The Piety of Learning

Islamic History and Civilization

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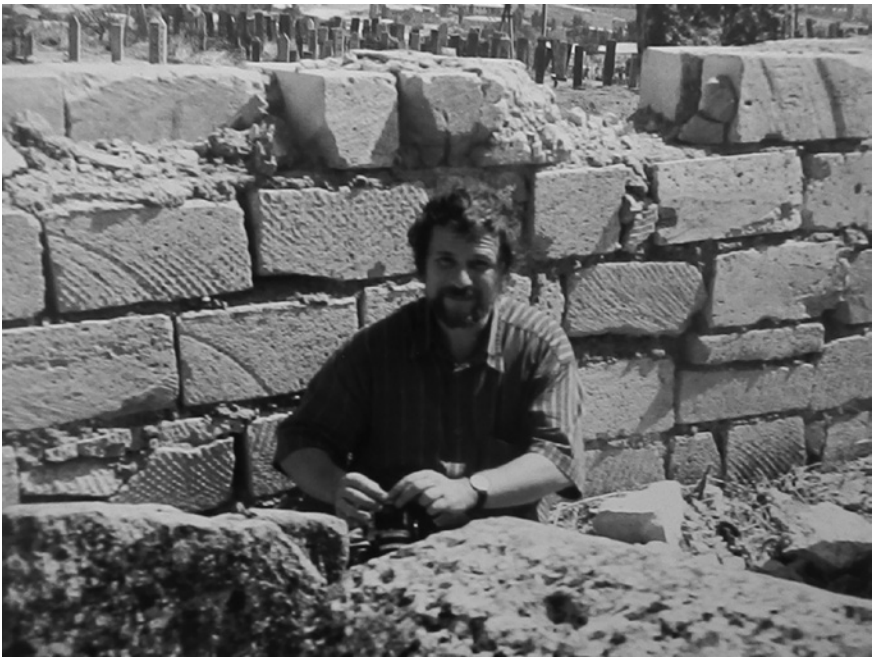

Stefan Reichmuth in Derbent in 1997.
PHOTO BY MICHAEL KEMPER.

The Piety of Learning

Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth

Edited by

Michael Kemper

Ralf Elger

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Bekim Agai
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Rainer Brunner
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was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ. Since 2005 he has been Directeur de recherche at the CNRS in Paris (at the *Laboratoire d'études sur les monothéismes*). In 2011, Brunner became a member of the editorial board of *Die Welt des Islams* (Brill), and in 2017 succeeded Stefan Reichmuth as the journal's chief editor. His research interests focus on modern Shīʿī intellectual history and Sunnī-Shīʿī relations, Islamic modernism since the 19th century, Islam in Europe, and the history of Oriental studies in Europe. His main publications are: *Die Schia und die Koranfälschung*, Würzburg 2001 (new edition forthcoming in 2017); *Islamic Ecumenism in the Twentieth Century. The Azhar and Shiism between Rapprochement and Restraint*, Leiden 2004; *Mohammed. Wissen, was stimmt*, Freiburg 2011; edited volume: *Islam. Einheit und Vielfalt einer Weltreligion*, Stuttgart 2016.

Alfrid K. Bustanov

finished a Ph.D. at the University of Amsterdam in 2013 under the framework of the project "The Legacy of Soviet Oriental Studies", conducted jointly by Dr. Stéphane A. Dudoignon (Paris) and Michael Kemper, and supported by the Dutch Scientific Organization (NWO); the international advisory board of this project also featured Stefan Reichmuth. Bustanov's Ph.D. analyzed the establishment of Oriental Studies in Soviet Kazakhstan, focusing on the role of Leningrad Orientalists in this enterprise. He also published books and articles on the Islamic manuscript heritage among the Siberian Tatars (based on many fieldwork expeditions) and on the contemporary Islamic discourse in Russia. Since 2014, he has held a professorship in the History of the Muslim Peoples of Russia (endowed by the TAIF company) at the History Department of the European University at St. Petersburg. Together with Kemper and colleagues from Amsterdam and Leiden universities, he is giving shape to a new project on "The Russian Language of Islam", again with the support of the Dutch Scientific Organization.

Thomas Eich

graduated in Islamic Studies, Medieval European History, and Iranian Studies from the University of Bamberg. Under Stefan Reichmuth and Thomas Philipp's supervision he defended his Ph.D. (2002) on Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī at the University of Bochum, in the framework of Reichmuth's Junior Research Group "Islamic Networks of Education in Local and Transnational Contexts, 18th–20th Centuries", directed by Michael Kemper. In 2003, he entered into a postdoctoral project at Bochum University on contemporary Islamic deliberations on bioethical topics, headed by Prof. Gerhard Endress. In 2007, Eich transferred to the Oriental Seminar at Tübingen University where he finished his habilitation on Islamic bioethics in 2010. In the same year, he became

Professor for Islamic Studies at the University of Hamburg. In 2015, he received an ERC consolidator grant for a 5-year project on *Contemporary Bioethics and the History of the Unborn in Islam*; this project combines computational linguistics, the study of exegetical traditions across religious affiliations, medical history, and Islamic studies.

Ralf Elger
studied Islamology, Sociology, and German Literature in Cologne, Bonn, and Damascus. Ph.D. at Bonn-University and Habilitation in Bamberg. Since 2009, he has been Professor for Islamic and Arabic studies at the Martin-Luther-Universität of Halle-Wittenberg. Elger wrote his Ph.D. thesis on the relations between the state and Muslim scholars in Morocco, 1900–31. The habilitation thesis presents the life and work of the 18th-century Damascene scholar, Sufi, and poet Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. Since then, Elger has concentrated on early modern Arabic literature, especially travelogues. Besides a number of articles on that topic, in 2011 he published a monograph on Arabic travelogues from the 16th and 17th centuries. In 2010, he produced a translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue in an abridged version of the 17th century; this was followed by more articles on Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in which he argued that many of the latter's journeys were, in fact, invented. For the broader German public, Elger produced a short introduction to Islam and edited a "Concise Encyclopedia of Islam" (*Kleines Islam Lexikon*, 2001, 5th edition 2008).

Ulrike Freitag
studied History and Islamic Studies at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg, and Damascus, and wrote her Ph.D. on "Syrian Historiography, 1920–1990: Between Science and Ideology" at Freiburg University (publ. in German, Hamburg 1991). From 1993 she was lecturer for the modern history of the Near and Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, where she started to work on the Ḥaḍramī network in the Indian Ocean. This brought her into contact and exchange with the research group working with Stefan Reichmuth in Bochum, from which she benefitted in conceptual terms as well as through the exchange of relevant literature. In 2002, she completed her state doctorate (habilitation) on "Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut" (Leiden, 2003) in the field of Islamic studies. In the same year, she was appointed director of Zentrum Moderner Orient in conjunction with a professorship for Islamic Studies at Freie Universität Berlin. Stefan Reichmuth kindly agreed to serve on the Advisory Board of ZMO from 2003–7. He gave crucial advice in a period when the center's future was threatened due to uncertain funding. Ulrike Freitag's current project concerns the urban history of Jeddah, as well as questions of migration, cosmopolitanism and global history.

Michael Kemper
studied Islamic and Slavic Studies at Bochum University; under Stefan Reichmuth and Reinhard Schulze's supervision he defended a Ph.D. (1997) on the 19th-century discourses of Islamic law, theology, and Sufism in the Volga-Urals, and a post-doctoral habilitation (2003) on the interplay of Islamic and customary law in the North Caucasus, with a focus on Islamic legal writings from before and during the jihad movement of Imām Shamīl—all on the basis of Arabic and Turkic manuscripts from the regions. Between 1998 and 2004, Kemper directed Reichmuth's *Junior Research Group* "Islamic Networks of Education in Local and Transnational Contexts, 18th–20th Centuries" (funded by the Volkswagen Foundation). In 2005, Kemper transferred to St Lawrence University (Canton, NY) where he taught Central Eurasian History, and in 2007 became professor and chair of the Eastern European Studies group at the European Studies section of the University of Amsterdam. In several joint projects with Stefan Reichmuth, Raoul Motika, Anke von Kügelgen, and many others, he investigated the survival of Islam in the USSR and the Soviet tradition of Marxist Oriental studies. His most recent project, together with colleagues from the European University in St. Petersburg and Leiden University, investigates the functions of Russian as a new language of Islamic communication.

Markus Koller
studied Southeastern European History, History and Culture of the Near and Middle East, Turkology, and Ancient History at the University of Munich. He defended a Ph.D. at Ruhr University in Bochum with a dissertation on violence in 18th-century Bosnia, and finished his post-doctoral dissertation (habilitation) on late Ottoman rule in Hungary. His books and articles focus on the social history of the Ottoman Balkans as well as on the cultural and political relationship between early modern European states and the Ottoman Empire. Since 2011, he has held a professorship in the History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum, and since 2016 he has been director of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies at Bochum. Koller has conducted various research projects (mainly funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) about Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic relations and military conflicts in the Mediterranean, and in his most recent project, undertaken with the university library, is creating a bibliographical database on historiography in the Ottoman Europe (15th–18th centuries).

Anke von Kügelgen
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professor in Bochum, as visiting professor in Hamburg, and at academies in Istanbul and Tokyo. At Bochum University, in close cooperation with Stefan Reichmuth, she conducted her habilitational thesis (published as *Die Legitimierung der mittelasiatischen Mangitendynastie in den Werken ihrer Historiker* [*18.–19. Jahrhundert*], Istanbul/Würzburg, 2002). Anke von Kügelgen has been co-operating with numerous researchers in the Arab world, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Japan and Turkey, on an individual basis and through international projects which she co-directed, such as "Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and the CIS", with Stefan Reichmuth, Raoul Motika, and Michael Kemper, "Disputes on Muslim Authority in Central Asia in the 20th Century", with Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Ashirbek Muminov, and "Philosophy in the Islamic World, 19th–20th Centuries", with Ulrich Rudolph. Her main fields of research are the history of ideas from the 18th to the 21st centuries in the Middle East and Central Asia, especially in relation to philosophy, Sufism, and concepts of political legitimacy.

Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen
is a history graduate of the École normale supérieure in Paris. She studied Arabic and Persian at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) and worked at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) in Cairo (1989–93). She then served as maître de conférences at the University Paris-IV-Sorbonne, and became professor of Islamic history at INALCO in 2005. After a Ph.D. dissertation (1992) on the famous Egyptian saint al-Sayyid al-Badawī, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen devoted her habilitation thesis (2000) to Coptic and Muslim pilgrimages in Egypt since the 15th century, combining source studies with fieldwork. It was in 2007 in Egypt, at a conference on Ottoman-era Sufism (the proceedings of which were published by IFAO in 2010), that she made the acquaintance of Stefan Reichmuth. Since then, Stefan has supported her international research project on *adab* at the Institut universitaire de France (2011–16) and participated in its three conferences organized in Paris: *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi Adab* (2012); *Adab et modernité: un "processus de civilisation"?* (2014); *Adab Re-Begun*: *"Origins", Transmission and Metamorphosis of the Concept of Adab* (2016). Currently, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen studies the early 17th-century *Sīra ḥalabiyya*, in the framework of a joint French-German project on the Prophet, directed by Stefan Reichmuth and financed by ANR and DFG.

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graduated with a First Class degree in Arabic Studies from the University of Ibadan in 1980, and obtained a Masters' degree in Arabic and Islamic Studies from the same institution in 1984. From 1986 to 1989 he was a British Commonwealth scholar at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, as part of his Ph.D. research in Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies. Since 1984, he has been a faculty member at the Lagos State University, Nigeria, where he is currently a professor. His areas of research include Arabic literary and philological studies, manuscript studies, social anthropology, new religious movements in Sudanic Africa, and inter-religious dialogue. Amidu Sanni is a member of several international professional associations including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, the European Union of Arabists and Islamicists, and the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies; from the latter, he received the highest fellowship award in 2014. He has held visiting professorships at various European universities and served as an external examiner to many international universities. A Fellow at the German Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Scaliger Institute of Leiden University, he has published widely on African and Arabic-Islamic studies. His

most recent academic laurels include the Chevening Fellowship of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (UK) and the Haskell-Block Grant of the American Comparative Literature Association (ACLA). In 2016, he was resource person for the Zentrum Moderner Orient Summer School (Berlin).

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Rüdiger Seesemann
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Shamil Shikhaliev

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Delegation of the Muslim World League with Soviet Islam officials, Friday Mosque of Makhachkala, Daghestan, May 1986. Standing at the minbar, *left to right: the Daghestani Naqshbandiyya khālidiyya shaykh Il'ias-Hajji Il'iasov* (*b. 1947, assassinated 3 Aug. 2013; here in suit with tie and traditional* papakha *cap*)*; the Saudi scholar, writer and Muslim World League official Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿAbūdī* (*b. 1930, with scarf and glasses*)*; and the Daghestani scholar Murtazali Iakubov* (*with dark glasses and papakha; at that time imam of the mosque in Buinaksk, Daghestan*)*. Standing with the back to the photographer: Makhmud Gekkiev* (*1935–2010*)*, from 1978 to 1989 Mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the North Caucasus. Sitting next to Il'iasov, in Uzbek* tiubeteika *headdress: Muhammad-Sadiq Muhammad-Yusuf* (*1952–2015*)*, from 1989–1993 Mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Sitting next to Iakubov: Talgat Tadzhuddin* (*b. 1948*)*, since 1980 Mufti of the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims of European Russia and Siberia in Ufa* (*today Central Spiritual Administration of Russia's Muslims*)*.*

PHOTO BY COURTESY OF MURTAZALI IAKUBOV, MAKHACHKALA.

Introduction: The Piety of Learning

Michael Kemper and Ralf Elger

This tribute to Stefan Reichmuth contains studies on the history of Islamic education since the mid-18th century, with case-studies from Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Eurasia, the Middle East, and Europe. The chapters return to many facets of Reichmuth's own work, while in their methodologies they also attempt to follow in Reichmuth's footsteps.[1]

The first imperative that Stefan Reichmuth's work has underscored is the importance of remaining close to philology, the mother discipline of our field. For Reichmuth, this requires solid and active language skills. These are necessary for obtaining access not only to the texts themselves but also to those who write, read, teach, and preach them. Philology is not opposed to social studies approaches; rather, the two should inform each other. Fieldwork is required not only to gain access to archives and manuscript repositories but also to develop a feeling for the language and to comprehend its uses in social interaction. It is no coincidence that Reichmuth started his career researching the Arabic dialects of a Sudanese people, the Shukriyya,[2] and in his second major project, the study of modern Islam in Nigeria, he undertook considerable periods of fieldwork that required him to learn African languages that are not part of the standard curricula at European universities.[3] Reichmuth rightly regards immersion into a new setting and language as an enrichment of the self; in the field, he built up friendships that he has maintained ever since and that have led to long-standing cooperation with Muslim scholars.

This brings us to another feature that transpires from Stefan Reichmuth's writings, and that is empathy. Not making any secret of his own views as a Christian, Reichmuth strives to understand Muslim religious writers as personalities who, like non-Muslims, struggle with the ultimate questions of human existence. Hence his strong conviction that Islam can be approached from a

1 The contributors to this volume are all from among Stefan's former disciples, co-workers and colleagues. We admire him greatly; Stefan's enthusiasm is a constant source of inspiration for us.

2 Stefan Reichmuth, *Der arabische Dialekt der Šukriyya im Ostsudan* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 1983).

3 Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998). For an appreciation of Reichmuth's fieldwork experience, see Razaq 'D. Abubakre's contribution to this volume.

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perspective of humanism, which has the potential to bridge any racial, religious or political cleavages. Science knows no confessional boundaries, and world civilizations teach the decency of maintaining friendship and empathy even in the most turbulent times.[4] The quest for morality and religious education—whether Muslim or Christian—Reichmuth sees as being part of an emancipation process, on both individual and community levels.[5]

Yet while maintaining the strong linguistic and philological approaches, Stefan Reichmuth has pioneered ways of bringing classical Western Islamology into an exchange with social studies. As a student of Islam in Nigeria he was impressed by social network analysis, a field for which Sub-Saharan Africa was a veritable laboratory. Colonial and post-colonial re-ordering, and in particular labor migration and urbanization—plus, today, electronic media—have brushed aside the romantic notion that communities live in their neatly-confined private worlds. Scholars of the social sciences were the first to understand the enormous dynamics in African societies, where new urban communities transcend ethnic and linguistic boundaries, and where culture, education, and religious and political authority are negotiated in new ways. Why should we not apply their tools to Islamic studies?[6]

Reichmuth first moved in this direction for his study of a Muslim educational movement in Nigeria, the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society. He approached this association not from the conventional viewpoint, according to which all concepts and forms of organization radiated from the activities of a few well-known personalities of the late 19th- and early 20th-century Arab world; rather, he emphasized that local activists mobilize their communities to engage with their own heritage of piety and learning. Reichmuth also found that the Society consciously borrowed from Christian missionary and Aḥmadiyya organizational models.[7]

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4 Stefan Reichmuth, "Humanism in Islam between Mysticism and Literature", *Humanism and Muslim Culture: Historical Heritage and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Jörn Rüsen, Aladdin Sarhan (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012), 115–26.

5 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamische Bildung und Emanzipation der Muslime. Šaiḫ Ādam al-Ilūrī, Nigeria, und seine Schriften", *Die Welt des Islams* 30 (1990), 201–10; idem, "Christian and Muslim Communities and Their Influence on Education in Nigeria", *Pluralism and Education: Current World Trends in Policy, Law, and Administration*, ed. by Peter M. Roeder, Ingo Richter, Hans-Peter Füssel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 279–92.

6 Roman Loimeier and Stefan Reichmuth, "Zur Dynamik religiös-politischer Netzwerke in muslimischen Gesellschaften", *Die Welt des Islams* 36 (1996), 145–85.

7 Stefan Reichmuth, "Education and the Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims: the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26 (1996), 365–405.

Reichmuth then took the network approach further in his long-term project on Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791), the Indian scholar who studied in Yemen and settled in Cairo, and who, through correspondence and mutual visits, forged network ties to peers and students that spanned the whole Muslim world. After writing a series of articles in which he meticulously studied various facets of Zabīdī's textual oeuvre,[8] Reichmuth linked the traditional qualitative research of Oriental philology—contextualizing literature horizontally and vertically, in space and time—with quantitative research methods borrowed from the social sciences. In his 2009 masterpiece on Zabīdī's life, works, and networks, Reichmuth identified the broader patterns behind the multitude of Zabīdī's contacts. He singled out geographical parameters (where did Zabīdī's guests and students come from?), topics (what did they study with him, and why was their study relevant for them in their respective home communities?), and genres (who studied *ḥadīth* with him, who asked for a Sufi license, for a genealogical treatise, or for a booklet on the art of archery?). The material in Zabīdī's biographical work *al-Muʿjam* (at that time only available in manuscript form) allowed Reichmuth to trace the ups and downs in relations over time and thereby overcome one of the major problems of any historical application of network approaches, namely that in most cases our source base only provides material for snapshots of moments. Reichmuth also analyzed Zabīdī's commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* in a new light; what had long been regarded merely as the work of an epigone appears in Reichmuth's reading as a new and unique synthesis of religious ethics in an open-minded engagement with the diversity of Islamic traditions. The polymath Zabīdī now stands before us not just as a popularizer of all kinds of inherited sciences but

8 Including, among many others, Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts: Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 39 (1999), 64–102; Stefan Reichmuth, "Notes on Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Muʿjam* as a Source for al-Jabartī's History", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 374–83; Stefan Reichmuth, "Beziehungen zur Vergangenheit: Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (gest. 1791) und seine Archäologie islamischer Kultur", *Asiatische Studien* 56 (2002), 439–69; Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91) and the Africans: Islamic Discourse and Scholarly Networks in the Late Eighteenth Century", *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, ed. by Scott R. Reese (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 121–53; Stefan Reichmuth, "Nachricht von den Inseln der Seligen. Mythos und Wissenschaft im *Tāj al-ʿarūs* von Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (gest. 1205/1791)", *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur. Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck and Thomas Bauer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 291–308; Stefan Reichmuth, "Freundschaft und Liebe im Werk von Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī", *Zwischen Alltag und Schriftkultur. Horizonte des Individuellen in der arabischen Literatur des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth and Florian Schwarz (Beirut: Ergon, 2008), 101–29.

as the active shaper of a web of contacts and contents, with himself at the center; in Zabīdī's writings, we can trace the purposes and meanings that he attached to his social contacts.

The scholarly work of Islamic writers thus reflects their social networks, and their encounters and ties shape the profile of their literary output, be it in Islamic law, theology, Sufism, historiography, educational reform, or poetry. At Bochum University, Reichmuth enthused a group of junior scholars to apply his approaches to a wide range of cases from other modern contexts. With generous funding from the Volkswagen Foundation, Reichmuth set up the research group *Islamic Networks of Education in Local and Transnational Contexts*, which produced Ph.D. theses on the historical interaction between Islamic scholarship and social networks in Syria, India, Turkey, Bosnia, the Ottoman Empire and Medina, in addition to post-doctoral work on the Caucasus.[9]

At that time, Reichmuth himself also ventured into Ottoman and South Indian contexts.[10] Lifelong learner that he is, Reichmuth joined the students of

9 Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī: Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung sufischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2003); Bekim Agai, *Zwischen Netzwerk und Diskurs. Das Bildungsnetzwerk um Fethullah Gülen (geb. 1938). Die flexible Umsetzung modernen islamischen Gedankenguts* (Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2004); Yaşar Sarikaya, *Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad al-Ḫādimī (1701–1762): Netzwerke, Karriere und Einfluss eines osmanischen Provinzgelehrten* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2005); Michael Kemper, *Herrschaft, Recht und Islam in Daghestan. Von den Khanaten und Gemeindebünden zum ǧihād-Staat* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005); Claudia Preckel, *Islamische Bildungsnetzwerke und Gelehrtenkultur im Indien des 19. Jahrhunderts: Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Ḫān und die Entstehung der Ahl-i Ḥadīth-Bewegung in Bhopal* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bochum University, 2008); Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung und Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Rāġib Meḥmed Paşa (st. 1763)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008); Armina Omerika, *Islam in Bosnien-Herzegowina und die Netzwerke der Jungmuslime (1918–1983)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014); Irfan Ince, *Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert: Politische Strukturen, Beziehungen und Konflikte, mit Einblicken in den Gelehrtendiskurs* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bochum University, 2014).

10 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamic Scholarship between Imperial Center and Provinces in the XVIIIth Century: The Case of *Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī* (d.1205/1791) and his Ottoman Contacts", *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, Vol. 3. Philosophy, Science and Institutions*, ed. by K. Çiçek, E. Kuran, N. Göyünç, I. Ortaylı (Ankara, 2000), 357–65; Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamist Reformist Discourse in the Tulip Period (1718–30): Ibrahim Müteferriqa and His Arguments for Printing", *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World, Istanbul, 12–15 April 1999*, ed. by Ali Çaksu (Istanbul, 2001), 149–62; Stefan Reichmuth, "Bildungskanon und Bildungsreform aus der Sicht eines islamischen Gelehrten der

his own institute in taking Urdu classes, and one of the editors had the privilege of commuting with him to Essen to enjoy Turkish tutorials in a leftist evening school whose main task was to teach German to the offspring of Turkish migrants. Islam in Germany also attracted Reichmuth's attention, leading to regular interventions in the debate around Islamic education in public schools[11] and reflections on the public role of academic Islamic studies in Germany.[12] Contemporary issues informed his writings on Palestinian *Intifāḍa* literature and on perceptions of *jihād*.[13] In his work on Graeco-Islamic medicine (*ṭibb-i yūnānī*) Reichmuth established another inter-disciplinary dialogue, this time

anatolischen Provinz: Muḥammad al-Sājaqlī (Saçaqlı-zâde, gest. um 1145/1733) und sein *Tartīb al-ʿulūm*", *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea: Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Philosophy and Science. Dedicated to Gerhard Endress on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Rüdiger Arnzen and Jörn Thielmann (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 491–518; Stefan Reichmuth, "Wissen, Praxis und pluraler kultureller Kontext der graeco-islamischen Medizin (*yūnānī ṭibb*/Unani Medicine) in Nordindien", *Muslim Bodies: Body, Sexuality and Medicine in Muslim Societies. Körper, Sexualität und Medizin in muslimischen Gesellschaften*, ed. by Susanne Kurz, Claudia Preckel, Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: LIT, 2015), 357–405.

