

Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia
Vol. 2

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von

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Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries

**Vol. 2:
Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations**

**edited by
Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank**



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PREFACE

Many friends and colleagues have worked together to produce this book.

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We extend many thanks to all.

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
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I. Networks of Scholars and Sufis

<i>Stefan Reichmuth:</i>	
The Interplay of Local Developments and Transnational Relations in the Islamic World: Perceptions and Perspectives.....	5
<i>Amri R. Šixsaidov:</i>	
The Biographical Genre in Daghestani Arabic-Language Literature: Nađir ad-Durgili's <i>Nuzhat al-adhān fī tarāğim 'ulamā' Dāğistān</i>	39
<i>Michael Kemper:</i>	
Einige Notizen zur arabischsprachigen Literatur der <i>ğihād</i> - Bewegung in Dagestan und Tschetschenien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.....	63
<i>Anke von Kügelgen:</i>	
Die Entfaltung der Naqšbandīya muğaddidīya im mittleren Transoxanien vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Stück Detektivarbeit.....	101
<i>Thierry Zarcone:</i>	
Political Sufism and the Emirate of Kashgaria (End of the 19th Century): The Role of the Ambassador Ya'qūb Xān Tūra.....	153
<i>Baxtiyar M. Babadžanov:</i>	
Dūkčī Īšān und der Aufstand von Andižan 1898.....	167
<i>Aširbek K. Muminov:</i>	
Die Qožas – Arabische Genalogien in Kasachstan.....	193

II. Inter-Ethnic Relations and Diasporas

<i>Allen J. Frank:</i>	
Islam and Ethnic Relations in the Kazakh Inner Horde: Muslim Cossacks, Tatar Merchants and Kazakh Nomads in a Turkic Manuscript, 1870-1910.....	211

Mirkasim A. Usmanov:

Tatar Settlers in Western China (Second Half of the 19th Century to the First Half of the 20th Century).....243

Zavdat S. Minullin:

Fraternal and Benevolent Associations of Tatar Students in Muslim Countries at the Beginning of the 20th Century.....271

Amirxan M. Magomeddadaev:

Die dagestanische Diaspora in der Türkei und in Syrien.....281

Christian Noack:

Die Petersburger Typen des Anatolij Aleksandrovič Baxtiarov, oder: "Tataren und anderen Schreihälsen ist der Zutritt verboten"299

Tamara Bairašauskaitė:

Politische Integration und religiöse Eigenständigkeit der litauischen Tataren im 19. Jahrhundert.....313

Iskander Gilyazov:

Die Wolgatataren und Deutschland im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts.....335

III. Islam and Politics in a Non-Muslim State

Danil' D. Azamatov:

The Muftis of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly in the 18th and 19th Centuries: The Struggle for Power in Russia's Muslim Institution.....355

Paul W. Werth:

Tsarist Categories, Orthodox Intervention, and Islamic Conversion in a Pagan Udmurt Village, 1870s-1890s.....385

Dilyara M. Usmanova:

The Activity of the Muslim Faction of the State Duma and its Significance in the Formation of a Political Culture among the Muslim Peoples of Russia (1906-1917).....417

Džul'etta Mesxidze:

Die Rolle des Islams beim Kampf um die staatliche Eigenständigkeit Tschetscheniens und Inguschetiens (1917-1925).....	457
--	-----

Gero Fedtke:

Jadids, Young Bukharans, Communists and the Bukharan Revolution: From an Ideological Debate in the Early Soviet Union.....	483
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IV. Literature

Aftandil Ėrkinov:

The Perception of Works by Classical Authors in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Central Asia: The Example of the <i>Xamsa</i> of °Alī Šīr Nawā°I.....	513
---	-----

Michael Friederich:

Rabe fliegt nach Osten, oder Ein tatarischer Weltheimatdichter im Zeitalter der Umbrüche.....	527
--	-----

V. Architecture

Boris D. Kočnev:

Festtagsmoscheen und Feste in Mittelasien vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts.....	561
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APPENDIX

Transliteration and Transcription.....	595
Contributors.....	597
Bibliography.....	601
Index.....	637

INTRODUCTION

This collection of articles presents the results of the second phase of the international research project *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*. After a first volume of articles (Berlin 1996) had already presented various aspects of Muslim culture in several regions of the Russian Empire and Central Asia, the focus was shifted to the relations between the individual regions and ethnic groups, as well as contacts with other countries. By emphasizing trans-regionality and inter-ethnicity we hope to avoid examining the history of the Muslim regions in a pre-national period from a national perspective. Muslim culture (in the broadest sense) provides numerous topics for such an inter-regional project. Hence the contributions to this volume are arranged thematically.

The first group of articles addresses Islamic learning and Sufism, and the resulting networks. In the opening article, based on several selected examples, *Stefan Reichmuth* draws attention to the significant extent to which developments in the various parts of the Islamic world have been linked together since the eighteenth century. Among other topics, he illuminates the development of the Naqšbandiyya muğaddidiyya Brotherhood as well as the surprisingly multifaceted activities of learned individuals from the Muslim "periphery" (especially Daghestan and West Africa) in the Holy City of Medina. The contacts of learned Daghestanis with the Arab world are also handled by *Amri R. Šixsaidov* in his study of an important work of the Arabic biographical literature in Dagestan. Two additional articles examine the expansion of the Naqšbandiyya muğaddidiyya in the North Caucasus (*Michael Kemper*) and in Transoxiana (*Anke von Kügelgen*). *Thierry Zarcone* and *Baxtiyar Babadžanov* analyze the political aspects of Sufism in East Turkestan and in the Ferghana Valley. Lastly, *Aširbek Muminov* depicts a very particular type of network in his examination of the Xwāḡas in southern Kazakhstan, namely families with Arab (*qurayšī*) genealogies which for centuries have had the role of religious dignitaries among the local tribes.

The second block of texts explores the emergence and development of diaspora groups and the resulting cultural contacts. Central to many of the contributions are the migrations of the Volga-Tatars. *Allen Frank*, *Mirkasim Usmanov* and *Christian Noack* examine, based on the examples of Kazakhstan, East Turkestan, and St. Petersburg, Tatar communities which were founded primarily by settlers and merchants; by contrast, the Tatar diaspora in Lithuania and Germany originated with soldiers and prisoners of war, as *Tamara Barašauskaitė* and *Iskander Gilyazov* demonstrate. The

far-reaching contacts of Tatar students into the Arab world and Central Europe are examined by *Zavdat Minnullin*. Quite different are the important diaspora groups of the Daghestanis in Turkey and Syria, which can be traced back to the partially-forced, partially-voluntary emigration of the Muslims of the North Caucasus following the defeat of their military resistance (*Amirxan Magomeddadaev*).

In the third group of texts the Muslims' striving for political participation and their defense of their interests against the policies of the Russian Empire and then the early Soviet Union are further addressed. Here the political struggle between the Muslim periphery and the initially Christian, then atheist, center becomes explicit. These tensions are illustrated not only with the example of the Muslim Muftiat in Ufa (founded 1789), but also by the activities of the Muslim faction in the Russian State Duma (1906-1917) (*Danil' Azamatov, Dilyara Usmanova*). Just how counter-productive the Russian policies toward Islam could be is demonstrated by *Paul Werth* in the example of the elite of an Udmurt village which the State-sponsored Orthodox mission compelled into officially accepting Islam. The period just following the October Revolution is examined by *Džul'etta Mesxidze* and *Gero Fedtke*. Central here are, on the one hand, the fight of the Chechens and the Ingush for their independence from Moscow (1917-1925) and, on the other, the multifaceted Bukharan reform movement and the different positions of the reformers and revolutionaries toward Soviet ideology.

The fourth set of texts contains literary studies from inter-regional perspectives. In the Islamic literature of Russia and Central Asia, for centuries the North received impulses from the South. One example is the reception and transformation of the works of the famous poet from Herat, °Alī Šīr Nawā'ī, in the khanates of Central Asia (*Aftandil Ėrkinov*). However, in the course of the nineteenth century one can to some extent detect a reversal in the channels of reception. In this period the Tatars for the first time received impulses from Russian and West European literature (*Michael Friederich*), and thereafter it was the Tatars who brought new currents into Central Asia.

At the end of this volume is a contribution from *Boris Kočnev* on the "festival-mosques" (*namāz-gāh*) in the Central Asian khanates of Khiva, Bukhara and Qoqand. This long over-looked aspect of Central Asian construction is examined from both architectural and social perspectives.

As can be seen from this short overview, the authors examine the relations between the regions and ethnic groups in very focused inquiries. Inter-regional and inter-ethnic issues are not thereby artificially centralized, as it was not our intention to revive the Soviet myth of "družba narodov" ("Friendship of Peoples"); therefore, diverse aspects of these issues emerge in some cases mainly in comparison between the articles gathered in this volume.

In selecting the articles we placed great value on the authors' research into primary sources. Most of the research published here is based on Arabic, Persian, or Turkic language manuscripts; some is based on materials from Russian archives as well as the results of field-work. In many instances these sources are for the first time presented in these articles.

In the framework of the research project *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, we intend to continue the work with Arabic, Persian, and Turkic language manuscripts by editing several biographical texts from Central Asia, the Volga-Ural region, and the North Caucasus, in a third volume.

Michael Kemper

Anke von Kügelgen

Allen J. Frank

THE INTERPLAY OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS AND TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD: PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

by

Stefan REICHMUTH, Bochum¹

*The historical Islamic World as an international system: genealogical
constructions of affiliation and autonomy*

It is certainly not surprising that questions of cultural and national identity have again become a major concern for many peoples, in a world which has seen so many dramatic changes within such a short period of time. Apart from the different campaigns and struggles for autonomy and self-determination it is mainly the interplay of local and global factors which can be seen at work in the almost worldwide revival of nationalism. Reflection on this interplay also throws some new light on the historical roots of those concepts of the nation which continue to inform the international political system. Its recent transformations seem to confirm the importance of a basic range of shared memories, values, and experiences as well as that of a sense of common destiny for the emergence or reemergence of a political community.² At the same time the novelty of the modern nation state, whose patterns of sovereignty and organization do not go back beyond the eighteenth century, is brought out again, as the new states have emerged like their predecessors from an international framework of larger states and spheres of influence and are designed to mediate between the universal and the particular orientations within a given community.³ It has even been said that it was the international system which brought about the emergence of the modern state, not the other way around.⁴ Transnational relations and local processes of communal and

¹ Earlier versions of this article were presented at the Round Table in St. Petersburg (5 October 1996) and at the University of Freiburg (24 June 1997). I am very grateful to the participants of both discussions for their critical comments and suggestions.

² Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford 1986; id., "Towards a World Culture?", in: Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, London: SAGE Publications 1990, 171-91.

³ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1992, especially ch. 1, "The nation as novelty: from revolution to liberalism", 14-45; Johann P. Arnason, "Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity", in: Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture*, 208.

⁴ Albert Bergesen, "Turning the World-System Theory on its Head", in: Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture*, 77.

national mobilization have always been closely related. The first revolutionary nation states which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century (the USA and France) based their claims to popular sovereignty and individual citizenship on a universal concept of humanity which was derived from the principles of enlightenment. It is well known that this universalist orientation itself was shaped to a large extent by the cosmopolitan outlook of the European mercantile and aristocratic classes. The national and the international were thus linked to each other from the beginning of what came to be called the 'Modern World'.

The historical Islamic World also became part of this system of nation states, and it would be very misleading to ignore the national structures, ideologies, and territorial interests of the Muslim states which continue to determine their policies. The close cultural and economic relations which exist between many of the Muslim states and communities and which have even found expression in several international organizations would nevertheless seem to give them some coherence of their own. In an historical perspective the Islamic World can also be regarded as an international system which developed over time from changing centres of power and which came to include a wide range of larger empires, smaller states, nomad federations, and diaspora communities. After the initial conquests and the foundation of the Islamic empires the internal integration and the external growth of this system was based on a wide range of economic and cultural relations between the constituent groups. Within this framework of sometimes quite uneven relations, ethnic and political communities developed and maintained their own expressions of self-assertion and autonomy. This is brought out in particular by the claims to Arab descent which were put forward by peoples who had established some regular contact with Muslim states, tribal groups, and trading communities. These Arab genealogies, sometimes based on old historical links to Arab groups, sometimes mere fiction, usually implied two complementary claims: while affirming the integration into the Islamic orbit they also stressed the full cultural and political dignity of the people in question.

It is striking how similar those claims could be in quite distant parts of the world. Such distance, however, can serve even better to illustrate their systemic function. A good example is the claim to South Arabian descent which played an important role both in Transoxiana (*Mā warā' an-nahr*) and in North and West Africa in the period after 390/1000. With regard to

Central Asia, M.B. Piotrovskiy and more recently Aširbek K. Muminov⁵ have described how the original struggle between the two major Arab factions of the Umayyad period, those of the Qays and the Yaman, found its expression in local historical legends. Yemeni traditions of a pre-Islamic conquest of Samarqand and other parts of Transoxiana by Dū l-Qarnayn and other South Arabian kings of Ḥimyar were readily accepted within the region itself. During the rule of the Qarāxānī dynasty (999-1212) the image of the legendary South Arabian conquerors was apparently transformed into that of cultural heroes and founders of settlements who became towering figures within local tradition. As Muminov has pointed out, these stories not only praised the "holy Ḥimyarī kings." They were also designed to reduce the importance of the actual Arab conquests, especially in those areas where they had been incomplete and where local elites were able to retain their power. In gaining recognition as descendants of ancient Arab kings these groups could hope to bolster their own authority under new conditions. A sacred landscape developed which connected prophetic and Qurʾānic events and characters with local holy sites, a process which profoundly changed the outlook of the whole region. Nūḥ's Ark and Sulaymān's throne as well as the tombs of Dāniyāl and Šāliḥ all found their local site in Transoxiana. The Ḥimyarī stage in the history of sacred places lasted for a considerable period before it gradually gave way to other traditions related to the early Muslim heroes.

In the Maḡrib, speculations about a Ḥimyarī descent of the Berber population, especially of the Šanhāḡa and Kutāma branches, were based on the same literary sources of Yemeni origin which were used for Central Asia. Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/994-1064) still firmly rejected such claims.⁶ At the same period, however, they were already gaining in political significance: the Kutāma of present-day north-eastern Algeria were the main supporters of the Fāṭimids, and the viceroys of the Fāṭimids in Ifriqiya, the Zīrids, belonged to the Šanhāḡa of the central Maḡrib. The claim of the Zīrids to Ḥimyarī descent became even more pronounced when they asserted their independence from the Fāṭimids and publicly reverted to the Sunna by recognizing the authority of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph (around

⁵ M.B. Piotrovskiy, *Predanie o ximyaritskom care Asʿade al-Kamile*, Moskva 1977; Aširbek K. Muminov, "Veneration of Holy Sites of the Mid-Sīrdar'ya Valley: Continuity and Transformation", in: Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1996, 355-67. See also Tilman Nagel, *Alexander der Große in der frühislamischen Volksliteratur*, Walldorf: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran 1978, 21, 74f.

⁶ Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbdassalām M. Hārūn, al-Qāhira: Dār al-maʿārif, 1391/1971, 495.

1047/8).⁷ This can be seen as a move to secure their position as rulers of a population which was overwhelmingly Berber and Sunnī. For the Almoravides who belonged to the Ṣanhāga tribes of the western Sahara and who ruled North Africa and al-Andalus (1056-1148), Ḥimyarī descent also came to be generally recognized⁸. Even the wearing of the Saharan veil (*liṭām*) for which they had become famous was sometimes explained as an old South Arabian custom which had been brought to the West by one of the Tubba° kings. The reputed link to South Arabia thus became a cultural prop for the most powerful Berber ruling groups of the 10th and 11th centuries in North Africa.

Similar legendary campaigns of Dū l-Qarnayn and the South Arabian kings were discussed for the Sahara region. The first ruler of a Sub-Saharan state with a reported Ḥimyarī descent was the Sultan of Kānim⁹, the most powerful state in the Lake Chad region which was linked to North Africa by trade at least since the ninth century.¹⁰ This sultan, Muḥammadi b. Ġīl/Ġabal, is first mentioned by Ibn Sa°id (around 658/1269) who mentions his reputation for religious warfare and for his patronage of Islamic scholars. He can probably be identified with one of the most powerful kings of Kānim who is mentioned in the local kinglist as Dūnama Dībalāmi and who ruled around 1210-48¹¹. The ancestor claimed by his dynasty was Sayf b. Dī Yazan, the Ḥimyarī nobleman who had invited the Sasanids to intervene in the Yemen and who later became the hero of a popular Arabic romance, the *Sīrat Sayf b. Dī-Yazan*. The name of the dynasty of the Sultans of Kānim-Bornu, the Sēfuwa, which ruled until the early nineteenth century, was related to this famous and popular figure. The claim itself seems to date back to a dynastic change which took place in the eleventh century and which is also reflected in the kinglist. The Sēfuwa were related, by marriage alliances if not by origin, to some of the Berber groups of the Central Sahara. Even their predecessors had already extended their

⁷ Hady Roger Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides, Xe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1962, vol. I, 5-7; Michael Brett, Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers*, Oxford: Blackwell 1996, 131f.

⁸ See N. Levzion, J.F.P. Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, Cambridge et. al.: Cambridge University Press 1981, 158, 162 [Ibn al-Ajir], 165 [Ibn Xallikān], 235f. [Ibn Abī-Zar°], 310f. [al-Ḥulal al-mawṣīya]. For the legends concerning the veil see pp. 165, 310f.

⁹ For accounts of Kānim see Levzion, Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, passim, Index-glossary 449; Dierk Lange, *Le Dīwān des Sultans du [Kānem-] Bornu: Chronologie et Histoire d'un Royaume Africain*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag 1977.

¹⁰ See for relations between Kānim and Tripolitania in the early 9th century Th. Lewicki, "Ibādīyya", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. III, Leiden, London 1986, 657.

