reach the desired results. One of these results is that *Tawhīd*, which focuses on renewing the Islamic religion and the establishment of the Islamic State, represents the general ideological theory of al-Turabi and the foundation of his exegesis. The study also points out that the methodology followed in *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* is an ideological methodology that rendered the Qur'ān as a subordinate, and ignored the *sunnah* of the Prophet (ﷺ) as a primary source in exegesis. The research also reveals that *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* can be classified among the modernist exegetical trend (*al-itijāh al-ḥadāthī fī al-tafsīr*) as it claims that the Qur'ān is open to personal interpretation and cannot be limited to specific meaning, it marginalizes the understanding of the Prophet (ﷺ) and previous scholars to the Qur'ān, and it claims the historicity of the *sunnah* of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the understanding of the Qur'ān. Furthermore, *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* excelled in logically connecting the meanings of the verses and *surahs* of the Qur'ān in such a way that they bind coherently throughout the Qur'ān.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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I dedicate my dissertation to the country of Malaysia and to the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) for allowing me the opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge and the life skills that will lead me with confidence into tomorrow. I feel very fortunate that my experience at Malaysia and IIUM was so positive and fulfilling. For this I am so grateful.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The reform of individuals and nations, in Islam, cannot be performed properly unless it is guided by the teachings of the Qur'ān, which takes into account all the dimensions of human life. The effects of these teachings can be realized after understanding the Qur'ān, discovering its value system, and knowing its principles. This can be achieved through exploring the meanings of the words of the Qur'ān, especially in recent times when many Arabs and non-Arabs have fallen victim to superficial understanding of the Qur'ān.

Undoubtedly, Muslims have paid the required attention to the Qur'ān, and Muslim scholars ('*Ulamā'*) have interpreted and analyzed its verses, revived its provisions, and analyzed its rulings with a variety of approaches, methodologies, schools of interpretation and trends throughout Islamic history, right from the time of the prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and his noble companions up to the present era.¹ One such scholar who contributed to the development of *tafsīr* and *tafsīr* methodologies is Dr. Hasan al-Turabi through his work *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* in which he reflected upon the method of Qur'ānic exegesis that focuses on the "*tawhīd* theme".

Like many contemporary Muslim scholars, al-Turabi whilst viewing Islam as the ultimate ideological and political authority for both state and society, does not find solace in the classical commentaries of the Qur'ān, nor in the methods used therein.

¹ 'Abd Almajīd Al-Muḥtasib, *Itijāhāt al-Tafsīr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Rāhin*, ('Ammān: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Islāmiyyah, 1982), 17.

Although he is not known as a commentator of the Qur'ān (*mufasssir*) as such, Al-Turabi is deeply interested in Qur'ānic studies. He is convinced of the need to develop a new method of Qur'ānic interpretation that would be suitable to the needs of modern times. He further emphasized the need to distinguish between formative and historical Islam, pristine Islam and Muslim legacy. To do so, he urged that Muslims understand the Qur'ān from the Qur'ān itself, and not through the commentaries on the Qur'ān by a series of Muslim scholars.² While he is in line with the belief of Muslims in the divine origin and the viability of the Qur'ān, he strongly criticized Muslim scholars for not producing a viable method of interpreting the Qur'ān, and therefore, recommended a method that he explained in detail in the introduction of his exegesis of the Qur'ān.³

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Al-Turabi is considered one of the prominent figures in the international Islamic movement and one of its most influential as well as controversial thinkers. His ideology focuses on revitalizing Islamic thought and the revival and establishment of an Islamic State. For him, renewal is essentially a dynamic expression of the embodiment of social norms, beliefs and consciousness.⁴

Al-Turabi views Islam as the ultimate ideological and political authority for both society and state. He believes that Islam contains all the necessary elements for the creation of a viable and modern civilization and culture. Rather than a return to earlier Islamic social and political practices, Al-Turabi advocates a progressive

² Hasan Al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsīr Al-Tawhīdī*, (London: Dār Al-Sāqī, 2004), 1:26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Collins, Robert, O., *A history of modern Sudan*, (New York: Cambridge University Press: 2008), 37.