11 Stefan Reichmuth, "Muslime in Deutschland", *Kleines Islam-Lexikon. Geschichte, Alltag, Kultur,* ed. by Ralf Elger (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2001), 76–80; Stefan Reichmuth, "Muslime in der demokratischen Gesellschaft—Religion, Politik, Kultur", Landesinstitut für Schule NRW: *Dritte Fachtagung "Islamische Unterweisung" als eigenständiges Unterrichtsfach in deutscher Sprache. Schulversuch, 16. bis 17. November 2002* (Soest: Landesinstitut für Schule, March 2003), 1–17; Michael Kiefer and Stefan Reichmuth, "Einleitung", *Staatlicher Islamunterricht in Deutschland*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Mark Bodenstein, Michael Kiefer, Birgit Väth (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2006); Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamwissenschaft und Islamische Theologie im Streit der Fakultäten", *Das Verhältnis zwischen Islamwissenschaft und Islamischer Theologie. Beiträge der Konferenz Münster, 1.–2- Juli 2011*, ed. by Mouhanad Khorshide and Marco Schöller (Münster: Agenda Verlag, 2012), 61–69.

12 Stefan Reichmuth, "Die Islamwissenschaft und ihr Beitrag zu einer islamischen Lehrerbildung—Perspektiven und erste Erfahrungen", *Islamischer Religionsunterricht: Hintergründe, Probleme, Perspektiven*, ed. by Thomas Bauer, Lamya Kaddor, Katja Strobel (Münster: LIT, 2004), 69–78; Stefan Reichmuth, "Discourses of Orientalism? The Topicality of Islamic and Oriental Studies in Present-Day Germany", *Penser l'Orient. Traditions et actualité des orientalismes français et allemand*, ed. by Youssef Courbage and Manfred Kropp (Beirut: Institut français du Proche Orient, Orient-Institut, 2004), 129–45.

13 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Second Intifada and the 'Day of Wrath': Safar al-Ḥawālī and His Anti-Semitic Reading of Biblical Prophecy", *Die Welt des Islams* 46 (2006), 331–51; Stefan Reichmuth, "Thema Jihad—Die Muslime und die Option der Gewalt in Religion und Staat", *Politische Bildung* 1 (2003), 8–20.

with the scholars of the history of medicine,[14] a new and unexpected link that reflects the influence of his wife Dr. med. Gisela Reichmuth, who accompanied her husband on all his major fieldwork travels in Africa. Most recently, Stefan Reichmuth turned to the history of Muslim statehood in the interwar period,[15] an era of particular importance as the borders drawn after WWI are increasingly being challenged.

These are just Reichmuth's major lines of investigation; he also studied early modern Arabic poetry,[16] Latin Qur'ān translations (with Reinhold Glei, Bochum),[17] and many other subjects in line with his own taste for literature. As far back as the early 1980s, while still a Ph.D. student, he produced translations of modern Arabic novels.[18] His vast erudition, his phenomenal memory and his untiring capacity are further reflected in the wealth of entries that Reichmuth contributed to the *Enzyklopaedie der Neuzeit*. From 2002 to 2016, Reichmuth served as chief editor of Brill's flagship for Islamic Studies, *Die Welt des Islams*, and he remains an editorial board member for this major hub of international studies on Islam and modern Muslim societies. His aversion to rushed generalizations informed his engagement with broader academic debates: in the discussions about the place of the Muslim world in world systems theory, and about the significance of the "Islamic eighteenth century", Stefan Reichmuth carefully balances the arguments, and combines the push for new interpretational paradigms with the demand for clear textual evidence.[19]

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14 Susanne Kurz and Stefan Reichmuth, "Zwischen Standardisierung und Literarisierung: Der Fallbericht in der graeco-islamischen Medizin", *Der ärztliche Fallbericht. Epistemische Grundlagen und textuelle Strukturen dargestellter Beobachtung*, ed. by R. Behrens, M. Winter, C. Zelle (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 227–58.

15 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Transformation of Muslim Societies and the Reorganisation of Muslim Statehood during and after the First World War", *The World During the First World War*, ed. by Helmut Bley and Anorthe Kremers (Essen: Klartext, 2014), 45–56.

16 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Praise of a Sufi Master as a Literary Event: al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1631–1691), His *Dāliyya* (*Qaṣīdat at-tahānī*) and its Commentary (*Nayl al-amānī*)", *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: the Sufi Adab*, ed. by Francesco Chiabotti, Eve Feuillebois–Pierunek, Catherine Mayeur–Jaouen, Luca Patrizi (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

17 Reinhold Glei and Stefan Reichmuth, "Religion between Last Judgement, Law and Faith: Koranic *dīn* and Its Rendering in Latin Translations of the Koran", *Religio* 42.2 (2012), 247–71.

18 Salah Abd as-Sabur, *Der Tod des Mystikers*. Aus d. Arab. übertr. von Nagi Naguib u. Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: Ed. Orient, 1981); Tayyib Salih, *Die Hochzeit des Zain*. Aus d. Arab. übertr. von Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: Ed. Orient, 1983).

19 Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17th/18th Centuries: Topics and Biographies. Introduction", *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2002), 281–88; Stefan Reichmuth, "The Interplay of Local Developments and Transnational Relations in the

The Concept of this Volume

The "Piety of Learning" that this volume bears in its title is, therefore, a fitting characterization of Stefan Reichmuth's most respectful attitude towards scholarship, and it is also the major *leitmotif* of the contributions. This book investigates the production of knowledge (*ʿilm*) and the Islamic morality (*adab*) that guides the educational process. What unites the contributions further is their concentration on the last two centuries, with two contributions that go into the mid-eighteenth century. Most of our authors chose a close reading of particular Muslim texts as their starting point, and in some cases we provide original documents in Arabic or in translation.

Stefan Reichmuth's personal approach to the investigation of Islamic literature made us put the spotlight on particular genres that reflect the individuality of the composer, who finds himself in dialogue with the standards of the respective literary tradition. Our contributors analyze poetry, Sufi hagiographies, *ijāza*s, *silsila*s, and *ḥadīth* compilations, as well as travel accounts, correspondences and field-diaries.

This volume also honors Stefan Reichmuth's interest in the long-neglected "peripheries" of the Muslim World: three chapters focus on Sub-Saharan Africa, and four on the post-Soviet area (Central Asia, Russia, the Caucasus). The "African" and "Russian" clusters of contributions complement each other particularly well, but also the chapters on the Ottoman Middle East are geographically and chronologically interwoven. Two contributions bring us to Europe.

The volume is arranged not according to these geographical areas but in broad topical sections. The first of our three sections discusses the relationship between Islamic knowledge and education, with first-hand material from specific settings in Africa, Anatolia, and Central Asia. Section two centers on the dynamics of Sufism, in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and in Russia and the North Caucasus. The last section discusses specific European encounters with Islam, again in connection with a variety of target locations. One chapter discusses a remarkable Muslim travelogue.

Rüdiger Seesemann's paper on the traditional modes of teaching Islam introduces the reader to the general topic of the volume, the relationship between

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Islamic World: Perceptions and Perspectives", *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), 5–38; Stefan Reichmuth, "'Netzwerk' und 'Weltsystem'. Konzepte zur neuzeitlichen 'Islamischen Welt' und ihrer Transformation", *Saeculum* 51 (2000), 267–93.

ʿilm and *adab*. With examples from Stefan Reichmuth's research into Islam in Nigeria and with his own observations from Sudan, Senegal, and Mauritania, Seesemann defines the traditional *adab* in West Africa as the teaching of the proper habitus, as "character formation through self-discipline and physical demeanor designed to transform the individual into a worthy vessel of knowledge", *ʿilm*. This traditional teaching philosophy is attacked by modern Salafī approaches. The latter not only break with traditional Sufi Islam in terms of how to weigh the fundamental sources of Islam over and against the later tradition, but they also abandon the classical *adab* of master-disciple relations. In what Seesemann identifies as an epistemic shift, modernist and Salafī methods replace *adab* by focusing on discursive practices only.

In our second chapter, Amidu Olalekan Sanni switches to the other meaning of *adab*, namely literature, and analyzes three elegies (*marthiya*s) composed by the Nigerian educational reformer Ādam al-Ilūrī (d. 1992), a central personality in Reichmuth's oeuvre on Ilorin. Sanni presents al-Ilūrī's elegies in the original Arabic and in English translation, and he evaluates al-Ilūrī's poetic craftmanship by setting his work against the historical tradition of elegy-writing.

Several chapters investigate the establishment and maintenance of Sufi networks. Catherine Mayeur-Jouen provides a magnificent close reading of an Egyptian Khalwatiyya hagiography, whence she carefully reconstructs the social and political meanings that are hidden in the text. Mayeur-Jouen sets the "small" Egyptian world of her protagonist, Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1761–1825), against the background of Zabīdī's large international and encompassing networks, and argues that al-Ṣāwī's concentration on Egypt reflects a major paradigm shift that occurred with the end of Ottoman rule in Egypt.

Three contributions put Sufi lineages into the spotlight. Thomas Eich discusses the publication strategies of the major Rifāʿiyya shaykh Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (d. 1909) with regard to *ḥadīth*, the transmission of the prophetic tradition. Eich shows that al-Ṣayyādī's *ḥadīth* publications of the 1890s combine the conventional Sunnī *isnād*s (transmission lines) that go back to the classical *ḥadīth* collections with chains that feature the Shīʿī Imams; he argues that the inclusion of Shīʿī elements was meant to emphasize the Rifāʿiyya's proximity to Shīʿism, a strategy that can be explained by Ottoman policies in Iraq. Center-periphery relations are also central in Yaşar Sarikaya's contribution, which demonstrates the importance of Naqshbandiyya Sufi links for the professional ascent of a provincial family of scholars in Anatolia, the Khādīmīs. Sarikaya traces the Khādīmīs over three generations, and demonstrates the link between social capital and religious prestige.

The Naqshbandiyya is also central in the piece offered by Shamil Shikhaliev and Michael Kemper, who study the flow of Sufi teaching certificates (*ijāza*s) between the Volga-Urals and the North Caucasus. The respective lines of transmission reveal relations to Central Asia, India, Istanbul, Medina, and Fez; the link to Morocco brought a Shādhiliyya *ijāza* to Daghestan, and led to the emergence of a Naqshbandiyya-Shādhiliyya "consortium" that is today the state-sponsored form of Islamic organization in the country. Just as in Eich's case of Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, the Naqshbandiyya licenses also come together with the transmission of *ḥadīth*, which obviously experienced a rise in importance from the late 19th century, both in Ottoman lands and in Russia.

Alfrid Bustanov provides the first comparative study of unpublished Sufi and ethical poetry from Soviet Russia, whose authors, confronted with the repressive State, used Tatar Islamic verses to either formulate Sufi-minded resignation or, on the contrary, actively engage with the Soviet system of administering Islam. Anke von Kügelgen analyses a broad variety of school textbooks from Central Asia, and discloses the principles of how Sufi, reformist (*Jadīd*), Soviet and Uzbek nationalist authors conceptualized morality for educational purposes. Comparing school readings from across several centuries and ordering them from the perspective of moral philosophy, von Kügelgen offers an innovative typology of ethics in Muslim societies.

In our third section, "Unusual Encounters", we bring together seven contributions that present surprising facets of the history of interaction with the Muslim World. Our conventional historiography of Oriental studies has been downplaying its Christian roots, argues Ralf Elger; his paper analyses the travel account of a Pietist from Altona, near Hamburg, who in 1737–39 travelled extensively in the Ottoman Empire. The traveler was convinced that what the Bible once called the "Promised Land" had now turned into the target of "God's curse", and he undertook this trip in order to gather factual evidence for his thesis. Curiously, the German traveler saw God's curse as a punishment not for the rise of Islam but for Christian "deviations" in the Orient. An equally personal involvement with the Ottoman Empire is presented by Markus Koller, who introduces us to a former Habsburg officer who converted to Islam and integrated into the Ottoman elite. Eventually, he became Istanbul's military representative in Bosnia, where his task was to enforce the Sublime Porte's *Tanẓīmāt* reform policies. This contribution shows that the Ottoman leadership highly valued the service of European converts, and discusses the entangled identity conflicts that such transfers and assignments caused.

Two chapters in this section take us to the Ḥijāz. Rainer Brunner gives contours to Rashīd Riḍā's (d. 1935) account of his Mecca pilgrimage in 1916.

Brunner explores Riḍā's travel account in an unconventional way, namely as an instrument for conscious self-promotion, against the backdrop of the First World War and the caliphate discussion. The person who hosted Rashīd Riḍā in Jeddah, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf (1881–1971), also figures in Ulrike Freitag's contribution: she draws our attention to the letter-exchange between Naṣīf and the Leiden Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje, who had earlier travelled to Mecca in Muslim disguise, and who served as an advisor to the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. What we see here is that, in the early 20th century, Salafism was not nearly as rigid as it is regarded today, and major activists had no qualms about keeping friendly relations with colonial officers and Orientalists.

A prominent aspect of the correspondence between Naṣīf and Snouck Hurgronje was the exchange of books, which in those days could only be procured through personal networks. The collection of books is also central to Diliara Usmanova's contribution, through which we return not only to Islam in Russia but also to Stefan Reichmuth's insistence on the centrality of fieldwork in Islamic studies. Usmanova analyzes the field diaries of her father, the prominent Tatar historian Mirkasym A. Usmanov, who, in the early 1960s, began organizing university expeditions to collect Muslim manuscripts from Russia's Tatar villages, thereby rescuing these treasures from decay and making them accessible to scholarship. This study demonstrates how a strong-willed Soviet scholar, despite the ideological confinements of the late Soviet era, engaged positively with Muslim literature, but in a race against time also struggled with the long-lasting consequences of Stalin's terror and the Bolsheviks' attempts to eradicate the pre-revolutionary Tatar written heritage.

Finally, Bekim Agai and Armina Omerika venture into the very epistemology of our discipline of Islamic studies. What is the relationship between "secular" academic Islamology and the new discipline of Islamic Theological Studies that has been emerging at German universities in recent years? Also in this debate Reichmuth regularly made his voice heard. To introduce religious Islamic Studies at secular universities is, of course, the culmination of the "epistemic shift" from pious self-discipline to rational discourse that Rüdiger Seesemann discusses in the first chapter with examples from West Africa.

Our collection ends with a very personal account on Stefan Reichmuth, from the pen of his long-time friend and colleague Razaq ʿDeremi Abubakre. Outlining Reichmuth's engagement with the scholarly heritage and the Islamic elite of Ilorin (Nigeria), this chapter is an impressive testimony of friendship and brotherhood in the common quest for knowledge on Islam and Muslim societies. The volume thereby comes to conclusion with a piece of Yoruba poetry that Abubakre and Reichmuth together translated.

We would like to thank Sarah Levitt (Amsterdam) for her conscientious proofreading, and to Pierre Motylewicz (student at Martin Luther University Halle) for preparing the index and the bibliography. Our gratitude also goes to Prof. Hans-Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Prof. Sebastian Günther for including this volume into the IHC series, and to Teddi Dols for the professional support from Brill.

ʿIlm, Adab, Education

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CHAPTER 1

ʿIlm and *Adab* Revisited: Knowledge Transmission and Character Formation in Islamic Africa

Rüdiger Seesemann

Introduction

Among the many outstanding works Stefan Reichmuth has devoted to the study of Islam is his monograph *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800*.[1] Based on the voluminous Habilitation thesis he submitted to the University of Bayreuth in 1991 under the title ʿIlm *und* adab*: Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin, Nigeria seit ca. 1800*, the work gives a richly textured account of Muslim scholarly culture and knowledge transmission in one of the most important cities of Yorubaland. In the thesis version particularly, the level of detail and documentation is most impressive, offering a model of the assiduous working method that characterizes Reichmuth's vast oeuvre. The thesis version of *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* features two key terms in the title, *ʿilm* and *adab*, that describe the major themes of Muslim scholarly culture, not only in Ilorin or Yorubaland, but in Islamic contexts more generally. The first term, *ʿilm*, usually rendered into English as "knowledge", has been the subject of countless definitions by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. In the words of Ira Lapidus, it "encompasses the knowledge of all essential matters revealed by God, and belief in the truth of that knowledge".[2] *ʿIlm* is a crucial concept in Islam and has been recognized and treated as such in many academic studies, most notably in Franz Rosenthal's *Knowledge Triumphant*.[3]

1 Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1998).

2 Ira Lapidus, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of *Adab* and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam", *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of* Adab *in South Asian Islam*, ed. by Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 38–61, p. 39.

3 Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

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The translation of *adab*, the second term under discussion, is much less straightforward. Other than *ʿilm*, which is recurrent in the Qurʾān (only the words Allah and *rabb*, "Lord", are more frequent in the Qurʾān than words derived from the Arabic root *ʿ-l-m*[4]), there are no Qurʾānic references to *adab*. For philologists, the term invokes a composite set of linguistic and literary norms that emerged in the first half of the ʿAbbāsid period (750–1258 CE).[5] Although initially limited to a particular type of prose with an educational purpose, *adab* eventually assumed the more general meaning of "literature" (in the sense of *belles-lettres*) in modern Arabic.[6]

However, the term has a more complicated and contested history. For Arab lexicographers, it is related to the term *maʾduba*, "banquet"; the *ādib* is the host, and the verbal noun *adab* is the invitation to the banquet.[7] Several Orientalists, starting with Vollers, link the term to the plural form *ādāb*, which purportedly goes back to *daʾb*, "custom".[8] In the classical Arabic lexicon as it was compiled during the ʿAbbāsid era, *adab* evokes a much broader range of concepts. At that time, *adab* came to be identified with the fine culture of the educated urban class, where it referred to proper behavior, good manners, etiquette, and decorum.[9] In religious contexts, *adab* not only conveyed the idea of proper conduct, but also of character, discipline, disposition, and habitus.[10]

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4 Ibid., 20. Of course, not all Qurʾānic uses of the root *ʿ-l-m* refer to the range of meanings relevant here. Still, as Rosenthal points out, the prominence of the term in the Qurʾān is noteworthy.

5 See the outline in Heribert Horst, "Die Entstehung der *adab*-Literatur und ihre Arten", *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, Vol. II: *Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. by Helmut Gäthe (Wiesbaden: Reichart, 1987), 208–20.

6 For a discussion of later literary forms of *adab* see Ralf Elger, "Einige Überlegungen zum *adab* in der Frühen Neuzeit", *Zwischen Alltag und Schriftkultur: Horizonte des Individuellen in der arabischen Schriftkultur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth and Florian Schwarz (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008), 165–78.

7 See Luca Patrizi, *Divine Hospitality and the Formation of the Notion of Adab in Islam* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, forthcoming; based on his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation *Il banchetto divino. Formazione e sviluppo della nozione di adab nell'Islam, dalle origini alla letteratura degli ādāb al-ṣūfiyya*, University of Naples and University of Aix-Marseille, 2012). This is the most comprehensive treatment of the topic so far.

8 Carl Vollers, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Vol. 2: *Die islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Handschriften* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1906), 180, n. 1.

9 Stefan Guth, "Politeness, Höflichkeit, *adab*: A Comparative Conceptual-Cultural Perspective", *Verbal Festivity in Arabic and other Semitic Languages*, ed. by Lutz Edzard and Stephan Guth (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 9–30.

10 See Lapidus, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action".

In Muslim ethics and pedagogy, *ʿilm* and *adab* are closely connected. As Rosenthal has highlighted, the concept of *adab* also incorporates the notion of education.[11] He invokes parallels with the ancient Greek concept of παιδεία (education, training), showing how both *adab* and παιδεία describe processes of character formation that lie at the heart of ancient Greek as well as classical Islamic culture.[12] If we posit the transmission of knowledge, *ʿilm*, as one of the objectives of the educational process in Islamic religious contexts, then the link between the two becomes apparent: According to classical Islamic pedagogy, *ʿilm* can only effectively be imparted through the inculcation of *adab*, here understood as "the foundation of the soul or personality of the human being as a whole".[13]

How did this notion of *adab* evolve? Given the lack of Qurʾānic references to the term, the obvious step to take is to look for relevant statements in the collections of reports about the prophet Muḥammad and his companions. However, one needs to extend the search beyond the "Six Books" (*al-kutub al-sitta*), i.e., the most widely-recognized Sunnī *ḥadīth* works, in order to yield results that address the connection between *ʿilm* and *adab*. The *Musnad* of al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) attributes the following saying (*khabar*) to ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/652), the famous Qurʾān-reciter and companion of the Prophet:

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11 Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 286–87.

12 See ibid., 200 and 284. A detailed discussion of *adab* and παιδεία is offered in Peter Brown, "Late Antiquity and Islam: Parallels and Contrasts", *Moral Conduct and Authority. The Place of* Adab *in South Asian Islam*, ed. by Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 23–37.

13 Lapidus, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action", 39. The same nexus between *ʿilm* and *adab* also appears to underlie Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) famous advice to students in his magnum opus *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, where the first recommendation reads: "The student must first purify his soul by ridding himself of bad habits and other unpleasant character flaws. Thus he prepares himself to become a worthy vessel for knowledge"; see Sebastian Günther, "Be Masters in That You Teach and Continue to Learn: Medieval Muslim Thinkers on Educational Theory", *Comparative Education Review* 50.3 (2006), 367–88, p. 383. Other than Lapidus, who clearly gets the point ("Knowledge, Virtue, and Action", 47–49 and 57), Günther seems to miss this nexus when he depicts the wider objective of Islamic educators, paraphrasing al-Ghazālī, as "bestowing on their students enduring values and [...] educating them to desire the good" ("Be Masters", 386). For an illuminating discussion of al-Ghazālī's take on education see Yasein Mohamed, "The Principles of Sufi Education in al-Ghazali", *Sufism and Social Integration: Connecting Hearts, Crossing Boundaries*, ed. by Mohammad H. Faghfoori and Golam Dastagir (Chicago: ABC International Group, 2015).

"Verily, the banquet (*adab*) of God is the Qur'ān".[14] One variation transmitted in later collections adds an explicit reference to learning and knowledge: "Verily, this Qur'ān is God's banquet (*ma'duba*) on earth, so learn thoroughly from His banquet".[15]

This *ḥadīth* provided the basis for the idea that seeking knowledge is intimately linked to *adab*, epitomized by the Divine Banquet. The latter is a metaphor for God's invitation to feed on the material and spiritual nourishment He offers to His creation, culminating in the ultimate banquet in the Hereafter.[16]

In this tribute to Stefan Reichmuth, I will feast on his rich knowledge banquet by taking his reflections on *ʿilm* and *adab* in Yoruba Muslim culture as a point of departure to shed more light on the relationship between the two in the wider context of Muslim societies in sub-Saharan Africa. Drawing on empirical research in Sudan, Senegal, and Mauritania, I propose to show how contemporary knowledge practices of African Muslims are rooted in classical Islamic notions of character formation and proper *adab*.