¹¹ Lange, *Le Dīwān des Sultans*, 93f.; Levzion, Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, 188, 353f., 401 n.23; 428 n.8.

influence over that region, one of them had probably even secured his investiture from the Caliph. The succession of the Sēfuwa followed the independence of the Zīrids and roughly coincided with the rise of the Almoravids in the north. The Ḥimyarī legends confirmed Kānim's claim to be on equal terms with the other Islamic states of the Maḡrib. They were later blended with other genealogical claims, which amounted to a descent from Qurayš.¹² That the shores of Lake Chad also became the site of the landing of Nūḥ and his Ark in local tradition provides another striking parallel to Central Asia. In some speculations circulating among local Islamic scholars, the name for Bornu, the region to the west of Lake Chad, even came to be explained as *Barr Nūḥ*, the land of Nūḥ.¹³

The expanding Islamic World, c.1680 to c.1830 – some general observations

Our example referred to a period which still belonged to what is often called the Golden Age of Islam, a time when the early Arab empire had been transformed into a vast common market stretching from the Atlantic to Central Asia and northern India, augmented by commercial and political links to Subsaharan Africa, the Far East, and northern Europe, creating a worldwide economy which was the greatest prior to the European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards.¹⁴ The South Arabian legends and genealogies provided an important expression of cultural integration and autonomy within this decentralized world. Similar observations, however, are also possible for the Islamic World in the period between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries, which was also marked by a desintegration of Muslim empires. Desintegration did not prevent another economic and cultural expansion of Muslim influence. This was often not impeded and was sometimes even reinforced by European commercial and imperial activities, as the Muslims were able in many regions to make good use of the markets, settlements, and infrastructures created by the Europeans, sometimes even acting in close partnership with them. The Muslim trading networks in East and West Africa, those in Central Asia under Russian influence, and others in the

¹² First mentioned by al-Qalqaṣandī (d.821/1418); Levzion, Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, 344f.; also Lange, *Le Diwān des Sultans*, 22, 65.

¹³ Leo Frobenius, *Und Afrika Sprach. Wissenschaftlich erweiterte Ausgabe*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1912, 219f. H. Forkl, *Die Beziehungen der zentralsudanischen Reiche Bornu, Mandara und Bagirmi sowie der Kotoko-Staaten zu ihren Nachbarn unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Sao-Problems*, München 1983, 220ff.

¹⁴ M. Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, Amsterdam et. al. 1975; Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press 1989; Brett, Fentress, *The Berbers*, 126ff.

Indonesian archipelago under Dutch hegemony provide striking examples of the growing commercial and cultural impact of the Muslims, which in some regions even led to the emergence of new Islamic polities or to a thorough transformation of those which were already existing.

The expanded network of Muslim states and communities which had come into being by the eighteenth century has been aptly described by Ira Lapidus as a "world system of Islamic societies,"¹⁵ which were all unique in their cultural and political outlook but were at the same time interconnected by political and religious contacts and by a core of common values. Within this decentralized system religious scholars and Sūfī brotherhoods had gained in cultural and even political significance. This can be seen in a growing mobility of the scholars as well as in the emergence of a considerable number of new brotherhoods and religious communities which sometimes were even able to establish their own states and dynasties. At the holy places in the Ḥiǧāz and at other centres of Islamic learning, scholars and Sūfīs from hitherto unnoticed ethnic groups or marginal regions made their appearance for the first time during this period, some of them gaining wide recognition. On the other hand many of the local religious and political movements which emerged among the Muslims in the so-called 'periphery' show the influence of that highly mobile group of scholarly travellers and pilgrims. These movements often established new centres of Islamic learning which became important for whole regions. Their activities also very often led to a tremendous increase in religious and didactic literature in Arabic as well as in local languages. For some of these languages literary use was fully established only during that period. Urdu, Swahili, Hausa and to some extent Tatar would perhaps provide the most outstanding examples of such newly emerging literatures in Arabic script, preceded by Malay which had already gained importance during the seventeenth century.¹⁶

Another striking phenomenon of this period is the parallel development of religious controversies which arose in different parts of the Islamic

¹⁵ Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge et. al.: Cambridge University Press 1988, 551.

¹⁶ For Urdu: Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford 1969, 244-57; Annemarie Schimmel, *Classical Urdu Literature from the beginning to Iqbal*, Wiesbaden 1975. For Tatar: Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Djadidisme, Mirasisme, Islamisme", *Cahiers du Monde russe* 37, 1-2, 1996, 18. For Swahili: J. Knappert, *Traditional Swahili Poetry*, Leiden 1967; id., *Swahili Islamic Poetry*, Leiden 1971. For Hausa: M. Hiskett, "Hausa Literature", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. III, Leiden, London 21986, 280-83; idem, *A History of Hausa Islamic Verse*, London: SOAS 1975. For Malay: R.L. Roovink, "Indonesia, VI. Literatures", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. III, Leiden, London 21986, 1231-34; L.Y. Andaya, "Malay Peninsula", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. VI, Leiden 21991, 235; J. Siegel, "Malays", in: *ibid.*, 239f.

World. Debates between followers and opponents of the Šūfī brotherhoods gained in intensity in quite distant places. The same can be noticed for that central issue defining legal and religious authority, the debate on *iğtihād* and *taqlīd* which was revived in India as well as in the Yemen, the Ḥiğāz, and the Nağd in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. With regard to this issue there are even striking parallels to the controversy between the *axbārī* and the *uṣūlī* scholars in the Šīʿite communities of the time which also focussed on *iğtihād* and the authority of the *muğtahid*. Direct links between the Sunnī and the Šīʿī debates, however, are yet to be identified.¹⁷ Within the Sunnī context, those who insisted on *iğtihād* as an ongoing religious duty were often under suspicion because of their connections with bedouin groups or because of their remote origins from far-off areas.¹⁸ Perhaps the most outspoken supporters of an *iğtihād* based on Qurʾān and Sunna in eighteenth-century Medina were influential scholars originating from India and West Africa, Muḥammad b. Ḥayāt as-Sindī (d. 1163/1750) and Šāliḥ al-Fulānī (d. 1218/1803-4).¹⁹ This suggests that the debate itself

¹⁷ For the *iğtihād* issue which has found renewed interest in recent research, see e.g. Rudolf Peters, "Idjihad and taqlid in 18th century and 19th century Islam", *Die Welt des Islams* 20, 1980, 132-45; Wael B. Hallaq, "Was the Gate of ijtihad closed?", *JMES* 16, 1984, 3-41; Lutz Wiederhold, "Das Manuskript Ms. orient. A 918 der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha als Ausgangspunkt für einige Überlegungen zum Begriff 'iğtihād' in der sunnitischen Rechtswissenschaft", in: *ZDMG* 143, 1993, 328-61; Knut S. Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859)*, London: Hurst 1995, 221-3, 241-64; Wael B. Hallaq, "Iftā' and Ijtihad in Sunni Legal Theory: A Development Account", in: Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, David S. Powers (eds.), *Islamic Legal Interpretation. Muftis and their Fatwas*, Cambridge/Mass., London: Harvard University Press 1996, 33-43; and the whole issue of *Islamic Law and Society* 3,2, 1996.

On the *axbārī-uṣūlī* controversy e.g. Etan Kohlberg, "Aspects of Akhbari Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: N. Levtzion and J.O. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1987, 133-160. It has to be kept in mind that al-Astarābādī (d. in Mecca c. 1036/1627), the founder of the later Axbārī school which stressed the authority of the traditions of the Imāms and denounced the *qiyās* of the Uṣūlīs, also spent much time in the Ḥiğāz where he wrote his main doctrinal treatise (*al-Fawā'id al-madanīya*, begun in Medina and finished in Mecca in 1031/1622). See also Werner Ende, "The Nakhawila, a Shiite Community in Medina. Past and Present", *Die Welt des Islams* 37, 1997, 266.

A famous Sunnī scholar of the eighteenth century who showed himself quite familiar with Šīʿī positions was 'Abdallāh as-Suwaydī (d. 1174/1761) in Bagdad, who was even invited to supervise the negotiations for a Sunnī-Šīʿī religious reconciliation in Iran which were arranged by Nādir Šāh in 1736; see 'Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn as-Suwaydī, *Kitāb al-ḥuḡaḡ al-qat'īya li-tuḡāq al-firaq al-islāmīya*, al-Qāhira 1323/1904. His account suggests that both Sunnī and Šīʿī scholars were well aware of each other and still had much basic common ground in their controversies.

¹⁸ See for this aspect Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge*, 258f, 263f.

¹⁹ On these two scholars J.O. Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdalwāḥhāb: an analysis of an intellectual group in eighteenth-century Madīna", in: *BSOAS* 38, 1975, 32-39; J.O. Hunwick, "Šāliḥ al-Fulānī (1752/3-1803): The

was strongly coloured by the changing relations between center and periphery within the Islamic world which were mentioned above. The Tatar scholar al-Qūrṣāwī (1776-1812), whose career has been analysed recently by Michael Kemper,²⁰ would seem to fit fully into this context with his activities.

The changes in the relations between the different regions of the Islamic World which took place since the late seventeenth century still remain to be fully analysed. Three indicators for such changes are presented below in the context of historical case studies. They all serve from different perspectives to underline the growing cultural interaction between distant Muslim states, groups, and individuals. One case, that of the Naqṣbandīya muḡaddidiya, illustrates the diffusion of a Ṣūfī brotherhood from a peripheral region (India) to the religious and political centres of the Middle East. Another one, that of the city of Medina, shows the encounter and rise of new ethnic and scholarly groups within one of the most important religious centres itself. Evidence for a growing interconnection of Islamic scholars of quite distant origins is further derived from one of the most prominent Islamic scholars of the period in question, Murtaḏā az-Zabīdī (1732-91) and his vast network of scholarly relations which can be reconstructed from his own writings. The three indicators for socio-cultural change which are proposed here for further discussion are thus: a) the diffusion of an important religious movement from peripheral to central regions, b) changes in the ethno-religious structure of a highly important religious centre, and c) an expansion and re-focusing of scholarly networks. They will be demonstrated in the following.

The notions 'centre' and 'periphery' and their use with respect to the Islamic World would admittedly require much closer discussion, especially with view to historical models of the European World Economy like those of Immanuel Wallerstein or Fernand Braudel. This would, however, go beyond the scope of the present article. For its purposes, the term 'centre' denotes a central position in a network of political, economic, cultural, or religious relations, 'periphery' a marginal position within such a network. The 'central regions' of the Islamic World are defined here to cover the Middle East and North Africa, its 'peripheral regions' all those other ones where Muslim states or communities were to be found at a given point of

Career and Teachings of A West African 'Ālim in Medina", in: A.H. Green (ed.), *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism. Arabic and Islamic Studies in memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press 1984, 139-53.

²⁰ Michael Kemper, "Entre Boukhara et la Moyenne-Volga: 'Abd an-Naṣīr al-Qūrṣāwī (1776-1812) en conflit avec les oulémas traditionalistes", *Cahiers du Monde russe* 37 (1-2), Jan.-June 1996, 41-51.

time. The still ongoing expansion of this regional 'periphery' and its interlacing with other 'Worlds' is obvious.

*Diffusion of a religious movement from a peripheral region: the
Naqšbandīya muğaddidiya*

The spread of the Naqšbandīya muğaddidiya from India to Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire can be regarded as one of the most significant cultural developments of the period in question, far-reaching both in its geographical extension and in its religious and even political impact. The Naqšbandīya itself had spread with the Timurid Moguls from Central Asia to India. The branch of the Muğaddidiya which goes back to Aḥmad Sirhindī (971/1563-1034/1624)²¹ came to overshadow most other affiliations of the Naqšbandīya, in India but then also elsewhere. The reasons for this success still seem to be far from clear, as the main special qualities which are generally presented for Sirhindī's followers are for the most part also to be found within other Naqšbandī branches and indeed within other Šūfī brotherhoods. A central element was perhaps Sirhindī's claim to have been given the task to renew the spiritual link between the Prophet and his community and to define a transformation of the hierarchy of (spiritual) realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) for a new age. This would point to a distinct eschatological dimension of his original message.²² By his followers he was regarded as the 'Renewer of the Second Millennium' (*Muğaddid-i alf-i t̄ānī*). It is mainly these eschatological claims which were resented by the early opponents of Sirhindī and his successors.²³ The Muğaddidiya led particular stress on divine transcendence and on the Šarī'ah as a touchstone for Šūfī consciousness. Like other Naqšbandīs they practised an intense spiritual relationship between master and follower which was systematically built up by private meditation and joint ritual. The concentration on the Shaykh and the internalization of his image as a source of the Prophetical Light (*nūr muḥammadī*) were central to their practice.²⁴ This would lead to a transmission of this interior light from the

²¹ On him esp. Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press 1971; Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shari'ah. A Study of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's Effort to Reform Sufism*, London: The Islamic Foundation 1406/1986.

²² See esp. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī*, 17-21, 26.

²³ *Ibid.*, 96.

²⁴ On Naqšbandī practice and ritual see esp. Michel Chodkiewicz, "Quelques aspects des techniques spirituelles dans la Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya", in: Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, Thierry Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*. Actes de la Table Ronde de Sèvres,

Shaykh's heart into that of the novice. The demand on the moral and spiritual perfection of their leaders was equally high.

Despite a fairly ambiguous relationship with the different Mogul rulers the sons and descendants of Sirhindī retained considerable influence among the Muslim elite of the empire. Their call for a strict adherence to the Prophetic model in personal and public life led to a more formalized and closer structure of the Muslim community in northern India in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. It tended to replace the universalist Muslim outlook which had been prevailing among the Muslims.²⁵ This reorientation with its individual and its social aspects seems to have had repercussions also in other parts of the Islamic world.

Muğaddidī connections with the Ḥiğāz seem to have been developed fairly early. Tāğaddīn al-ʿUṭmānī (d.1640), a contemporary follower of Sirhindī's own teacher, had already established himself in Mecca where he acquired his own following which extended to the Yemen and Egypt.²⁶ Sirhindī's influential successor Sayyid Ādam Banūrī (d.1053/1644) was banished to the Ḥiğāz by the Mogul emperor Šāh Ġahān in 1052/1642 because of the large number of his warlike Afghan followers.²⁷ Sirhindī's son Muḥammad Maʿšūm (d.1079/1668) sent one of his followers from Central Asia, Aḥmad Yakdast al-Ġuriyānī (d. 1119/1707-8?)²⁸ as his *xalīfa* to Mecca. This was in 1056/1646, about two years after Banūrī's death. Yakdast gained many followers for the Muğaddidiya both among residents and pilgrims in Mecca. Muḥammad Maʿšūm himself, who supported the prince Awrangzīb in his struggle against his senior brother Dārā Šikūh (1067-8/1658-9), came to the holy city with his son Šibgatallāh to mobilize the support of the *ʿulamāʾ* and Šūfis to pray for Awrangzīb's victory.²⁹

2-4 mai 1985, Istanbul-Paris: Éditions Isis 1990, 69-82; Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Khalwa and rābiṭa in the Khālidi Suborder"; *ibid.*, 289-302; Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqshbandiyya*, Beirut Texts and Studies 58, Istanbul: Franz Steiner Verlag 1994.

²⁵ See for this point Arthur F. Buehler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India: the Central Asian legacy", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7:2, 1996, 208-28, here p.220.

²⁶ al-Muḥibbī, *Xulāṣat al-aṭār fi aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿaṣar*, al-Qāhira 1284/1867, I 464-70; Ḥamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order", M. Gaborieau et al. (eds.), *Naqshbandis*, 20.

²⁷ Buehler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India", 221f.

²⁸ About Aḥmad Yakdast see al-Murādi, *Silk ad-durar fi aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿaṣar*, Būlāq 1301/1883, repr. Bagdād n.d., I 107 f.; Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order", 28; Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "ʿAbd al-Ḡanī an-Nābulusī and his Turkish Disciples", in: Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.), *La vie intellectuelle dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane*, Les Actes du III Symposium International d'Études Ottomanes, Zaghouan 1990, Vol. III, 108f. For the problems of dating his death see Anke von Kügelgen's article in the present volume.

²⁹ Buehler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India", 219ff.

The controversy over Sirhindī's main œuvre, the *Maktūbāt*, which arose later in Awrangzib's reign, indicates the continuous growth of the Muğaddidiya during that period.³⁰ After the *Maktūbāt* had been proscribed by imperial decree in 1090/1679 the issue was followed up by a *fatwā* on this matter by the leading scholars of the Ḥiğāz, published at the request of the Mogul religious authorities in 1093/1682. The *fatwā* declared Sirhindī an infidel because of his eccentric claims. It is clear, however, that this condemnation was by no means unanimous. Support for Sirhindī came from different writers inside and outside the Ḥiğāz, showing the growing influence of his brotherhood in India, but also in Egypt and Syria.³¹

At the same time when Sirhindī was condemned by the religious authorities in India and in the Ḥiğāz, the Muğaddidiya was about to gain official recognition within the Ottoman capital itself. It does not seem by accident that its acceptance by prominent dignitaries and 'ulamā' came at a highly critical point in Ottoman history. This was the Vienna campaign and the disastrous defeat of 1094/1683 which permanently altered the balance of power between the Empire and the European states. The order was brought to the central Ottoman lands by another disciple of Ma'sūm from Central Asia, the Šarīf Muḥammad Murād (1050-1132/1640-1719)³² who had spent a long time in India and in the Ḥiğāz. After a visit to his homeland Bukhara and even to the Šafavid capital he went to Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, settling in Damascus around 1080/1669. He then visited Istanbul and stayed there for five years from 1092-97/1681-1686. (This thus coincided with both the condemnation of Sirhindī in the Ḥiğāz and the battle of Vienna). During this time he was much visited and he initiated many 'ulamā', Šūfis, and Mullās into the Muğaddidiya. The rest of his life was spent between Damascus, the Ḥiğāz, and Istanbul where he finally died and was buried. In the meantime he had been honoured with annual donations (*mālikānāt*) from the Sultan Muṣṭafā II (1695-1703), as the first

³⁰ On the following Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī*, 94-101.

³¹ For a conflict which arose in Mecca and Medina at the same time over the distribution of the large donation made by Awrangzib and which also involved the author of the *fatwā*, the Medinese scholar 'Abdarrasūl al-Barzanjī, see 'Abdalbāsiḡ Badr, *at-Tārīḡ aṣ-Šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, al-Madīna 1414/1993, II, 369ff.

³² About Muḥammad Murād and his followers see especially the biographical account written by his great-grandson, al-Murādī, *Silk ad-durar* IV, 129ff.; Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order", 27f.; Kellner-Heinkele, "'Abd al-Ganī an-Nābulusi and his Turkish Disciples", 109f. About his *tekke* and mausoleum in Eyüp, Istanbul, see Thierry Zarcone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches Turkestanais et Indiens à Istanbul", in: Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Thierry Zarcone, Edhem Eldem, Frédéric Hitzel, Michel Tuchscherer (eds.), *Anatolia Moderna. Yeni Anadolu II. Derviches et cimetières Ottomans*, Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve 1991, 137-200, here 144f.

person to be privileged by grants of that kind. He had founded his own Madrasa in Damascus and had won great influence as a mediator between the town and the capital, and he had laid the foundations for a prominent position of his family which was to last for several generations.