Islamic revival that incorporates into Islam the best of classical Islam and Western culture through renewal (*tajdīd*).⁵

Based on this *tajdīd*, al-Turabi asserted that neither the early nor the contemporary Muslim scholars have managed to develop a comprehensive methodology for understanding and interpreting the Qur'ān. He criticized new and old *tafsīr* methods, claiming that the only adequate *tafsīr* methodology is the *tawhīdī* methodology that he has set up the pillars for, and executed in his interpretation of the Qur'ān.⁶

This study, therefore, is needed in order to analyze Al-Turabi's *tawhīdī* methodology in interpreting the Qur'ān in relation to his overall ideology, and to identify to what extent he followed his methodology in his *tafsīr*. Furthermore, since his method of Qur'ānic exegesis is new, a study is needed to analyze its feasibility in Qur'ānic interpretation.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Who is Hasan al-Turabi and what is his ideology?
2. What is the content and organization *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī*?
3. What is the methodology of *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* ?
4. What is the influence of al-Turabi's ideology on his *tafsīr* and its methodology?
5. What is the significance of *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī*?

⁵ Hasan al-Turabi. *Tajdīd Al-Fikr Al-Islāmī (Renovation of Islamic Thought)*, (Al-Rabat: Morocco, Dār al-Qarāfī lil-Nashr wa-al-tawzī', 1993), 16.

⁶ Al-Turabi, *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī*, 1:15.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study attempts to achieve the following objectives:

1. To present Hasan al-Turabi and to explore his ideology.
2. To introduce *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* .
3. To determine the methodology of *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī* .
4. To assess the influence of al-Turabi's ideology on his *tafsīr* and its methodology.
5. To evaluate the significance of *al-Tafsīr al-Tawhīdī*.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research assumes a special importance because it presents one of the eminent personalities in the Muslim world of the 1990s. Like many such historic personalities, al-Turabi has many followers and supporters inside and outside Sudan, and he has many opponents and detractors. He was the leader of the Sudanese branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, which was transformed into the National Islamic Front (NIF) in 1985. He was the ideological power behind the military regime of 'Umar Ḥasan Aḥmed Al-Bashīr in 1989; and in 1996 al-Turabi became the speaker of the parliament, and his influence spread throughout the political establishments in Sudan.⁷ Al-Turabi's importance is not only in his statesmanship, but also in his intellectual and ideological contribution, as well as his impact on Islamism in North Africa in particular and the Muslim world in general.

Although several studies focused on Al-Turabi's intellectual and ideological developments, and his contribution to the areas of *Fiqh* and *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, none of the studies, according to my knowledge, has assessed his contribution to the area of *tafsīr*

⁷ Muhammad al-Hashimi Hamidi & Hasan al-Turabi, *The Making of an Islamic Political Leader: Conversations with Hasan Al-Turabi*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), 36.

and *tafsīr* methodologies. The significance of this study lies in the fact that it will be, perhaps, the first study that analyzes and evaluates the contribution of Al-Turabi to the development of modern *tafsīr* methodologies.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

More than any other genre of Islamic scholarship, the branch of Qur'ānic commentary is one which has undergone significant changes in modern times. While some Islamic sciences such as theology (*‘Ilm al-kalām*) and philosophy (*al-falsafah*) have declined in importance, Qur'ānic exegesis has enjoyed *tajdīd*; in time-honored fashion it has acted as a vehicle for responses to internal and external challenges.

The science of Qur'ānic *tafsīr* has a rich and varied scholarly tradition. Over the centuries it has been enriched by scholars from diverse backgrounds. Since there are no studies about al-Turabi's contribution in the area of *tafsīr*, and since al-Turabi is considered by many to be a modernist, this literature review will largely be confined to modern exegetic trends and methodologies.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the modern era has witnessed the slow but steady increase of materialism all over the world. The more Europe and America advance in science and technology, the more they distance themselves from God and spirituality. The secular European countries controlled most of the Muslim world and spread their secular ideology among the Muslims.⁸

On the other hand, the modern era has also witnessed the decline and backwardness of Muslims as they deviated from their religion and fell behind in almost every possible area of development. This painful reality of Muslims motivated Muslim reformers to turn to the Qur'ān, utilizing its teaching in their advocacy,

⁸ Muhammad Ibrahim Shrif, *Itijāhāt al-tajdīd fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, (Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 2008), 53.

education, and reform. As a result, several Islamic schools of thought have emerged, leaning on new interpretations of the Qur'ān to reform the society. The most famous of these schools are two schools: the school of Muhammad 'Abduh, and the school of the Muslim Brotherhood which Hasan al-Turabi used to belong to.⁹

These two schools of thought hold special importance because they have had an impact upon the interpretation of the Qur'ān in modern times. Most of the contemporary Qur'ānic interpretation trends, such as the rationalistic trend, the scientific trend, the literary trend, and the activism trend, emerged from interpreters and thinkers affiliated with these two schools.