ʿIlm and *adab* in Ilorin

In *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin*, Reichmuth offers a thorough analysis of the development of the so-called *ʿilm* schools (i.e., schools offering a broad training in the Islamic sciences) in Ilorin. He draws on a wide variety of sources, including interviews with Muslim scholars and primary materials in Arabic, Hausa, and Yoruba. Among the most insightful sources are locally-produced texts for use in teaching, such as the collections compiled by Ādam al-Ilūrī (d. 1413/1992), one of the most accomplished Muslim scholars in the city's history. In one of these collections, al-Ilūrī hails *ʿilm* as the gateway

14 Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *Musnad al-Dārimī al-maʿrūf bi-Sunan al-Dārimī*, ed. Ḥusayn Sālim Asad (Riyadh, 1421/2000), *ḥadīth* no. 3364.

15 Discussed in Luca Patrizi, *Divine Hospitality*. This work also offers an overview of the notion of God's banquet in Greek, Persian, Jewish, and Christian traditions. In a personal communication, Luca Patrizi expressed reservations about rendering *adab* as "banquet" in the first variant, even though he sees a correlation between the two variants. His preference for the translation of *adab* in the first variant is "education". See also note 31, below.

16 Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Concept of Education in Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia, 1980), 13–14; see also the in-depth discussion in Denis Gril, "*Adab* and Revelation or One of the Foundations of the Hermeneutics of Ibn ʿArabī", *Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi. A Commemorative Volume*, ed. by Stephen Hirtenstein and Michael Tiernan (Shaftesbury: Element for the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society, 1993), 228–63.

to Paradise and the path to honor, freedom, and happiness.[17] As Reichmuth points out with reference to al-Ilūrī and Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār (d. 1386/1965), another Yoruba scholar and author of didactic poetry widely used in teaching, *ʿilm* can only realize its full potential when complemented by *adab*, glossed here as good manners, character, and respect: "Only when combined do *ʿilm* and *adab* form the complete, independent human being".[18] Accordingly, character formation and the inculcation of ethical conduct played a vital role in the training of students in the Muslim schools of Ilorin. Lessons in *adab al-ʿilm*, the ethics of education (Bildungsethik), stood at the very beginning of the curriculum taught in the *ʿilm* schools of Ilorin at both the elementary and more advanced levels.[19]

Reichmuth later discusses another scholar and acclaimed mystic of Ilorin, Muḥammad Jumʿa Àlàbí (b. 1302/1885, d. 1341/1923), known by the epithet Tāj al-Adab ("The Crown of *adab*"), probably the most intriguing figure of all Yoruba scholars.[20] Even in his youth he acquired great fame for his knowledge, although he was never seen studying with a master. He subsequently disappeared from Ilorin and returned only a decade later, in 1913, when he started his career as a teacher that lasted until his early death. Even though his spiritual authority was a matter of controversy due to his unclear educational background, his purported miracles, and his mysterious absence, Tāj al-Adab was nonetheless able to train a number of students who continued his educational mission.

It appears that Tāj al-Adab had a quite peculiar understanding of *adab*. According to Reichmuth's sources, he frequently used to say "*adab* is superior to *ʿilm*" (*al-adab fawqa l-ʿilm*), a Sufi adage of unclear provenance, thus putting great emphasis on good manners and decorum. Yet his notion of *adab* as reflected in a bewildering glossolalic Arabic poem (offered by Reichmuth in transliteration and German translation) appears to be more than a mere call to adopt proper etiquette. As Reichmuth argues, Tāj al-Adab seems to conceive of *adab* as a "source of language and wisdom, to which he claimed to have

17 Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 118. It is worth noting that Reichmuth renders *ʿilm* as *Bildung* in German. The translation of *Bildung* as education fails to do justice to the wide range of meanings of this term, which includes the notions of formation, cultivation, and culture more generally.

18 The German original reads: "*Ilm* and *adab*, Bildung und Respekt, machen erst gemeinsam den vollwertigen, selbständigen Menschen aus" (ibid.).

19 Ibid., 118 and 125.

20 See ibid., 229–37; see also Aliyu Sakaiyau Alabi, *Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin: A History of Islamic Education, 1897–2012* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2015), 113–18.

inspired access".[21] Reichmuth goes even further by suggesting an analogy between Tāj al-Adab's notion of *adab* and the Yoruba concept of *ìwà*, which he glosses as "(beautiful) character".[22] Both instances, he maintains, represent a fusion of ethical and aesthetic elements that appear to conflate Tāj al-Adab's conception and helped him to emerge as a pioneer of "Islamic acculturation" in Yorubaland.

One of Tāj al-Adab's students, Muḥammad Tukur, known as Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adabī (b. 1325/1907, d. 1426/2005), eventually became the leader of the Zumrat al-Adabiyya, the educational movement Tāj al-Adab founded before his death.[23] His career as one of the most influential Yoruba Muslim scholars and educationists can serve to illustrate yet another facet of *adab* in this context. Under Kamāl al-Dīn's leadership, which extended from the time of British colonial rule well into the postcolonial period, the Adabiyya movement spearheaded several significant reforms within the Islamic educational sector. From the 1940s onwards, he established an expanding network of new institutions known as Adabiyya Arabic Schools, in which learning was based on a curriculum copied from modern schools Kamāl al-Dīn had visited in various Arab countries. Arabic language instruction featured prominently in this curriculum, which even included lessons in *tafsīr* (Qur'ān interpretation), usually the domain of the most advanced students. Unlike previous Muslim schools, Adabiyya Arabic Schools were equipped with blackboards, benches, and other furniture; students took examinations and received certificates. The most controversial reform measure, however, was the introduction of "secular" subjects, including English lessons. The promotion of *adab*, here understood as mastery of Islamic and Arabic culture, went hand-in-hand with attachment to Yoruba values and openness to modern education.

Whereas some Muslims of Ilorin hailed Kamāl al-Dīn's innovations, others were utterly opposed to them. A circle of conservative scholars popularly known as *makondoro*—a name that apparently goes back to a Yoruba expression alluding to their practice of shaving their heads—saw the Adabiyya Arabic Schools as the gateway through which "Western" education would make dangerous inroads into the Islamic culture of Yorubaland.[24] Some of the

21 Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 234.

22 Ibid., 235. On Stefan Reichmuth's research on *ìwà* see Razaq Abubakre's contribution to this volume.

23 On Kamāl al-Dīn and the Adabiyya see ibid., 237–242; Alabi, *Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin*, 118–27.

24 On this group see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 242–50, Alabi, *Transmission of Learning*, 127–33; and Rasheed A. Raji, "The Makondoro Muslims of Nigeria: Continuity

makondoro also laid claim to the legacy of Tāj al-Adab, expressed in their initial choice of Adabiyya as the name of their own network of schools. However, this name soon changed to Zumrat al-Mu'minīn, and the group came to be known for its staunch opposition to the adoption of any element from the "Western" curriculum or pedagogy. Their conservatism was partly rooted in the conviction that the inclusion of such elements would undermine the formation of Muslim personalities, epitomized in their idea of *adab*, which they perceived as a necessary requirement for attaining Islamic knowledge.[25]

The above-mentioned Shaykh Ādam al-Ilūrī emerged as the main protagonist of a third current of Islamic scholarship in Yorubaland, known as the Markaziyya (after its first educational center, Arab. *markaz*).[26] Based on the idea of *ʿilm* and *adab* as complementing each other, al-Ilūrī's constant educational effort was instrumental in forming a new generation of Muslim scholars, where "the term *adab* came to be identified with knowledge of religious sciences, proficiency in spoken and written Arabic, and indeed efficiency in preaching".[27]

Taken together, Reichmuth's findings about *ʿilm* and *adab* in Ilorin show that Muslim scholars have adopted classical Islamic notions of the terms in a variety of ways, partly adapting them to their cultural environment. Before expanding on his findings on the basis of my research in sub-Saharan Africa, I will provide some historical background on the role of *adab* in Islamic educational contexts.

Notions of *adab* in Islamic Education

The textual evidence presented in Patrizi's study[28] suggests that the meaning of *adab* went through different stages, even though the precise course of the transition is difficult if not impossible to reconstruct: from Divine Banquet to good manners more generally, and from good manners to the proper habitus

Through Learning Strategies", *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 11.1 (1990), 153–63. According to Amidu Sanni (Lagos State University; personal communication), many Makondoro nowadays take a more favorable stance towards "Western" education, and some of them pursue higher education at Nigerian universities.

25 Alabi, *Transmission of Learning*, 131.

26 For a discussion of the Markaziyya see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 251–57 and 273–79, and Alabi, *Transmission of Learning*, 133–39.

27 Amidu Sanni, Review of Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca.* 1800, *Journal of African History* 41.2 (2000), 316–18, p. 317.

28 Patrizi, *Divine Hospitality*.

of the individual vis-à-vis God and His creation. All major *ḥadīth* collections contain sections on ethics and etiquette, indicating that the topic was high on the agenda in the second and third century after the *hijra*. However, the most common term used to refer to ethics was *akhlāq* rather than *adab*. Judging from the increased frequency of references from the fifth/eleventh century onwards, it seems that a purported saying of the prophet Muḥammad was instrumental in giving rise to the notion of *adab* in the sense of education and good manners. Even if most likely apocryphal and only attested in later, secondary hadith works compiled after the "Six Books", the following prophetic utterance is widely quoted in connection with *adab*: "My Lord educated me, and He perfected my education (*addabanī rabbī wa-aḥsana taʾdībī*)".[29]

This phrase has several implications. First, the report has the Prophet declare that it was God who taught him manners; in other words, it emphasizes that God acted as Muḥammad's "mentor in moral matters".[30] Second, the Prophet does not speak of knowledge he received (whether in terms of *ʿilm* or divine revelation, *waḥy*), but of *adab*: the emphasis is on character formation and moral training[31] rather than the mere transmission of knowledge to the

29 This version appears in the collection *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-āthār*, compiled by Majd al-Dīn Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. al-Athīr, d. 606/1210 (see Patrizi, *Divine Hospitality*). Earlier Sufi sources give variants of this tradition, e.g. *Jawāmiʿ ādāb al-ṣūfiyya* by al-Sulamī (d. 426/1035), whose version is *addabanī rabbī fa-aḥsana adabī thumma amaranī bi-makārim al-akhlāq* ("My Lord educated me, and he perfected my *adab*; then he commanded me to realize noble character"); see Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Kitāb Jawāmiʿ ādāb al-ṣūfiyya and ʿUyūb al-nafs wa-mudāwātuhā*, ed. by Etan Kohlberg (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1976), 3 (Arabic part; my gratitude goes to Annabel Keeler for drawing my attention to this source). In note 7 on the same page, Kohlberg gives references from several seminal Sufi works written around the same time, including Sarrāj's *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* and al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*. See also Qamar-ul Huda, "The Light Beyond the Shore in the Theology of Proper Sufi Moral Conduct (*Adab*)", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 72.2 (2004), 461–84, p. 476, for a discussion of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) treatment of this *ḥadīth*.

30 Walid Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition: The Qur'an Commentary of al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 117.

31 Patrizi (in his forthcoming monograph *Divine Hospitality*) quotes from Ibn al-ʿArabī's comment on this *ḥadīth* in *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, which highlights the comprehensive nature of the Prophet's *adab* as well as the connection with the Divine Banquet: "The first thing that God has commanded to His servant is to gather (*jamʿ*), and this is *adab*. *Adab* derives from 'banquet' (*maʾduba*), which is gathering to eat. Similarly, *adab* is to put together all that is good. The Prophet said: 'God has taught me *adab*', in other words: he put together in me all the good things, and then he said: 'And then he perfected in me the *adab*.' In other words: he made me a receptacle for every good thing". Cf. the

Prophet, the latter being an aspect that features prominently in the Qurʾān. Third, the fact that this (probably apocryphal) statement only begins to spread well after the compilation of the standard *ḥadīth* works in the ninth century CE suggests that it conveys a meaning of *adab* that was less prominent in the earliest period—at least not in the written sources. It is in the Sufi classics of the tenth and eleventh centuries CE that *adab* gains particular importance, where many authors depict it as moral training aimed at inculcating a particular disposition in an individual.[32]

However, such a concept of *adab* was not confined to Sufi contexts. None other than Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the eminent theologian and jurist from Baghdad who later came to be called as a witness for the cause of anti-Sufis, figures in an anecdote that highlights the relevance of *adab* as well as its function in teacher-student relationships. In his *al-Ādāb al-sharʿiyya*, the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Mufliḥ (d. 763/1362) relates that "about 5,000 or more people used to attend the lessons (*majlis*) of Aḥmad. Less than 500 used to take notes (*yaktubūn*), while the others used to learn the beauty of *adab* (*ḥusn al-adab*) and the beauty of silence".[33]

It would certainly be naïve to take this anecdote at face value. Furthermore, the claim that 500 people actually wrote down notes seems doubtful given the scarcity of writing material at the time. Yet it is remarkable that, according to the anecdote, the overwhelming majority attended Ibn Ḥanbal's lessons in

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interpretation offered in al-Attas, *Concept of Education*, 15–17. On Ibn al-ʿArabī's take on *adab* see also Gril, "*Adab* and Revelation".

32 On one of the later classics, *Ādāb al-murīdīn* by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220), see Fritz Meier, "Ein Knigge für Sufis", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 32 (1957), 485–524 (though the authorship of this work is contested; see Gerhard Böwering, "The *Adab* Literature of Classical Sufism: Anṣarī's Code of Conduct", *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of* Adab *in South Asian Islam*, ed. by Barbara D. Metcalf [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984], 62–87, pp. 69–70); on ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* see Huda, "Light Beyond the Shore"; on another classic by ʿUmar's uncle, see Florian Sobieroj, "Ibn Khafīf's *Kitāb al-Iqtiṣād* and Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-murīdīn*. A Comparison Between Two Works on the Training of Novices", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43.2 (1998), 327–45.

33 Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Mufliḥ al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Ādāb al-sharʿiyya wa-l-minaḥ al-marʿiyya* (Beirut 1972), vol. 2, 13. As Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Luca Patrizi suggest in the introduction to a recent collective volume on *adab* ("Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi *adab*", *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi Adab*, ed. by Francesco Chiabotti, Eve Feuillebois-Pierunek, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, Luca Patrizi [Leiden: Brill, 2017], 1–44, p. 4), the proximity between beauty (*ḥusn*) and *adab*—concepts that are often quoted together, as in the anecdote about Ibn Ḥanbal—was probably based on the phrase *fa-aḥsana taʾdībī* (or *adabī*) in the above-quoted *ḥadīth*.

order to attain *adab*. This gives further weight to the view that learning was not understood as piling up knowledge derived from books, but rather as imbibing a disposition towards God and His creation, a disposition that could only be obtained in the physical presence of a qualified master.

This view is echoed in studies of Islamic education in medieval Damascus and Cairo respectively, which suggest that the acquisition of *adab* came to be regarded as a prerequisite for seeking knowledge and truth.[34] According to this perspective, learning cannot succeed when only based on studying books, as William Graham has emphasized in his interpretive essay on "traditionalism in Islam": "Truth does not reside in documents, however authentic, ancient, or well-preserved, but in authentic human beings and their personal connections with one another".[35]

Graham's finding has important methodological ramifications. If the acquisition of *adab* is contingent on person-to-person transmission, and if we conceive of *adab* in this context as a habitus that can only be attained through internalization rather than communication through oral or written channels, a full appreciation of *adab* as character formation requires us to widen our focus to include not only "book knowledge" in the analysis, but also actual practices that characterize student-teacher relationships. *Adab* in this sense was, and continues to be, a practice based on physical absorption and embodiment rather than an abstract ethical concept confined to and taught through written tracts. As such, it escapes textual fixation, regardless of the large number of treatises composed to define the proper code of conduct, whether for Sufis, teachers, students, preachers, judges, or rulers. In order to transcend the level of normative moral injunctions, we are required to comb through textual sources—such as Ibn Mufliḥ's *al-Ādāb al-sharʿiyya*—in search of evidence for practices that help reveal a fuller picture of the inculcation of *adab*.

Some of these sources appear in Rosenthal's study. For instance, he quotes the Shāfiʿī jurist Ibn Jamāʿa (d. 733/1333) with an injunction directed at students of the Islamic sciences, who are commanded "to sit before their professors as children do before the teacher of the Qurʾān".[36] This statement not only confers an almost sacred position to the instructor as the transmitter of divine

34 See in particular Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

35 William A. Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam: An Essay in Interpretation", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1993), 495–522, p. 505.

36 Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 296.

knowledge, but also contains a reference to the bodily demeanor expected from students. Sitting in front of the master requires a specific posture, where the students sit either cross-legged or preferably with their legs folded under the buttocks, similar to the position taken towards the end of ritual prayer. The Ḥanafī scholar al-Zarnūjī (d. 602/1223), the author of widely-read guidelines for teachers, emphasized the importance of choosing the right teacher and keeping the right company.[37] This may sound like a commonplace statement, but the reference intended here is quite specific: students need to seek the company of those who can serve as models of proper conduct, because it is only in the presence of such people that they can acquire *adab*.

Statements attributed to earlier icons of Islamic scholarship and piety follow a similar path. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), the famous ascetic and *ḥadīth* specialist from Khorasan, is often quoted as saying that he spent 30 years studying *adab* and 20 years studying *ʿilm*, because "we are not in need of more knowledge but of more *adab*".[38] Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), from Medina, the eponym of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence and one of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak's teachers, purportedly once told a young man from the Quraysh to "learn *adab* before you acquire knowledge".[39] Given Mālik's emphasis on emulating the practice (*ʿamal*) of the early Muslims of Medina,[40] it is probably no coincidence that references to the role of *adab* in teacher-student relationships abound in works by third/ninth- and fourth/tenth-century North African scholars with a Mālikī background. Among the earliest "educational monographs", as Rosenthal calls them, is the short treatise *Ādāb al-muʿallimīn* ("Etiquettes for the Teachers") by Muḥammad b. Ṣaḥnūn (d. 256/870, a contemporary of Ibn Ḥanbal), followed by Mālikī luminaries such as Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996) and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qābisī (d. 403/1012).[41] All

37 Ibid.; according to Reichmuth (*Islamische Bildung*, 125–26), al-Zarnūjī's work, even though composed in Central Asia, began to circulate widely in West Africa from 1800 onwards.

38 Huda, "Light Beyond the Shore", 480.

39 *Taʿallam al-adab qabla an tataʿallam al-ʿilm*; quoted in the chapter on Mālik in the famous 5th/11th-century biographical dictionary *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*; see Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1409/1988), vol. 3, 330.

40 See Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qurʾan, the Muwattaʾ and Madinan ʿAmal* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Umar F. Abd-Allah Wymann-Landgraf, *Mālik and Medina: Islamic Legal Reasoning in the Formative Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

41 Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 290–91. On Ibn Ṣaḥnūn see Sebastian Günther, "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Ṣaḥnūn and al-Jāḥiẓ on Pedagogy and Didactics", *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. by Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 89–128.

these authors posit the acquisition of the proper habitus as a precondition to the search for knowledge, and they all indicate that *adab* is—to borrow a phrase used by Peter Brown in his discussion of παιδεία and *adab*—more than "intellectual grooming". Just like παιδεία as depicted by Brown, *adab* as understood in this context is "expected to show itself immediately in body posture, in the inflection of the voice, in the restriction of gestures, and even in the control of breathing".[42]

However, even if the type of textual evidence presented above gives us a glimpse of the role of *adab* in the educational process, it does not allow us to fully grasp the dimension of *adab* as a bodily practice. For such a purpose, we need to turn to the empirical study of contexts where *adab* is not taught by the word, but by example. The following section offers a cursory overview of such contexts in selected settings of Islamic education in Sudanic Africa, i.e. the regions south of the Sahara stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea.

ʿIlm, *adab*, and Islamic Epistemologies in Sudanic Africa

To those who—other than Stefan Reichmuth—identify "real" Islam with the Middle East or the Arab world, it might appear unconventional to extend the search for Islamic pedagogies and epistemologies beyond the purported "heartlands" of Islam. Yet, as Rudolph Ware has demonstrated in his recent work on Qur'ānic schooling in Senegal,[43] studying the "periphery" can yield surprising insights. Ware argues that Senegal's Qur'ān schools replicate a pattern of Islamic learning with roots in the early period of Islam, a pattern that, according to him, has not survived the onslaught of modernity in most parts of the Arab world. Even if one does not follow Ware's bold suggestion that "pristine" Islam has been best preserved in West Africa,[44] empirical evidence from other parts of Sudanic Africa supports his findings about the continuous impact of Mālikī notions of proper learning, *adab*, and *ʿamal* in the wider region. In a similar vein, Stefan Reichmuth has observed that the pedagogical ideas and practices among Muslims in 20th-century Ilorin conform to the classical ethics of Islamic education as depicted by Rosenthal.[45]

42 Brown, "Late Antiquity and Islam", 28.

43 See Rudolph Ware, *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

44 For a hypercritical view, see Wendell Hassan Marsh, "Dehistoricizing Islam in Africa", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35.2 (2015), 656–66.

45 Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 234.

Educational settings in contemporary Muslim societies of Sudanic Africa offer ample empirical evidence for the preservation and cultivation of *adab* as character formation and bodily practice.[46] A very obvious example can be found in the Fulfulde-speaking areas of western Nigeria and northern Cameroon, where teachers of the Islamic sciences are called *modibbe* (sing. *modibbo*), a word derived from Arabic *muʾaddib*, "the one who teaches *adab*".[47] However, the inculcation of *adab* begins at the most basic level, the "traditional" Qurʾān school, where students memorize the Sacred Word with the help of wooden slates (Arabic, *alwāḥ*, sing. *lawḥ*). It is known as *daara* in Senegal, *makarantar allo* ("the *lawḥ* school") among Hausa speakers, and *khalwa* in Sudan, to mention but a few local names. Although new styles of Qurʾān schooling have been introduced in the many "modern" educational institutions, whether private or state-run, that have emerged in sub-Saharan Africa since the mid-20th century,[48] such schools continue to constitute the primary locus for the religious socialization of young children. Often decried by outside observers as useless for or even detrimental to the children's development, the Qurʾān school is still considered by many African Muslims as effectively conveying crucial religious and social skills. While it is true that many children leave the school without memorizing more than a few chapters of the Qurʾān, most if not all of them will be infused with a peculiar reverence for the Sacred Word, a reverence that is best captured in the term *adab*.

The entire setup of the Qurʾān school is designed to instill this type of *adab* into the children. From proper behavior toward the teacher to proper handling of the Qurʾān, from the proper way of sitting and bodily demeanor to the correct pronunciation of the Divine Word, the young students learn the prerequisites needed to turn their bodies, in the words of Ware, into "worthy vessels of God's verbatim speech".[49] This transformation does not occur through discursive instruction, but through the often rather harsh regime of discipline and through imitating the teacher or other senior students involved in the instruction of the younger ones. With wooden slates in their hands, the children sit

46 The following paragraphs are based on observations I was able to make during many visits to Muslim religious schools and Sufi centers in Sudan, Senegal, Mauritania, Chad, and Nigeria over the past 25 years. I will only refer to few specific places by name.