Murād's reception by the Šayx al-Islām Feyzullāh Efendi (d.1115/1703), the most influential Ottoman scholar of that time,³³ would seem to mark a significant turn in the religious policy of the empire. This policy had been dominated for many years by radical opponents of the Šūfī brotherhoods which originated from the movement founded by Qāḏīzāde Meḥmed Efendi in the early seventeenth century. It had many followers among the religious scholars, preachers and students but was also supported by influential palace officials, by the imperial guards, and also by the market traders. The Qāḏīzādeli propagated a religious orientation which was to be strictly based on Qurʾān and Sunna. Their leader at the time was Vānī Meḥmed Efendi (d.1096/1685).³⁴ He was from 1069/1659 until 1094/1683 the leading preacher and scholar of the capital. With support of the grand *vezīr* he had been successful in curtailing and even banning many activities of the brotherhoods. Feyzullāh Efendi was his son-in-law and owed his career largely to Vānī's influence. The defeat at Vienna where Vānī had been present as the leading Shaykh of the army (*ordu şeyxi*) marked the end of his exalted position: he was banished to his estate and died shortly afterwards. The anti-Šūfī policy was also abandoned shortly after the defeat, as can be seen in the official permission of their *semāʿ* performances in 1095/1684.³⁵

In a way the official recognition of the Muğaddidiya in Istanbul can be seen as a step by which Šūfī and anti-Šūfī tendencies could be reconciled. With their stress on the Sunna and their strongly internalized religious practice they differed from other Šūfī brotherhoods like the Mevlevīye and the Xalvetīye/Xalwatīya which had borne the brunt of Qāḏīzādeli polemics. The Xalwatīya itself developed strong connections with the Naqšbandīya. This becomes particularly clear for Syria where the most famous Naqšbandī

³³ Šayx al-Islām in 1099/1688 and from 1106-15/1694-1703, finally killed during the Edirne unrest (*Edirne vaqʿası*), see on him esp. Orhan F. Köprülü, 'Feyzullah Efendi', *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4, 593-600; 'İlmīye sālñamesi, İstānbūl: Maṭbaʿa-i ʿāmiri 1334/1916 491ff.

³⁴ On him Semiramis Çavuşoğlu, *The Qāḏīzādeli movement: An attempt of şerʿat-minded reform in the Ottoman Empire*, Ph.D. Princeton University 1990, 153-67; M. Zilfi, 'The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, 1986, 263ff.

³⁵ Çavuşoğlu, *The Qāḏīzādeli movement*, 166.

scholar of the time was ʿAbdalḡanī an-Nābulusī (1050-1143/1641-1731),³⁶ in Damascus. He was closely connected with Murād's family as a teacher of his son and some of his grandsons. ʿAbdalḡanī's most prominent student, however, was a Xalwatī, Muṣṭafā b. Kamāladdīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749),³⁷ whose activities and travels inspired a wave of new branches of the Xalwatīya in the Ḥiḡāz, in Egypt, and even in the Maḡrib. He was also initiated into the Naqṣbandīya and saw the close bond between the Ṣūfī master and the novice (*rābiṭa*) apparently in quite similar terms as that brotherhood.³⁸ In the case of the Sudanese Xatmīya which was founded in the early nineteenth century, the influence of the Naqṣbandīya has also been established by recent research.³⁹

The reasons for the success of the Muḡaddidiya and of those brotherhoods of similar inspiration in different parts of the Islamic world can perhaps be found in their appeal to a closer personal identification with the Prophet and at the same time to a wider sense of moral and corporate identity among religious scholars and educated people.⁴⁰ In the case of the Ottoman empire, the spread of the order within the official elite and its impact on imperial reform has been fully demonstrated by Butrus Abu-Manneh.⁴¹ Leading members of the reforming bureaucrats around the Sultans Selīm III (1789-1807) belonged to the Muḡaddidiya. With the

³⁶ For him and his Ottoman disciples see Kellner-Heinkele, "ʿAbd al-ḡanī an-Nābulusī"; ʿAbdalḡanī's own affiliation to the Naqṣbandīya, however, went back directly to the Central Asian line of the famous Shaykh Maxdūm-i Aʿzam (d. 1542); see his own account in *al-Ḥaḡiqa wa-l-maḡāz fi r-riḡla ilā bilād as-Sām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Ḥiḡāz*, ed. Aḡmad ʿAbdalmaḡid Ḥarīdī, al-Qāhira: al-Hayʾa al-miṣriyya al-ʿamma li-l-kitāb 1986, 46.

³⁷ Frederick De Jong, "Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (1688-1749). Revival and Reform of the Khalwatiyya Tradition?", in: Levtzion, Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, 117-32. For his initiation into the Naqṣbandīya see p. 118.

³⁸ Bernd Radtke, "Sufism in the 18th century: an attempt at a provisional appraisal", *Die Welt des Islam* 36, 1996, 344f.

³⁹ See e.g. for the Sudanese Xatmīya Nicole Grandin, "À propos des *Asānīd* de la Naqshbandiyya dans les fondements de la Khatmiyya du Soudan Oriental: Stratégies de pouvoir et relation maître/disciple", in: Gaborieau et al. (eds.), *Naqshbandis*, 621-55; Radtke, "Sufism in the 18th century", 334f. The affiliation of the founder of the Xatmīya went back to Ādam Banūrī, the disciple of Sirhindī mentioned above; see Muḡammad ʿUṭmān al-Mirḡanī (d. 1269/1852), *an-Nafahāt al-Makkiyya*, in *Maḡmūʿat an-nafahāt ar-rabbāniyya*, al-Qāhira: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1400/1980, 12. Muḡammad as-Sanūsī also had some Naqṣbandīya affiliations, see Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge*, 94, 97, 120, 287.

⁴⁰ Kellner-Heinkele, "ʿAbd al-ḡanī an-Nābulusī and his Turkish Disciples", 110, speaks of "an atmosphere of Naqṣbandī brotherhood across barriers of age, ethnicity and class".

⁴¹ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the early 19th Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 22, 1982, 1-36; id., "The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript", *Die Welt des Islams* 34, 1994, 173-203.

downfall of this Sultan they were also persecuted but gradually resumed their activities. The outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821 brought the Naqšbandiyya again to the forefront of public life. Several declarations were issued by the Sultan, which called the Muslims to bind their hearts together and to emulate the example of the early Islamic community. The contents of these declarations seem to have been influenced by Naqšbandiyya teaching. The Naqšbandiyya scholars and bureaucrats also fully supported Maḥmūd II in his reform policies. One of their members, Pertev Efendi, even drafted the *firmān* which announced the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1826, and the Naqšbandiyya apparently also played a leading role in the abolition of the Bektashi order in the same year. The main *zāwiya* of Ḥāḡḡī Bektāš in central Anatolia was put under a Naqšbandī Shaykh,⁴² and many Bektashi leaders turned Naqšbandīs. The influence became even stronger after Maḥmūd II under his son ‘Abdalmaḡīd I (1839-61), whose early policy of a reconciliation with Egypt and the Arab provinces emphasized religious unity and justice. As Abu-Manneh has shown, even the famous *Xaṭṭ-i šerīf* of Gülhane (1839) which is commonly regarded the first step towards a westernization of the empire bears a fully Islamic character which can be related to the political and religious ideals of the leading bureaucrats who drafted it and who were clearly influenced by the Naqšbandiyya.

The unprecedented spread of the Muḡaddidiyya within the Ottoman heartlands, which made it the paramount order in Turkey until the present, also took place during that critical period. The activities of Mawlānā Xālid al-Baḡdādī (1778-1827) led to the establishment of a highly active branch of the Muḡaddidiyya, the Xālidīyya which rose to predominance among the Naqšbandiyya within the whole Ottoman lands. Striving to initiate as many novices as possible, Xālid introduced the practice of a spiritual retreat (*xalwa*) as a short form of initiation which had not been in regular use among the Naqšbandiyya before.⁴³ His followers included both rural elements in the Kurdish districts and urban scholars, notables and ordinary townsmen in Damascus where he had settled in 1238/1823. His strong anti-Christian and anti-Šī‘ite outlook, and the prayers for the victory of the Ottomans and the downfall of the Christians and Persians which he made obligatory for his followers, both show the heated political climate within which his activities were situated. His influence came to be felt in Istanbul from 1819 onwards, apparently at first among the Kurdish immigrants but

⁴² See for this also Thierry Zarcone, "Le mausolée de Hācī Bektāš Velī en Anatolie centrale (Turquie)", in: H. Chambert-Loir et C. Guillot (eds.), *Le culte des saints dans l'Islam*, École Française d'Extrême Orient, Paris 1995, 311f.

⁴³ Abu-Manneh, "Khalwa and rābiṭa", 290ff.

soon also among leading *‘ulamā’* of the capital. One of them was Makkizāde Muṣṭafā ‘Āṣim Efendi who held the office of Şayx al-Islām several times (1818-9, 1823-5, 1833-46).⁴⁴ The last appointment was part of Maḥmūd II's increasing concern to strengthen his position as an Islamic leader, a tendency which was followed by his son and successor. But the Xālidiya also gained a wide popular appeal and struck roots throughout Anatolia.⁴⁵

The role of the Naqṣbandiyya muğaddidiyya as an integrating factor of the Ottoman religious and administrative elite, and its final contribution to the reform activities and to popular mobilization in the period from 1789-1840, should have become clear from the foregoing description. An interplay of a growing transnational network with local religious and political milieus can be observed, which had both similar and diverse results in different parts of the Islamic world. This seems to be the conclusion if the Ottoman and the Indian developments of the Naqṣbandiyya are compared. It would seem that the Naqṣbandiyya muğaddidiyya also provides the first case of an Islamic movement originating in India and spreading over much of the Islamic World. Others like the Aḥmadiyya or the Tablīḡī Ġamā‘at were to follow from the late nineteenth century onward.

The feedback of the Muğaddidiyya into the Naqṣbandiyya heartlands in Central Asia still has to be accounted for.⁴⁶ Muḥammad Murād does not seem to have left traces in his homelands. Another local Shaykh, Ḥabīballāh Buxārī (d.1111/1700), according to tradition a *xalīfa* of Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm,⁴⁷ would seem to have been the first to introduce the Muğaddidiyya to Bukhara. He received his affiliation either in India or in the Ḥiğāz. Among his followers was a dervish and poet from Turkestan, Şūfī Allāhyār (d.1721 or 1724)⁴⁸ who later became his *xalīfa* and whose *Maslak al-muttaqīn*, written in Persian, found wide readership as the basic text for religious and ethical admonition in Central Asia. A Tatar scholar trained in Bukhara, ‘Abdalkarīm b. Bāltāy (d.1171/1758),⁴⁹ also studied under Ḥabīballāh. Another line of affiliation goes back through different links to a student of Ma‘ṣūm who is called in local accounts Aḥmad-i Makkī and who might be identified with Ma‘ṣūm's *xalīfa* in Mecca, Aḥmad Yakdast. The main feedback of the Muğaddidiyya, it seems, came to be

⁴⁴ Abu-Manneh, "Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya" 32f.

⁴⁵ Hamid Algar, "Nakshbandiyya, 2. In Turkey", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. VII, Leiden, New York 1993, 937.

⁴⁶ See for this and the following remarks also - and in much more detail - the contribution of Anke von Kügelgen to the present volume.

⁴⁷ See e.g. Muḥammad Murād ar-Ramzī, *Talīq al-axbār*, Orenburg 1905, II 411f.

⁴⁸ Stéphane Dudoignon, "Djadidisme, Mirasisme, Islamisme", 18.

⁴⁹ ar-Ramzī, *Talīq al-axbār*, II, 411f.

connected with the recovery of Bukhara as a regional trading centre at the crossroads of Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, and India, which took place largely under the Mangīt dynasty (since 1747) and reached its peak under Šāh Murād (Amīr 1785-1800) and his successor Amīr Ḥaydar (1800-26). The description given by Khanikoff⁵⁰ for the economy of Bukhara in the early 1840s shows the prominent position of the traders in the town whose legendary wealth is even reported to have equalled that of the emir himself. Muğaddidī Shaykhs in Kashmir and Kabul seem to have played an important role for Central Asian scholars during this period. The most important local branch of the Muğaddidiya was established by Xwāḡa Mūsā Xān Dahbīdī (c.1110/1698-1190/1776).⁵¹ The *xalīf* of Mūsā Xān apparently played a central role in the religious and communal life of the emirate, sometimes in close alliance with the emir, sometimes in opposition to him. Leading scholars of several Central Asian states became disciples of the Dahbīdiya Shaykhs, as well as many of the Tatars who came to Bukhara for study. Their strict observance of the Šarīʿa at times came into conflict with the demands and needs of their local constituencies where many forms of religious chants and musical performances had been in use for a long time. This was especially the case where the Dahbīdīs were winning adherents from among the followers of the more popular Yasawīya brotherhood. Babadžanov describes the controversy over the acceptability of the 'loud *dīkr*' (*dīkr-i ḡahr*) which became a notorious consequence of this situation and which remained basically unresolved. Others like the Tatar followers seem to have been attached more to the ritual sobriety which can perhaps be described as the mainstream of the Muğaddidiya. The controversy thus shows the challenges which confronted this brotherhood in Central Asia and which involved the religious training of a newly emerging commercial elite as well as the transformation of communal religious identity and practice.⁵²

The case of the Naqšbandīya muğaddidiya was used here as an example for the impact of a widespread but decentralized network of a religious movement on different parts of the Islamic world. It remains to be seen

⁵⁰ N. Khanikoff, *Bokhara, Its Emir and Its People*, London 1845, 195ff., 206-27.

⁵¹ Baxtiyor M. Babadžanov, "On the History of the Naqšbandīya muğaddidiya in central Māwarāʾannahr in the late 18th and early 19th centuries", in: Kemper, von Kügelgen, Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, 385-413.

⁵² The introduction of the 'loud *dīkr*' into Naqšbandī practice had already sparked controversy in Medina and the Yemen in the late 17th and early 18th century. As in Central Asia it seems to have been related to contact and multiple affiliation with other Šūfī orders. See Joseph F. Fletcher, "The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China", in: id., *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, Aldershot: Variorum 1995, XI, 24-31.

how international developments and new relations between central and peripheral regions were reflected in the major religious centres themselves.

Medina - transformation of communal structures and rise of migrant groups in a major religious centre

Medina, the city of the Prophet, seems to be a particularly significant place to look at for our purpose. Apart from its obvious religious position as one of the most sacred places of Islam, this town is important because it can be regarded as representing both centre and periphery at the same time. It has to be admitted that, at least during the period under discussion (eighteenth and early nineteenth century), Medina could certainly not be regarded as central in a cultural, economic, or political sense, for all its sanctity. As the main Ottoman base in the *Hiğāz* it was strongly connected with the imperial administration, but an appointment to this city was something which was indeed not very much sought-after by aspiring soldiers, officials, or '*ulamā*'. At most it was regarded as a step on the career ladder which was to be followed by other transfers as quickly as possible. Appointment to Medina could even mean some honourable form of exile.

As a religious centre, however, Medina served as an important rallying point for pilgrims and scholars from all parts of the Islamic world, bringing them into contact with each other and also with the world of the Ottoman empire itself. It could be regarded as a gateway which even for people from poor and remote regions could provide some dignified access to the metropolitan centres of the Near East like Cairo, Damascus, and especially to Istanbul itself. Most male residents of Medina would be involved in the pilgrims' affairs in one way or another, whether as *farrāšūn*, the attendants of the *Haram*, or as *muzawwirūn*, i.e. pilgrims' guides. This would entitle them to regular payments and alms. As relationships between a *muzawwir* and his client would last even beyond the pilgrimage, he could often hope for annual presents to be sent to him via the pilgrims' caravan from that side. The *farrāšūn* would also have their correspondents in different parts of the empire which would provide them with similar gratifications. In appreciation of the status of the town and the care to be taken by its inhabitants of the pilgrims, all of them, whether born citizens or mere residents (*muğāwirūn*) of Medina were entitled to payments from the administration of the *awqāf* in Istanbul. Making use of their connections with prominent pilgrims, many people from Medina would undertake the journey to Turkey and Istanbul to obtain a handsome *ikrām* payment as well as other donations which might arise from wealthy patrons for

inhabitants of that holy city.⁵³ This money often provided them with a basic capital which they invested in Medina into housing or trade after their return. For those immigrants the sacred city, poor as it often was, had much to offer. Many regional groups had already established their own *awqāf* and lodges in the town in order to provide shelter and some basic maintenance for people of their region. As one Medinese author, Muḥammad Kibrīt (d.1070/1660) put it.⁵⁴

It is one of the virtues of Medina that it supports the stranger, even against its own people. This is the secret behind emotional attachment, and he will not come from far away without making (Medina) his place of choice instead of his (former) home.

Medina also provided refuge for exiles of all sorts, whether for scholars and princes who had fallen out with local rulers or for those who had been expelled from their homelands and were waiting either for return or looking for some new opportunities. Any serious political crisis, and in particular the European imperial expansion into the Islamic lands, produced many such exiles to the sacred cities. Those regions bordering on the Russian empire were markedly affected by this since the late eighteenth century.

In contrast to Mecca the Šarīfian aristocracy in Medina had retained no more than symbolic functions: Medina had been recognized as part of the realm of the Šarīf of Mecca by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, and the former official position of the Ḥusaynid Šarīfs had been in constant decline until it fell into complete disuse around 1100.⁵⁵ Medina's population had apparently undergone serious fluctuations. There was a strong increase of Ottomans who settled permanently and made Turkish the second language in the town, but also a growing number of immigrants from other regions as well. By the end of the 12th/18th century most of the prominent families of the city did not date back beyond the 11th/17th century.⁵⁶

This does not mean that Medina did not have its fair share in the rise of a local elite of urban notables and military leaders (*aʿyān*) which was so

⁵³ For a description of the organization of the pilgrims' affairs and the quite organized relations between the Medinese and Istanbul in the early 19th century see John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, repr. London: Frank Cass 1968, 342-49, 383; Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Meccah*, London: George Bell and Sons 1906, I 371-75; II 7f.

⁵⁴ ʿAbdalbāsiṭ Badr, *at-Tārīx aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, II, 346.

⁵⁵ ʿAbdalbāsiṭ Badr, *at-Tārīx aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, II, 339ff. For the Twelver-Šīʿite background of the Ḥusaynids of Medina and its impact on the town see Werner Ende, "The Nakhāwila", 272-87.