One of the modern trends of Qur'ānic interpretation is the rationalistic trend (*al-itijāh al-'Aqlī fī al-tafsīr*), which is an interpretation of the Qur'ān by human reasoning or personal opinion.¹⁰ Evolved from traditional rational exegesis, modern rationalistic exegesis stressed the harmony between the Qur'ān and human reasoning. Muhammad 'Abduh and his followers were so fascinated by the power of reason and impressed by it, they assumed that Muslims had yet to understand the true meaning of the Qur'ān as a result of which they had lost touch with the true scientific and rational spirit of the text.¹¹ Riḍā stated that “‘Abduh believed that the prime message of the Qur'ān is to bring guidance to mankind”.¹² Out of this prime point several features of the methodology of 'Abduh and his followers arise: according to al-Dhahabī they were reluctant to make use of *Ḥadīth*, stating that most of its corpus were historically

⁹ Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Al-Khāldī, *Ta'rif al-Dārisīn bi-Manāhij al-Mufasssīrīn*, (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2006), 565-567.

¹⁰ Fahd al-Rūmī, *Manhaj al-madrasah al-'aqliyyah fī al-tafsīr*, (Al-Riyāḍ: Al-Rysālah Corporation, 1986), 67. Abdul Kabir Solihu, *Fazlurahman's methodology of Qur'ānic exegesis: A comparative analysis*, (Kuala Lumpur: unpublished master's thesis, International Islamic University Malaysia).

¹¹ Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm*, (commonly known as *Tafsīr al-Manār*), (Bairut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1929), 1:10.

¹² Ibid.

unreliable and thematically unreasonable.¹³ Instead, they insisted on the use of *al-Furqān* (*al-‘Imrān*: 4), which literally means ‘the criterion’, but which, according to ‘Abduh, was interpreted as ‘intellect’, which Almighty Allah has provided for this task. Insofar as science is a result of experimental effort and that the universe has been created by Allah, there cannot be any discrepancy between the truths of the Qur’ān and those of reason and science. Even if there seems to be so, argues ‘Abduh, “the Qur’ānic text must be metaphorically interpreted so that it would be in accordance with reason”.¹⁴

Among the most famous contemporary exegetical works of this trend are: the interpretation of *al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Tanwīr* by Muhammad Ṭāhir ibn ‘Āshūr; the interpretation of *Marāghī* by Aḥmad Mustafā al-Marāghī; *al-Tafsīr al-Wāḍiḥ* by Muhammad Maḥmūd Ḥijāzī; and the Qur’ānic interpretation of the Qur’ān by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb.¹⁵

Another contemporary trend of Qur’ānic exegesis which is of importance to our research is the activism trend (*al-itijāh al-ḥarakī*). This trend focuses on advocacy and activism, education, Islamic *Jihād*, and the implementation of Islamic law (*Sharī‘ah*). Some of the researchers belonging to this trend are: Ḥasan al-Bannā, Sayyid Quṭb, Sa‘īd Ḥawā, Muhammad al-Ghazālī, al-Bahī al-Khūlī, Muhammad Quṭb, Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Aḥmad Ḥasan Farḥāt, Muhammad Luṭfī al-Sabbagh, ‘Adnān Zarzūr, Hasan al-Turabi, and many others.¹⁶

The most famous exegesis that falls under this trend is “In the shadows of the Qur’an” by Sayyid Quṭb. His interest in the Qur’ān evolved over time, and his view of

¹³ Muhammad Hussain Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa-al-mufasssīrūn*, (Cairo: Dār al- Ḥadīth, 2005), 479-493.

¹⁴ Muhammad ‘Imārah, *Al-A‘māl al-Kāmilah li al-Shaykh al-Imām Muhammad ‘Abduh*, (Bairut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1993), 3:301. Also see Solihu, 83.

¹⁵ Al-Khālīdī, 565-567.

¹⁶ Ibid.

the Qur'ān changed accordingly. In the first sixteen chapters of his exegesis he was interested in the cultural and intellectual aspects of the Qur'ān, and that part of the exegesis could be characterized as a typical theoretical exegesis. And after his imprisonment, he became an activist, and his exegesis methodology reflected that change.¹⁷

Through this activism trend Sayyid Quṭb's approach to exegesis changed from a theoretical approach to an approach that calls for a practical understanding of the Qur'ān in order to apply its teachings to everyday life. His goal in adopting this trend was to reduce the gap between Muslims and the Qur'ān, to define for Muslims the practical task of the Qur'ān, to show the thematic unity of the Qur'ān, and to link the Qur'ānic verses with the current realities of the Muslim *ummah*.¹⁸

The methodology Sayyid Quṭb followed in his exegesis was based on several themes: a holistic view of the Qur'ān; the emphasis on the basic purposes of the Qur'ān; the exclusion of everything that would elongate the *tafsīr* and block the light of the Qur'ān; and the showing of the thematic unity of the Qur'ān.¹⁹

Sayyid Quṭb, by viewing the Qur'ān in such a way, aimed not to produce a theoretical commentary, but to extract meanings that could help the Islamic Brotherhood Movement in disseminating their ideology. This has created a quantum leap in the area of exegesis and exegesis trends, which was later followed by our own al-Turabi and many others, some of whom utilized the Qur'ān to promote their ideologies, as we will see in the next paragraphs.