47 Ahmed Khalid Ayong, *Traditional Islamic Scholarly Culture in Northern Cameroon, 1900 to the Present* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bayreuth, 2016).

48 For an excellent study of different styles of Islamic education in West Africa see Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power, and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

49 Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 1.

in the shade of trees or makeshift constructions, often on the bare soil or sand (though sometimes also on mats and nowadays also in simple classrooms), rehearsing the section of the Qur'ān written with locally-produced ink on their respective slate. Once the teacher has verified that the student has mastered the section, the ink is washed off so that the student can write a new section on the slate and start the memorization process afresh.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of both the etiquette with the Qur'ān and the embodied character of knowledge transmitted in this setting is the way in which the students dispose of the water used to clean their slates. After every drop has been carefully collected in a bowl, the student would often drink some of it and then carry the bowl to a basin specifically constructed for the purpose of holding the sacred water. Such practices constitute not only an expression of *adab*, but also relate to ways of ingesting and touching the Qur'ān that have a long genealogy in Islam.[50] In brief, they highlight the connection between *'ilm* and *adab*, learning and the body.

The special character of religious education conveyed in Qur'ān schools is further accentuated through attitudes of African Muslims toward other types of schools, widely referred to as *madrasa*s. Whether Islamic or "secular", such modern schools have frequently struggled to gain acceptance among the Muslim populace in various parts of sub-Saharan Africa.[51] In part, the resistance of Muslims against the new schools is related to the fact that they were introduced by colonial powers and therefore widely perceived as promoting a Christian missionary agenda. Yet even in areas where colonial administrators included Islamic subjects in the school curriculum in order to make it more palatable to predominantly Muslim populations, the new educational institutions still met with strong opposition, precisely because the *madrasa* did not follow the same *adab*-based approach to imparting knowledge as did the Qur'ān schools. A popular proverb among Muslims in Darfur, one of the most conservative regions in Sudanic Africa when it comes to matters of Qur'ān

50 See Travis Zadeh, "Touching and Ingesting: Early Debates over the Material Qur'an", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129.3 (2009), 443–66. This genealogy is largely ignored in an otherwise interesting study of practices that involve drinking the Qur'ān in Darfur; see Abdullahi Osman El-Tom, "Drinking the Koran: The Meaning of Koranic Verses in Berti Erasure", *Africa* 55.4 (1985), 414–31.

51 A case in point is the region of Wadai in eastern Chad, studied in Issa H. Khayar, *Le refus de l'école. Contribution à l'étude des problèmes de l'éducation chez les musulmans du Ouaddai (Tchad)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976); see also Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*.

schooling,[52] expresses this attitude quite well: "The children of the *madrasa*, Hellfire is awaiting them; for the children of the Qurʾān school, Paradise is close" (*awlād al-madāris nāruhum ḥāris, awlād al-masīd janna qarīb*). In other words, attaining proper knowledge is contingent on the proper setting and the acquisition of proper *adab*, which the *madrasa* cannot offer, at least according to these views.

Certainly, nowadays such attitudes do not prevail among African Muslims to the same extent they did under colonial rule. Nonetheless, if we widen our focus to include institutions of higher Islamic learning in the analysis, we find very similar notions of the superiority of "traditional" educational settings over "modern" ones. Some of the leading centers offering advanced Islamic learning in the relevant religious disciplines (including Arabic language, Qurʾānic sciences, *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, etc.) are located in present-day Mauritania, historically known as *bilād Shinqīṭ*. Until the middle of the 20th century, the *maḥaḍra*, as such schools are called, was the only educational institution in Mauritania.[53] Usually located in remote areas far away from urban distractions, the *maḥaḍra* is the locus for the cultivation of Islamic knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next through pedagogical methods based on mnemonic techniques and bodily practices with a long pedigree in the history of Islamic learning. Like the Qurʾān school, the *maḥaḍra* is characterized by a rigorous regime of discipline and strict sets of rules governing the life of the students, many of whom hail from other West African countries and beyond.

Since the 1980s, some of the more famous Mauritanian scholars have started to attract disciples from abroad, especially among European and American converts to Islam. Paradigmatic among the latter is Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, a Californian who founded the Zaytuna Institute, which eventually became the Zaytuna College in Berkeley.[54] Hamza Yusuf spearheaded a trend among converts to study Islam in Mauritania, as they perceive the *maḥaḍra* as being the beacon of "traditional" Islamic education. Once they arrive in the desert,

52 See Rüdiger Seesemann, "'Where East Meets West': Islamic Educational Institutions in Darfur/Sudan", *Islam et sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 13 (1999), 41–61.

53 For an up-to-date and concise overview of the *maḥaḍra*, see Mohamed Lahbib Nouhi (with C.C. Stewart), "The *maḥaẓra* Educational Institution", *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. 5: *The Writings of Mauritania and the Western Sahara*, ed. by Charles C. Stewart (Leiden: Brill, 2016), vol. 1, 18–48; see also Corinne Fortier, "'Une pédagogie coranique': Modes de transmission des savoirs islamiques (Mauritanie)", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 43.169–70 (2003), 235–60, and Chouki El Hamel, "The Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Moorish Society from the Rise of the Almoravids to the 19th Century", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29.1 (1999), 62–87.

54 See http://www.zaytuna.edu (last accessed March 15, 2016).

however, they often struggle with the difficult living conditions: scarcity of water and electricity, the hot weather, lack of comfort, little variation in food, and, at least until very recently, absence of modern means of communication. From the perspective of the teachers, such hardships do not signify a deficiency of life in the *maḥaḍra*, but rather an essential precondition for successful learning. It is only in an austere environment that students will acquire proper *adab*—the habitus needed to prepare them for the acquisition of knowledge.

This aspect is well captured in an account I heard from a young French convert in Umm al-Qurā, a well-known *maḥaḍra* located about twenty miles southeast of Nouakchott: One day an American *maḥaḍra* student was seated with his teacher and fellow students in a *ḥalaqa* (learning circle) under a tree. The session became physically demanding due to the extremely hot weather and the large number of flies that constantly surrounded him. When he eventually used a book to chase the flies away, the teacher reprimanded him saying, "You do not have the right to drive the flies away! You do not know why God has sent them to you". The environment of the *maḥaḍra* thus appears to echo the Latin adage *per aspera ad astra*, but *adab* in this context means more than that. Attaining *adab* is contingent on the physical experience, and it is not taught in a discursive manner, but learnt simply through keeping the company of an accomplished scholar. The objective of this type of education is not simply to impart knowledge to the student, but to instill in him the desired attitude towards God and His creation.

During conversations I had with *maḥaḍra* teachers in Mauritania about *ʿilm* and *adab*, they repeatedly referred me to the story of Iblīs (Satan) in the Qurʾān (Q 38:71–83; also mentioned elsewhere, e.g. 2:34 and 18:50). His refusal to emulate the angels and bow down to Adam, born out of pride, leads to his expulsion and establishes his enmity to the children of Adam until the Day of Judgment. However, Iblīs' failure to follow God's command was not rooted in a lack of knowledge, as he had been one of God's faithful servants and, according to some Muslim scholars, even a teacher to the angels prior to the creation of Adam. Rather, his demeanor signals a lack of *adab*, because otherwise he could not have disobeyed God. The story thus demonstrates that *ʿilm* in itself has no value unless it is accompanied by *adab*. The entire *maḥaḍra* setting is designed to promote the character formation of its students and foster the necessary disposition that enables them to seek knowledge.

Those who have attained knowledge and earned a reputation as *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars; lit. "people of knowledge") are expected to conform to high ethical standards. Perhaps the most important demand on a religious scholar in the Mauritanian context (and elsewhere) is humility (Arabic, *tawāḍuʿ*). Also, knowledge is not supposed to be used in the search for prestige or worldly gains.

Repeatedly I heard people in the *maḥaḍra* context refer to the four blemishes of knowledge that go back to a saying attributed to the prophet Muḥammad: boasting of one's knowledge; competing with fools over claims to knowledge; using knowledge to influence other people in one's favor; and attempting to obtain favors from rulers or holders of powerful positions by means of one's knowledge.[55] All this forms part of the ethics of *ʿilm* and constitutes the yardstick by which a scholar's reputation is measured.

Notions of *adab* are equally prevalent and perhaps even more visible in the realm of Sufism. Throughout Sudanic Africa, Sufi orders (most notably the Tijāniyya and the Qādiriyya) continue to be influential,[56] though their influence is not evenly distributed over this vast geographic area and has recently been challenged by the emergence of reformist currents inspired by Salafī and Wahhābī doctrine. Nonetheless, we can still observe the impact of what I have described elsewhere as the Mālikī-Ashʿarī-Sufi-nexus—i.e., the combination of Mālikī jurisprudence and Ashʿarī theology with a commitment to Sufi teachings and practices[57]—in many Muslim communities between the Atlantic Ocean and the Red Sea.

Whether in the sense of proper conduct or character formation, whether as the etiquette of the journey of the mystical path (*ādāb al-sulūk*), whether in the sense of correct behavior vis-à-vis the master (*al-adab maʿa l-shaykh*) or the Divine Presence (*al-adab maʿa l-ḥaḍra*), *adab* can be described as the cornerstone of Sufi practice.[58] The wide range of literature Sufis have devoted to *adab* for more than a millennium attests to its preeminent role in Sufism.[59] However, no matter how widely the manuals circulate or what they say, the habitus required from a Sufi can only be attained at the hands of a qualified

55 This *ḥadīth* is also quoted by Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, who gives al-Tirmidhī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as his source. Incidentally, Stefan Reichmuth provides a model of a scholar who is free of such blemishes.

56 For an overview, see Rüdiger Seesemann, "Sufism in West Africa", *Religion Compass* 4.10 (2010), 606–14.

57 See further Rüdiger Seesemann, "Embodied Knowledge and 'The Walking Qur'an': Lessons for the Study of Islam and Africa", *Journal of Africana Religions* 3.2 (2015), 201–9.

58 See Mayeur-Jaouen and Patrizi, "Ethics and Spirituality" (with a useful overview of secondary literature on the subject). In addition to the references cited in note 29 above, see also Jean-Jacques Thibon, "La relation maître-disciple ou les éléments de l'alchimie spirituelle d'après trois manuscrits de Sulamī", *Mystique musulmane, parcours en compagnie d'un chercheur: Roger Deladrière*, ed. by G. Gobillot (Paris: Cariscript, 2003), 93–124.

59 See Eric S. Ohlander, "Adab, in Ṣūfism", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (2009) vol. 1, 40–43.

master; just as in the Qur'ān school or in the *maḥaḍra*, Sufi *adab* is not taught discursively, but acquired and embodied in interactions between people.

A very instructive example for the inculcation of Sufi *adab* is the late Tijānī Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Sīdī Muḥammad (d. 1420/1999), from El-Fasher in Darfur, Sudan.[60] In the mid-1990s, when I had the privilege of spending many months in his company, he had an inner circle of thirty to forty disciples, in addition to hundreds of others who used to frequent his *zāwiya* (Sufi center) or those run by his affiliates in other parts of Darfur. What struck me about his followers was the fact that they always removed their shoes whenever the shaykh was within their sight, not only within the precincts of the *zāwiya* (which is, of course, a general rule), but also when they encountered him in the streets or on the market. Walking barefoot on the asphalt or sandy ground in the hot weather of Darfur is a painful experience that requires a high degree of self-control. Likewise, Shaykh Ibrāhīm's followers never appeared in front of him wearing a turban or other headdress, they never spoke unless the shaykh told them to do so, and they never turned their backs to him, which meant that they usually had to walk backwards when leaving a place in which the shaykh was present. Moreover, nobody was supposed to remain seated when the shaykh was standing. Such practices might appear anachronistic to an outsider, and they were denounced and even called "un-Islamic" by other Muslims and several other representatives of the Tijāniyya order in El-Fasher and beyond. His followers' reasoning, however, was simple: from their perspective, these practices expressed the respect they owed to Shaykh Ibrāhīm as the representative of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī (the order's founder, d. 1230/1815) and ultimately of the prophet Muḥammad. Moreover, they saw this type of deference as both a display of and a way to learn proper *adab*.[61]

But even if we leave these rather unconventional (though certainly not unprecedented) practices aside, the case of Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Sīdī Muḥammad can serve to illustrate many other aspects of Sufi *adab*. He used to attach the utmost importance to discipline and obedience, and used physical work to instill humility in his disciples. The latter, in turn, perceived of their work for the shaykh as a means to attain spiritual progress.[62] In a similar vein, Shaykh

60 For more on Ibrāhīm b. Sīdī Muḥammad, see Rüdiger Seesemann, "Three Ibrāhīms: Literary Production and the Remaking of the Tijāniyya Sufi Order in Twentieth-Century Africa", *Die Welt des Islams* 49 (2009), 299–333 (with further references).

61 See Huda, "Light Beyond the Shore", 472–73, for 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's perspective on respectful behavior towards the shaykh.

62 See Rüdiger Seesemann, "Work Ethics among Sufis in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Adyan/Religions* 7 (2015), 66–73.

Ibrāhīm emphasized the rules to be followed in the recitations and rituals of the Tijāniyya, most notably the *adab* of *dhikr* (lit., recollection of God; here the collective recitation of Divine Names). Once more, *adab* translates into specific demands on the physical demeanor of the disciples: from the correct position of one's legs and arms to the control of one's breath and voice, the body takes center stage in the *dhikr*.

These few glimpses may suffice to show that such notions of *adab* conform to the classical Sufi view of *adab* as being "intrinsically connected to the path of accessing the divine".[63] However, other than in the educational settings described above, *adab* does not constitute the prerequisite for attaining *ʿilm*, but rather the preparation for mystical knowledge of God (*maʿrifa*). This important distinction notwithstanding, the underlying concept of *adab* remains the same.

The examples offered here all give evidence of the pervasiveness of *adab* in various contexts of knowledge practices among Muslims in Sudanic Africa. Perhaps the most important conclusion pertains to the corporeal dimension of the inculcation of *adab*. Whether it is the way students of the Qurʾān are seated, the etiquette of the learning circle or the appearance of disciples in front of their shaykh, in all those instances the emphasis is on a peculiar type of bodily comportment that is required from students. Hence, rather than being restricted to decorum and good manners, the notion of *adab* conveys a more comprehensive set of meanings that revolve around character formation through self-discipline and physical demeanor designed to transform the individual into a worthy vessel of knowledge, whether in the sense of *ʿilm* conveyed in educational settings or in the sense of *maʿrifa* in Sufi contexts.

Two further aspects deserve special emphasis. First, learning *adab* in this sense requires the bodily presence of the teacher. The examples offered here therefore support and expand on Graham's argument about truth residing in authentic human beings and their personal connections with one another. Teaching and learning are not limited to discursive interaction or engagement with texts.

Second, the prominence of *adab* in Sufi contexts notwithstanding, it would be mistaken to conceive of this type of character formation as a practice peculiar to Sufis. Reichmuth's work on Ilorin has already pointed in this direction, and Ware's study of Qurʾān schools in Senegal lends further support to the view of *adab* as having a general relevance rather than being restricted to Sufi contexts. Zachary Wright makes a similar point in his recent study of knowledge practices among the Tijāniyya in Senegal. Describing the extent to which Islamic learning, and not only Sufi spirituality, permeates the lives of the

63 Huda, "Light Beyond the Shore", 480.

members of the Sufi community he studied, Wright concluded that "The idea of religious knowledge as an acquired disposition (habitus) to be inscribed in the being of the student, who effects a particular comportment and positioning in the world, was thus fundamental to learning practices in West African Islam".[64]

The *adab*-related ideas and practices presented in this section, although taking on different expressions depending on the context, are rooted in the same epistemological premise of an inner as well as outer transformation that needs to precede the acquisition of knowledge and the recognition of the truth.

Conclusion

The study of *adab* in Islamic educational settings in Sudanic Africa can teach us several lessons. In order to attain a better understanding of the wider implications of *adab* as character formation, it is useful to consider knowledge practices in other historical and religious contexts. As mentioned above, notions of Islamic education and moral training as they emerged in the ʿAbbāsid period have much in common with the classical Greek concept of *παιδεία*. In a similar vein, Foucault has pointed to parallels between some of the basic concepts of ancient Greek philosophy and late antique Christianity. According to Foucault, both cultures (and actually all cultures prior to the Renaissance) posit practices of the self (*le travail d'élaboration de soi sur soi; ἐπιμέλεια ἑαυτοῦ*) as a precondition for recognizing higher realities. Asceticism (*ἄσκησις*) serves as a bridge to knowledge; ethical life conduct, moral purification, and inner transformation are the means to get access to the truth.[65]

The above analysis of the relationship between *adab* and *ʿilm* in Sudanic Africa demonstrates that *adab* is inscribed into the same logic Foucault has outlined. In both conceptions, the subject needs to undergo a transformation through practices of the self, which, in the various Islamic educational contexts, consist of the adoption of a specific bodily demeanor and a peculiar way of showing reverence to religious knowledge and the person conveying

64 Zachary V. Wright, *Living Knowledge in West African Islam: The Sufi Community of Ibrāhīm Niasse* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 15.

65 Michel Foucault, "Entretien avec Hubert L. Dreyfus et Paul Rabinow", *Michel Foucault: Un parcours philosophique*, ed. by Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 322–46, pp. 345–46; see also Edward F. McGushin, *Foucault's Askēsis: An Introduction to the Philosophical Life* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2007), chapter 5: Foucault's Cartesian Meditations.

it, all the while complying with all concomitant rules and ethical demands. According to this perspective, it is through *adab* that the individual is transformed into a vessel worthy of *ʿilm*; it is *adab* that prepares the Sufi for higher spiritual insights, frequently glossed as *maʿrifa*.

Foucault contrasts the ascetic elaboration of the self with the Cartesian principle that sets forth a different path to accessing the truth: In order to attain knowledge, it is sufficient for the individual to be able to see and understand what is evident. Thus, an individual can be amoral and yet know the truth, as knowledge is not contingent on prior self-transformation of the subject.[66] For Foucault, this "Cartesian moment" constitutes a decisive rupture with the past. When rational evidence replaces asceticism and practices of the self, the individual undergoes a transformation from an "ascetic knowledge subject" to a "non-ascetic knowledge subject", a transition that, according to Foucault, paved the way for the emergence of modern science.[67]

The Cartesian subject whose knowledge is based on evidence without being tied to practices of the self bears a striking resemblance to the depiction of Iblīs as having knowledge but no *adab.* The fundamental proposition of *adab* as understood here is well expressed in Foucault's affirmation that "an act of knowledge could never give access to the truth unless it was prepared, accompanied, doubled, and completed by a certain transformation of the subject".[68] Incidentally, this statement reads like an explanation of the aphorism *al-adab qabla l-ʿilm*, i.e., *adab* precedes knowledge, derived from the above-quoted account involving Mālik b. Anas.[69]

How is this connection between *adab* and *ʿilm* reflected in the epistemological approach of Salafī and Wahhābī currents, which have constantly expanded their influence in Sudanic Africa since the middle of the 20th century? In the new institutions of Islamic education established by protagonists of such reformist currents, learning revolved much more around discursive practices than the inculcation of *adab*. In an article comparing the two predominant types of Islamic schooling in postcolonial West Africa, Louis Brenner proposes distinguishing two paradigms of Islamic knowledge, called the "esoteric" and

66 Foucault, "Entretien", 345; although he does not mention his source, he is referring to Descartes' *Méditations sur la philosophie première*, originally written in 1641.

67 Foucault gave a detailed exposition of this subject in one of his lectures at the Collège de France: Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981–1982*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2005), 1–25, esp. 14–19.

68 Ibid., 16.

69 See above, note 39.

the "rationalistic" episteme.[70] According to Brenner, the rise of Islamic reformism, in conjunction with the modernization of many sectors of society, has led to an epistemic shift, one in which Islamic knowledge is not restricted to a small elite but (at least theoretically) becomes available to all, where the teachers are not perceived as "holy men" and religious devotion becomes separated from the process of learning.[71]

Rudolph Ware takes Brenner's point further and makes a related argument about "Cartesian habits of mind" among Salafī scholars who, in his view, "make an idol of reason".[72] For Ware, their approach to Islamic knowledge marks an epistemological rupture with the ways in which teaching and learning were conceived and practiced before the advent of Islamic reformism. Zachary Wright, on the other hand, has advanced the argument that Brenner and Ware's epistemological divide should rather be read as an *adab* divide. In the view of Wright's Sufi respondents, the conflict between Sufis and reformists has less to do with different epistemologies or different worldviews. Rather, it is "between those who have *adab*, or have put the religion into practice, and those who do not have *adab*, those for whom the religion is simply ideology".[73]

Can we therefore describe reformist knowledge practices in terms of an "*adab* rupture", with similar effects as the "Cartesian moment"? Clearly, reformists would strongly contest the claim of Wright's informants about their alleged failure to put religion into practice. We still know too little about the actual place of *adab* in Salafī epistemology and educational practice in order to substantiate such a view. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that the pattern of character-formation and self-transformation, which gives the educational contexts described in this article a distinctive mark, seems to lose its prominence and visibility in the contemporary landscape of Islamic schooling in sub-Saharan Africa. Perhaps in response to this development, the protagonists of the "*adab*-as-transformation-approach", such as those quoted by Wright or those I encountered during fieldwork in Sudanic Africa, nowadays appear to have launched a counter-offensive against attempts to undermine their educational scheme. Controversies over the best way of teaching the Qurʾān and the Islamic sciences, or over the legitimacy of certain Sufi practices, are ultimately

70 Louis Brenner, "Two Paradigms of Islamic Schooling in West Africa", *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam*, ed. by Hassan Elboudrari (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1993), 159–80.

71 Ibid.; see also Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, 7–12.

72 Ware, *The Walking Qurʾān*, 252; see also ibid., 67. However, Ware's view of the role of reason in Salafī epistemology is debatable; see Seesemann, "Embodied Knowledge", 205–6.

73 Wright, *Living Knowledge in West African Islam*, 27.

also debates about proper *adab*, where claims to *adab* are used for ideological purposes.

These debates serve as a reminder that *adab* today means different things to different people, just as it did in the past. It would therefore be misleading to define *adab* exclusively as a set of fixed features intrinsic to literary culture or as particular ways of understanding and living Islam. For some Muslims in Sudanic Africa (and elsewhere), *adab* means etiquette; others identify it with belles-lettres or fine culture; for those portrayed in this article, it refers to character formation as a prerequisite for attaining true knowledge; for yet others, such as Ādam al-Ilūrī, *adab* is the necessary complement of *ʿilm*, which together form an Islamic identity based on knowledge of the religious sciences and proficiency in Arabic. Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (b. 1350/1931), one of the leading contemporary Muslim intellectuals and founder of the influential *International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* in Kuala Lumpur, has even called for a revival of *adab* as "the discipline of body, mind, and soul", designed to formulate an Islamic response to modernity,[74] only to be challenged by others who envision a redefinition of the scope and aims of Islamic education along different lines of the "Islamization of knowledge" project.[75]

Whatever the outcome of these modern debates, the connection between *ʿilm* and *adab* highlighted here, of which purely philological studies can only scratch the surface, continues to be a lived practice among Muslims across Sudanic Africa. It is precisely because Stefan Reichmuth did not limit his methodological approach to the study of texts that he was able to shed light on this connection in his work on Islamic culture in Ilorin. Opening up Islamic Studies to empirical methods is one of Reichmuth's lasting contributions to our field.

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74 al-Attas, *Concept of Education*, 11.