⁵⁶ This comes out clearly from the description of the prominent families and their origins by ʿAbdarrahmān al-Anṣārī (d. after 1197/1783), *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat mā li-l-madaniyyin min al-ansāb*, ed. Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Maṭwī, Tūnis: al-Maktaba al-ʿaṭīqa 1390/1970.

typical for many towns and regions of the empire during this period.⁵⁷ This rise involved a large number of local families mainly of religious and scholarly reputation, from whom the Muftī of the town came to be appointed. The different units of the Ottoman army in the town also recruited an increasing number of young volunteers from the inhabitants or from the *muğāwirūn* which provided another opportunity for migrants. Apart from the garrison of the citadel (*Qalʿaḡīya*), the Ottoman stronghold in the Ḥiḡāz, there were units of the cavallery (*Isbāhīya*), of a light infantry (*Nawbatḡīya*), and of the Janissaries (*Inkišārīya*) which all became important factors in the affairs of the town. Power and influence came to be shared and competed for by various factions from within and outside Medina. For the most part it was a triangular affair between the Šayx al-Ḥaram as the main representative of the Ottoman government, the Šarīf of Mecca and the communal interests gathering around the Muftī and increasingly around some of the military leaders. In this struggle the communal elite and the local military leaders managed to secure an increasing degree of independence from Šarīfian authority until the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁸

New forms of political arrangements and popular uprisings, typical for this period, can also be studied in Medina. They show the emergence of a broader base for communal action among people with different origins and interests. A group of prominent scholars and some military elements even established a formal alliance called *Ġamāʿat al-ʿahd* which strove to establish control over local affairs. In a conflict with the Aghas of the Ḥaram which arose in 1134/1722 they managed to secure the deposition of some members of that highly sacrosanct group from the Šarīf of Mecca. But due to their influence on ruling circles within the capital the Aghas managed to turn the case to their favour, and they had the leaders of the *Ġamāʿa* exiled or even executed by the Ottoman authorities in 1136/1724. Popular rebellion had more success in a revolt against official mismanagement in 1155/1742. The leader of this rebellion, Ḥasan Kābūs, a trader and soldier of disputed origin, had even maintained close relations

⁵⁷ See the seminal article by Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", in: *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, London: Macmillan Press 1981, 36-66; repr. in: Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, Mary C. Wilson (eds.), *The Modern Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris Publishers 1993, 83-109.

⁵⁸ The following account of the struggles in 18th-century Medina is based on Badr, *at-Tāriḡ aš-šāmil*, II, 373-422. For a comprehensive bibliography of Arabic sources and studies on Medina which also includes further material on the 18th century see ʿAbdarrazzāq b. Farrāḡ aš-Šāʿidī, "Muḡam mā ullifa ʿan al-Madīna al-Munawwara", *al-ʿArab*, ar-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāma, vol. 31, 1996, No. 1-2, pp. 49-79; 5-6, 343-60; 7-8, 453-74.

with the Naxāwila,⁵⁹ the otherwise despised Šī'ite palm gardeners of the town. When he was later killed by the garrison of the citadel, the Medinese brought in some of their bedouin allies for revenge. The following struggle finally led to the deposition and replacement of the Šayx al-Ḥaram himself. At the end of the century the involvement of Surūr, the Šarīf of Mecca, in the communal struggles led to the formal separation of Medina from his authority, an imperial decision which was procured by the Muftī of the town in 1189/1775 through his contacts with the capital. The enraged Šarīf beleaguered and conquered Medina in 1194/1780. But the garrison which he left behind was later defeated and forced to withdraw, and the ensuing battle against the Šarīfian army was won by the united military units of the town. Medina had thus secured a considerable autonomy under direct Ottoman authority. Although the political structure underwent several changes during the nineteenth century, the local elite which had emerged during the foregoing period was to be largely respected even under Wahhābī and Egyptian rule.

The rise of families in Medina, but also their changing fortunes – losses in business, wayward children – were covered in detail by the contemporary Medinese historian ʿAbdarrahmān al-Anṣārī (d. after 1197/1783) with sometimes sarcastic remarks, alongside with the genealogical information which he had been collecting for a long time. In some cases this gives a contemporary view of a family which was to become immensely important in later times. This is the case with the Ǧamal al-Layl Šarīfs, one of the leading ʿAlawī Šūfī families from South Arabia with activities reaching from India to East Africa. In 1853 one of their members held the office of the *Naqīb al-ašraf* in the town.⁶⁰ The development of the as-Sammān family, the founders of the famous Sammānīya brotherhood which was just beginning to gain tremendous influence all over the Islamic world, can also be followed from its modest beginnings in the local market of Medina where the founder of the family had established himself as a butter seller.⁶¹

The diversity and the cosmopolitan character of Medina which was noticed by travellers like Burckhardt and Burton,⁶² comes out very clearly in al-Anṣārī's work. There are relatively few Ḥiǧāzīs and hardly any Naǧdī

⁵⁹ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 411f.: *Bayt Kābūs*. He mentions that this family is frequently regarded as belonging to the Naxāwila, but rejects this opinion, claiming that they came from Egypt. For this and for the most comprehensive account of the Naxāwila see Ende, "The Nakhāwila" (esp. 304).

⁶⁰ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 121f.; Burton, *Personal Narrative*, II 24.

⁶¹ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 278-82; Burton, *Personal Narrative*, I 292, 426.

⁶² Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 370; Burton, *Personal Narrative*, II 5.

elements mentioned by him. Among the families of Arabic origin Yemenis and Egyptians largely dominate, with a sizeable number of Mağribīs also residing in the town. The most prominent Moroccan Şūfī brotherhood of the time, the Nāşirīya of ad-Dar^a, had several wealthy members residing in Medina and maintained its own *awqāf* there. One of their leaders was for a long time head of the Mağribī community and the Nāzīr of its pious foundations.⁶³ Kurdish scholars played a very prominent role, especially from the Barzanğī and Kūrānī families. Although not as numerous as in Mecca, Indian residents, especially Sindīs, were a large group also in Medina, including traders as well as leading scholars. The most wealthy man of the town also was of Indian origin.⁶⁴ The other strong group were those mentioned families of Turkish descent, some of whom had come on official assignment, some others simply as *muğāwirūn*. One of the most prominent of them was the Bayt Ilyās. To this family belonged the Muftī Tāğaddīn Ilyās (b. 1144/1731, still alive 1197/1783)⁶⁵ who had played such a decisive role in securing the autonomy of Medina. The other mentioned groups, however, were equally involved in these struggles: among the leaders of the *Ġamāʿat al-ʿahd* was a prominent member of the Barzanğī family, ʿAbdalkarīm b. ʿAbdarrasūl al-Barzanğī who was even executed in Ġidda in 1136/1724, and also two sons of a Sindī trader who were active soldiers in the local garrison.⁶⁶

Central Asian residents are also represented in al-Anşārī's account. A prominent Sayyid family of long standing, Bayt al-ʿĀdilī, is reported to have come originally from Bukhara.⁶⁷ One of them also belonged to the leaders of the *Ġamāʿat al-ʿahd*. Another family of long standing from Xuğand, attested in the town since 766/1365, was dying out in al-Anşārī's time. They had been the first Ḥanafī Imams in the *Rawḍa* (i.e. the main hall of the Ḥaram in Medina).⁶⁸ As can be learnt from another source, this office was towards the end of the 12th century given again to a son of a

⁶³ al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 223f.: ad-Darāwī.

⁶⁴ Muḥammad Saʿīd ʿAbdaššakūr; see al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 315: aš-Šakūrī; 365 f.: ʿAbdaššakūr.

⁶⁵ al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 39-43: Bayt Ilyās; esp. 41f.; Badr, *at-Tārīx aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, 408 ff.

⁶⁶ al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 449f.: Bayt Maḥmūd; see also Badr, *at-Tārīx aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, 387.

⁶⁷ al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 357ff.: Bayt al-ʿĀdilī.

⁶⁸ al-Anşārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 207ff.: Bayt al-Xuğandī. The founder of this family in Medina, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Xuğandī (d. 802 / 1400) and some of his descendants are mentioned in as-Saxāwī, *ad-Dawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, Beirut: Dār al-Ġil 1412/1992 [Cairo 1313/1896], e.g. I, 24f.; II, 67, 194-201 (founder); VI, 245f.; VIII, 277, 297f.

resident from Bukhara.⁶⁹ Sons of other Buxārī and Balxī families had served as scribes or joined different military corps of the town (citadel, cavalry, Janissaries).⁷⁰ A *muḡāwir* from Balx, al-Faqīh Zāhid al-Balxī al-Azbakī (in Medina since 1080/1669), had been the Qurʾānic teacher in the Prophet's Mosque. He and his son Muḡammad (d.1145/1732) had taught most of the sons of the leading families, including al-Anṣārī himself.⁷¹

Migrants and scholars from Dāgistān in Medina

Perhaps the most significant rise of a newly arrived ethnic group from modest beginnings to local prominence and scholarly reputation can be seen in the people from Dāgistān. For all its highly diverse social and political structures and despite its eventful and dramatic history this region has witnessed a remarkable rise of an Arabic literary culture since the seventeenth century.⁷² As Kračkovskiy has shown, this literary culture was strongly influenced by a Zaydī scholar from the Yemen in the Ḥiḡāz, Šāliḡ b. Maḥdī al-Muḡbilī (1047-1108/1637-1696),⁷³ who was already a strong opponent of *taqlīd*. At the time of aš-Šawkānī (d. 1250-1834), some Dāgistānīs were still seeking to establish contacts with famous Yemeni scholars in both the Ḥiḡāz and the Yemen. These contacts would link them to the *ḥadīth* scholarship - and presumably also to the legal debates - of the time. As Amri R. Šixsaidov has shown recently, the local literary culture in Dāgistān was based on a large number of private collections of Arabic books which were collected by the scholars during their travels to the Yemen and to other Arab countries. The emergence of a rich didactic and historical literature in Arabic of local authorship also belongs to this remarkable revival which still remains to be studied for its impact on local and regional developments. In the eighteenth century, Dāgistānīs can be

⁶⁹ ʿAbdalḥaqq b. Mullā Niyāz; see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam al-mašāʾix*, fol. 58a. The autograph of this unpublished text is preserved in the Library of the Islamic University in Medina. A copy of a microfilm version (film no. 6238) was made available - thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Aḡmad Dubayyān, Bonn - to the Department of Oriental and Indian Studies, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. See further below.

⁷⁰ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḡfat al-muḡhibbīn*, 211f.: *Bayt al-Xwāḡa*; 118: *Bayt al-Balxī*.

⁷¹ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḡfat al-muḡhibbīn*, 266: *Bayt Zāhid*.

⁷² W. Barthold, A. Bennigsen: "Dāghistān", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. II, Leiden 1991, 85-89; I. Kratchkovsky, "Daghestan et Yémen", *Mélanges Gautier*, Algiers 1937, 288-96; Amri Šixsaidov, "Sammlungen arabischer Handschriften in Dagestan", in: Kemper, von Kügelgen, Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, 297-315.

⁷³ I. Kratchkovsky, "Daghestan et Yémen"; for Šāliḡ b. Maḥdī's biography see aš-Šawkānī, *al-Badr at-tāliʿ*, al-Qāhira 1348/1929, repr. al-Qāhira: Dār al-kitāb al-islāmī, n.d., I, 288ff.

found in Ottoman service.⁷⁴ Some of their scholars were already gaining a high reputation for their scholarship.

The first example of a Dāgīstānī scholar who rose to prominence in the Arab world would be ʿAlī b. Šādiq ad-Dāgīstānī (1125-99/1713-85)⁷⁵ who first studied and taught in his country but left it for further studies in Aleppo and in Medina before he finally settled in Damascus around 1150/1737. The emigration might have been caused by Nādir Šāh's campaigns in Dāgīstān: that is at least why ʿAlī's cousin ʿAbdalkarīm,⁷⁶ who preceded him to Damascus, had left his homeland together with his family in 1147/1734. This would provide the first example of Dāgīstānī refugees to the Arab countries, which was to be followed later by so many others. ʿAlī became famous as a teacher of logic, rhetoric, and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. He even translated a treatise on the astrolabe by the famous Šafawī scholar Bahāʾaddīn al-ʿĀmilī (d.1030/1621) into Arabic, which shows his scientific interests. But he had also credentials in *ḥadīth* scholarship, which he obtained from his studies with Muḥammad b. Ḥayāt as-Sindī in Medina. Finally he was appointed in 1172/1758 to the most prestigious professorship in the Umayyad mosque,⁷⁷ which he held until his death. His influence as a teacher of the *maʿqūlāt* on his students still remains to be fully assessed. A contemporary scholar from Dāgīstān, Muḥammad ad-Dāgīstānī, is mentioned among the teachers of the famous South Arabian Šūfī scholar ʿAbdarrahmān al-ʿAydarūs (1135-92/1723-78) in Medina.⁷⁸

The Dāgīstānī emigrants to Medina were remarkably successful in joining the communal elite of the town. al-Anṣārī mentions their large number and first qualifies their living conditions in their mountainous

⁷⁴ See e.g. the Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Aga (d.1172/ 1758), mentioned by Mehmed Tıreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOtmānī*, Istanbul 1308-15/1890-97; repr. Westmead: Gregg Publ. 1971, IV 244. A prominent military commander was Dāgīstānī ʿAlī Paşa who is mentioned by J. von Hammer as *Sar-i ʿaskar* in the fateful Russian-Ottoman war (1768-74); see the French ed., *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1839, vol. 16, 240, 333, 358, 363, 386.

⁷⁵ See about him esp. al-Murādi, *Silk ad-durar* III, 215; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 106 margin; ʿAbdarrazzāq al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-baṣar fi tarīx al-qarn at-tālī ʿaṣar*, Dimašq 1380/1961, I 163f.; ʿUmar Ridā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿḡam al-muʿallifin*, ġild 1-15, Dimašq 1376-80/1957-61, ġild VII, 108 (ʿAlī aṣ-Šamāxī).

⁷⁶ al-Murādi, *Silk ad-durar* III, 65; another relative of ʿAlī ad-Dāgīstānī is mentioned by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 77ab.

⁷⁷ That of the *Muḥaddiṭ* of Qubbat an-Nisr; see about this chair al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-baṣar* I, 150ff.

⁷⁸ See ʿAbdarrahmān al-Ġabartī, *ʿAḡāʾib al-āṭār fi t-tarāḡim wa-l-axbār*, new. ed., Beirut n.d. I, 527; English transl.: Thomas Philipp, Moshe Perlmann, *ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt*, Stuttgart 1994, II, 42; largely taken from Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 68a.

homeland as 'similar to the bedouin' (*ašbah bi-l-bādiya*). The earliest arrival from that area would seem to be a Dirwīš Ḥusayn ad-Dāgīstānī (came around 1000/1592),⁷⁹ a pious traveller whose son already became a rich owner of property in Medina, which he bequeathed as a *waqf* to his descendants. Another wealthy ʿĀlim, Bayram Afandī ar-Rūmī ad-Dāgīstānī,⁸⁰ with obvious Ottoman connections, arrived around 1060/1650 and also left a *waqf* for his freed slaves in the town. This Ottoman link would seem to have proved highly important for other Dāgīstānīs, too. Two of them obtained appointments as Imams of the citadel.⁸¹

Perhaps the best educated and the most successful member of this group was ʿAbdassalām ad-Dāgīstānī,⁸² who came with ample knowledge of Arabic poetry and obtained a teaching assignment in the Ḥaram.⁸³ He also travelled frequently to Turkey and Egypt, amassing considerable wealth but at the same time exposing himself to the sarcasm of al-Anṣārī who castigated him for his miserly behaviour. The leading poet of the next generation in Medina, ʿUmar b. ʿAbdassalām ad-Dāgīstānī (1173-1206 / 1759-92),⁸⁴ would seem to have been his son. Apart from his poems, some of which are included in al-Bayṭār's account, he was also the author of a collection of biographies of Medinese poets, titled *Tuḥfat ad-dahr wa-naḥḥat az-zahr fī šuʿarāʾ al-Madīna min ahl al-ʿaṣr*.⁸⁵ His example seems to be significant as it shows the degree to which some of the Dāgīstānīs had already become integrated into the Arabic literary culture.

Another step in the rise of some of the Dāgīstānī within Medinese society was their access to the office of the Ḥanafite Muftī, a development which would still require some explanation, as most of the Dāgīstānīs were Šāfiʿītes. Two holders of this highly prestigious office of that name are attested for the nineteenth century. One of them, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Abū s-Suʿūd ad-Dāgīstānī, figures as author of a *fatwā* which is quoted in a

⁷⁹ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 232f.: Bayt Dirwīš Ḥusayn.

⁸⁰ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 117f.: Bayt Bayram.

⁸¹ al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, 229ff.: ʿAbdallāh ad-Dāgīstānī, d. 1178/1764; ʿAbdarrahmān ad-Dāgīstānī, appointed 1188/1774.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ The year of his arrival together with his two brothers is given as c.1160/1747, which coincides with the year of Nādir Šāh's death. There are, however, no other hints on the reasons for their emigration.

⁸⁴ al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-baṣar* III, 1115-1129; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿḡam al-muʿallifīn* VII, 290; aṣ-Šāʿidī, "Muʿḡam mā ullifa ʿan al-Madīna al-Munawwara", 73f., 77f.

⁸⁵ Ms. Cambridge Univ. Library Add. 785, see Hunwick, "Šāliḥ al-Fullānī", 151 n.6.; aṣ-Šāʿidī, "Muʿḡam mā ullifa ʿan al-Madīna al-Munawwara", 73f.; according to Badr, *at-Tārīx aṣ-šāmī li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, III 486, written in 1201.

treatise written by the Egyptian reformer Rifā'a at-Taḥṭāwī (d.1873).⁸⁶ The other one, °Uṭmān b. °Abdassalām ad-Dāğistānī (1852-1907), was Muftī for fifteen years during the reign of °Abdalḥamīd II. and played a prominent role in a conflict of the town population with the Muḥāfiz/Şayx al-Ḥaram in 1321-22/1904.⁸⁷ He was a member in the *Mağlis al-idāra* of the town and belonged to those notables who in the course of events were arrested and imprisoned in at-Ṭā'if. Another Medinese dignitary of the same origin (perhaps of the same family) was Abū Bakr ad-Dāğistānī: with other prominent men of the town he became a member in the *Mağlis idārat al-Madīna* which was established by the Su'ūdī government in 1346/1927.⁸⁸ Communal prominence of some of the Dāğistānī thus continued in Medina right into the twentieth century.

The example of the Dāğistānī presence in Medina⁸⁹ was given here in order to look at the rise of a group from a remote region with a rather rustic reputation to prominence in the religious centres of Islam. The consequences of this development for the home region would seem to be obvious. The local religio-political movements of *ğihād* and resistance against Russian encroachment would hardly have gained their educational base and their coherent Islamic outlook without the continuous contact with the centres of the Islamic world.⁹⁰ How this feedback really developed is still a matter for investigation.

⁸⁶ "Risāla fi l-bida' al-muqarrara fi Şiya' al-mutabarrira", *Rawḍat al-madāris*, 1st year no.13 (15 Rağab 1287/11 October 1870) - 2nd year no. 1 (15 Muḥarram 1288/6 April 1871). The text used for this article is a manuscript version preserved in Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Lbg.526, no. 32, fols. 481-88a; Ahlwardt no. 2172.