There are some contemporary Qur'ān researchers -we can call them modernists- who studied in the West, and are impressed by modern Western scientific

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

methodologies in such a way that they want to apply them to the analysis and evaluation of the Qur'ān. Some of them have gone even further to claim that “the only way to understand the whole religious phenomena including the holy Qur'ān is through the Western methodologies”.²⁰ Arkoun, for instance, argued that whoever learns modern methodologies is thereby capable of understanding and delving into the details of religion itself. However, one who masters the sciences and methodologies of religion is not necessarily erudite in the field of modern methodologies, nor is he even capable of comprehending its objectives and outcomes that have an impact on religious phenomena. For this reason, Arkoun and other contemporary researchers warn Muslim scholars not to discuss their work about Islam as long as they cling to their outdated methodologies.²¹

Even though there are remarkable differences in the modernists' philosophical background, and in the intellectual inclination from which they draw their works, theories, and understanding of the Qur'ānic text, they however, come to terms with certain fundamentals and methodological principles, to which they allegedly profess their commitment, and draw their discernment from other traditional and contemporary scholars and exegetes. One of these principles is the importance of modern linguistics in the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'ān, as it is viewed as a real alternative to the timeworn hermeneutic methods of Qur'ānic interpretation, which, to the perception of Muhammad Shaḥrūr and Abū al-Qāsim Ḥāj Ḥamad, seem to be losing momentum as they have failed to match the spirit of the modern age.²²

²⁰ Jilani Ben Touhami Meftah, *The Arab Modernists and the Qur'anic Text*, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2005), 104.

²¹ Mohammad Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1994). Meftah, 116.

²² Abū al-Qāsim Ḥāj Ḥamad, *Al-ʿĀlamiyyah al-Islāmiyyah al-Thāniyah*, (Beirut: Dār ibn Ḥazm, 2nd edn, 1996). Muhammad Shaḥrūr, *Dirāsāt Islāmiyyah Muʿāṣirah fī-al-Dawlah wa-al-Mujtamaʿ*, (Damascus: Dār al-Ahālī: 1994). Meftah, 116.

Abū al-Qāsim Ḥāj Ḥamad draws the distinction between the customary language of the Arabs and the language used in the holy Qur'ān. He states that the language of the Qur'ān is superior to the customary language of the Arabs in that the Qur'ānic vocabulary is superior in its status of terminology. He argued that since the Qur'ān is made of a language, and while its epistemic methodology is to monitor all topics which relate to its Qur'ānic scope, its underlying language must, in turn, be monitored and resolutely regulated. Thus, a single word must not be given more than one definite meaning, regardless of its position in the general textual context. Otherwise there will be a clash in the Qur'ān and a wide discrepancy between scholars' exegeses and interpretations.²³

Shaḥrūr, continuing on Abū al-Qāsim Ḥāj Ḥamad's line of non-synonymity, argues that true cognition is fulfilled when mentally visualized images correspond to factually existent objects. Therefore, it is the physical existence rather than the mental visualization of things, which makes up the essence of its heritage (*Turāth*). Such a philosophical stance towards the relationship between thought and nature eventually led Shaḥrūr to adopt the non-synonymity (not having the same meaning) approach in the course of understanding the meanings of the Qur'ān in order to keep pace with the tremendous scientific advances which occurred in the later decades of the 20th century. He concluded that "it is indispensably important to distinguish between the core terminology like the difference between al-Kitāb, al-Qur'ān, al-Furqān, al-Dhikr, Umm al-Kitāb, al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfūz, and al-'Imām al-Mubīn."²⁴ Shaḥrūr based his arguments on the account that exact sciences like medicine and engineering, although they are human products, are still associated with high veracity, precision and non-

²³ See: Shaḥrūr, 59. Meftah, 119.