75 Khosrow Bagheri Noaparast, "Al-Attas Revisited on the Islamic Understanding of Education", *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 5 (2012), 149–72.

CHAPTER 2

From the Intellectual Powerhouse of Ilorin (Nigeria): Elegy in the Work of Adam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilūrī (1917–1992)

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Introduction

"By reputation, some of the most distinguished Yoruba scholars are from Ilorin", observed John Paden.[2] In my review of Stefan Reichmuth's monumental work on the history of Islamic education and social crosscurrents in Ilorin, namely, his *Islamische Bildung*,[3] I made the case for a translation of this work into English, for a number of reasons. First, a number of first-hand facts about the development of scholarly tradition, manuscript studies, and religiously-inspired socio-cultural movements in Ilorin in particular and Yorubaland (in south-western Nigeria) in general are contained in that work, and those facts may forever remain inaccessible to non-German-speaking Africanists, Islamicists, and ordinary readers. Secondly, the unique status of Ilorin as a haven of scholars, by virtue of which it was proposed to have the first university in Nigeria,[4] had hitherto been dwarfed, if not eclipsed altogether, by

1 I thank Yunus Alade Salman, my graduate student, for assisting in the preparation and translation of the Arabic text.

2 John N. Paden, *Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution. The Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 65. Cf. Musa A. Ajetunmobi, "Islamic Scholars of Ilorin and Their Place in Yorubaland", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 12.1 (1991), 135–47; A.G.A.S. Oladosu et al. (eds), *Ilorin: History, Culture and Lessons of Peaceful Coexistence* (Ilorin: Centre for Ilorin Studies, 2013); Zack L. Oseni et al. (eds), *Ilorin as a Beacon of Learning and Culture in West Africa* (Ilorin: CILS, 2015); Moshood M. Jimba (ed.), *ʿUlamāʾ al-imāra* (*Scholars of the Emirate* [*of Ilorin*]), vol. 1, (Cairo: Dār al-fikr al-ʿarabī, 2015), Introduction. The second volume in the series is scheduled for late 2017 (Personal communication with the editor, March 11, 2017).

3 Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1998), reviewed in the *Journal of African History* 41.2 (2000), 316–18.

4 S.M.A. Belgore, "Religious Scholarship in Ilorin: A Historical Perspective", Keynote Speech at the Second National Conference of the University of Ilorin Centre for Ilorin Studies (CILS), April 22, 2014 (available online at www.myschoolgist.com, accessed September 17, 2015).

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the overbearing narratives on northern Nigeria, to which it serves as a gateway from the south-west of the country. But the singular effort by Reichmuth, which derived from extensive field-work, analysis, and indexing of Arabic manuscript holdings in private repositories in Ilorin and nearby,[5] effectively reveals for the first time the "hidden treasures" and "gems" of this frontier intellectual city, once characterized by a Christian missionary as a 19th-century "Mohammedan power".[6] One of such gems whose life and works occupy a central place in Reichmuth's intellectual voyage was Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilūrī (al-Ilori, 1917–92). Reichmuth has had a close and lasting interaction with al-Ilūrī in both life (between 1984 and 1989) and death; the *Jubilar* was the keynote speaker at the 20th anniversary of the demise of al-Ilūrī, which was organised by the University of Ilorin.[7] Therefore, there is perhaps no better tribute to this intellectual association and camaraderie than a study of one aspect of al-Ilūrī's scholarly tradition, namely, the genre of *rithāʾ* (elegy), an area of his intellectual exertion that has hitherto remained unexplored in any methodical fashion.[8] This contribution will also indicate some specific ways in which Reichmuth's ground-breaking narrative on Ilorin has ultimately stimulated new lines of research and perspectives in intellectual discourses on education, identity, and other Nigerian cultural markers.

About al-Ilūrī

"The outstanding Ilorin scholar, and perhaps the greatest that Nigeria has produced in the twentieth century, was Shaykh Adam ʿAbd Allāh al-Ilūrī (1917–1992)". This was the declaration of John Hunwick (1936–2015), one of the legends and authorities on the intellectual heritage of Sudanic Africa,

5 Stefan Reichmuth, "Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in 19th Century Ilorin", *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade. Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. by Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 213–39.

6 Jacob F. Ade-Ajayi and R. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 60.

7 Stefan Reichmuth, "Shaykh Adam al-Ilori as I came to Know Him: Memories of an Islamologist", *Shaykh Adam ʿAbdullah al-Ilori in the Tableau of Immortality*, ed. by Razaq ʿD. Abubakre (Ilorin [Nigeria]/Riyadh: The Nigerian Centre for Arabic Research, 2012), 9–18. A rare and personal correspondence between Stefan Reichmuth and al-Ilori recently appeared in *ʿAshr min rasāʾil al-ʿallāma Ādam ʿAbdullah al-Ilorī*, ed. by Muḥammad Thaobān b. Ādam ʿAbdullah al-Ilori [Lagos: Markaz al-ʿUlūm, 2013]), "al-Risāla al-ʿāshira", 15–16.

8 Abdul Lateef Onireti, "al-Rithāʾ fī shiʿr Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilorī", *Majallat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya wa-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya bi-Jāmiʿat Ilorin* 15 (2001), 74–92.

and indeed of Nigeria.[9] Al-Ilūrī is undeniably one of the best-studied figures in the Nigerian Arabic-Islamic scholarly cosmos, not least for his pioneering efforts in the fields of authorship, Islamic proselytism, mentoring through educational training, community service, and inter-religious dialogue, the latter being the final *envoi* of his life. The encyclopedic nature of his scholarship is reflected in the variety of Arabic-Islamic sciences covered by his works, and, in these, history looms large. John Hunwick listed some 71 titles authored by al-Ilūrī.[10] Since then, there has been no shortage of studies on this scholar, with contributions focusing on his familial and academic life,[11] and indeed on the series of crises which were associated with the succession to his office, the execution of his Will, and the administration of his Arabic-Islamic Training Centre, the *Markaz al-taʿlīm al-ʿarabī al-islāmī*, commonly referred to as *Markaz*. Established by al-Ilūrī in 1952, this College evolved over the years as one of, if not the, foremost training center for beginners, intermediate, and advanced students of Arabic and Islamic sciences in south-western Nigeria.[12] Al-Ilūrī's most prolific son, Muḥammad Thaobān, recently published a new work that contains, among others, a list and detailed classification of his

9 John O. Hunwick, "Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria", *Research in African Literatures* 28.3 (1997), 210–23. Cf. F.O. Jamiu, "Contributions of Ilorin Scholars to Arabic and Islamic Studies in Yorubaland: Focus on Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Iluri", *African Journal of Culture and History* 6 (8) (2014), 112–18.

10 John O. Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 2. The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 516–26. Henceforth referred to as *ALA* 2.

11 Literature on al-Ilūrī continues to grow in various directions, not least among various interest groups within and outside the *Markaz* world. Works related to his active life post-Hunwick include Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, "The Leading Roles of Ilorin in Arabic Scholarship in Nigeria", *Ilorin: Centre of Learning*, ed. by S. Ahmed Jimoh (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 2006), 99–116; Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in Southwestern Nigeria* (Iwo, Nigeria: Dār al-ʿIlm Publishers, 2004); Moshood Ramaḍān Jibrīl, *Al-Shaykh Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilorī. Nisbatuhu wa-shakhṣiyyatuhu wa-waṣiyyatuhu* (Lagos: Maktabat Allāh Nūr, 2004); Abdurraheem I. Lawal, *al-Kashshāf fī l-adab al-ʿarabī* (Lagos: MPP Publishers, 2000), 206–29.

12 For more on Markaz, see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 251ff; *ALA* 2, 516–17; Aliyu Sakariyau Alabi, *Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin: A History of Islamic Education, 1897–2012* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University 2015, 133–39). The Markaz has recently improved its relevance and functionality by expanding its curricula and introducing a pre-university diploma programme through which it became affiliated to the Nigerian university system.

father's *oeuvre* spanning his productive life (1938–92).[13] Thaobān listed and analyzed 103 published titles by his father, in addition to manuscripts and correspondences, in Arabic alphabetic order thus outstripping what Hunwick was able to document.

In the present contribution I would like to examine al-Ilūrī's scholarly status in the field of verse-writing, specifically in poetical compositions relating to the genre of lamentation on the dead, namely, *rithā'* (elegy). A cursory look at the number of his works as indicated by what is probably the most detailed list so far shows that he has three full elegiac poems to his credit. These are: one lamenting the demise of his most influential teacher, Adam Na Maʿajī (1902–44); one dedicated to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, popularly known as Wazīri Bida (c. 1883–1945); and, finally, one composed to mourn the death of his daughter, Khadīja (1948–55). Unless we accept some honorable exceptions, equal ability in prose and poetry writing can hardly be found in just one individual, even in classical and medieval Islam, and the Sudanic African scholarly tradition has been no different. Al-Ilūrī's effectiveness in prose is doubtless remarkable by Sudanic African standards, and his analytical rigor is widely acknowledged. But do these three elegies allow us to characterize al-Ilūrī as an efficient verse composer? Are there enough aesthetic ingredients in his verses to place him within the rank of first-rate (*fuḥūl*) versifiers? How far do the emotions reflected in his elegies affect his artistic style, betray his artistic talents, and illustrate the status of the subjects of his *rithā'* and indeed his own poetic *ingenium*? These questions are examined in what follows.

Rithā' in Arabic Literary Tradition

The pre-Islamic rhythmical lamentations (*niyāḥa*) performed by women as part of the funerary rites following the death of male relations constituted the earliest form of *rithā'* (or *marthiya*, elegy/dirge) in the Arabic tradition.[14] Reference to *niyāḥa* as a condemnable practice, insofar as it entailed such acts as self-lapidation and garment-rendering, is found in a number of *ḥadīth*s. According to a general description, *rithā'* is about mourning the dead, and could include a number of elements such as lamenting, recounting the virtues of the deceased, and calling for vengeance in cases where the death arose from

13 Muḥammad Thaobān b. Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilorī, *Muʾallafāt al-ʿAllāma al-Ilorī wa-mā yuqālu ʿanhā, mā lahā wa-mā ʿalayhā* (Agege-Lagos: Markaz al-ʿUlūm, 2017).

14 C. Borg, "Rithā'", *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. by J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), vol. 2, 663–64.

criminal infractions.[15] Deploying the objectification paradigm as established in anthropological discourse, it is safe to argue that the standard elegy in the Arabic literary tradition has three features, namely: agonizing over the dead, celebrating his attributes, and proclaiming knowledge of fatalism over which no-one has any control.

The oldest elegy in proto-*qaṣīda* form is attributed to al-Khirniq (d. c. 600 CE), while Mutammim b. Nuwayra (fl. first/seventh century) and Tumāḍir bt. ʿAmr (d. after 644), popularly known by the *nom de plume* al-Khansāʾ ("the Snub-Nosed"), remain the key points of reference for the genre in the classical period, one which was dominated by women.[16] So, from having the position of a private matter and being a symbol of women's literary prowess, the elegy, according to DeYoung, was transformed into a "public business" from a very early period,[17] as elegiac pieces and their authors became subjects of investigation and theorization. Classical authors and literary legists held the genre of *marāthī* (elegies) in high esteem. According to al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), a Bedouin was asked why the best Arab poems were elegies, and to this he responded: "because we say them while our hearts are burning".[18] Critics were conscious

15 Shawqī Ḍayf, *al-Rithāʾ* (Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1987), 7–9. For more on *rithāʾ* in the classical literary tradition see Salma Kh. Jayyusi, "Arabic Poetry in the Post-Classical Age", *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. by R. Allen and D.S. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25–59; Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 93–98; Thomas Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1992); Abdallah El-Tayib, "Pre-Islamic Poetry", *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Arabic Literature to the End of Umayyad Period*, ed. by A.F.L. Beeston et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), esp. 85–89. See also A.M. Zayyāt, *Rithāʾ al-mudun fī shiʿr al-Andalus* (Benghazi: Jāmiʿat Qār Yūnus, 1990), 81; Lena Ambjörn, *The Tears of the Prayer Niche: A Multi-Aspectual Presentation of Elegy for Cities in Andalusí-Arabic Poetry*, Lund University, Sweden, Term Paper, 2010.

16 Louis Cheikho (ed.), *Riyāḍ al-adab fī marāthī shawāʿir al-ʿarab* (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿat al-kāthūlīkiyya, 1896). On *al-Khansāʾ*, see G.J. van Gelder, "Al-Khansāʾ", *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 2, 434; G.J. van Gelder, "An Elegy (*Marthiyah*) by al-Khansāʾ", *Classical Arabic Literature*, selected and translated by G.J. van Gelder (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 12–14; Zakariyau O. Oseni, "Al-Khansāʾ bint ʿAmr: the Ancient Arabian Mistress of Elegy" (unpublished B.A. Degree Long Essay, Department of Arabic & Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, 1977).

17 T. DeYoung, "Nasser and the Death of Elegy in Modern Arabic Poetry", *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Literature*, ed. by Issa J. Boullata and Terri DeYoung (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 63–86, p. 63.

18 ʿAmr Ibn al-Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 4 vols (Beirut: Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 1968), vol. 2, 230.

of the significance of the elegy as a yardstick by which to measure the artistry and efficiency of a poet, and there is no lack of examples in which ability in this genre conferred priority to a poet. For instance, al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) conceded priority to Kaʿb b. Saʿd al-Ghanawī simply on account of an outstanding elegiac piece by the former: "he was not a first-rate poet except by virtue of an elegy; certainly none like it can be found in this world".[19] Lamentation verses by women, aside from illustrating feminine idiosyncrasies, became incorporated into the literary canon, as *rithā'* became formalized with specific attributes similar to the *qaṣīda*/*qarīḍ* literary type. In other words, the literary and theoretical discourse that introduced clear guidelines on what should constitute the elements of the conventional *qaṣīda*/*qarīḍ* did the same to *rithā'*. *Rithā'* thus developed into a genre to which medieval theorists and critics dedicated considerable attention, as demonstrable by Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1064), among others.[20] Of late, much attention has been given to the points of intersection between elegy and exile, and indeed *écriture feminine* (women's writings), particularly elegiac and lamentative verse, in light of modern narratives such as gender, sex, historiography, and post-colonialism, among other theoretical postulations and critical strategies.[21] These are, of course, outside the remit of the present investigation.

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19 *laysa min al-fuḥūl illā fī l-marthiya, fa-innahu laysa fī l-dunyā mithluhā*. See Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarā'*, ed. by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad (Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa al-miṣriyya, 1991), 119.

20 Cf. Ibn Rashīq, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols in 1 (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-tijāriyya al-kubrā, 1963), vol. 2, 147–58.

21 For studies on *rithā'* in light of modern critical theories and phenomena, see Zeina G. Halabi, "Writing Melancholy: The Death of the Intellectual in Modern Arabic Literature" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Austin at Texas, 2011); M. Hammond, *Beyond Elegy: Classical Arabic Women's Poetry in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); M. Hammond, "Qaṣīda, Marthiya and Difference", *Transforming Loss into Beauty. Essays on Arabic Literature and Culture in Honor of Magda Al-Nowaihi*, ed. by Marlé Hammond and Dana Sajdi (Cairo/New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 143–84; Magda al-Nowaihi, "Elegy and the Confrontation of Death in Arabic Poetry", *Transforming Loss into Beauty*, 3–20; Pieter Smoor, "Elegies and Other Poems on Death by Ibn al-Rūmī", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 27.1 (1996), 49–85; Jaroslav Stetkevych, "Toward an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon: the Seven Words of the *nasīb*", *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. by Suzanne P. Stetkevych (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 58–129; Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortal Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Al-Ilūrī in the Context of the Yoruba Literary Tradition

Al-Ilūrī, like other Nigerian intellectuals, was quite familiar with the writing tradition of the Islamic world, especially that of the Maghreb, where he is said to have maintained a steady scholarly relationship with a number of religious and literary men, especially the Moroccan Bahā' al-Dīn al-Amīrī, whose poems al-Ilūrī is reported to have frequently, if not regularly, quoted.[22] Of course, al-Azhar in Egypt remained a point of inspiration for Nigeria's budding intellectuals, including al-Ilūrī,[23] and this was equally true of seekers of knowledge from other parts of the Muslim world.[24]

According to Abubakre, most of the Arabic poetry by Yoruba authors is devoted to mourning and praising.[25] This should not be surprising, given that Yoruba culture was glorying in the time-honored oral tradition of singing the praises of ancestors (*oriki*) and mourning the dead even before the advent of Islam brought literacy.[26] But Yoruba authorship of poetry under the Islamic dispensation is illustrative of the influence of faith, the level of the author's intellectual efficiency as derived from the training he received, and the impact of the environment in which he operates. In what follows, we shall examine the three elegiac poems by al-Ilūrī in order to establish how far his intellect accommodated verse-making, and to what extent his productions in this regard can be considered (a)typical of other Yoruba Arabic authors of poetry.

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22 ʿAbd al-Bāqī S. Aghaka, *al-Adab al-islāmī fī Dīwān al-Ilorī* (Ilorin: Maṭbaʿat al-Nahār, 2012), 111.

23 Adam al-Ilūrī, *Min hunā nashaʾtu wa-hākadhā taʿallamtu ḥattā takharrajtu*; reprinted with an English trans. by Muḥammad Thaobān b. Ādam (Agege/Lagos: Markaz al-ʿUlūm, 2013), 24.

24 Ousmane Kane, *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*, trans. by Victoria Bawtree (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2012); Malika Zeghal, "The 'Recentering' of Religious Knowledge and Discourse: The Case of Al-Azhar in Twentieth-Century Egypt", *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, ed. by Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 107–30.

25 Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, "The Leading Roles of Ilorin in Arabic Scholarship in Nigeria", 103.

26 On *oriki* see Karin Barber, *I Could Speak until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women and the Past in a Yoruba Town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); K. Barber and G. Furniss, "African Language Writing", *Research in African Literatures* 37.3 (2006), 1–14.

Qaṣīda 1

Elegy for Adam Na Maʿajī (1902–44).[27]

الميمية

1 – شجوني هاج من فقد الكرام ** وحزني عاق عن أكل الطعام
2 – همومي لم تزل تعلو وتنمو ** بشوق يحرَمَن جفنى منامي
3 – ولا أدري يمينا من شمال ** على ما غار من أمر الحمام
4 – لموت نمعج يا أسفا عليه ** ويا حزنا وهما بالدوام
5 – ومالي لا أنوح بسكب دمع ** على فوت المربي للأنام
6 – وهذا الموت يُعجب كل مثلي ** ويُدهش كلهم بالاهتمام
7 – ويبكي كل أهل العصر طرا ** على فوت الطوالع كل عام
8 – وقد يأتي الخليفة بعد يوم ** وقد لا يشتفي عن ذا السقام
9 – ألا يا أيها القمران قُولا ** متى الإخلاص من هذا الغرام
10 – متى يمحى بسعد الخير نحسا ** متى يرقي إلي أعلى المقام
11 – لقد مات الحكيم الفيلسوف ** بكل علومه وافي المرام
12 – فيا عجبا ويا أسفا عليه ** وهذا من مصيبات جسام
13 – أيا أعداءه قد مات عنكم ** فعيشوا لا تموتوا بالدوام
14 – ألَمَّا مات أنتم خالدون ** فكل النفس ذائقة الحمام
15 – فسبحان الذي هو لا يموت ** تعالى اللهعن درك اللزام
16 – تعالى عن وفاة أو فناء ** تعالى عن مُؤاخذة المنام

27 Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilūrī, *Dīwān al-ʿAllāma al-Ilorī*, ed. by Muḥammad Thaobān Ibn Ādam, 2nd edition (Agege-Lagos: Markaz al-ʿUlūm, 2012), 40–42. The *qaṣīda* is also to be found in ʿAbd al-Bāqī S. Aghaka, *al-Adab al-islāmī fī Dīwān al-Ilorī*, 186–206, p. 187, 15 lines only; Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic*, 359, first line only. M.R. Jibril, *Al-Shaykh Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilorī*, 169–80, also illustrates some of al-Ilūrī's *qaṣīda*s, including 16 lines from the one dedicated to Na Maʿajī, p. 171. Aghaka claims to have interviewed (in 1998 at Kano) some descendants of Na Maʿajī whose ancestral home was traced to a Libyan Arab tribe through Ghadames (Aghaka, *al-Adab al-islāmī*, 46). Al-Ilūrī himself offers an insightful biographical notice of Na Maʿajī, who died in 1944 at Maiduguri on his way to Mecca for the *ḥajj* (cf. al-Ilūrī, *Min hunā nashaʾtu*, 19–23).

17 – وسوّى الموتَ بين الخلق طُرّا ** فقيرًا أو غنيا ذا احترام
18 – تقيا عابدا بل أو شقيا ** وليا أو أميرا من كرام
19 – كبيرا أو صغيرا فوق أرض ** عليما أو جهولا من لئام
20 – نبيا أو رسولا أو حكيما ** فأجمعهم رهائن للحمام
21 – ولو تُفدَى الوفاة ليُفتداها ** لهذا الشيخ عن كل المقام
22 – أيا شيخي وأستاذي نمعجي ** عليك الدهرَ من ربي سلامي
23 – وكيف وقد هديت العلم جما ** ولا سيما حسابات الأنام
24 – لديك الجَبر ثم الجَفر جمعا ** وزايرجه كذا علم النجام
25 – وفي التصريف بحر لا تُجارَى ** وفي الإعراب أعلم بالنظام
26 – وفي الأصلين حبر لا تبارى ** وفي التفسير أعلم بالكلام
27 – وعلم الشعر أو علمي حديث ** لديك جميع فن بالتمام
28 – وعلم الفقه بل علم البلاغة ** وفلسفة دفعت إلي الأمام
29 – وهندسة وتعبير لرؤيا ** وتشريع وطب المستهام
30 – ومنطقنا وعلم البحث وضع ** وتجويد القراءات الزعام
31 – وفي علم اللغات بلغت غاية ** وهذا كله ضمن الكلام
32 – ولو كانت مياه الأرض حبرا ** لمدحٍ فيك يعجز عن تمام
33 – عزيزٌ أنت قومٌ بل فريد ** من الأفرادُ مفت للأنام
34 – طويل كامل هادي البرايا ** كثير الخير مصباح الظلام
35 – مليح الوجه ذو مشى خفيف ** بريق السن عند الابتسام
36 – نقي القلب ذو صوت طروب ** كريم الحال وهو من الكرام
37 – فقد أخرَجتَني من كل جهل ** جزاك الله خيرا يا إمامي
38 – بنيجريا أجرت الناس طرا ** عن الجهل المردي للأنام
39 – بإخراج الطوالع كل عام ** وإخبار الغيوب مع انتظام
40 – فيا ربي ومولي للموالي ** سألتك رحمة بالاحترام
41 – وغفرانا وتعظيما وعفوا ** ورضوانا علي هذا الإمام
42 – وأتبعه بيوم الحشر ربي ** من الحجاج يا رب الأنام
43 – ونور قبره نورا بهيا ** وآمنه مخيفات الظلام
44 – قِيناكل مكروه لدينا ** وطَوّل عمرنا بالاستدام

45 – وتعصمنا البلايا والغوايا ** وتختمنا بحسن الاختتام
46 – وبَدّل مثله فينا سريعا ** يوفي بالمطالب والمرام
47 – وقفت هنا أيا شيخي نماجي ** حباك الله بالقول السلام
48 – فهذا كله وفرٌ لِحبّ ** علي ذي القدر مفقود الكرام
49 – بيوم الأحد في شهر الشوال 1363 ** رثيت الشيخ في أقوي اللجام
50 – وسلم ثم صل علي النبي ** فصيح النطق من كل الأنام
51 – وآل ثم أصحاب كرام ** وتابعهم إلي يوم القيام
52 – وقائلها لألف دال ميم ** إلي قرائها حسن السلام

Translation

1 – My grief was stirred by the loss of noble people, and sadness made me lose my appetite for food.
2 – My worries continued to intensify and increase due to a passionate love that denies my eyes sleep.
3 – I could not distinguish my left from my right as a result of who death struck.
4 – What sorrow because of the death of Na Maʿajī, what grief and perplexity at all times.
5 – Why would I not wail by shedding copious tears over the death of the great tutor of men?
6 – This death shocked all, like it did me, and perplexed them all to the point of anxiety.
7 – It caused everyone to weep over the loss of outstanding men every year.
8 – A successor might emerge after a while but this may not cure the [agony of the] sick.
9 – O, the two planets [moon and sun], tell me: "when shall we be free from this burden?"
10 – When will bad luck be wiped out by good and when will there be elevation to the highest position?
11 – The wise philosopher has died with all his knowledge, having fulfilled his aspiration.
12 – What a surprise, what agony over his death; this is certainly a great calamity.
13 – O, his enemies, now that he is dead, you live on after him in eternity.
14 – Will you live forever, now that he is dead? Every soul shall certainly taste death.