⁸⁷ Badr, *at-Tārix aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, III, 16-24; W. Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia. The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840-1908*, Columbus/Ohio 1984, 81, 210.

⁸⁸ Badr, *at-Tārix aš-šāmil li-l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, III, 186f.

⁸⁹ Similar observations can be made for the Dāğistānīs in Mecca. When the Begum of Bhopal in India made her pilgrimage in 1280/1864, she met a learned Dāğistānī scholar called *Sheykh Ahmed Efendi* with whom she discussed her project of a translation of the Qur'ān into Turkish. At her time the name "Dāğistānī" was synonymous with "a guide to the shrines and other celebrated spots visited by the pilgrims". This shows the strong position which the Dāğistānīs had secured for themselves in the local pilgrims' affairs. See: The Nawwab Sikandar Begum, *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, Calcutta 1906, 86. The reputation of Dāğistānī Şāfi'ite scholars and students in Mecca in the late 19th century comes out clearly in the remark made by C. Snouck Hurgronje who was in Mecca in 1884/5: "Of Daghestan origin are some of the more highly esteemed depositaries of learning in Mekka. One of them was Abd al-Hamid al-Daghestānī whom many of his colleagues took for more learned than Seyyid Dahlān: he died shortly before my arrival in Mekka." (*Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden 1931, repr. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., Leiden, London 1970, 186. See also pp.184, 192, 269).

⁹⁰ See for this the contribution of Michael Kemper to the present volume.

A distant parallel – the Šinqīṭīs of the Western Sahara

An almost parallel rise to religious and scholarly prominence in Medina can be observed for another group from a remote region, in this case Mauritania and the Western Sahara.⁹¹ As in the case of the genealogies presented above, the distant but simultaneous developments suggest a systemic dimension. The period witnessed a remarkable resurgence of a trade network which included the highlands of Mauritania as well as its southern basin, and which linked the trade from the Atlantic coast in Southern Morocco and in Senegal with that of the Subsaharan belt of the Niger and, finally with the routes leading to Egypt through the Sahara. As Timbuktu, the old Islamic metropolitan city of the Niger region, was gradually declining both in trade and population, the West Saharan cities whose scholarly tradition had been largely dependent on Timbuktu were coming into their own. The first local scholar to gain independent authority as a Mālikī jurist was Ibn al-A^ḥmaš al-^ḥAlawī aš-Šinqīṭī (1036-1107?/1626-1695-6?).⁹² His large collection of *nawāzil*, the first to be written in the Western Sahara, led the foundation for a very rich legal literature of local authorship. His legal *igāzāt* still link up with neighbouring Wādān and finally with Timbuktu. He combined this with an *igāza* for the *ḥadīṭ* collection of al-Buxārī which he received from one of the most prominent *ḥadīṭ* scholars in Medina at this time, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-1690).⁹³ It is not clear whether this *igāza* was obtained in Medina itself or sent by correspondence, which was also a recognized practice. But the very fact that a famous scholar like al-Kūrānī who had students even from the Malayan archipelago was also relevant for Šinqīṭ, a town at the other end of the Islamic world, testifies to the international links of that regional resurgence of Islamic scholarship. Šinqīṭ also became a centre for literary

⁹¹ See for the following the extremely rich article by H.T. Norris, "Mūrītāniyā", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. VII, Leiden, New York 21993, 611-28; Rainer Osswald, *Die Handelsstädte der Westsahara. Die Entwicklung der arabisch-maurischen Kultur von Šinqīṭ, Wādān, Tīšīt und Walāta*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1986; id., *Schichtengesellschaft und islamisches Recht. Die Zawāyā und Krieger der Westsahara im Spiegel von Rechtsgutachten des 16.-19. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1993; Abū ^ḥAbdallāh al-Burtulī al-Walāṭī, *Faṭḥ aš-Šakūr fī ma^ḥrafat a^ḥyān ^ḥulamā^ḥ at-Takrūr*, ed. M.I. al-Kattānī / M. Ḥaḡḡī, Dār al-^ḥGarb, Bayrūt 1401/1981; Aḥmad b. al-Amin aš-Šinqīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarāḡīm ^ḥulamā^ḥ Šinqīṭ*, Dār al-Bayḍā^ḥ: Maktabat al-Waḥda al-^ḥarabīya / al-Qāhira: Mu^ḥassasat al-Xānḡī 1378/1958. See about him H.T. Norris, "Mūrītāniyā", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. VII, Leiden, New York 21993, 624; R. Osswald, *Handelsstädte*, 292ff., 491 et passim; id., *Schichtengesellschaft*, 44-49 et passim.

⁹² See about him H.T. Norris, "Mūrītāniyā", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. VII, Leiden, New York 21993, 624; R. Osswald, *Handelsstädte*, 292ff., 491 et passim; id., *Schichtengesellschaft*, 44-49 et passim.

⁹³ See for this *igāza* al-Burtulī, *Faṭḥ aš-Šakūr* 116f.; about Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī see e.g. A.H. Johns, "al-Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. V, Leiden 21986, 432f., with further references; id., "Friends in Grace – Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ^ḥAbd ar-Ra^ḥuf al-Singkelī", in: S. Udin (ed.), *Spectrum. Essays presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana on his seventieth birthday*, Djakarta: Dian Rakyat, 469-85.

activities in classical Arabic. Through the travels and works of a famous poet (Ibn Rāzga, d.1730) Mauretanian scholars opened up to literary influences from Morocco, especially to the heritage of °Abbāsīd and Andalusian poetry which was still cherished there. In the coastal regions there was a resurgence of a Neo-Ġāhīlī poetic style. Poetry in the local Arabic dialect also became much more developed and refined than in many other Arab lands. Literary activities were accompanied by a thorough rhetorical and philological training. All this contributed to the reputation of Mauretanian scholars as specialists for Arabic literature even in the Arab countries.⁹⁴ Šinqīt itself became increasingly famous and gained recognition as one of the holy cities of the Islamic world. All pilgrims and travellers from Mauretania came to be called by that name. Pilgrimage, migration and *ḡiwār* became widespread in the region. One of these pious travellers, °Uṭmān al-Muḡāwir b. Muḥammad al-Ġallāwī, died on his third pilgrimage in Medina in 1121/1709.⁹⁵

The influence of Šūfism had also become strong, and the large number of Šinqītū migrant Šūfis made the region to be regarded in several Arab countries as a sheer "bottomless source of holy men".⁹⁶ The first of these who appeared as a resident of Medina in an external collection of biographies would fully justify that qualification. °Abdarrahmān aš-Šinqītī who died in Medina in 1181/1767 was described by al-Murādī⁹⁷ as an experienced ascetic and also as a well-versed scholar. Even the famous Muftī, Tāḡaddīn Ilyās, studied under him. "All who read under him experienced 'disclosures' (*futūḥ*). " That he bequeathed his library to the *zāwiya* of Muḥammad as-Sammān (see above) in Medina which, as we have seen, was just about to gain a wide reputation, also shows the extent to which the Šinqītīs had become part of the international religious network.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ One of the most reputed specialists for classical Arabic poetry around the end of the 13th century in Medina was Muḥammad al-Maḥmūd aš-Šinqītī (d. 1322 / 1904) who later played an important role in Cairo and who was even sent by the Ottoman government to Madrid to assess the collection of Arab manuscripts in the Escorial; see about him and his eventful career Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-mu'allifīn*, XI 313; Aḥmad b. al-Amin aš-Šinqītī, *al-Wasīf* 381-97; C. Landberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits Arabes provenant d'une Bibliothèque privée à El-Medīna et appartenant à la maison E.J.Brill*, Leiden: E.J.Brill 1883, p. 90, no.303.

⁹⁵ al-Burtulī, *Faṭḥ aš-šakūr*, 191.

⁹⁶ Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge*, 104.

⁹⁷ al-Murādī, *Silk ad-durar* II 330.

⁹⁸ They also played an important role in the rise of the Tiḡāniya in North and West Africa in the nineteenth century. One of the prominent Tiḡāni scholars was Aḥmad b. Bāba b. °Uṭmān aš-Šinqītī who died in Medina after 1250/1834. He was the author of a famous poetical account of the doctrines of that brotherhood, *Munyat al-murīd*; see

At the same time the Šinqīṭīs were still struggling for official recognition in the Ḥiǧāz as Maǧribīs, which would give them access to the Maǧribī pious foundations in the holy cities. A young scholar from the region, ʿAbdarraṣīd aš-Šinqīṭī, travelled to Egypt and Morocco in 1199/1785 to secure a confirming *fatāwā* to this effect from the scholars of Fās, from the Moroccan sultan and also in Egypt from al-Azhar. But the Muftī of Medina still insisted on his classification of the Šinqīṭīs as people from the Sūdān, on geographical grounds.⁹⁹ The reputation as intermediaries between the Maǧrib and Subsaharan Africa stuck to the Šinqīṭīs also in later times.

An extensive scholarly network – Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (1145-1205/1732-91)

Other testimonies to the interlacing relations between the central and peripheral regions in the Islamic world can be taken from prominent scholars of the period who have left a number of invaluable accounts of their travels and their studies. One of the most remarkable collections of autobiographical notes of this type is the *Muʿǧam al-maṣāʾix* which was compiled by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī,¹⁰⁰ toward the end of his eventful life.

az-Zabīdī's lasting reputation is built on his famous dictionary, the *Taǧ al-ʿarūs*. His achievements in the field of *ḥadīṭ* studies were equally praised by Islamic scholars many of whom are still linked to the chains of *isnād* which he collected. Born and educated as a Šarīf in Bilgram (India), he travelled to the Yemen and the Ḥiǧāz for further studies and finally settled in Egypt. It was in Cairo that he established his fame among his contemporaries. He became a teacher who was admired, visited, and invited by people from many walks of life and from many parts of the Islamic world. As he wrote many *iǧāzāt* for visiting scholars some of which have been preserved, and because he included personal notes on his acquaintances in many of his other works, the picture of his vast network of relations and visitors becomes particularly impressive.

Aḥmad b. al-Amīn aš-Šinqīṭī, *al-Waṣīṭ* 69-82; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam al-muʿallifin*, I 171f.

⁹⁹ See Aḥmad b. al-Amīn aš-Šinqīṭī, *al-Waṣīṭ* 423f., quoting az-Zabīdī, *Muʿǧam*, fols. 77b-78a.

¹⁰⁰ On az-Zabīdī and his biography see among other references GAL II, 287f., S II, 398f.; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam al-muʿallifin* XI, 282f.; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* VII, 80; ʿAbdarrahmān al-Ġabartī, *ʿAǧāʾib al-āṭār*, new. ed., Beirut n.d. II, 103-12; Philip, Perlmann, *ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī's History* II, 322-46; ʿAbdalḥayy b. ʿAbdalkabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1402/1982, I 527-43, II 621-4 et passim; Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d.1791) in biographical and autobiographical accounts – Glimpses of Islamic scholarship in the 18th century", to appear in *Die Welt des Islams* 39, 1999.

Among the large number of Egyptian and Yemeni scholars who occupy the largest portion of the biographical entries are most of the celebrities of his time who are known also from other sources. As az-Zabīdī met most of the Yemenis in the Yemen itself or in the Ḥiğāz it becomes clear that he was among the very few scholarly figures representing Yemeni and Indian scholarship in Egypt, and by this linking it also to the Mağrib and to Saharan and Subsaharan Africa. He became particularly important for the North Africans and might be one of the first to transmit the Naqšbandīya affiliation – which he himself obtained from Sūrat in India – to that region.¹⁰¹ Many pilgrims from the Mağrib regarded a visit to az-Zabīdī in Cairo as an almost necessary part of their pilgrimage. Many scholar families thus maintained contact and correspondence with him over years. Even the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Muḥammad II. b. ʿAbdallāh (1757–1790), who was at that time pursuing a strictly Islamic policy and who had established close diplomatic relations with the Šarīf of Mecca and with the Ottoman Sultan, honoured az-Zabīdī with munificent gifts, and several Moroccan princes and dignitaries paid him semi-official visits. When Mawlāy Muḥammad fell out with the prominent scholars in Morocco, az-Zabīdī also changed his attitude by refusing another large gift which the Sultan had sent to him.¹⁰²

az-Zabīdī became also a highly significant authority for the Sudan and for Saharan and Subsaharan Africa. The local scholar community of the Sinnār kingdom sent one of their promising young men, with a polite request for his famous *igāzāt*. This man, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḍawwī al-Anšārī,¹⁰³ stayed two years with az-Zabīdī in Cairo (1190–92/1775–77) and finally returned with a summary licence for the scholars of the kingdom. The Sudanese themselves provided him with a link to another famous Yemeni scholar in Muxā, which illustrated the way by which scholarly credentials were collected and exchanged during that period. Other

¹⁰¹ az-Zabīdī transmitted it to a Šūfī scholar of Šarīfian background from Tilimsān, *Muʿğam*, fol. 27b.

¹⁰² al-Ġabartī, *ʿAğāʾib*, Beirut ed. II, 110f.; Philipp/Perlmann, *ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History II*, 334; Fatima Al-Harrak, *State and Religion in eighteenth century Morocco. The religious policy of Sidi Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh*. Ph.D. SOAS, Univ. of London 1989, 311, 324. As she points out, the sultan might have been interested in gaining az-Zabīdī's support for his religious politics which were criticized and refused by the leading scholars in Morocco. Those scholars, too, maintained of course very strong relations with az-Zabīdī.

¹⁰³ About this scholar (b. 1134 or 1150/1721 or 1737, d. 1241/1826) who was to become a highly influential teacher in the Sudan see R.S.O'Fahey, "The Sudanese Nile Valley before 1820", in: R.S.O'Fahey (ed.), *Arabic Literature in Africa (ALA)*, Vol. I. *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa*, Leiden et. al.: E.J.Brill 1994, 14ff.; he and some of the scholars for whom he obtained an *igāza* are mentioned in az-Zabīdī, *Muʿğam*, fol. 16r., 32v. margin, 38v. margin, 77v. margin.

scholars and dignitaries came from Dār Fūr (Western Sudan).¹⁰⁴ One of them, Ādam b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fūrānī, secured az-Zabīdī's recommendation and by this obtained the office of the Muftī of that kingdom. Prominent scholars from Fazzān (southern Libya) also were among his acquaintances. One of them, Muḥammad al-Kānimī¹⁰⁵ came from the Kānim region further south. His son, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī (1189-1253/1775-1837), who also became a prominent scholar, later founded a new dynasty in Bornu which still provides the Traditional Rulers of that area in north eastern Nigeria. The dynasty of the Shehus of Bornu rose in opposition to the *ḡihād* movement in Hausaland in northern Nigeria, which had led to the establishment of an Islamic empire. The founder and first *Amīr al-mu'minīn* of that state, ʿUṣmān b. Fodiye (1168-1232/1754-1817),¹⁰⁶ had also relied for his scholarly authority on *isnād* chains which linked him to az-Zabīdī. A famous travelling scholar from the region, Ḡibrīl b. ʿUmar (d. after 1198/1784, from Agades in present-day Niger),¹⁰⁷ had transmitted those chains to him which he had obtained during a pilgrimage in Cairo. It seems quite significant that the leaders of the most reputed Islamic states of the region, which were at loggerheads with each other for several decades in the early nineteenth century, had the same links to international Islamic scholarship at their disposal. This also shows the importance of a central figure like az-Zabīdī for local Islamic movements.

An even closer connection existed between az-Zabīdī and the people of the western Sahara. His notes reveal a remarkable contact with the Kunta, an influential scholar group of mixed Berber and Arab origins. Their most prominent figure, and in fact the most influential religious scholar of his time in West Africa was Sīdī Muxtār al-Kuntī (1142-1226/1729-1811)¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ az-Zabīdī, *Mu'ḡam*, fol. 1v. margin: Ādam b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fūrānī and his nephew, [?] b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fūrānī; f.25v. margin: Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarbī al-Fūrānī, Wakīl of the Sultan of Dār Fūr.

¹⁰⁵ az-Zabīdī, *Mu'ḡam*, fol. 90a: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī; about this scholar, who finally died in Medina, and his son Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad see H. Bobboyi, "Bornu, Wadai and Adamawa", in: John Hunwick (ed.), *Arabic Literature in Africa (ALA), Vol. II. The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa*, Leiden et al.: E.J.Brill 1995, 384ff.

¹⁰⁶ See for him and his writings John Hunwick, *ALA* II, 52-85.

¹⁰⁷ See about him John Hunwick, *ALA* II, 47f.

¹⁰⁸ See about him among other sources and publications: al-Burtulī, *Faṭḥ aṣ-ṣakūr* 152f.; John Hunwick, "Kunta", in: *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. V, Leiden 1986, 392-95, with further reference; A. A. Batrān, "The Kunta, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, and the Office of Shaykh al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya", in: John Ralph Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History. Vol. 1: The Cultivators of Islam*, London 1979, 113-46; Ann E. McDougall, "The Economics of Islam in the Southern Sahara: The Rise of the Kunta Clan", in: Nehemia Levtzion, Humphrey J. Fisher (eds.), *Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa*, London: Boulder 1986, 39-54; R. Osswald, *Handelsstädte*, 109f., 264-7, 462-5, 500f., et passim.

who had his camp in the Azawād region north of Timbuktu. It was by his activities that both the Qādiriya and the religious-political network of the Kunta spread all over the Western and Central Sahara and into much of West Africa. He was even respected as the protector of Timbuktu itself. As can be seen from az-Zabīdī's notes, Muxtār al-Kuntī was in contact and exchanged *iğāzāt* with him.¹⁰⁹ It can also be inferred that the Bakkā'iya family of Tuwāt (now southern Algeria), from which the Kunta had originated, led the pilgrims caravan from West Africa to Cairo which gathered in the oasis of Tuwāt.¹¹⁰ One young man of the Kunta family who visited az-Zabīdī in Cairo with this caravan went on to Medina where he studied with the famous West African reformist scholar Šāliḥ al-Fulānī (mentioned above). There was thus a highly organized traffic between the east and the far west which made for a rapid exchange of religious learning and ideas and which provided local religious leaders with an important source of authority.

az-Zabīdī's contacts also included a good number of Central Asian and Dāgīstānī scholars and Šūfīs whom he met in the Ḥiğāz or in Cairo. His notes reflect the political turmoil which some of those regions were undergoing in his time. A former Qādī of Balx, Muḥammad b. Naḍr al-Balxī, had settled with his family in Mecca where az-Zabīdī attended his lessons in 1163/1750. His migration to the Ḥiğāz might well be related to Nādir Šāh's military operations in the area and to his rule over Afghanistan (around 1737-1747). Another migrant whose presence reflected the political changes of the period was a young Tatar scholar, Fayḍallāh b. 'Uḡmān al-Bulğārī.¹¹¹ After his studies in the *ma'qūlāt* in his homeland he had joined the *ğihād* leader Šayx Maṣṣūr in the Caucasus. He later travelled to Istanbul and to Egypt where he met az-Zabīdī, obtaining his *asānīd* and giving him informations about Šayx Maṣṣūr. He then went to Ġidda where he settled as a teacher for the Turkish residents, still staying in correspondence with az-Zabīdī who sent him a summary *iğāza*. A Tatar resident of Medina in later times, ar-Ramzī, made use of az-Zabīdī's

¹⁰⁹ See his notes in az-Zabīdī, *Mu'ğam*, fol. 17b margin, 51b-52a; the contacts are also mentioned by al-Burtulī, *Faṭḥ aš-šakūr* 153.