²⁴ Shaḥrūr, 42-44. Meftah, 120.

synonymity; therefore, the Qur'ān, being the word of Allah is more deserving to be viewed with such a high level of distinction.²⁵

As a matter of fact, if we look beyond the very limited lens through which Shaḥrūr and Ḥāj Ḥamad view the issue of synonymity, and apply, instead, a more comprehensive and universal outlook, we will surely find that this issue was one of the major concerns that preoccupied human thought. The notable scholar Ibn al-'Arabī, for instance, was the leading thinker in denying the principle of synonymity in the Arabic language, and that was in the fourth century (A.H.). If we ask Shaḥrūr, for the sake of argument, what does he think about the dominance of synonymity in today's Western world from which he and Ḥāj Ḥamad allegedly procured latest methodologies? Is it a product of autocracy, or rather of their own fallacy and shortcomings? It is perhaps a combination of both.²⁶

Other contemporary Qur'ānic researchers or modernists claim that the only way to understand religious phenomena, including the holy Qur'ān, is through history, which is according to them, the sole methodology to examine the Qur'ān within its historical motion and apprehend its relative values. According to Arkoun, who is the main advocate of this methodology, everything is a product of fact from which it originated, and to which it is accordingly ascribed including heavenly religions. No matter how significant the validity and legitimacy of this religious reality, or how great and expansive its sphere of circulation, it is still, however, susceptible to the impact of history. As a result, the scriptural legal text (Qur'ān) is to be linked with its respective historical setting including its cultural, political and social dimensions in order to thoroughly understand its historical whereabouts, and then to identify all that its text has stated. It is quite obvious, through a brief examination of this historical

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ See: Meftah, 22.

materialism or the historical methodology proposed by Arkoun and others, it is no more than an ideology or a doctrine that has its own peculiar concept about the universe and history, i.e. it is a religion in itself.²⁷

Another contemporary methodology utilized by some researchers in understanding the Qur'ān is the mythical methodology (*al-Manhaj al-Uṣṭūrī*). The word "Uṣṭūrah", according to modernist thought, is an elastic word that carries more than one meaning, and holds a number of interconnective functions to the extent of causing discrepancy and divergence. It represents the ancestors' feelings, sentiments, conceptions, and their intellectual endeavors to understand the reality of the universe; it also stands for the gist of their peculiar experiences and reasoning in dealing with surrounding events. This methodology allows for more flexibility and freedom in dealing with al-Qur'ān through new perspectives, which are completely incongruous with traditional interpretations. According to Arkoun, this methodology needs to be utilized in rebuilding the living historical *Turāth*, that is reinterpreting the Qur'ān from the root, and then critically analyzing the foundation period of the early Muslim community so as to burst and decompose the elements of the mythical spirit to which the Qur'ānic language is heading.²⁸

The mythical methodology, argued Jilani, is nothing more than a distorted reiteration of what is being circulated amongst segments of Western anthropological thought, which postulates that all religions have a materialistic nature, and thus are human products. That is why the anthropologist often seeks to emphasize the social function of religions.²⁹

²⁷ See: Arkoun, 40, 43. Meftah, 140.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

It is clear from the above that a considerable evolution had already taken place in exegesis by al-Turabi's time. While the majority of the Qur'ānic commentators agreed that the clarification of the Qur'ānic message for ordinary Muslims was a priority, they differed in their emphases and methods.

A number of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars and researchers have been interested in al-Turabi's ideas. Since al-Turabi is not known as an interpreter of the Qur'ān, most of the literature written about him did not emphasize his exegetic method; rather they revolved around the history of the Islamic movement in the Sudan and its development since the late 1940s from a student movement to a political party,³⁰ its relationship with the regime of President Ja'far Nūmairī, which oscillated between confrontation and reconciliation, and the rise of the National Islamic Front after the 1985 uprising in the Sudan, and the divisions within the movement, the internal conflict over secrecy, quantity, and quality, and the movement's attitude towards the role of women in Islamic work.³¹

Other writings about al-Turabi covered the issues of reform, *ijtihād* in intellectual and *fiqh* matters,³² Islamist slogans and proposals, and the dangers implicit in the Islamists' claim to represent religious teachings. They also discussed al-Turabi's political role in the National Salvation Revolution of July 1989, civil liberties in the Sudan, and his views on prominent past and present Sudanese political figures including Ismā'īl al-Azharī, Ja'far Muhammad Numairī, al-Ṣādiq al-Mahdī,

³⁰ Muhammad Elhachimi Hamdi, *The making of an Islamic political leader: Conversations with Hasan al-Turabi*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998).

³¹ Abdel Salam Sidahmed, *Politics and Islam in contemporary Sudan*, (Richmond, GB: Curzon Press, 1997).

³² Muhammad Ibn Mukhtār Al-Shinqīṭī, *Ārā' al-Tūrābī min ghair takfīr wa-la tashhīr*, (Damascus: Markaz al-Rāyah, 2006).