15 – Praise be to the One Who will never die; exalted is He above all inevitable.
16 – Exalted is He above dying or expiring; He is far above being overtaken by sleep.
17 – He made death equal among all creatures; [for] the poor and the persons of respect and wealth.
18 – The devout worshipper and the miserable, the select and the ruler from among the nobles.
19 – The old and the young who dwell on the surface of earth, the learned and the lowly ignorant.
20 – The prophet, the messenger, and the wise: all are hostages of death.
21 – Were it possible for a ransom to be paid to death, we would have done so in view of the status of this shaykh.
22 – O my shaykh and teacher, Na Maʿajī, may peace from my Lord ever be upon you.
23 – Why not? You were endowed with abundant knowledge, and in particular astrology.
24 – Algebra together with numerology (*al-jafr*), and alphabetical symbolism (*al-zāyraja*) were found with you, and so was astronomy.[28]
25 – You were a matchless ocean in morphology, and in syntax you were very able.
26 – Unparalleled you were in the fundamentals (of theology and jurisprudence), and in Qurʾānic exegesis you were the most knowledgeable.
27 – Poetics and the science of *ḥadīth* are some of the disciplines in which you excelled.
28 – In jurisprudence, rhetoric, and philosophy you stood out.
29 – In geometry, dream interpretation, and in juristic sciences and medicine you did well.
30 – In logic and research methods you left your mark, and in Qurʾān recitation you were a leader.
31 – In linguistic sciences you reached the peak; all these guarantee efficiency in discourse.
32 – Were sea to be ink for writing an elegy [lit. eulogy] for you, it would have been exhausted before the composition could be concluded.
33 – Dignified you were as a unique master, a mufti of the world.

28 All the sciences mentioned here belong to the field of occultism and talismanship. *Jafr* is a term of uncertain etymology, and it is used to designate the major divinatory art in Islamic mysticism and gnosis—the art of discovering the predestined and the hidden.

34 – A well-built gentleman, a guide to mankind, abundantly righteous, and a brilliant lamp in the darkness.
35 – Cheerful, measured in footsteps, his teeth shined brilliantly whenever he smiled.
36 – Light-hearted, with a melodious voice, noble in character and generous.
37 – You saved me from all manners of ignorance, may Allah reward you abundantly, O my master.
38 – You saved all Nigeria from genocidal ignorance.
39 – By indicating the movement of stars every year and forecasting the future regularly.[29]
40 – O my Lord [Allah], Master of masters, I ask, with respect, for Your mercy [on him].
41 – Also for Your forgiveness, exaltation, pardon, and pleasure for this leader.
42 – My Lord, include him on the day of assembly among those who performed the *ḥajj*, O Lord of the World.
43 – Let his grave be brilliantly illuminated, and save him from the tremors of the dark grave.
44 – Protect us from all evils, and grant us a sustainable long life.
45 – Save us from afflictions and errors, and grant us a glorious end.
46 – Endow us very soon with a replacement for him, who will fulfil our yearnings and aspirations.

29 This is a reference to a common practice in early Islam in Yorubaland (called *ìgbóhùn tírà*), one in which the local *'ulamā'*, at the beginning of a new year and at the behest of rulers, assemble at the court to foretell events and issues of significance that could affect the community during the year. See M.O. Abdul Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry in Ibadan 1876–1976" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ibadan, 1989), 109–24; Hunwick, *ALA* 2, 501. For the pre-Islamic Yoruba precedent to this (called *ìgbóhùn ifá*) see K. Noel Amherd, *Reciting Ifa: Difference, Heterogeneity, and Identity* (Trenton, NJ/Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2010); Louis D.I. Eason, *IFA the Yoruba God of Divination in Nigeria and the United States* (Trenton, NJ/Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2008); John D.Y. Peel, *Christianity, Islam, and the Orisa Religion. Three Traditions in Comparison and Interaction* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016); John D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); John Pemberton III (ed.), *Insight and Artistry in African Divination* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), esp. ch. 13 by Wande Abimbola, "Continuity and Change", 175–81; P.J. Ryan, *Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Christoph Staewen, *IFA. African God Speaks. The Oracle of the Yoruba in Nigeria* (Münster/Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1996).

47 – I stop here my shaykh, Na Maʿajī, may Allah grant you peace.
48 – All the aforesaid is an expression of deep love for a man of honour with matchless generosity.
49 – On Sunday in the month of Shawwāl 1363 AH [October 1944], I wrote this elegy for (my) shaykh with the strongest of constraints.
50 – (O Allah), send peace and blessings on the Prophet, the most eloquent of creation,
51 – And also on his family members, honourable companions, and on all who follow them until the Day of Resurrection.
52 – The author's name is composed of letters *alīf*, *dāl*, and *mīm* [Adam], who sends greetings to all readers.

Qaṣīda 2

Elegy for his daughter Khadīja.[30]

1 – الدهر سدد سهمه و رماني ** فأصابني في أشرف الأركان
2 – فأصابني في مهجتي وجناني ** فسرى انتعاش السم في شُرباني
3 – فتوارد الأصحاب مع ترياقهم ** من ها هنا وهنا بغير توان
4 – لكنما الترياق لم ينفع معي ** بل زاد منه السمّ في الطغيان
5 – فالسهم رزء والهموم سمومه ** والصبر ترياق على الأحزان
6 – تلك الرزية في خديجة ابنتي ** كانت معي كالرّوح والريحان
7 – عاشت معي سبعا من السنوات في ** زهراتها كشقائق النعمان
8 – فإذا ببنتي قد توسدت الثرى ** والجسم منها مد للديدان
9 – قد كنت أحسب أنني عند البلا ** ثبت الجنان وصاحب الإيمان
10 – حتي بليت بموت بنتي هذه ** فتعطل الإحساس من وجداني
11 – فوجدت صبري لم يكن ثبتا على ** هذا المصاب فزاد في النقصان
12 – فعبرت دمعا ساخنا من محجري ** فعلى بكائي والعويل دعاني

30 See al-Ilūrī, *Dīwān al-ʿAllāma al-Ilorī*, 43–44, also in Aghaka, *al-Adab al-islāmī*, 262–71; Abubakre, *The Interplay*, 360 (four lines only); Abubakre, "The Contribution of the Yoruba to Arabic Literature", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols, University of London, 1980, vol. 2, 337 (Appendix 2).

13 – فهناك ناديت الفؤاد مناجيا ** هل في البكاء النفع للثكلان
14 – يا عين لا تبكى على حكم القضا ** فجميعنا في قبضة الرحمان
15 – والناس مختلفون في ويلاتهم ** والكل يشكو من أذى الأزمان
16 – لم أنتظر في الدهر بعد مسرة ** إلا على عطف من الرحمان
17 – فالعيش هم والمنون بمرصد ** وجميع أعمالي على الميزان
18 – والله مطلع على الأسرار لا ** تخفي عليه كوامن الأكوان
19 – يا راحم النعّاب في أعشاشه ** ارحم بكائي يا عظيم الشأن

Translation

1 – Fate targeted me with its arrow and shot me, hitting me in the noblest part of my body.
2 – It hit me in my soul and in my heart, and the effect of a toxic poison traveled through my veins.
3 – Friends began trooping in with their antidote, from all directions without stopping.
4 – But their antidote was of no use to me, instead, it increased the severity of the poison.
5 – Calamity is an arrow and sorrows are its poison, but endurance is the antidote against sorrows.
6 – The calamity was in respect of Khadīja, my daughter, who was to me like (the heavenly) freshener and sweet basil.
7 – She lived with me for seven years in a splendor that radiated like red anemones.
8 – And lo, my daughter suddenly took the grave soil as her pillow; her remains lying there for worms (to feed on).
9 – I used to assume before the affliction that I was strong-hearted and firm in faith.
10 – Until I was tried with the death of my daughter, and the feeling of strength disappeared from my heart.
11 – Thus I found my fortitude unable to withstand this affliction as [my fortitude] progressively diminished.
12 – I shed burning tears from my eyeballs and my cry rose and wailing intensified.
13 – Thence I called out to my heart with the question: is there any use for the bereaved to cry?
14 – O my eyes, do not weep over the decree of fate; all of us are in the hands of the Merciful God.

15 – Men differ in response to afflictions, but all complain about injuries inflicted by times.
16 – I expect nothing (sweet) from fate after this bitter event, except the mercy of the loving God.
17 – Life is a stress and death is on the lookout; all my actions shall be put in the balance.
18 – Allah is aware of all secret deeds; no secret of the worlds is concealed from Him.
19 – O Ye who showers mercies on the little bird in the nest; wipe out my tears, o great Lord!

Qaṣīda 3

Elegy for Wazīri Bida (born c. 1883, d. 1945)[31]

تعزية علماء نيجيريا عن وفاة الحاج الوزير والحاج نمعجي
إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون
لم أجد في لساني ما أرثيك به أيها الوزير الفقيد، ولم أدرك في عرفاني رحمة وافرة تطابق قدرك يا عميد، بيد أني رأيتك قد عممت الناس في البلاد بنوادر العلوم، ونشرت في الأقطار التآليف التي يشفى بها السقيم، ولا سيما شرح التحفة الوردية، ونظم السيرة المحمدية، بل لا يدخل تحت حصر ما ألفت وصنفت، مما لا يستغني

31 Al-Ilūrī, *Dīwān al-ʿAllāma al-Ilūrī*, 33–34. We could not find any other source for this *rithāʾ* among the works consulted. On Wazīri Bida, see *ALA* 2, 488–91; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 209–15; Ibrāhīm H. Imām, "al-ʿAllāma al-Wazīr Muḥammad al-Turkumānī wa-āthāruhu fī bilād Yawrubā wa-Nūfe", *Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8 (2005), 110–25; ʿAlī Abūbakr, *al-Thaqāfa al-ʿarabiyya fī Nayjīriyā min 1750–1960 ʿāmm al-istiqlāl* (Beirut: ʿAbdul Bassat [Press], 1972), 197–98, where he wrongly gives his date of death as 1964; Murtaḍā Ibn Abī Bakr, *Ḍiyāʾ Ibn Muḥammad* (Ibadan, Nigeria: n.p. n.d.), 61–65; Abdul Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study", 173–77, relates the *rithāʾ* by Aḥmad Rufaʿi (d. 1971) for Wazīri, and another *rithāʾ* by Muddaththir ʿAbd al-Salām for Wazīri, who is there described as "one who taught our shaykhs". The latter elegy is also given in Ibn Abī Bakr, *Ḍiyāʾ Ibn Muḥammad*, 69–71; Abdul Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study", 164–66. For the correction of some of the inaccuracies in the narrative on the Wazīri at Ibadan, see M.O. Abdul Rahmon, *Of Illiterate Scholars and National Development: the Arabic Webs in Yoruba Looms*, inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, on Thursday, July 26, 2012, 48 pp.

عنه طالب أديب ولا يرغب عنه عالم أريب، ولقد فقدنا بفقدك إمام أصول اللغة وزمام فروع الشريعة، ومالك قواعد العربية ورئيس العلوم الأدبية.
فلا عجب أن حصل هذا كله، ولا غرو أن قلت ذلك جميعه، ولا أخشى أن أقول أني قلت ما قلت بلسان كل أريب غيور على العلم معترف لقدر أربابه وقد كان فقد المغفور له تأثيرا عظيما يؤثر موقعه الفؤاد وصدمة كبيرة تعم بلواها البلاد الحاقة ما الحاقة وما أدراك ما الحاقة التي تستك لها مسامع العباد والقارعة ما القارعة وما أدراك التي ترتج منها أضالع المصياد بل ما رأيتني قادرا على تعبير كنه الترثية والتأبين إنما أكتفي بما سنح لخاطري من العبارة التي رسمتها بالأسف ولسان حالي يقول:

1 – فقدنا العلا حالُ اللسان يقول ** بلينا فهذا العام عام ذليل
2 – فيا عام لا ترجع لنا أبدا بما ** تركت لنا من فوت ما يستحيل
3 – لقد فاتنا فيك الثريان في السما ** فليس على صرف المنون كفيل
4 – نمعج وزير فرقدان فقدتهم ** فقلبي في وادي الأسى ليجول
5 – فبلغهما يا صاحب القبر مرثية ** فإن يبلغ الموتى فمنا رسول
6 – مُزيل الظما للواردين كلاهما ** وللعلم عند الطالبين سبيل
7 – فهل كان مثل الفائتين بأرضنا ** متى تنتهي هذي الوبا يا بديل
8 – ولم يبق إلا صاحب الكبر والعجب ** ضنين على بذل العلوم بخيل
9 – فوالله كِلا لم يقل علمنا كذا ** ألا انتبهوا واسعوا لخير وحولوا
10 – فمن مثل ذين العاملين فيعلمن ** فمن لم يهب بالعلم وهو جهول
11 – بجهلي رثيت العالمين كما ترى ** كلامي لجهلي وهو حتما دليل
12 – أكسر يراعي ها هنا يا سميرنا ** وهل كان بعد الحق إلا ضليل
13 – ويا رب بدل مثلهم من ينوبهم ** بعلم وطول عمرنا يا كفيل

Translation
Condolence of Nigerian scholars on the death of al-Ḥajji Wazīri and al-Ḥajji Na Maʿajī
To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return.
I could not find what to say to elegize you, O deceased *wazīr*. I could not find in my mind an adequate emotion for the mourning that will be commensurate with your status, O great scholar. However, you have benefitted

the whole land with unfamiliar sciences, and you published for the people works that cure the ill, especially (your) *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya* ("Commentary on 'The Rosy Gift'") and *Naẓm al-sīra al-Muḥammadiyya* ("Verse Biography of the Prophet").[32] Really, your published works and writings are too numerous to be counted; neither a serious learner nor a resourceful scholar can do without them. With your exit, we have lost the tutor of the fundamentals of philology, (the holder of the) reins of all branches of Islamic jurisprudence, the controller of the principles of Arabic grammar and the champion of literary studies.

No wonder he earned all these (praises), and for me to have said all I said. I entertain no fear of anyone challenging me over what I have said on behalf of every conscientious person who is passionate about knowledge and who acknowledges the status of men of knowledge. The loss of the late (scholar) has had a great impact that hit the heart hard; a heavy strike with consequences that overwhelm the lands. "The Reality, what is the Reality and what will make you know what the Reality is?" In consequence, the ears of the people became blocked. "The Striking Hour, what is the Striking Hour", and what will make you understand what makes the ribs of the brave hunter convulse? Nay, I do not see myself capable of expressing the depth of my grief and lamentation through elegy. I am only content with whatever expression my heart permits which I am now writing down with sorrow, as my situation leads me to say:

1 – We lost loftiness and our situation says: we have been tried this year in the most distressing manner.
2 – O this year, never repeat the loss of that which will be difficult (to replace).
3 – This year alone we have lost two heavenly Pleiades; there is no guarantor against the decree of death.
4 – Na Maʿajī and Wazīri were two bright stars that I have lost, thus leaving my heart to roam in the valley of sorrow.
5 – Convey to both of them my elegy, O [angel] in charge of the grave, if indeed anything can reach the dead, this is but a message from us.

32 The first title mentioned here, not listed in *ALA* 2, is said to be a published prose work that is available at the National Archive in Kaduna (See Imām, "al-ʿAllāma al-Wazīr Muḥammad al-Turkumānī", 116). The second title here is certainly his *Irshād al-ḥabīb al-ṣādīq ilā sīrat khayr al-khalā'iq*, a versified *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad in over 4,600 *urjūza* lines (not 4091 as given in *ALA* 2, 490). See Imām, "al-ʿAllāma al-Wazīr Muḥammad al-Turkumānī", 118.

6 – Both are quenchers of thirst for those in search of water, and both are the path to knowledge for seekers.
7 – Is there anyone like the deceased in our land? When will this calamity end, O Changer of conditions?
8 – There is none left except the arrogant, the haughty, the stingy, who are miserly with knowledge.
9 – By Allah, [out of modesty] neither ever proclaimed the depth of their knowledge; wake up, o people, do good, and turn a new leaf.
10 – Who will forever be like the two men and do like both? Whoever conceals knowledge is indeed an ignoramus.
11 – I elegized the two scholars, my poor knowledge notwithstanding; my statement is a clear testimony to my ignorance.
12 – [I call on you] my writing reed: withdraw [lit. break] at this point, o my night companion; is there anything after truth but falsehood?
13 – O my Lord, provide replacements for both such that would transmit knowledge, and grant us long life, O Lord the Care-giver.

Analysis

The three poems quoted above are the only complete elegiac *qaṣīda*s attributable to al-Ilūrī in the context of his vast scholarly output. As will be established in the course of this analysis, our author's intellectual ingenuity is less than indicative of any remarkable poetical gift, as aptly confirmed by his son Ḥabīb Allāh in his introduction to Aghaka's work, where he says, *inter alia*: "Among the curious facts that reveal al-Ilūrī's (scholarly) personality is that he was no poet of note".[33] This simply confirms that al-Ilūrī's efficiency in prose and creative writing notwithstanding, the grain of his ingenuity did not extend to poetry writing.

The general characteristics of al-Ilūrī's verses are in line with familiar features in the poetical tradition of the Yoruba Arabic-Islamic authors who are not generally known to be good poets in the technical sense of the word, but rather appear to be mere versifiers of religious and moralistic themes. In the estimation of native *'ulamā'* in Nigeria, the function of poetry is essentially pedagogical, devotional, pietistic, and paraenetic.[34] Their interaction with

33 *Wa min al-ashyā' al-ṭarīfa allatī takshifu 'an shakhṣiyyat al-Ilorī annahu lam yashtahir bi-l-shi'r*; A.S. Aghaka, *al-Adab al-Islāmī*, 10.

34 Cf. Abubakr, *al-Thaqāfa al-'arabiyya fī Nayjīriyā*, 318ff; J.O. Hunwick, "Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria", *Research in African Literatures* 28.3 (1997), 210–23.

versified works on theology, grammar, and natural sciences, among other Arabic-Islamic subjects, clearly instilled in them the spirit of using verse to teach the values, ideas, and ideals of Islam,[35] even when they deal with "profane" themes such as *hijā'*, *madīḥ*, or occasional compositions on mundane subjects such as house-dedication or returning from the *ḥajj*, among others. In other words, the kind of aesthetic attributes one would naturally expect to find in the works of classical and medieval connoisseurs and elegists of the Arabic literary tradition, such as Mutammim b. Nuwayra, al-Mutanabbī, or al-Maʿarrī, are conspicuous by their absence in the poems of Nigerian, and indeed Yoruba, *'ulamā'* verse-smiths. Their verses, often highly stylized and tellingly formulaic, simply belong to the realm of the genre of Islamic literature (*al-adab al-Islāmī*), according to Aghaka, and should not be understood in the sense of classical Arabic artistic literature.[36]

There is a remarkable sentimental attachment of al-Ilūrī to the subject of each of the elegies under consideration. According to al-Ilūrī himself, he had come to know Wazīri Bida during childhood, as he regularly accompanied his father to Wazīri for spiritual blessing. He also came into contact with Na Maʿajī as he was advancing in learning, and it was to this scholar that he owed his proficiency in philological, juridical, natural, and historical sciences.[37] In fact, al-Ilūrī's interest in historiography may have been inspired by Na Maʿajī, the author of *al-Iʿlān bi-ta'rīkh Kano*, and what is probably the first modern history of Nigeria in Arabic, namely, *al-Iktishāf al-mufīd fī ta'rīkh Nayjīriyā fī l-ʿaṣr al-jadīd*, a bound copy of both of which Reichmuth claimed was in al-Ilūrī's possession.[38] An elegy on one's child is not found in the Yoruba verse tradition, or at least only relatively rarely, and our author's elegy on his daughter is certainly a statement of intense personal loss. The inherent difficulty in

35 On the use of verse in teaching Arabic-Islamic sciences from classical Islam, see the brilliant study by G.J. van Gelder, "The Antithesis of *Urjūza* and *Badīʿiyya*: Two Forms of Versified Arabic Stylistics", *Calliope's Classroom Studies in Didactic Poetry from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by Annete Harder, Alasdair A. MacDonald, Geerit J. Reinink (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 153–72.

36 Aghaka, *al-Adab al-islāmī fī Dīwān al-Ilūrī*. See also Abdul Samad Abdullah, "Intertextuality and West African Poetry: Reading Nigerian Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40 (2009), 335–61; Abdul Samad Abdullah, "Arabic Poetry in West Africa: An Assessment of the Panegyric and Elegy Genres in Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Senegal and Nigeria", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 35.3 (2004), 368–90.

37 Al-Ilūrī, *Lamaḥāt al-ballūr fī mashāhīr 'ulamā' Ilūrī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-ādāb, 1982), 77–78.

38 Reichmuth, "Shaykh Adam al-Ilori as I came to Know Him", 9–18.

composing an elegy for a child or a woman, already noted by Ibn Rashīq,[39] appears to have been circumscribed by our author through the implosive outpouring of emotions and intensity of grief not found in the same degree of depth and profundity in his other two elegies that were composed for his teachers.

Style of the Author

The style of al-Ilūrī in his *rithā'* is no different from what we are familiar with in the poetry of other Yoruba and indeed Nigerian authors, as indicated above; the influence of the classical models is too obvious to be denied, except that some of our native authors, including al-Ilūrī, have often risen above artificiality or playing the sedulous ape through artless imitativeness; the power of their expressions and images have become genuine touchstones by which their artistry and hieratic literary stylistics can be appreciated. And as rightly indicated by Hunwick, the poetic outpourings of our native authors have become vital cultural barometers of their age and locale.[40] In other words, al-Ilūrī remained within the tradition, but not at the expense of his individuality, which is seen in all his works. Abubakre's suggestion that al-Ilūrī hardly introduces his poem either by the customary way of his fellow Yoruba authors or by the traditional manner of the classical Arabic poets is, therefore, not fully accurate.[41]

In the first place, the classical *rithā'* prototypes are marked by a lack of uniformity in their introductions. Al-Ilūrī has kept faith with the variety of style in verse-writing among Yoruba authors, either by introducing his work with pietistic expressions, as can be seen in one of his other verses, for instance the *munājāt* poems,[42] or with a prose text, as demonstrable with his *rithā'* on Wazīri Bida. A prominent anticipation of this feature can be seen in a triumphalist poem of 63 lines, the *Risālat al-tahni'a* by the Ibadan scholar Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Kātibī (d. 1938).[43] In all probability, Kātibī's

39 *Wa min ashadd al-rithā' ṣu'ūbatan alā l-shā'ir an yarthiya ṭiflan aw imra'atan li-ḍīq al-kalām 'alayhi fihimā*; Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda*, vol. 2, 154. Ironically, al-Mutanabbī's dirge for his grandmother has been ranked as the most important elegy by the poet (T. DeYoung, "Nasser and the Death of Elegy in Modern Arabic Poetry", 64.