¹¹⁰ According to az-Zabīdī, the Bakkā'iya in Tuwāt held the *mašyaxat rakb al-ḥağğ*. The pilgrims' caravan from Tuwāt (called *ar-rakb at-tuwātī*) seems to have travelled via Fezzān and Šiwa to Egypt; see the notes in az-Zabīdī, *Mu'ğam*, fols. 17b margin, 24b, 51b-52a, and also al-Burtulī, *Faṭḥ aš-šakūr*, 48, where a leader of the Bakkā'iya in Tuwāt, Abū n-Ni'āma (whose grandson met az-Zabīdī in Cairo) is also mentioned as leader of the pilgrims' caravan (before 1157/1744).

¹¹¹ az-Zabīdī, *Mu'ğam*, fol. 127.

manuscript and quoted his note on al-Bulgārī in his own biographical account, the *Talḥīq al-axbār*.¹¹²

A similar example of a scholar who had left his homeland for political reasons was one of the most prominent scholar of the Crimea, Fayḍallāh b. Qul-Muḥammad,¹¹³ the last Qāḍī of the khanate before it was taken over by the Russians. He had settled with his family in Istanbul and came as pilgrim to Cairo in 1191/1776 where he studied and discussed extensively with az-Zabīdī. After his pilgrimage he served as Qāḍī in Konya and later in Bagdad, also remaining in correspondence with him.

The famous Dāğistānī scholar ʿAlī b. Šādiq himself also entered into correspondence with az-Zabīdī.¹¹⁴ One of his relatives ʿAbdalkarīm (or ʿAbdarrahīm?),¹¹⁵ at the time living in Damascus as well, met az-Zabīdī on board of a ship on their way to Jaffa. They exchanged poetry in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. When they met again some years later in Cairo, ad-Dāğistānī had succeeded in finding an influential protector in Istanbul and had settled there. There is again a chequered migrant's life behind these notes.

Buxārīs were also among az-Zabīdī's visitors. One of them, a Naqšbandī, took part in his lessons on the *lḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*, on his part teaching az-Zabīdī Persian Šūfī poems of Abū Saʿīd, Ġāmī, and others, and providing him with information about the scholars of Bukhara.¹¹⁶ The Imam of the *Rawḍa* in Medina, son of a Buxārī immigrant, was already mentioned above. Rather unusual was Šafīyaddīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥusaynī al-Buxārī (d. 1200/1785),¹¹⁷ who had spent long time in the Yemen, where he studied with famous *ḥadīṭ* scholars in Muxā and Zabīd, before he went to the Ḥiğāz and joined the *zāwiya* of the Sammāniya in Medina. After coming to Cairo he spent his final years as a respected scholar in Palestine. The Yemeni connection was apparently in this case related to a special interest in *ḥadīṭ* studies, a field for which the Yemen had retained its importance.

The interest in his visitors and his times, which can be gleaned from az-Zabīdī's notes, has preserved rather unique insights into the working of a scholarly and religious network in the late eighteenth century. The transmission of *ḥadīṭ* chains is closely connected with mysticism, but also

¹¹² ar-Ramzī, *Talḥīq al-axbār* II, 414.

¹¹³ az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 127; see about him and his father also Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Crimean Tatar and Nogay Scholars of the 18th Century", in: Kemper, von Kügelgen, Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, 279-96, 280ff.

¹¹⁴ az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 106 margin.

¹¹⁵ Name only partly recognizable; for ʿAbdalkarīm see also al-Murādī, *Silk ad-durar* III, 65.

¹¹⁶ ʿAbdarrahmān Āy Malik (?) al-Buxārī an-Naqšbandī, 1195/1780; see az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fol. 95b.

¹¹⁷ az-Zabīdī, *Muʿḡam*, fols. 125, 133f.

with general interests in genealogy, language, and poetry. This and his strong interest in the *āfāqīyūn*, the migrants and travellers from the far-off lands, made him a remarkable and at times strange figure for many of his contemporaries. The presence of people from peripheral regions in the cultural centres of the Middle East hardly finds fuller expression than in az-Zabīdī's ample notes on his teachers, students, visitors, and friends.

Conclusion: Globalizing trends within the Islamic World since the late seventeenth century

After a short look at a medieval expression of cultural affiliation to the Islamic World, three case studies have been presented here in some detail to demonstrate the growing interrelations between its central regions and the expanding periphery which developed in more recent, clearly 'post-classical' times. The transnational network of a Šūfī brotherhood, the religious centre and its inhabitants, and the personal network of a prominent Islamic scholar would all seem to lead to a similar conclusion. Local and regional changes had brought about a rise of religious activities in the peripheral regions, a rise which was in many cases later reinforced by further supraregional contacts.¹¹⁸ They led to changes in the religious reputation of different ethnic and communal groups which were gradually enhancing their local and international standing. The period between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth century seems to have been crucial in this respect in many parts of the Islamic world. The remarkable extension of the networks of religious learning and communication can safely be called a globalization of its own.¹¹⁹ But as we have tried to show, the religious centre itself was also undergoing significant changes in connection with these developments.

It remains to be asked how the growing interconnections which we have tried to highlight from different angles can be related to the emerging world system of economic and political relations which is generally believed to have taken shape during that period. The European influence, important as it already was in certain areas, still remained marginal and even non-existent in many others, and as such it can be often felt only in an indirect way. In some regions Muslim influence and power clearly became stronger than ever before. Sometimes this preceded European expansion,

¹¹⁸ A similar interpretation has already been suggested for the development of the Eastern Sudan in the 18th and early 19th centuries, see R.S.O'Fahey (ed.), *ALA. I*, 4ff.

¹¹⁹ Cf. already Joseph F. Fletcher, "The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China", 22, who noted "a greater degree of communication across the entire length of the Muslim world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than has generally been supposed."

sometimes it occurred along with it. The described changes in social and communal structures and in religious relationships followed their own logic and articulation. An increased degree of Muslim social activity and dynamism, however, can indeed be found in many regions during this period, with sometimes striking parallels to developments within Europe itself. The globalizing trends of Islamic culture which since the late seventeenth century led to significant changes within the Islamic orbit have to be taken into account if we want to achieve a better understanding of the Muslim societies in the present world.

**THE BIOGRAPHICAL GENRE IN DAGHESTANI ARABIC-
LANGUAGE LITERATURE: NAḌĪR AD-DURGILĪ'S
NUZHAT AL-ADHĀN FĪ TARĀĠIM 'ULAMĀ' DĀĞISTĀN**

by

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It is widely recognized that the manifold historical and cultural contacts with various regions of the Arabic Muslim world were extraordinarily important for the creation of Daghestan's Arabic-language literary tradition. A particularity of this tradition is its unbroken connection with the process of Islamization. Daghestan's religious development did not occur in isolation, but rather within the current of the greater area that was formed by the Arabic language, Arabic literature, and Islamic ideology.¹

The consequences of this dialog for Daghestan were enormous. Over the course of a thousand years, beginning from the tenth century, a three-way process was taking place: 1) the intensive penetration of written works, composed in the Arabic Muslim world, 2) the circulation and copying of the books, which created a large number of scientific, literary, and pedagogical texts, 3) the development of an original, properly Daghestani literature in Arabic, which was later on followed by similarly Daghestani literatures in Persian, Turkic, and in local languages written in the Arabic script.²

All three of these factors occurred not in chronological sequence, not one after the other, but almost simultaneously (at least before the sixteenth century) complementing and enriching one another. Since we can confidently establish the existence of a specifically Daghestani literature during

¹ On the general characteristics of Islam and Arabic literature in Daghestan cf. A.N. Genko, "Arabskiy yazik i kavkazovedenie", in: *Trudi vtoroy sessii asociacii arabistov*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941; M. Saidov, "Dagestanskaya literatura XVII-XIX vv. na arabskom yazike", in: *Trudi dvadcat' pyatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov II*, Moskva, 1963; A.R. Šixsaidov, *Islam v srednevekovom Dagestane*, Maxačkala, 1969; G.G. Gamzatov, M.-S. Saidov, A.R. Šixsaidov, "Arabo-musul'manskaya literaturnaya tradiciya v Dagestane", in: G. Gamzatov, *Dagestan. Istoriko-literaturniy process*, Maxačkala, 1990; *Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane*, Maxačkala, 1991.

² A.R. Šixsaidov, "Sammlungen arabischer Handschriften in Dagestan," in: Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Berlin, 1996, 297-315.

the tenth and eleventh centuries,³ there are grounds to affirm that from this time on we can trace the "co-existence" of the receipt of "completed book products" from outside (from the countries of the Near and Middle East and Transcaucasia), as well as the creation of local Daghestani literary works, and finally the dissemination of all of them by copying. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries the arrival of manuscript books from other regions almost ceased. Instead, the "book famine" in Daghestan was satisfied locally with books already in people's possession, and also the quantity of works composed by Daghestani authors increased sharply. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth a new form of cultural communication came to make itself known: printed Arabic books mainly from Turkey and Egypt, and at the very beginning of the twentieth century, the printing house of M. Mavraev in Temir-Xan-Šura in Daghestan began the massive output of works by foreign and Daghestani authors, both in Arabic and in the languages of the peoples of Daghestan.

Thus, the qualitative and quantitative characteristics allow us to outline three main stages in the development of the Daghestani literature: tenth to fifteenth centuries, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century. All of these stages in Daghestani literature are represented by outstanding names, but in this respect the nineteenth century surpasses all of the others; moreover, in this era science and education emerge in a unified complex, as one is the continuation of the other. The works of local scholars on Islamic law, Arabic grammar, poetry, and especially history were the most widespread in Daghestan. The take-off of a historiographical tradition is connected with the national-liberation movement of the 1820's to the 1850's in the North Caucasus (with works like the *Taḍkira* of ʿAbdarraḥmān al-Ġāzīgumūqī of Kumux, the *Bāriqat as-suyūf ad-dāğistānīya fī baʿḍ al-ğazāwāt aš-šāmīliya* of Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Qarāxī, the "Šamwīl cycle" as a whole).

The biographical works occupy a special place among the Arabic literature of nineteenth century Daghestan. This is evident by the fact that right up until the second half of the nineteenth century there are neither local bio-bibliographical guides nor collections of biographies. Therefore it should also come as no surprise that among the numerous manuscript collections in Daghestan not one example of medieval Arabic reference

³ A.A. Alikberov, *'Rayxan al-xakaik va bustan ad-dakaik' Muxammeda ad-Darbandi kak pamyatnik musul'manskoy istoriografii (konec XI v.)*, Aftoreferat kand. diss., Sankt-Peterburg, 1991.

literature (like the works of an-Nadīm, Yāqūt, al-Asnawī, ad-Dahabī, az-Ziriklī, Kātib Čelebī, etc.) has come to light. It is true, some of the works of Daghestani authors (such as "the History of Abū Muslim," the *Tārīx Dāgīstān* of Muḥammad Rāfi⁴, the "History of Girāy Xān")⁴, as well as epigraphic monuments dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also contained genealogical information on the local 'ulamā' or on rulers themselves.⁵ Yet they cannot be counted within the biographical genre, the specific topic of this article.

The second half of the nineteenth century, when sections of a biographical nature appear within works of historical scope, can be considered a turning point. Above all, within this group the *Taḍkira* of 'Abdarrahmān al-Ġāzīgumūqī deserves mention. This work, which was compiled in 1258 / 1869, contains a series of chapters devoted to the sciences and scholars of Daghestan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as "On the scholars of Daghestan," "On the sciences diffused in Daghestan," "On the notable *muta'allims*, who became scholars in my time." The information on scholars is of most general nature; in the text only the names of scholars are given, and there is no information on their lives or their works.⁶ Yet 'Abdarrahmān al-Ġāzīgumūqī declares science to have been an important feature in the life of Daghestani society, and he is the first to do this in Daghestani historiography. The excerpt given below provides a clear idea of the manner of the author's presentation:

The most elevated Daghestani scholars and jurists, whose texts and compositions I saw or [separate] expressions about which I read, [are]: the popular, sublime scholar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Quduqī [from Kudutl'], his student Muḥammad al-Ubrī from Ubra in the Kazikumux district, Ḥāḡḡī Abū Bakr al-'Aymakī [from Aymak], a renowned and leading scholar; his grandson Sa'īd-Afandī al-Harakānī [from Arakani],

⁴ A.R. Šixsaidov, T.M. Aytberov, G.M.-R. Orazhev, *Dagestanskije istoričeskie sočineniya*, Moskva, 1993, 74-108, 169-177.

⁵ For example, the information in an inscription from 1401 from the village of Xnov (*Axtinskiy rayon*) "on the possessor of the minaret and its builder Ḥammā b. Abakar b. Čakūk b. Bazkūh b. Ḥammā," or the information of another inscription from the middle of the fifteenth century from the same village: "āmīr Abkūr b. T.ḡsmān b. Buḡāl b. Sayfaddīn b. Qarnayn." Cf. A.R. Šixsaidov, *Epigrafičeskie pamyatniki Dagestana*, Moskva, 1984, 217-234.

⁶ Cf. A.R. Šixsaidov, "Pis'mennije pamyatniki Dagestana XIX v. (žanr biografij)", in: *Pis'mennije pamyatniki Dagestana XVIII-XIX vv.*, Maxačkala, 1989, 5-7; see also Natal'ya A. Tagirova, Amri R. Šixsaidov, "'Abdarrahmān al-Ġāzīgumūqī und seine Werke", in: *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia*, 317-340.

Damadān al-Muḥī [from Megeb], Qurbān °Alī al-Akalči [from Axalči], Nūr Muḥammad Qāḍī al-Awārī, killed together with the Avar emirs by the warriors of Ḥamzat Bek; Tatilaw al-Karāṭī [from Karata], Musalaw al-Xuṣḍādī [from Xuṣṭada], °Alī al-°Andī [from Andī], Buḡal-Dibir al-Kindāxī [from Xindax], al-Ḥāḡḡ °Alī al-Arḡanī [from Arḡvani], Salmān aṭ-Ṭūxī [from Tlox], Maḥdī Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭuḡūrī [from Sogratl'] ... After they died, I saw others who were their successors. Allah established continuity from all that has passed to the present and to the future, until the end of the worlds.⁷

However, the sketchiness and vagueness falls away when the discussion shifts to the major political figures of the first half of the nineteenth century and to the leaders of the national-liberation movement of the 1820's to the 1850's, Gāzī Muḥammad, Ḥamzat Bek, and Šamwīl. The biographies acquire a new tone, and separate chapters are devoted to the lives and activities of each of the Imāms: "On the first Imām of Daghestan, Gāzī Muḥammad al-Gimrāwī [from Gimrī], who was martyred in 1248 [1832]", "On the second Imām Ḥamzat Bek of Hucal [Gocatl'], who likewise fell at the hands of those from Xunzax", "On the third Imām, Šamwīl al-Gimrāwī, who was imprisoned by the Russians in 1276 [1859]."

For the first time in Daghestani historical literature the historical personality comes to the fore, with very detailed biographical data. On Gāzī Muḥammad we read:

He was born in 1794; his father was from Hīdal [Gīdatl'], and his grandfather was called Ismā'īl; his mother was from Gimrī, where he grew up. He studied sciences in Daghestan and in the lowland. When he finished his studies, seekers of knowledge from various villages gathered around him. Among these was his best friend, Šamwīl. [...] Gāzī Muḥammad loved to read books about the *šarī'a*, and knew them fairly well, especially *tafsirs* and lives of the Prophet Muḥammad [...].

On Šamwīl we read:

He was born in the village of Gimrī; his father was from Gimrī (Gimrāwī) and his mother was from Ašīl'ta (Ašīltīya) from the Pīrbudag clan. His ancestor five generations back was °Alī from Gāzīgumūq. [...] At first Šamwīl was called °Alī. Later, when he would often fall ill, they changed his name, as this was the custom among the Daghestanis when

⁷ Abduraxman iz Gazikumuxa, *Kniga vospominanij sayyida Abduraxmana, sina ustada šeyxa tarikata Džamalutdina al-Xusayni o delax žiteley Dagestana i Čečni*, perevod s arabskogo M.-S. Saidova, redakciya perevoda, podgotovka faksimil'nogo izdaniya, kommentarii, ukazateli A.R. Šixsaidova i X.A. Omarova, predislovie A.R. Šixsaidova, Maxačkala, 1997, 83-84.

children would fall ill; and they changed his name to Šamwīl ʿAlī. In conversation the second part was dropped, thus Šamwīl.⁸

In the middle of the nineteenth century another work was compiled, similarly dedicated to the representatives of scholarship and education. It was titled *ar-Riğāl al-mašhūrūn*, and has been preserved in a unique copy within a manuscript book containing other works as well.⁹ The author is anonymous, and the copy was made in 1939 by ʿAbdarrahmān from the village of Džengutay. The work consist of three sections, compiled at different periods, yet structurally similar to one another, as they consist of a simple listing of the names of scholars, *madrasa* instructors, and well educated people from the author's time, and without any biographical details. Only rarely does the author deviate from this rule, shifting to relatively detailed biographical essays, in particular about Muḥammad al-Quduqī [from Kudutl'] or about Murtaḍā ʿAlī al-ʿUrādī [from Urada].

Of a completely different nature is a work devoted to the life of the well-known Daghestani scholar and religious figure Muḥammad al-Yarāgī, entitled *Tarğamat ḥāl aš-Šayx Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Yarāgī al-Kurālī taʿlīf Ismāʿīl al-Yarāgī*.¹⁰ The work of Ismāʿīl al-Yarāgī differs sharply from those preceding it; it is not devoted to the category of scholars in general, but to the life and activity of only one of the major figures in the ideological and political life of Daghestan from the 1820's to the 1840's, and an active advocate of the Naqšbandī *ṭarīqa*.¹¹ In the subsequent Arabic-language literature, works monographically devoted to the life and activities of a single person do not occur.

The biographical genre was distinctive to the work of the Daghestani scholar Ḥasan al-Alqadārī (1834-1910), the author of the historical work *Ātār-i Dāgīstān* (in Azeri), of the juridical and philosophical treatise *Ğirāb al-Mamnūn*, and the biographical collection *Dīwān al-Mamnūn* (both in Arabic). The scholar's first major work, the *Ātār-i Dāgīstān* (completed in 1891 and published in 1903), showed some influence of the works of the

⁸ Abduraxman iz Gazikumuxa, *Kniga vospominaniy*, 28, 43.

⁹ Fond vostočnix rukopisey Instituta istorii, arxeologii i étnografii (IIAE), fond 14, opis' 14, no. 60, fols. 19a-23b.

¹⁰ *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii nauk SSSR: Kratkiy katalog*, Moskva, 1986, čast' 1, p. 442, no. 9544.

¹¹ On the Naqšbandiya in Daghestan cf. Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*, London, 1993, 39-46.

Azerbaijani scholar ʿAbbās Qulī Bakixanov (1794-1846), who in his work *Gulistan-i Iram*, maintained a separate chapter "On the natives of Šīrwān and its neighboring provinces, who are distinguished by scholarship and other achievements."¹² This chapter provides a description of the lives and works of twenty-three Azerbaijani "scholars, enjoying general renown;" and in addition, Bakixanov mentions the names of some Daghestani ʿālims: "In Daghestan, where primarily the Arabic language dominates, Muḥammad al-Quduqī, Ibrāhīm al-ʿUradī, Fāḍil [Abū Bakr] al-ʿAymakī, Yūsuf al-Ġumūqī, Dāwūd al-Usīšī, and Saʿīd aš-Šināzī are distinguished by their scholarship."¹³ Ḥasan al-Alqadārī also separates a special chapter "On the deceased and hale learned instructors from among the Daghestanis," where he provides the characteristics of the work of several dozen Daghestani authors of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.¹⁴ As in Bakixanov's work, this chapter ends with a brief autobiographical essay. An important trait in Ḥasan al-Alqadārī's biographical excursions is their cross-Daghestani character. He mentions figures from among all the peoples of Daghestan (Muḥammad b. Mūsā from the Avar village of Kudutl', Dāwūd from the Dargin village of Usiša, the Lezgin Mīrza ʿAlī of Axtī, the Lak Mīrza Sulaymān of Kumux, the Kumyk Idrīs of Ēndirey, etc.).

Ḥasan al-Alqadārī can probably be considered the first representative of the autobiographical genre in Daghestan. If the autobiographical theme was already touched in the above-mentioned *Āṭār-i Dāğistān*, then this genre of historical literature was developed in full measure in al-Alqadārī's *Dīwān al-Mamnūn*, published in 1913 in Temir-Xan-Šūra (today Buynaksk)¹⁵. As I.Yu. Kračkovskiy has written:

... in essence, this is his autobiography in which are interspersed in chronological order the verses which he composed under various circumstances, and in part his letters. The composition is of great interest for all events of which the author had been a witness over his long life. [...] The book provides material of primary importance for the understanding of the entire ideology of the influential groups, in which

¹² Abbas-Kulī Bakixanov, *Gyulistan-i Iram*. Redakciya, kommentarii, primečaniya i ukazateli Z.M. Buniyatova, Baku, 1991, 197-205.

¹³ Bakixanov, *Gyulistan-i Iram*, 205. In the Russian translation the names appear in a rather corrupted form as "Magomed Kadagi, Ibragim Uravi, Fazil Eymeki, Yusuf Zarir Kumuki, Davud-Usiši, Said and Šinazi."

¹⁴ Gasan Ėfendi Alkadari, *Asari Dagestan*, Maxačkala, 1994, 137-150.

¹⁵ *Dīwān al-Mamnūn li-ʿAllāmat Ḥasan al-Alqadārī. Ṭubīʿa fī maṭbaʿat Muḥammad Mīrza Mawrāyūf fī baldat Tamir-Xān-Šūra*, 1913.

Hasan al-Alqadārī was represented for many decades. By means of this book, we have the opportunity, hardly repeated, to form an opinion about the development of the work of a single Arabo-Caucasian poet over the course of his whole life.¹⁶

The uniqueness of the work is confirmed in the fact that al-Alqadārī's autobiographical information is given against the backdrop of major political and cultural events. Specifically, the *Dīwān al-Mamnūn* is the sort of work in which the autobiography is "led" through political events bearing a significant impact on the life of Daghestani society.

A common thread in all the biographical lists noted above (with the exception of the *Dīwān al-Mamnūn*) is their fragmentary nature, their sketchiness, and their uncompleted composition. Subsequently the process of the genre's maturation would take place, the enlargement of form, and the expansion of short sketchy lists into the founding works of a bio-bibliographical nature, with a broad repertoire of names, and occasionally with detailed references to separate works.¹⁷ This can be illustrated by works from the first third of the twentieth century, and first of all on the basis of the broad bio-bibliographical dictionary of Naḍīr ad-Durgilī.¹⁸ This work bears the title *Nuzhat al-adhān fī tarāḡim 'ulamā' Dāḡistān* which can be translated as "A Stroll of the Intellects through the Biographies of Daghestani Scholars" or "The Delight of Intellects in the Biography of Daghestani 'Ālims" (the latter version being preferable).

The manuscript itself is in a common school notebook in a dark soft cover and the text is written on narrow-ruled yellowed paper (in size 20.5 x 14 cm) with a steel pen in a thin and elegant "Daghestani" *nasx*, and consists of 217 pages, with Arabic pagination on each page. The author's preface of eleven pages precedes the main text, and lacks numeration.

There is no information about an autograph at our disposal. The copy in question was made in 1371/1952 by the great expert on Daghestani Arabic-language literature Magomed Nurmagomedov. At the beginning of the manuscript he left the following note: "I by my own hand copied this book to have my own copy of it, and I am Muḥammad, the son of Nūr

¹⁶ I.Yu. Kračkovskiy, "Arabskaya literatura na Severnom Kavkaze," in: idem, *Izbrannīe sočineniya* VI, Moskva, 1960, 618.

¹⁷ Cf. Šixsaidov, "Pis'mennīe pamyatniki Dagestana XIX v. (Žanr biografii)."

¹⁸ The work of Naḍīr ad-Durgilī remains unstudied. For general information on him cf. M. Saidov, "Dagestanskaya literatura na arabskom yazıke", 123; G. Ozaev, "Izvestniy učeniy", in the newspaper *Lenin yolu*, May 24th, 1990; A. Šixsaidov, "Nazir iz Durgeli", in the newspaper *Dagestanskaya Pravda*, November 21st, 1992.

Muḥammad al-Harakānī al-Awārī ... in the year 1371." For a long time the manuscript remained in the book collection of the well-known Daghestani scholar and orientalist M.-S. Saidov (1902-1995), which, in accordance with the wish of the scholar, was given as a gift by his daughter, Rabiya Saidova, to the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Daghestan branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (today the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Daghestani Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences), where it is kept in the M.-S. Saidov collection (No. 95).¹⁹

Some facts about the author are preserved. Naḍīr the son of Ḥāḡḡī Nīkah ad-Durgilī, but also known as al-Altūnī, according to the name of the clan (*tuxum*) to which he belonged, was born in 1891 in the village of Durgeli (today *Karabudaxkentskiy rayon*), where he acquired his elementary education from his father and from other experts in the Arabic language. Later he studied with local *ʿālims* in the villages of Paraul and Gubden, which were famed for their *madrāsas*. He had a rich library, part of which is preserved today with his relatives. Naḍīr maintained friendly ties with the major Daghestani scholars Abū Sufyān b. Ākāy al-Ġazānīšī (Abusufʿyan Akaev, d. 1932) and ʿAlī Qayāyev (Ali Kayaev, d. 1943).

M.-S. Saidov, who was personally acquainted with Naḍīr ad-Durgilī, informed us that over a course of many years the latter occupied himself with the collection of materials for his bio-bibliographical guide. Besides the *Nuzhat al-aḡḥān*, numerous works on history, Islam, *fiqh*, and *ḥadīṭ* are attributable to him, and his articles were published in Arabic in the journal *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq*. Moreover, a text of Abū Sufyān b. Ākāy's *Burhān al-qāṭi*, copied by Naḍīr ad-Durgilī in 1923 is preserved in the collection of oriental manuscripts of the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography. Naḍīr ad-Durgilī passed away in 1935 in the village of Tarki.²⁰

¹⁹ In the collection of oriental manuscripts there is a photocopy of the manuscript that belongs to M.G. Nurmagomedov, IIAE fond 30, opis' 2, no. 108.

²⁰ I obtained this information about the life of Naḍīr ad-Durgilī from the Daghestani scholars M.-S. Saidov, M.G. Nurmagomedov, and G.M.-R. Orzaev. On the cover of one of the manuscripts (no. 63) in the M.-S. Saidov Collection, there is the following note made by the author of the *Nuzhat al-aḡḥān*: "Ḥadīḡat, the daughter of Naḍīr, died from fever in 1343/1925; our father, Ḥāḡḡī Nīkah Muḥammad died on the 20th of Rabiʿ al-awwal 1344/October 10th, 1925." In his time M.-S. Saidov acquainted me with a combined manuscript in Naḍīr ad-Durgilī's collection. It contains fifteen separate works or commentaries written, for the most part, by Daghestani scholars (Šaʿban al-ʿUbudī's commentary on the *Waṣīyat as-Sarsarī* and his own commentary on verses about the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, the

An acquaintance with the *Nuzhat al-adhān* shows us that we have before us the first Daghestani historical work specially and fully devoted to the history of scholarship in Daghestan which thoroughly describes the lives and creative activity of Daghestani scholars from the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The composition of Naḍīr ad-Durgilī distinguishes itself from all preceding works by its scale, completeness, and more thorough treatment of the Daghestani books and their authors, and finally, by its rich source foundation. It reflects not only the author's scent for research and the work's sweep, but also the general informational structure used by the author in the course of his research. Naḍīr ad-Durgilī used a series of accounts about Daghestani authors taken from biobibliographical guides popular in the Near East, as well as historical and geographic works. Among these are the works of the medieval genealogist and historian of the twelfth century, ʿAbdalkarīm as-Samʿānī, who composed an alphabetical dictionary of the *nisbas* of leading scholars, furthermore the writings of the Arab encyclopedist of the thirteenth century Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī and the North African traveler Ibn Baṭṭūta, the *Tabaqāt aš-šāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* of ʿAbdalwahhāb Tāğaddīn as-Subkī (d. 1370), and Muḥammad az-Zabidī's (d. 1791) multi-volume lexicographic work *Tāğ al-ʿarūs*. Thus the influence of the Arabic biographical tradition is evident.

However, this scholar obtained the bulk of his data in Daghestan. He makes use of the widely disseminated works of Daghestani scholars, frequently drawing from them substantial excerpts; these are for the most part Muḥammad al-Quduqī [of Kudut'], Saʿīd al-Usīšī [of Usiša], Damadan al-Muḥī [of Megeb], Muḥammad al-Yarāğī, Saʿīd al-Harakānī, ʿAbdarrahmān aṭ-Ṭuğūrī [of Sograt'], Ğamāladdīn al-Ġāzīgumūqī [of Kumux], Yūsuf Afandī al-Indīrī [of Ėndirey], Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Qarāxī, Ḥasan al-Alqadārī [of Alkadar], and others. Naḍīr ad-Durgilī was one of the first in Daghestani historiography to tie together two factors, Islamization and the penetration of Arabic-Muslim book culture. He traces not only the traditional ties with the Islamic cultural world, but also the routes and directions of these contacts and the role of the major cities in the Near East and Central Asia in this process. In his "Introduction" (*al-Muqaddima*) Naḍīr ad-Durgilī writes:

Know that the Islamic sciences and knowledge that reached the Caucasus and the *wilāya* of Daghestan came from the fighters for the right (*al-*

compositions of Saʿīd al-Harakānī, chronological notes, the Daghestani chronicle *Tāriḫ-i Dāğistān* of Muḥammad Rāfiʿ, and others).

muğahidūn), the conquerors for the faith (*al-fātihūn*), and those [scholars] who settled [in Daghestan] at the time when Baghdad became the capital of Islam and the font of science and knowledge. Later the Caucasians, [including] the Daghestanis began to travel to Baghdad to learn sciences and customs [*‘ādāt*] ... The number of emigrants and seekers of knowledge increased from century to century, from era to era, and for this reason the *madhab* of Imām Šāfi‘ī (may God be pleased by him) was disseminated in Daghestan.²¹ *Qāḍīs* in Xunzax passed the office of judge (*qaḍā’*) on from father to son, so that they became bearers of sciences and knowledge in Avaria and elsewhere. Thanks to them, many books made their way here, copied by *imāms* who were trained in Baghdad, the city of the world, and in neighboring areas. One trustworthy person from Avaria told me he has in his possession the book *aṣ-Šihāḥ* [which is] about language and which was copied by the hand of Imām al-Ğawharī,²² and that this book reached Daghestan in that brilliant epoch. And in later times the flow of those who have gone in search of learning in distant countries has not diminished, [and they went] to distant countries such as Egypt, Syria (aṣ-Šām), noble Mecca and shining Medina, Istanbul, and other countries of Islam. And the most learned astronomer and chronometer, Murtaḍā al-Kudālī al-Awārī told me that the sciences of *ziğ* (the compilation of astronomical calendars and tables) and of *miqāt* (the calculation of time) came to him from Samarqand and Māwarā’annahr, which had become the centers for these sciences, thanks to the efforts of a descendent of Timur, and of the organization of astronomical observations in the city of Samarqand. And the *ziğ* which was disseminated and utilized in our country is the *ziğ* of Ülüğbek as-Samarqandī.²³

Thus, in his "Introduction" Naḍīr Durgilī points out the major centers and basic routes of the penetration of science into Daghestan. He devoted special attention to the activity of those Daghestanis who spent a course of study in cities of the Arab Caliphate. This scholarly training grounded on Arab manuscripts was devoted to the various branches of science dissemi-

²¹ Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs aṣ-Šāfi‘ī (767-820), founder of the Šāfi‘ī *madhab* in Islam.

²² The manuscript in question is *aṣ-Šihāḥ fi l-luġa* (or *Tāğ al-luġa wa-šihāḥ al-‘arabīya*) of Abū Nāṣr Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Ğawharī (died at the beginning of the eleventh century), the famous explanatory dictionary of the Arabic language (GAL 1, 128). Specifically, the manuscript (which was, by the way, collated with the autograph by the famous commentators al-Xaṭīb at-Tabrizī and Maḥbūb al-Ğawālīqī) dates 510/1117 and is preserved in Baku in the Institute of Manuscripts (two books), and in Maxačkala, in the IIAĖ (also two books); cf. N.Z. Xalilova, "Drevneyšiy spisok 'as-Sixax' al-Džauxari," *Nauka i žizn'*, Baku, 1981, no. 12 (in Azeri); *Katalog arabskix rukopisey Instituta istorii, yazika i literatury Dagestanskogo filiala AN SSSR*, vıpusk 1, Moskva, 1970, 45.

²³ Naḍīr al-Durgilī, *Nuzhat al-ağhān fi tarāğim ‘ulamā’ Dāğistān*, 4-5.

nated within the Caliphate. The Šāfi'ī juridical school, whose ideas held a dominant position in Daghestan, left of course a big impression on the thematic appearance of the literature that "settled" here. The author captures a second, and no less important tendency in the development of Daghestani literature and the educational system: here was created its own proper literary tradition, and its own proper centers of science and education, which spread its own influence to many regions of the North Caucasus, the Crimea, and the Volga region. We present another large excerpt from the "Introduction":

And then they began to travel to Egypt to acquire astronomical learning. Among those who went to Egypt for this purpose [was] the scholar and pilgrim to the sacred shrines (*ḥāḡḡ al-ḥaramayn*) Muḥammad al-Qarāḡī al-Awārī, who studied under the most learned astronomer (al-ʿAllāma al-Miqātī) Riḍwān al-Miṣrī. As a result of these exertions Daghestan was transformed into a center for many sciences and significant achievements, since such Arabic sciences as syntax, morphology, and others held an important position here. Scholars began to come here from other regions, such as the land of Kazan (*wilāyat Qazān*), for the acquisition of learning. The Kazani scholars themselves maintained that [here] they received a fundamental knowledge in Arabic sciences. Those scholars who had come to study in Daghestan spread the Arabic language there, in the land of Kazan; this happened, for example, through the students of the scholar Šayx Muḥammad, known as Qāḡī ʿAlī, who studied Arabic sciences from Šayx Aḡmad al-Dāḡistānī, who in his turn studied from Muḥammad al-Qudūqī.

After that, the author provides us with a list of those Kazanis who studied in Daghestan in the first half of the nineteenth century: Šayx Muḥammad Raḡīm al-Qazānī and Šayx Ibrāhīm al-Qazānī (both of these studied over a course of ten years), as well as Šayx Amīrxān al-Utākī al-Qazānī.

After the introduction begins the biographical dictionary proper, consisting of over 225 entries, organized, for the most part, in chronological order. They vary in their composition, or rather in the volume of information contained in them. The source for the information is noted in most cases. Naḡir ad-Durgilī divided his book into two sections, "Bāb al-Abwāb, the City of Derbent and its ʿUlamāʾ," and "The ʿUlamāʾ from [the Time of] Šamwīl." But this is purely a conventional division, and their content is substantially greater than their titles would indicate. Of course, the material that the author had at his disposal was chronologically uneven, and uneven is the volume of information. One encounters articles of merely two or

three lines, but there are also whole essays covering from five to fifteen pages.