40 Hunwick, "Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria", 218.

41 Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures*, 359.

42 Al-Ilūrī, *Dīwān al-'Allāma al-Ilūrī*, 32, 44–46.

43 Abdul Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry", 87–97.

poem was available to al-Ilūrī, as can be inferred from the latter's introduction to *Qaṣīda* 3 above.

On the general use of language by our author, evidence of interference or influence by his mother tongue (Yoruba) is obvious. In *Qaṣīda* 1, line 3 (Qaṣ 1/3), the phrase *lā adrī yamīnan min shimālin* is a direct translation of the Yoruba expression for a feeling of confusion or perplexity, and in line 6 (Qaṣ 1/6), the expression *hādha l-mawtu yuʿjibunī* is meant to express the sense of bewilderment rather than the fascination or admiration that the word *yuʿjibu* usually denotes. Our author has also taken full advantage of the dispensation of poetic licenses (*ḍarūrāt al-shiʿr*), which allows for the suspension, relaxation, or outright abandonment of grammatical or prosodic rules for the sake of rhythmical or ideational equilibrium.[44] This can be illustrated by Qaṣ 1/2 … *bi-shawqin yaḥriman jafnī* … (instead of *yaḥrimu*); Qaṣ 1/24 *ʿilmu l-nijāmi* instead of *ʿilm al-nujūm*; in Qaṣ 1/38 *ajarta al-nāsa … ʿan* is read instead of *ajarta al-nāsa … min*; and in Qaṣ 1/44 *qīnā* is read in place of *qinā*. Nevertheless, these are but trifling peccadilloes and tolerable grotesques that are accommodated by the dispensation of *ḍarūra*.

A significant feature of our author's style is the use of Qurʾānic idioms in the form of quotation, paraphrase, or adaptation. For instance, in Qaṣ 1/14, *kullu nafsin dhāʾiqatu l-ḥamāmi* is an amended quotation (*iqtibās*) of Q 2:185; 21:35; 29:57 *kullu nafsin dhāʾiqatu l-mawt*, while the first hemistich of the same line draws on Q 21:34, *a-fa-in mitta fa-humu l-khālidūn*. In Qaṣ 1/15 we read *subhāna lladhī huwa*, in which a relative pronoun and a nominal pronoun co-occur, a rare usage in the Qurʾān for which Q 10:68 *ṣubḥānahu huwa* may be cited. The second hemistich in Qaṣ 1/16, *taʿālā ʿan muʾākhādhati l-manāmi*—though the word *muʾākhādha* is less than appropriate—is adopted from Q 2:255, *lā taʾkhudhuhu sinatun wa-lā nawmun*. In Qaṣ 2/6 there is also a direct quotation from Q 56:89, *fa-rawḥun wa-rayḥānun*. It may be mentioned in passing that even his prose introduction to *Qaṣīda* 3 contains some Qurʾānic quotations, in the title (Q 2:156), and in the body of the text, namely, *al-Ḥāqqa mā l-Ḥāqqa* (Q 69:1–2); *al-Qāriʿa mā l-Qāriʿa* (Q 101:1–2).

The theoretical postulation that an elegy for the dead is the equivalent of a eulogy for the living is strongly reinforced by al-Ilūrī's usage in the second hemistich of Qaṣ 1/32, a verse which also has another significance. The expression *wa-law kānat miyāhu l-arḍi ḥibran* in the first hemistich is significant for two reasons. First, it is an adaptation of Q 18:109, *law kāna l-baḥru midādan li-kalimāti rabbī*. Secondly, it shows that the poem is meant to be circulated in

44 On poetic license see Amidu Sanni, "A Fourth Century Contribution to Literary Theory: Ibn Fāris's Thesis on Poetic Licenses", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 34.1 (1993), 11–20.

the written (chirographic) form rather than rendered orally (cf. Qaṣ 3/12). This indicates that Yoruba verse authors, circumnavigating in the loom of authorial and literary tradition, wanted their works to have the widest transmission and circulation possible among the reading scholarly elite to whom they needed to prove their intellectual credentials as an accomplished scholar.[45] They needed to prove that imitation of classical literary types is the sincerest form of reverence to tradition. Brigaglia recently highlighted some ways through which local authors made their works accessible to wider reading publics and scholarly networks.[46] There is also, in Qaṣ 2/19, *Yā rāḥima l-naʿābi fī aʿshāshihi*, another significant quotation or adaptation, from a popular passage in the local, Islamic version of the Zabūr ("Psalms") of David which reads: *Yā Rāziqa l-naʿābi fī ʿushshihi* ("O Sustainer of the young raven in his nest").[47]

Conclusion

Our discussion so far has illustrated the typical characteristics of the Yoruba lamentation verse for which the three elegiac pieces by Ādam al-Ilūrī have been analyzed, not least as a yardstick by which to establish his idiosyncratic style in composing. What is particularly remarkable is that our author was able to keep, with some degree of success, the "objectification process", to borrow from anthropological terminology.[48] By this is meant the identification of a precise set of ideational thoughts and concepts expected to be found in a particular tradition, and in this case the *rithāʾ* genre, from which al-Ilūrī has

45 This follows the argument by the celebrated littérateur Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) that writing ensures permanence, and that scholarly and artistic meticulousness comes with writing. See Muhsin J. Musawi, "Abbasid Popular Narrative: The Formation of Readership and Cultural Formation", *Arabic Literary Thresholds. Sites of Rhetorical Turn in Contemporary Scholarship*, ed. by Muhsin J. Musawi (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 17–51, pp. 26–27, quoting from the author's *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, "Nocturnal Discourse 38".

46 A. Brigaglia, "Central Sudanic Arabic Scripts (Part I): The Popularization of the *Kanāwi* Script", *Islamic Africa* 2.2 (2011), 51–85, p. 57.

47 The young raven/crow is white like a lump of fat when it comes out of its egg shell. On account of this, its mother dislikes and abandons it. Thereupon Allah sends gnats which light upon it due to its foul greasy smell. The young white raven feeds on the gnats until it fledges and becomes black, and so its parents return to it.

48 See D.F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); G. Starret, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998).

articulated the three features of a standard *rithā'*, namely, mourning the dead, reminiscing over his sterling qualities that should serve as a source of inspiration to others, and expressing the sense of submission to fate. This study has tried to illustrate the uniqueness of the relationship between Reichmuth and al-Ilūrī in the context of an aspect of scholarly tradition/authorship, namely, verse-writing, hitherto unexplored by any other author (including our *Jubilar*), in any analytical fashion, as I have tried to do in this contribution. The three *qaṣīda*s studied here, the only complete *rithā'*s from al-Ilūrī's *oeuvres*, betray the peculiarities of Yoruba Arabic composition under the influence of Islam; the effects and imprints of the native language, custom, and register are prominent and obvious.

As indicated in the introduction to this essay, it was Stefan Reichmuth who, in a systematic and methodical fashion, "unearthed" the "hidden treasure" that was Ilorin, and its rare "gems" for which Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilūrī is shown by Reichmuth in a number of his studies to be an illustrious representative of consummate scholarship; he is established as an educator, a historian, and, indeed, a polymath. In so doing, Reichmuth stands on the same pedestal as Ulrich Rebstock, who similarly unearthed the Mauritanian trove.[49] But Reichmuth's engagement with the Ilorin scholarly tradition is far from over, as he continues with an avid exploration into the legacies of some scholarly familes, specifically their manuscript holdings.[50] His academic study of Islamic education in Ilorin, as exemplified by his *Islamische Bildung*, and indeed other aspects of Islamic narratives covered by his seminal and insightful scholarship on Nigeria, indicates a scientific voyage that gives a nuanced explanation and representation, something which is central not only to Islamic studies but religious studies in general.[51] The particular significance of Reichmuth's engagement with Islamic education in Nigeria in general has indeed acted as a catalyst and an inspiration to other Nigerian scholars, who have taken the insights afforded

49 Ulrich Rebstock has, since 1978, explored and published widely in the field of Mauritanian Arabic manuscripts: see his three-volume *Maurische Literaturgeschichte* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001–3). See also Oriental Manuscript Resource (OMAR): Welcome to OMAR (http://omar.ub.uni-freiburg.de/index.php?id=homepage, accessed March 11, 2017).

50 See his "Islamic Learning and Arabic Literary Culture in Ilorin (Nigeria) since the Early 19th Century: the Nupe Family of Ile Tapa Gbodofu and Its Arabic Manuscripts" presented on Wednesday, June 3, 2015 at The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) Universität Hamburg (published version forthcoming). Cf. Moshood Muhammad Jimba, *Arabic Manuscripts in the Ilorin Emirate* (Ilorin: Kwara State University Press, 2017 (forthcoming).

51 Cf. L.P. Barnes, "Religious Studies, Religious Education and the Aims of Education", *British Journal of Religious Education* 37.2 (2015), 195–206.

by a number of his studies as points of departure for academic explorations not only into al-Ilūrī's educational philosophy but also the general Islamic education reforms in southwestern Nigeria, narratives on spiritual healing and life-cycle issues, and new spaces for Arabic-Islamic studies and historiography on Ilorin and other Yoruba towns and scholars.[52] It is probably not amiss to observe that Reichmuth's engagement with the Nigerian Islamic education narrative also inspired interest in the Islamic education narratives in other "peripheral" regions of the Islamic world, for example, the old Soviet republics.[53] By and large, the scholarly network indicated by the interests of our *Jubilar* clearly reflects his cosmopolitan scholarly profile—a profile that has cast its net wide into other areas of intellectual endeavor. It is to be hoped that other German Islamicists, and indeed other Europeans among the younger generation of academics and researchers, would take Reichmuth's model as a point of departure for future explorations into the Nigerian intellectual heritage, a mine that is currently all but neglected. This will be the greatest tribute to him and, indeed, to all those interested in an enduring intellectual tradition.

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52 Of those inspired, overtly and otherwise, by Reichmuth's narrative on Ilorin when exploring various issues, the following may be cited: R.I. Adebayo, "Muslim Educational Reform in Southwestern Nigeria", *Muslim Educational Reform Activities in Nigeria*, ed. by Baffa Umar et al. (Kano, Nigeria: Benchmark, 2005), 128–42; R.I. Adebayo and S.A. Tijani, "An Appraisal of Sheikh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilori's Educational Philosophy: A Way of Reclaiming the Islamic Identity in Nigeria", *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization* 2.3 (2012), 188–95; O.A. Oloruntele, "Evil Forces and *Shirk* among the Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria with Special Reference to Ilorin City" (unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2009); I.A. Imam, "The Study of Arabic Language in the Nigerian Armed Forces: Prospects and Problems", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 4.6 (2013), 189–95 (downloadable at www.ijbssnet.com); H.O. Danmole, *Religion, Politics, and the Economy in Nineteenth Century Ilory: Some Reflections* (Centre for Ilorin Studies: University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 2012); H.A. Dawood, "Conceptualization of Roadmap of Qur'anic Education in Nigeria: Tribute to a Pioneer (Sheikh Murtadha Abdul Salam)", *International Journal of Education and Research* 2.1 (2014), 1–22 (downloadable at www.ijern.com); A.A. Abdussalam, *Muslims of Kwara State: A Survey*, Nigeria Research Network (NRN) Background Paper No 3, 2012, Oxford Department of International Development, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

53 See *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States*, ed. by M. Kemper, R. Motika, S. Reichmuth (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

CHAPTER 3

The Khādimīs of Konya: The Rise of a Scholarly Family from the Ottoman Periphery

Yaşar Sarıkaya

Introduction

Many families of Sufis and other scholars from peripheral provinces played a crucial role in the educational and intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire. One of these was the Khādimī family from the small town of Hadim, near Konya. This family settled in Konya in the late Seljūq period after emigrating from Bukhara (today Uzbekistan), presumably due to the Mongol invasions. Members of this family had a formative influence on the Islamic education of the 18th and 19th centuries in and around Konya, and were eventually greatly respected beyond their own region.[1] By the late 18th century, two family members had even assumed high positions within the *ʿilmiyye* establishment, including the magistracy of Mecca and Medina, which was the highest position after the judge of Constantinople.[2]

Many other relatives were active as teachers, preachers, or muftis in and around Hadim. This demonstrates a remarkably rapid career advancement by the previously unknown and marginal Khādimīs into the scholarly establishment. Three members of the family in particular played key roles in bringing about this prominence: Muṣṭafā Efendī (d. 1147/1734), his son Muḥammad al-Khādimī (d. 1176/1762), and his grandson Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Madanī (d. 1213/1798). The most influential member of the clan was Muḥammad al-Khādimī, through whom the family obtained the nationwide acceptance and authority that marked the height of their fame in the educational and

1 For the family history see M. Ali Uz, *Baha Veled'den Günümüze Konya Alimleri ve Velileri* I–II, (Konya, no publ., 1993–95), vol. 1, 73; Numan Hadimioğlu, *Hadim ve Hadimliler Bibliyografyası* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1983), 85.

2 For the *ʿilmiyye*-system see İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988).

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intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire. Muḥammad Saʿīd was the last member of the family to achieve exceptional and transregional fame.[3]

The progress of this trio can best be revealed by an investigation into the networks of Islamic education in the Ottoman Empire of the 18th century. How did it happen that three scholars from a previously unknown family from a peripheral Ottoman region reached the inside of the elite *ʿilmiyye*-establishment, which is often described as a closed circle of just a few scholarly families?[4] And how did they go on to achieve renown as authorities on matters of religion, jurisprudence, ethics, and mysticism beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire, evolving into a central intersection point of transregional relations? What role did their multiple relations to political leaders and religious authorities play in this development?

These are the questions to be discussed in this contribution, which attempts to demonstrate the activities of each of the three family members: grandfather, father, and son.

Muṣṭafā Efendī (d. 1734): The First Steps of the Khādimīs into Ottoman Intellectual History

The Khādimīs had played no significant part in the Sufi or scholarly educational environment of their new home before Muṣṭafā Efendī. Three significant developments can explain his rise to prominence:

Initiation into the Naqshbandiyya Order

A decisive issue was Muṣṭafā Efendī's encounter with one of the most influential shaykhs of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*), Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī (d. 1141/1729), in Tarsus, near Mersin in southern Anatolia.[5] Bukhārī came to Istanbul in 1681 after a long journey as *khalīfa* of Muḥammad Murād Maʿṣūm, the son of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1033/1624), the eponym of the Mujaddidiyya, the Indian branch of the Naqshbandiyya order. There, Sirhindī's son found many followers in the political and religious elites who helped him

3 For their work and influence see Yaşar Sarikaya, *Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad al-Ḫādimī (1701–1762): Netzwerke, Karriere und Einfluss eines osmanischen Provinzgelehrten* (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2005).

4 See Madeline C. Zilfi, "Elite Circulation in the Ottoman Empire: Great Mollas of the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26.3 (1983), 318–64.

5 See Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 22 (1982, published 1984), 1–36.

to expand the Mujaddidiyya rapidly across the Ottoman Empire. He intermittently stayed in the provinces of Alanya, Konya, Kütahya, and Bursa.

Muṣṭafā Efendī made first contact with Murād Bukhārī while he was traveling in Anatolia. According to his own account, he visited the Indian Sufi master in Tarsus and learned the mystical methods and practices of the Mujaddidiyya from him.[6] The shaykh educated him for two years.[7] After that, Murād Bukhārī appointed Muṣṭafā Efendī his *khalīfa* in and around Konya.[8]

Authorized and appointed by Murād Bukhārī, Muṣṭafā Efendī worked in and around Konya as a shaykh of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya. This connection brought him the nationwide distinction that his sons, especially Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad and Muḥammad Khādimī (who as his novices also belonged to the influential Naqshbandiyya), could and would use to build their own careers. The Naqshbandiyya expanded through their integrative educational endeavors, which their students or *murīd*s later carried across Central Anatolia.

The Recognition of a Genealogy going Back to the Prophet Muḥammad

Belonging to the lineage of the prophet Muḥammad bestows upon its bearer authenticity, respect, and prestige in every Islamic tradition, including in Sufism. That is why Sufis and scholars have often attempted to prove that they were descendants of the Prophet. In 1761, it was certified that the Khādimīs were "descendants of the Prophet's progeny from the house of Banī l-ʿAdnān"[9] (*min sulālat awlād al-nabī min qabāʾil banī al-ʿAdnān*).[10] When performing the Sufi contemplation (*murāqaba*) by his father's grave, Muḥammad al-Khādimī

6 Muṣṭafā Efendī al-Khādimī, *Risāla fī qirāʾat-i khatm-i khwājagān-i naqshbandiyya wa-uṣūlihā*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fols 147b-148b. For Muḥammad Murād and his envoys in the Ottoman Empire, see İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda Devlet-Tekke Münasebetleri* (Ankara: Seha, 1984), 39–69; Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya"; Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order", *Naqshbandīs: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, ed. by M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic, Th. Zarcone (Istanbul/Paris: Isis, 1990), 3–44.

7 Al-Khādimī, *Risāla fī qirāʾat-i khatm-i khwājagān-i naqshbandiyya*, fols. 147b–148b.

8 Kasım Kufralı counts Muṣṭafā Efendī as one of the most important *khalīfa*s of Murād Bukhārī in Anatolia. See Kasım Kufralı, *Nakşbendiliğin Kuruluş ve Yayılışı* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul, 1949), p. 167. See also Halil İbrahim Şimşek, "Anadolu Müceddidilerine İlişkin Bazı Tarihi Bilgilerin Kullanılışı Üzerine bir Değerlendirme", *Gazi Üniv. Corum İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1.2 (2002), 213–27.

9 By identifying ʿAdnān (a descendant of Abraham's son Ismāʿīl) as progenitor, this genealogy not only links back to Muḥammad but also to the Abrahamic tradition.

10 *Waqfiye*, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017/2.

could rejoice in the confirmation of his noble lineage through the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[11] By tracing its genealogy back to the prophet Muḥammad, the family obtained the status of *sayyid*, which cleared their way to many social and legal privileges. This status enhanced the spiritual role of Muṣṭafā Efendī as a master of the Naqshbandiyya.[12]

The status of *sayyid* also gave other members of the family some leverage. They gained a reputation and authority in matters of religion, ethics, and mysticism. They were represented by the *naqīb al-ashrāf* in the capital and by his representatives in the provinces.[13]

Studying with Renowned Teachers

Muṣṭafā Efendī learned from several teachers who enjoyed empire-wide renown. One of these was the Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad al-Ṭarsūsī (from Tarsus, near Mersin), who was a famous authority, especially in *ḥadīth*, exegesis (*tafsīr*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*).[14] Al-Ṭarsūsī gave Muṣṭafā Efendī a license that was generally valid for teaching and transmitting all the sciences of the Ottoman *medrese*.[15] A new opportunity presented itself when Muṣṭafā Efendī received another teaching license—probably also from al-Ṭarsūsī—that authorized him to teach numerous works on *ḥadīth*, including Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ*, Tirmīdhī's *al-Targhīb*, Qāḍī al-ʿIyāḍ's *al-Shifāʾ*, and Suyūṭī's *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*.[16]

The second teacher of fame was Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Āmidī from Diyarbakir (in south-eastern Anatolia), a key figure in *ḥadīth* science who earned many *isnād*s for several collections of *ḥadīth*.[17] He gave Muṣṭafā Efendī the teaching license for different anthologies of *ḥadīth* with North-African *isnād*s.

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) was the most important warrantor to pass on the aforementioned collections of *ḥadīth* to the Anatolian scholars via the North African chain. Al-Maqqarī was born in Tilimsan

11 See Hadimioğlu, *Hadim ve Hadimliler Bibliyografyası*, 1–3, with the lineage.

12 About the status of *sayyid* see Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 3 vols (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1993), vol. 3, 200.

13 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye*, 161–72; Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri*, vol. 2, 647–48.

14 Khayraddīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab*, 13 vols (3rd ed., Beirut, no publ. 1970), vol. 6, 239.

15 *Ijāzetnāme*, Koyunoğlu-Library/Konya, no. 14296.

16 *Ijāzetnāme*, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fols. 242b–243a; *Ijāzetnāme*, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fol. 297.

17 One *isnād* certificate is preserved in Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fols. 243b–244a.

(Tlemcen, Algeria) and went to Damascus[18] on his extended journeys, where he gave lectures on *ḥadīth*[19] at the Chaqmāqiyya Madrasa.[20] He was a Mālikī *ḥadīth* scholar who also specialized in *fiqh*. According to the *isnād* (chain of transmission) that has come down to us, the scholar who studied the aforementioned collections of *ḥadīth* from al-Maqqarī and then passed them on in Anatolia was a certain Shaykh Yāsīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Ẓāhirī, whom it has not been possible to identify. He passed Maqqarī's *isnād* on to Yūsuf al-Āmidī and authorized him to teach and transmit a number of *ḥadīth* collections.[21] Muṣṭafā Efendī traced his *silsila* back to al-Maqqarī through this *ijāza* (license) via al-Āmidī, and through al-Maqqarī back to North African *ḥadīth* scholars. This *ijāza* is therefore a remarkable transregional chain, giving Muṣṭafā Efendī a prestige in traditional *ḥadīth* studies.

With Muṣṭafā Efendī teaching these collections of *ḥadīth*, Hadim became an expanding center for *ḥadīth* studies, and a meeting point for seekers of knowledge (*ʿilm*). One of these was the famous *ḥadīth* scholar Abū l-Mafākhir Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Khalīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rūmī (d. 1187/1773), better known as Gedikzāde, who was born in Medina. After completing a basic education, he dedicated himself entirely to studying *ḥadīth*. At first, he learned from two famous teachers from Medina, the most important of whom was Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, with whom Muḥammad al-Khādimī used to communicate. Gedikzāde eventually began to travel across the Muslim world, from city to city, in search of scholars who might help him improve his study of *ḥadīth*. For this purpose, he also visited Khādimī, which indicates that by that time the latter had gained respectability in this field.[22]

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18 Ralf Elger, "Adab and Historical Memory. The Andalusian Poet/Politician Ibn al-Khaṭīb as Presented in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (986/1577–1041/1632), Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb", *Die Welt des Islams* 42.3 (2002), 289–306.

19 Cf. Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍlallāh al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, 4 vols (Beirut: Maktabat al-Khayyāt, n.d.), vol. 1, 302ff (repr. of Cairo 1284); ʿAbdalḥayy b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa muʿjam al-maʿājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt* (Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, n.d.), vol. 1, 337–38; ʿUmar Riḍā' Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn. Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, 15 vols in 8 (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-taraqqī 1376/1957), vol. 2, 78.