The shortest and tersest articles are those of the "Derbent cycle." An excerpt will provide a good illustration:

Know that a group of "people of science and *ḥadīṭ*" were active in Derbent. Among these [were] Šayx Zuhayr Nu'aym al-Bābī and Ibrāhīm b. Ġa'fār al-Bābī. This is what 'Abdalḡanī b. Sā'id said; he was active in Egypt, and I knew him. I think that both [of the aforementioned] were from *Bāb al-abwāb*, that is, the city of Derbent. Among these was also al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Bābī. He studied *ḥadīṭ* from Xalifa aṭ-Ṭawīl, and from him [studied] 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Baḡdādī. Among these [from Derbent] was also Hilāl b. al-'Alā' al-Bābī, and it is from his words that Abū Ni'am al-Ḥāfiṣ related [this information]. [Among the scholars from Derbent were also] Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Bābī and Muḥammad b. Hišām al-Walīd Abū l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn Abī 'Imrān al-Bābī. [...] Among these [was also] Ḥabīb b. Faḥd Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bābī; he studied *ḥadīṭ* with Muḥammad b. Dūstī, and Abū Bakr Ismā'il studied *ḥadīṭ* from him. [...] Muḥammad b. Abī 'Imrān al-Bābī aṭ-Ṭaqafī - his name was Hišām, and he was from *Bāb al-abwāb* by origin - established himself in Barda'a; Šayx Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions him in his work *Mu'ḡam al-buldān*, [as does] Šayx Murtaḡā az-Zabīdī in the *Tāḡ al-'arūs Šarḥ al-qāmūs*. [To those from Derbent belong furthermore] 'Uḡmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḡmad ad-Darbantī and Abū 'Umar b. Abī l-Qāsim. as-Sam'āni related that he [the latter] was known as "the *faqīh* of Baghdad," and that he studied Muslim law from Abū Ishāq aš-Širāzī. ... He died after the year 500, and he is mentioned in the *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*.²⁴

Despite the modest character of this information, Naḡīr Durgilī shows that specifically Derbent (*Bāb al-abwāb*) was the first firm center of Islamic literary and scholarly traditions in Daghestan. In some instances, it becomes possible to trace the author's manner of exposition and to find out how exactly he transmitted the text of source. Thus, for example let us examine his article on the Daghestani *faqīhs* in Saray-Berke on the Volga:

Šadraddīn Sulaymān al-Lakzī ad-Dāḡistānī. He was a *faqīh* of the Šāfi'ī *madḡhab* and a leading *imām* who administered in Saray, the khan's capital, which was discussed above. He was a teacher there, and one of the Šāfi'ī *mudarris*es, a contemporary of Nu'mānaddīn al-Xwārazmī. This was in 743 [1342-1343]. Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions him in his famous "Journey."²⁵

²⁴ Naḡīr al-Durgilī, *Nuḡḡat al-adḡān*, 8-10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

In Ibn Baṭṭūta's work the same place appears in the following manner: "We arrived in the city of Sarā, known as Sarā Barka... In it one of the Šāfi'ī *mudarrises* and *faqīhs* was the worthy Imām Šadraddīn Sulaymān al-Lakzi, one of the most outstanding *imāms*."²⁶

As we can see, Naḍīr ad-Durgilī transmits only the general sense of Ibn Baṭṭūta's text. Sometimes additions are encountered, which are not always historically or chronologically correct, but which reflect the author's general conception. For example, the second *nisba* ad-Dāgīstānī is added to Šadraddīn al-Lakzī, which is lacking not only in Ibn Baṭṭūta's work, but among the Arab authors of the fourteenth century in general.

Further in the *Nuḥḥat al-aḥḥān* there are several biographical accounts relating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some of which are unique. Only in Naḍīr's work can we find information about Asildār al-Harakānī:

The well-known Šayx Asildār al-Harakānī ad-Dāgīstānī. Harakānī [Arakani] is a big mountain above the village of Ġazānīš aš-šugrā [Maloe Kazanišče]. He is buried under this mountain. There is [a text written] in the handwriting of Amīr Muslim Xān Ġadarī [from Kadar]: "The Šayx who is buried in this mountain is the friend of God al-Hāḡḡ Asildār b. Ata al-Ġadarī, from the Qārāčī clan.²⁷ The name of his mother was Ay-Misiy, of Ēndirey, and from the Sālā clan.²⁸ Asildār completed the *ḥaḡḡ* three times. As they say he was from the Qurayš tribe. His ancestry was uninterruptedly Muslim for twelve generations, the sixth being Ša'ban, and the tenth 'Arab. He lived 49 years. The mountain in which he was buried, as well as Nanay Mountain were his possession. The date of his death is 860 or 806.²⁹ He performed many miracles (*karāmāt*), and therefore he was very famous in that *wilāya*. His tomb (*mazār*) is [widely] known, and people from all corners and from all regions visit it.

The articles about the "famous conqueror" Abū Muslim, about Šayx Aḥmad al-Yamanī, Šayx 'Alī Akbar of Ġāzīgūmūq (Kumux), Qāḍī 'Alī al-Baḡdādī, and especially about Ša'ban al-'Ubūdī [from Oboda] are similarly unique and informative. The information about the latter is based on the accounts of other local authors that have not come down to us. It is organized according to a definite structure: first come the full names of the author, his teacher and his students, then the names of his works with the

²⁶ *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūta (Tuḥfat an-nuḥḥār fī ḡarā'ib al-amṣār wa-'aḡā'ib al-asfār)*, al-ḡuz' al-awwal, Bayrūt, 1405/1985, 393-394.

²⁷ Qārāčī, or qārāčī-beks, is a category of the feudal elite in Daghestan.

²⁸ Sālā, or sala-uzden, is one of the categories of free peasants in Daghestan.

²⁹ 1456 or 1408-09 respectively.

establishment of the first lines of the text, the dating of the work, and the pronouncements of Daghestani scholars about him.

The main part of Naḍīr ad-Durgilī's work consists of sketches on the creative activity of Daghestani scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These sketches, taken together, provide a convincing impression concerning the significant growth in the circle of persons participating in the formation of a general Daghestani cultural heritage. Our author was one of the first to perceive, and with concrete data demonstrate, the variety of material and the thematic breadth of Daghestani literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here all regions of Daghestan are represented, all ethnic communities; in his descriptions, book culture, science, and education all bear a general Daghestani character. Within the Muslim educated elite he names inhabitants of Derbent, of the villages of Axtī, Xučni, Yersi, Kumux, Sogratl', Urada, Kudali, Nižniy Džengutay, Tarki, Aksay, Akuša, Čox, Ruxun, Arakani, Yuxari-Yarag, and many other villages in Daghestan; he mentions scholars and *madrasa* instructors as well as commentators on scientific treatises and copyists of the Qur'ān. The most widespread disciplines were Qur'ān, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīṭ*, Muslim jurisprudence, Sufism, dogma, poetry, Arabic grammar, astronomy, medicine, logic, and mathematics. Muḥammad al-Qudūqī [from Kudutl'] (d. 1717), Dāwūd al-Usīšī [from Usiša] (d. 1757), Muḥammad b. Manilaw (d. 1770), and Murtaḍā al-'Urādī [from Urada] (d. 1865) comprise a separate category, representing the Daghestani grammatical school. The information on Muḥammad al-Qudūqī that Naḍīr ad-Durgilī provides remains to the present the most complete description of the activity of this eminent Daghestani scholar:

Qudūqī. This is al-Ḥāḡḡ Muḥammad, the son of Mūsā al-Qudūqī al-Awārī ad-Dāḡistānī. He studied sciences and learning from the prominent scholars of his time, such as Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kāmilī, Ša'bān al-'Ubūdī, and others. He traveled to distant countries and Islamic lands, spent time in Egypt, the Hijaz, and Yemen, where he studied with scholars and shaykhs. In Yemen he studied with the well-known and prominent scholar, Šayx Šālīḥ al-Yamānī, and remained with him for a period of time. After completing his course of study, he returned to his homeland Daghestan, where he began instructing and performing good deeds. The teaching of a number of true students took place, such as the well-known scholars Muḥammad al-Ubrī [from Ubra], Dāwūd al-Usīšī, and others. al-Qudūqī, may the mercy of God be upon him, adhered to the Šāfi'ī *madhhab* and was an Aš'arite by [dogmatical] conviction, but on a series of issues he leaned toward the opinion of his teacher Šālīḥ al-Yamānī. They say that [later on], he withdrew from him.

al-Qudūqī was a great scholar in the sciences and arts. He had works that [still] enjoy demand, many commentaries, and a large number of glosses on *fiqh*, astronomy (*miqāt*), the foundations of religion (*uṣūl*), dogma, syntax, morphology, and other sciences, and many parts of Daghestan were filled with them [i.e. with these books]. He was the author of a gloss on al-Čarpardī, on 'Isām, and on al-Ġāmī.³⁰ In the regions of Daghestan, he is praised with the name of the village of Qudūq [Kudutl'], as is commonly accepted among us. Upon returning to his homeland from Yemen, he brought with him valuable books, especially the books of his teacher Šāliḥ al-Yamānī. Then toward the end of his life Šayx al-Qudūqī emigrated to Syria [...]. He died in 1120, in Aleppo, where he is buried, may the mercy of God be upon him.³¹

It was already mentioned above that this account contains the richest information on Muḥammad al-Qudūqī that we possess. Yet in recent times uncovered manuscripts can significantly complement the information given in the *Nuḏḥat al-adḥān*. During an archeographic expedition undertaken by the author of this article and A.M. Magomeddadaev in the summer of 1997, a very interesting manuscript was discovered in the village of Mogox (Gergerbil' rayon) within the manuscript collection of Čaran Čaranov. The combined manuscript that we uncovered (No. 26) consists of several works of Daghestani authors, and contains *inter alia* three folios with a sketch on Muḥammad al-Qudūqī:

These are the true [facts about] the shaykh and *imām*, the great scholar (*al-'allāma*) Muḥammad, son of Musā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qudūqiyūn ["the Kudutlians"]. At first he studied with his father, Mūsā al-Qudūqī, then with Abū Bakr al-Ruġġī [from Rugudža], his father-in-law. Then [he studied] with Šayx al-Hidalī at-Ṭidī [of Gidatl' and Tidib], after that with 'Alī Riḍā at-Ṭuġūrī [from Sogratl'], with Qādī Ša'bān al-Awārī al-'Ubūdī. After having completed his studies with Šayx Qādī Ša'bān al-Awārī al-'Ubūdī, he went to many³² Islamic regions, to the Crimea, Kazan, Astrakhan, Azerbaijan, Iran – to Tabriz, Ardabil, Qazwīn, Isfahān, and Tehrān –, furthermore to Khorasan, Khwarezm, Bukhara, Balkh, Qandahār, Herāt, and Samarqand. Then he went to Turkey³³, to Istanbul, and to Egypt (which is protected by God). Together with him was his student Šayx Damadān al-Muḥī [from

³⁰ That is, a commentary of Aḥmad al-Čarpardī (d. 1345) on the morphology textbook *aṣ-Šāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (d. 1248) and on the gloss of Isfara'īnī 'Isāmaddīn (d. 1536) on the work of 'Abdarrāḥmān al-Ġāmī (d. 1492) titled *al-Fawā'id aḡ-ḡiyā'īya*.

³¹ Naḡīr al-Durgilī, *Nuḏḥat al-adḥān*, 23-24. The whole entry on al-Qudūqī has recently been published in Avar language by A.R. Šixsaidov and A.M. Magomeddadaev in the Avar newspaper *Xaqiqat* (March 1998).

³² In the text: "all".

³³ In the text: "to the country of Turkestan".

Megeb]. Nowhere in any of these places did he find anyone who knew more than he did, and who could be his *ustād*. When al-Qudūqī asked the Šayx al-Islām in Egypt, "Have you heard of anyone in your Arab lands who could be my shaykh?", the Šayx al-Islām replied, "I heard that in the land of Yemen [there is] a person who had achieved the degree of distinction (*darağat at-tarğih*)³⁴ ... He composed many books, and his name is Šāliḥ al-Yamānī." With him at that time was his student Damadān al-Muḥī, and they stayed with him [i.e. al-Yamānī] seven days, then he [al-Qudūqī] returned to Daghestan. [Soon] after this, he came a second time to Šāliḥ. The Šayx al-Islām settled al-Qudūqī in Egypt, where he lived with him many years. Having achieved full perfection in science, like his own shaykh, he returned to Daghestan, and established himself as an instructor in the northern country (*al-balda aš-šimāliya*), then in Kudut', then in Korod, and then in Rugudža.³⁵ Then he married the daughter of Abū Bakr ar-Ruğğī [of Rugudža]. She gave him sons [who became] scholars, the eldest being the well-known Sea of Science Dibir, the middle one, the scholar Abū Bakr, and the youngest, the scholar Ḥāğğ Muḥammad. Later, together with his sons Dibir and Ḥāğğ Muḥammad he moved from Daghestan to Syria, and established himself in Damascus, and [then] in Aleppo [Ḥalab], where he gave instruction until his very death. [...] The names of his students are: al-Ḥāğğ Damadān al-Muḥī, al-Ḥāğğ Dāwūd al-Aqūšī al-Usiṣī, Muḥammad al-Gumūqī al-Ubrī, °Alī al-Qulī ar-Ruğğildī [from Rugel'd], Muḥammad Tatilaw from Karaṭa, Ṭayyib al-Harakī [from Xaraxi], and Mullā Muḥammad al-Bucrī [from Bucra].

Another fifteen names follow. The account ends with the list of Muḥammad al-Qudūqī's works, including a series of treatises on grammar, commentaries, and glosses.

This text demonstrates that in a number of cases Naḍīr Durgilī's entries can be supplemented with citations from recently discovered materials. But such a possibility is not always given, as in many cases he is our only source of information. Naḍīr al-Durgilī's work provides us with data on numerous eighteenth century authors, such as: the *faqīh* Abū Bakr ar-Ruğğī, the teacher Maḥmūd al-Aqūšī, Damadān al-Muḥī, Muḥammad al-Ubrī, the *faqīh* and grammarian Dāwūd al-Usiṣī, the *faqīh* °Alī al-Argūnī, the well-known legal expert Ḥādīṭ al-Mačadī [from Mačad], the calligrapher °Alī b. Ḥāğğī ad-Dāğistānī, the author of a work on "Arabic sciences" Manilaw Muḥammad al-Qarāxī, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Tatilaw al-Karaṭī [from Karata], the calligraphers Qādī Muḥammad al-Aqūšī and Muḥammad b.

³⁴ A degree in the informal hierarchy of *faqīhs*, located between *muğtahid* and *muqallid*.

³⁵ In the text: *ṭumma fī l-qaryat al-Qudūqiya*, *ṭumma fī l-qaryat al-Qurūdiya*, *ṭumma fī l-qaryat ar-Ruğğiya*.

Ša^cbān al-^cUbūdī [from Oboda], furthermore the *faqīh* and historian Abū Bakr al-^cAymakī [from Aymakī], Ṭayyib al-Gubdānī [from Gubden], the *faqīh*, *adīb* and *qāḍī* ^cUmar al-Kudālī, and the *faqīh* and versatile scholar al-Ḥāḡḡ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-^cUrādī [from Urada].

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced many encyclopedically educated people in Daghestan. The Academician I. Yu. Kračkovskiy characterized the Daghestani Arabic-language literature and its creators in the following way: "... it is encyclopedic, but the canonical sciences, and especially exegesis and law lie at the center of attention... The Daghestani scholars of that time possessed fully and completely the common Arabic legacy of all eras. Grammatical sciences and treatises on mathematics interested them in equal measure."³⁶ They were at the same time scholars and teachers.

Naḍīr al-Durgilī's dictionary provides a large amount of material supporting that proposition, in particular the articles mentioning Muḥammad al-Qudūqī and his student Damadān al-Muḥī (d. 1724), a great expert on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, and even the occult sciences; furthermore Ḥasan al-Kabīr from Kudālī (d. 1790), a major expert of Arabic sciences, founder and instructor of a *madrasa*, and author of a *qaṣīda* as well as of grammatical works, and of works in Avar language; Muḥarrām al-Axtī [from Axtī], an expert in natural sciences, a poet, and an instructor in a *madrasa*; Ġamāladdīn al-Ġāzīgumūxī (from Kumux, d. 1866), the author of a Sufi treatise, a poet, and an expert in Muslim law; ^cAbdallāh aṭ-Ṭuḡūrī [from Sogratī], a mathematician and astronomer; Muḥammad Ṭāhīr al-Qarāxī (d. 1880), historian, legal expert, and poet; Ḥasan Afandī al-Alqadārī, historian, poet, legal expert, and philosopher.

In general one can say that for the nineteenth century the author distinguishes new criteria for the understanding of what constitutes an *‘ālim*, thereby bringing in more diverse materials. Thus a wider circle of figures fell within the category of *‘ālims* - scholars in the proper sense of the word, copyists of manuscripts, *madrasa* instructors, Sufis, *qāḍīs*, *nā’ibs*, *mufītīs*, and literate people in general.

As a result it is easy to understand why namely the nineteenth century material is so varied, and one part differs sharply from the other in terms of its content, informativeness, and completeness. Out of 158 articles devoted to this important period, some take up from one to three lines, and others from three to fifteen pages. The number of short, "lapidary" articles is sig-

³⁶ Kračkovskiy, "Arabskaya literatura na Severnom Kavkaze," 615.

nificant. This relates to some sufis, but for the most part to comrades-in-arms of Šamwīl, the leader of the national-liberation movement of the 1820's to the 1850's in the North Caucasus:

The 'ālim Sūrxay al-Kullāwī al-Awārī, *nā'ib* and *qāḍī* in the village of Anšāl [Ansalta], was martyred in battle at Axul'go [Aḥulkuḥ Mountain in 1839].

The skilled and courageous 'ālim Ramaḍān al-Čārī [of Čar] was an ally of Šamwīl, and was martyred in battle with the Russians at Tetetl' [Tilal] in 1253/1837 ...

The 'ālim Amīr Ḥamza al-Hassālūxī al-Awārī was with the Imām [Šamwīl] at Axul'go ...

The 'ālim Bārtūxān, uncle of Šamwīl, supported him in his affairs, joined him in his battles, and perished at Axul'go ...

The 'ālim and *nā'ib* Ḥaḡar al-Hilālī [from Gigat'] al-Awārī fell in 1263/1847.

The 'ālim Šixšāh. In [his work] *al-Bāriqa*, Šayx Muḥammad Ṭāhir wrote that he was the *muftī* of Avār.³⁷

The 'ālim Ḥaḡiyav b. 'ālim Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭānūsī [from Tanusi].³⁸

The 'ālim Muḥammad b. Marwān an-Nuqūšī was *muftī* to³⁹ the brave *nā'ib* 'Uṣmān al-'Irī [from Irib]; he died as a martyr at Axū in 1263/1848...

The skilful 'ālim al-Ḥaḡḡ Ibrāhīm al-Čarkasī al-Ḥanafī.⁴⁰

There are around sixty such descriptions in the dictionary. A further investigation of the Daghestani materials will probably show that in many cases it is possible to obtain additional materials, and broaden our understanding about Šamwīl's above-mentioned comrades-in-arms, called 'ālims in this text. For example, concerning Zaḡalaw al-Xwāršī [from the Avar village of Xvaršī], Naḍīr ad-Durgilī only mentions that he was "a great 'ālim," that he was together with Šamwīl in battles, and that Šamwīl often consulted with him. He died after completing the small *ḥaḡḡ*, having surpassed a hundred years in age.⁴¹ Now we know from other sources that he was one of the highly educated people of Daghestan, that he had a large collection of Arabic manuscripts, wrote essays on history, and was a good copyist.

However, the dictionary's appearance is not determined by the numerous minor articles. The author devotes his main attention to the famous repre-

³⁷ That is to say, the village of Xunzax.

³⁸ No additional information is provided.

³⁹ Literally: in the *wilāya*.

⁴⁰ Naḍīr al-Durgilī, *Nuzhat al-aḡḡān*, 89-93.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 91.