20 The Chaqmāqiyya was founded by the Mamlūk Sultan Abū Saʿīd Sayfaddīn Chaqmaq (d. 857/1453) and existed for centuries. See Muḥammad b. ʿIsā b. Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya: Ṣafaḥāt nādira min taʾrīkh Dimashq fī l-ʿaṣr al-ʿuthmānī 111–1153/1699–1740*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlbī (n.p.: Dār al-ṭibāʿ, c. 1990), 42, 282, 330.

21 See also *Ijāzetnāme*, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fol. 243b.

22 See ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fī l-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*, 3 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n.d.), vol. 1, 429; Tayyar Altıkulaç, "Gedikzâde, Abdülkadir", *Türkiye*

Muḥammad Khādimī (d. 1761): Transregional Relations

The largest contribution to the ascent of the family was made by the multiple connections and educational activities of Muḥammad Khādimī (d. 1761). This scholar increased the family's relations to scholars and Sufis that his father had secured initially. Yet Muḥammad Khādimī also established new contacts with religious and political functionaries in Istanbul. Furthermore, he used his pilgrimage to forge transregional friendships. At the *medrese* that he co-founded with his father, he educated many students who went on work as teachers, judges, muftis, or Sufis, spreading his ideas and teachings far and wide across Anatolia. All these activities helped Muḥammad Khādimī attain authority in matters of religion, jurisprudence, ethics, and mysticism.[23] I want to elaborate on his connections in the following section, in order to highlight the role that his networks played in his overcoming of social boundaries between periphery and center, as well as their role in his scholarly ascent and career.

Khādimī's Connections to the Istanbul Elites

Muḥammad Khādimī's first transregional connections to the religious and political functionaries of the Ottoman Empire were forged during his studies in Istanbul, where he studied under Aḥmad al-Qāzābādī (d. 1163/1750), a renowned and influential scholar of the capital whom the historian al-ʿIzzī (d. 1168/1755) honored as "the hidden jewel of the [profane] sciences" (*kenjīne-i jewāhir-i ʿulūm-i āliyye*) and "the rare treasure of the great [religious] sciences" (*khazīne-i newādir-i fünūn-i āliyye*).[24]

Al-Qāzābādī arranged for Khādimī relations with high-ranking officials in the capital, two of which are well-documented. The first was Beshīr Agha, one of the most powerful political figures from 1717 to 1746.[25] Beshīr Agha arranged for Khādimī to be invited to the Sublime Porte by Sultan Meḥmed I. The invitation was delivered to him by ʿAlī Pasha, the governor of Konya. Thus, Khādimī travelled to Istanbul for a second time, where the sultan is said to have bestowed great honor and grace upon him.[26] Hence, it is not surprising that

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Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1996), vol. 13, 549–50.

23 On the history of reception see Sarikaya, *Ḫādimī*, 250ff.

24 ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 225b.

25 See Norman Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Pennsylvania: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 15–26.

26 Ibid, 108–9.

Khādimī dedicated his major work, *al-Barīqa al-maḥmūdiyya sharḥ al-ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*, a commentary on Birgiwī Meḥmed Efendī's (d. 1573) moral compendium *al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*, to the sultan.[27] Furthermore, Beshīr Agha supported Khādimī's educational projects in Hadim financially. He made generous donations for the construction of a library in Hadim, which still exists to this day.[28]

The second patron in the capital was the *defterdār* (chief secretary) ʿOthmān Shehdī Efendī. In the mid-18th century, the *defterdār* belonged to the high-level officials within the Ottoman administrative apparatus (*khawājagān-i dīwān-i humāyūn*), which consisted of secretaries of the chambers, officials of the treasury, coin makers, the navy's arsenal, and the cannon foundry.[29] The sources reveal that ʿOthmān Shehdī Efendī supported Khādimī's activities by donating numerous manuscripts to Khādimī's library.[30] The *waqf* certificate of these donations declares that the books are intended for students and scholars, and especially for Muḥammad Khādimī himself. The document also contains a tribute to Khādimī as "the second Imām Abū Ḥanīfa", and as "the highly-respected scholar of the century".[31] Even though these were stereotypical phrases of formal appreciation in the Ottoman Empire, they give an indication of Khādimī's transregional authority and prestige. The gift covers all classical disciplines, from Qurʾān exegesis to poetry. Among the works that were donated are also mystical or poetic pieces such as Rūmī's *Mathnawī* and Shīrāzī's *Dīwān*.

The library's inventory suggests that Khādimī was building upon his father's legacy in order to establish a center for Islamic education and scholarship in the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. Students from Hadim, Konya, Antalya, Kayseri, and many towns of Anatolia, both large and small, could now study standard texts and classic compendiums of Islamic literature and teaching

27 The autograph that Khādimī completed in 1168/1754 is still in the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Library in Ankara. The first copy of the autograph (made in the same year by a certain Aḥmad b. Aḥmad) was copied 60 times up to the mid-19th century by dozens of experts from different provinces, a clear sign of the great renown of this work as well as the reputation of its author.

28 Ebülʿulâ Mardin, *Huzûr Dersleri*, ed. İsmet Sungurbey, 3 vols (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi yay., 1951–1966), vol. 2, 772; Mustafa Yayla, "Hâdimî, Ebû Saîd", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 15 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), 24–26.

29 Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri*, vol. 1, 693–94.

30 *Waqfiyye*, Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fol. 13b.

31 Ibid.

right there close to home. Hadim turned into a significant center for Islamic education, where far-reaching social networks of students and teachers were formed.

The Ḥajj as Medium for Transregional and Transnational Relations

Like many other scholars of the Ottoman province, Khādimī traveled to Mecca; this happened in 1156/1743, and he went via Konya and Damascus. This was apparently his first journey into an Arab province and his first encounter with the language and literature of contemporary Arab scholars. During this pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) he evidently managed to forge ties with numerous Arab and non-Arab scholars of both near and far regions of the Islamic world, and became part of their scientific discourse. His connections included two Damascene scholars whom he met in that city: Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjlūnī (d. 1162/1749) and Aḥmad al-Manīnī (d. 1172/1758). The latter was the highest spiritual authority of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus at the time and also a well-renowned philologist, grammarian, and writer.[32] Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjlūnī excelled in *ḥadīth* studies, and his poetry was so well-known that al-Murādī included parts of it in his biographical dictionary *Silk al-durār*.[33]

Muḥammad Khādimī's *Risāla* on the controversy regarding tobacco consumption reveals that he discussed various theological and legal issues with local scholars.[34] The author declares that the consumption of tobacco had increased in Damascus at the time.[35] At a gathering in the Umayyad Mosque—which included Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjlūnī and Aḥmad al-Manīnī, as well as Khādimī and others—the Islamic legal regulations concerning tobacco consumption were openly discussed. The accounts from Khādimī's *Risāla* reveal that some scholars declared tobacco consumption to be illicit according to religious tenets, but that others—who apparently consumed tobacco themselves—insisted that it

32 He also taught at the ʿĀdiliyya al-Kubrā school and gave lectures: on Thursdays on the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī and on Fridays on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, and after the two evening prayers on other sciences. See Muḥammad Khalīl Murādī, *Silk al-durār fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar* (Baghdad: Muthannā, ca.1970), vol. 1, 133–45 (repr. of Bulaq, 1291–1301).

33 al-Murādī, *Silk*, vol. 1, 261–72. For ʿAjlūnī's works, see Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat/İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal (Istanbul, 1951–55), vol. 1, 220–21.

34 Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Khādimī, *Risāla fī ḥaqq al-dukhkhān*, MS Istanbul Süleymaniye/Reşid Ef. 1017, fol. 237a.

35 Smoking tobacco was part of Damascene life, as well as playing chess and drinking coffee. Murādī, *Silk*, vol. 1, 98.

was rightful. Khādimī was fascinated by the debate and took notes, which later became the foundation of his *Risāla fī ḥaqq al-dukhkhān*.[36]

It is likely that Khādimī met many other scholars, Sufis, merchants, and patrons on his way to Mecca. However, apart from the discussion about tobacco consumption, only one more meeting is documented: his encounter with Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1750 or 1752), the famous 18th-century *ḥadīth* scholar from Sind, in present-day Pakistan. Al-Sindī travelled through many provinces to the Ḥijaz in order to study, and eventually settled in Medina. During his studies, al-Sindī established connections with several high-profile teachers of his time.[37] According to al-Jabartī, he was introduced into the *ṭarīqa* of the Naqshbandiyya by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaqqāf.[38]

Two of Khādimī's treatises suggest that during his *ḥajj* he attended al-Sindī's lectures in Medina. This gave him the opportunity to discuss and exchange ideas on matters of theology (*kalām*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and *ḥadīth*, which he felt were all fundamental. The two treatises that Khādimī put together afterwards consist of eleven questions to al-Sindī and the latter's answers.

In one of these two treatises Khādimī discusses seven problematic issues, most of which concern rituals. One example is the question regarding the legitimacy of an *imām*'s reciting of Qur'ānic verses, aloud, immediately after the prayer ritual. Another is the question of whether it is equitable for the *imām* to end the communal invocation (*duʿā*) of God at the end of the prayer by calling "al-Fātiḥa!", to urge the believers to recite the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* silently.[39] Another issue concerns a particular kind of pilgrimage to Mecca, in which the pilgrim conducts this commandment not for himself but for someone who has already passed away before he could fulfil it. The result of the discussion was that one should always fulfil this commandment for oneself first, as long

36 Khādimī describes the treatise of tobacco consumption as "the summary of our discussion in Damascus with some of the city's scholars in the year 1156 [1743]" (*Risāla fī ḥaqq al-dukhkhān*, fol. 237a).

37 Among these were Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥādī al-Sindī, ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAjamī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. See John Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975), 32–39.

38 al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib*, vol. 1, 75. See Esther Peskes, *Al-ʿAidarūs und seine Erben: eine Untersuchung zu Geschichte und Sufismus einer ḥaḍramitischen Sāda-Gruppe vom fünfzehnten bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 156–57.

39 See Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Khādimī, "Risālat al-shubuhāt al-mūrada ʿalā al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī al-Madanī", *al-Majmūʿa al-sharīfa*, ed. by ʿAbdalbāṣir Efendī (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-i ʿāmire, 1302), 220–24.

as health and financial means allow it.[40] While the *badal* (proxy) pilgrimage (for a living family member or friend) was common practice, we do not know whether this also comprised deceased persons as beneficiaries.

Another question is concerned with the legal significance of a "weak" *ḥadīth*, that is, a saying of the Prophet that has come down through a defective or doubtful line of transmission. Khādimī begins by describing the problem: in Islamic jurisprudence, a weak *ḥadīth* alone does not serve as a sufficient argument for finding a verdict. It was permissible though, and even commendable, to justify a voluntary action (*faḍā'il*) with a weak *ḥadīth*. Khādimī enquired about the reason for this restriction. According to al-Sindī, "if a *ḥadīth* [about an action] with a weak *isnād* is found, which is linked to a reward by God, then we act in accordance to it, hoping to receive the reward".[41]

The second array of questions contains four subjects from the disciplines of *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, and *kalām*, and al-Sindī briefly commented on each of them. According to our author, the answers that Khādimī reproduced in his epistle were first written by al-Sindī with his own pen.[42] The first question refers to a tradition of the Prophet regarding the priority of the recitation of *āyat al-kursī*—the famous Throne Verse—after each obligatory prayer, and the opinion that paradise is promised to those who do so. Khādimī asks if this promise is also in effect if the verse is only recited occasionally. The answer is precise and unambiguous: if one does not have a strong excuse (*'udhr*) one should not refrain from reciting *āyat al-kursī* after each prayer. "But God knows best".[43]

Another question that caused a steady controversy in Islamic debates was whether the Prophet's parents, who died before the birth of Islam, are among the salvaged souls or not. The time span between the disappearance of one prophet until the appearance of another, especially the time between Jesus Christ and Muḥammad, is known in Islamic theology as *fatra* ("disruption").[44] Scholars engaged in vigorous debates about the question of whether people who lived in a period of *fatra*—thus having no prophet for their immediate guidance—would be called to account for their actions on Judgment Day. According to an assessment accredited to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Prophet's parents must be regarded as believers. This view was defended by important jurists and theologians like al-Suyūtī, al-Fanārī, Kemālpāshāzāde, and al-Zabīdī.

40 Ibid, p. 221.

41 Ibid., 221.

42 Ibid., 211.

43 Ibid., 212–13.

44 See Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī jarīb al-Qur'ān* (Istanbul: Kahraman yayınları, 1986), 558; Ch. Pellat, "Fatra", *EI2*, ed. by P.J. Bearman et al (Leiden: Brill 1965), vol. 2, 865.

Other scholars, e.g. ʿAlī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), held the opposite view, arguing that the Prophet's father and mother were not among the salvaged (*ahl al-najāḥ*) by reference to Q 9:113, which—in its literal interpretation—denies the believer the right to ask forgiveness for unbelievers, even if they are close relatives. Al-Sindī was now called upon to decide in this matter, but he refrained from voicing his own standpoint, concluding that "remaining taciturn on this matter is the most apt response, in my view. However, God knows best".[45]

Back to the topic at hand: Khādimī could use his pilgrimage to form social contacts with the most celebrated scholars of the Arab-Muslim world. He continued to teach at the *medrese* he had co-founded with his father, and remained faithful to the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya as his father's *murīd*. Due to his efforts, Hadim blossomed into a thriving center of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood, the traditional *ḥadīth* sciences, and Ḥanafī jurisprudence. Education at the *medrese* in Hadim allowed the prospect of a scholarly career to students from all parts of Anatolia. Many students managed to reach high places within the hierarchy of the *ʿilmiyye*, an indication of the high authority and prestige of the teaching in Hadim. Other students acted as Sufis and founded *medrese*s in many places.[46] Muḥammad al-Khādimī's writings, which cover almost the entire spectrum of Islamic literature, were widely read in the subsequent period, especially in the 19th century. The *Barīqa* was printed in 1841 in Istanbul and Cairo and copied by countless scribes, and is one of the most widely read compendia of the late-Ottoman era. Even today, many Sufis use it as a source for ethical and mystical education. According to Savvas Pacha (d. 1905), an Ottoman statesman of Greek origin, Khādimī's *Majāmiʿ al-ḥaqāʾiq*, printed in Istanbul in 1856 and copied numerous times, constituted a main source of Ottoman jurisprudence,[47] and served many legal scholars of the 19th century as a work of reference. The legal regulations in the appendix of the *Majāmiʿ*, which Khādimī formulated in the style of the *al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Nujaym (d. 970/1563), influenced many paragraphs of the *Mejelle*,[48] the Ottoman civil code that was produced between 1869 and 1876 under the

45 al-Khādimī, "Risālat al-shubuhāt al-mūrada", 213.

46 See Yaşar Sarikaya, "Sufis und Gelehrte als Medresengründer und -patrone im osmanischen Konya (18.-19. Jahrhundert)", *Der Islam* 79 (2002), 201–39.

47 See Savvas Pacha, *Étude sur la théorie du Droit musulman* (Paris: Marchal et Billard, 1892), vol. 1, xxxvii.

48 Osman Öztürk, *Osmanlı Hukuk Tarihinde Mecelle* (Istanbul: İslâmî İlimler Araştırma Vakfı, 1973), 118.

direction of Aḥmed Jevdet Pasha, one of the most influential intellectuals of the 19th century.

Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Madanī (d. 1798): From the Anatolian Province to Mecca and Medina

Khādimī's eldest son, Muḥammad Saʿīd, worked primarily as a judge in the *ʿilmiyye*, and as an author of legal and theological writings. According to Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad Saʿīd occupied himself with law (*fiqh*) and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*).[49] As was customary for children of educated Ottoman families, Muḥammad Saʿīd received his primary education from his father. After learning the Qurʾān he continued to study with his father in Hadim, and it was also Muḥammad Khādimī who eventually authorized him to teach.[50] Presumably, his teaching career began in Hadim at his father's *medrese*. Around 1170/1757, Muḥammad Saʿīd travelled to Medina,[51] where, thanks to his father's social connections, he joined the leading scholars. He became a close friend of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, who would mention Muḥammad Saʿīd in his famous biographical compendium of Islamic scholars, praising his thorough Islamic education. His father's fame and his connections to potentates obviously played a key role in the fact that only five years after settling in Medina, Muḥammed Saʿīd was given Muḥammed Efendi al-Masʿūdī's (d. 1174/1760) position at al-Madrasa al-Jadīda, a school which had been built with financial means provided by Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü. According to al-Anṣārī, his annual income of 5000 Qurush was remarkably high.[52]

Muḥammad Saʿīd often travelled, via Konya, to Istanbul. Each journey, he received ample presents and support from the Ottoman state. Within a few years, he surpassed the lower and intermediate ranks of *qāḍī*-ship and

49 Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam*, fol 168a; cf. Sarikaya, *Ḫādimī*, 236ff.

50 *Ijāzetnāme*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, No. 371.13.ICA.

51 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifa mā lil-madaniyyīn min al-anṣāb*, ed. Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Matawī (Tunis: al-Maktaba al-ʿAtīqa, 1970/1390), vol. 2, 455–56.

52 Ibid., 455. See also Irfan Ince, *Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert: Politische Strukturen, Beziehungen und Konflikte, mit Einblicken in den Gelehrtendiskurs* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ruhr-Universteit Bochum 2014), 253. Accessible under http://www-brs.ub.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/netahtml/HSS/Diss/InceIrfan/diss.pdf.

eventually achieved the position of judge of Mecca and Medina. He died as *qāḍī* of the Ḥaramayn, in Medina in 1213/1798.[53]

Over the years, Muḥammad Saʿīd forged contacts with many other famous scholars. One of these was Murtaḍā Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Zabīdī (d. 1791), whom Stefan Reichmuth characterized as a Muslim humanist of the 18th century.[54] Originally from India, al-Zabīdī was a true polymath, and between 1749 and 1754 he stayed in Yemen and in the cities of Mecca and Medina. After this, he lived and worked in Cairo, where he enjoyed an excellent reputation as a legal and *ḥadīth* scholar, lexicographer, biographer, and Sufi, with a large number of students visiting him from the Sahara, North Africa, and Anatolia. Muḥammad Saʿīd visited him in Cairo in 1196/1782.[55] Even though we have no further details about this encounter, there must have been a mutual relationship between al-Zabīdī and the Khādimīs. In his incomplete biographical lexicon (*Muʿjam*) on scholars whom he knew personally, al-Zabīdī mentions two of Muḥammad Khādimī's students. One of these was a Medinan friend of al-Zabīdī, the other someone from Novi Pazar in the Sanjaq province (today in Serbia); Zabīdī introduced the latter into the practices of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood.[56]

Among Muḥammad Saʿīd's most famous students was his own brother, Nuʿmān Efendī, who worked in Hadim primarily as mufti.[57] ʿUthmān al-Aqshahrī (d. 1811), who previously also studied under Muḥammad Khādimī, worked as a mufti and preacher in Kayseri.[58] Another person who studied with Muḥammad Saʿīd was Khalīl al-Malaṭī from Malatya, also known as Qazanjīzāde; he was one of al-Zabīdī's frequent visitors and friends.[59]

53 Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz/Ismail Özen, 3 vols (Istanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1972–75), vol. 1, 344.

54 Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91): Life, Networks and Writings* (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009), 180.

55 Zabīdī, *Muʿjam*, fol. 168a.

56 Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī*, 180.

57 *Ijāzetnāme*, Koyunoğlu, no. 14296.

58 *Ijāzetnāme*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, no. 371.13.ICA.

59 See Zabīdī, *Muʿjam*, fol. 36b.

Conclusion

Even after Muḥammad Saʿīd, many of his family members continued to work as teachers (*mudarris*), legal experts (*muftī*s), or as judges (*qāḍī*s) in and around Konya. Some of them played a crucial role in the vast educational endeavors of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood during the 19th century in Konya. Still, no other member achieved the same level of trans-regional fame and scholarly popularity that their father and grandfather enjoyed.

An analysis of the activities of Muslim scholars from a network perspective, as pioneered by Stefan Reichmuth and Roman Loimeier, demonstrates that individual, interpersonal, and collective relationships among scholars are crucial channels, not only for the transmission of knowledge but also as social and cultural resources. Especially, educational trips and pilgrimages played a key role in that respect.[60] This essay demonstrates that the quick ascent and overwhelming prestige of the Khādimī dynasty was due to their connections to personalities of religious and political influence, especially through their far-reaching scholarly and Sufi networks. The steady decline in the prestige and authority of the Khādimī scholars from the early 19th century indicates that their descendants were less successful in forging vast networks or advantageous connections for themselves. The individual scholar needs relevant relations in order to advance his career, in a mutually reinforcing relation between scholarly talent, personal ambition and the right connections at the right time.

60 Roman Loimeier and Stefan Reichmuth, "Zur Dynamik religiös-politischer Netzwerke in muslimischen Gesellschaften", *Die Welt des Islams* 36.2 (1996), 145–85, esp. pp. 154–55.

CHAPTER 4

Moral Education in Central Asia, 19th–21st Centuries: The Foundations for Sufi, Jadīd, Soviet, National, and Islamist Ethics

Anke von Kügelgen

The present article attempts to provide a framework for analyzing moral education on the territory of what is today the Republic of Uzbekistan, and what in Tsarist times was the government of Turkestan and the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. It highlights several types of ethics that were taught in Muslim schools and discussed among scholars and educators; these ethics are compared as to their religious and philosophical foundations and motivations.[1] In the course of the last 150 years, the Central Asian region witnessed several important changes, in particular increased Russian influence from the late 1860s, the coming to power of the Bolsheviks, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. The writings I analyze here have much in common with those spread in neighboring areas, and so the patterns discussed in this overview can, to a certain extent, also be taken as indicative of the general development of moral teachings in Central Asia as a whole.

Education, and moral education as one of its important constituents, has hitherto mostly been considered over shorter time-periods, and usually from the perspective of identity building. Recent scholarship has provided insights into learned Muslim identities,[2] such as what it means to be a Muslim

1 For their comments on drafts of this paper I extend my sincere thanks to Michael Kemper, Hisao Komatsu, Frank Peter, and Jindřich Strnad. Many thanks also to Nicole Custer for her critical revision and the adjustment of the bibliographical data. For an annotated bibliography of recent studies on the region, see *Central Eurasian Reader—A Biennal Journal of Selective and Criticial Bibliography*, ed. by Stéphane A. Dudoignon, 2 vols (Berlin/Paris: Klaus Schwarz Verlag/CNRS, 2008–10).

2 Michael Kemper, Raoul Motika, Stefan Reichmuth (eds), *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States* (London: Routledge 2009); Raoul Motika, Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen (eds), *Repression, Anpassung, Neuorientierung: Studien zum Islam in der Sowjetunion und dem postsowjetischen Raum* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013).

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Turkestani,[3] a Soviet citizen,[4] or an Uzbek.[5] Such studies have mostly focused on socio-political circumstances. Additionally, in the past two decades several scholars have investigated the formation of "the moral self" in contemporary Central Asia, producing in-depth studies based on field research.[6] These studies have put practices and individual experiences at their center, and highlight the various inner and outer aspects of moral education in or for a given community. Yet to this day there has not been a comparative study of moral teaching in the region, and none that looks at its long-term development.

The proposed comparison started with my observation that, in post-Soviet Uzbekistan, several types of ethical norms and values are propagated at the same time, and are thus in competition. These different ethics are propagated in "moral education" schoolbooks commissioned by the state, in sermons of Islamic "fundamentalist" groups and in texts used in the traditional Muslim schools. I argue that this competition has its roots in the struggles for the correct form of ethics that started with the attempt at a "moral reform" by the Central Asian Muslim educational reformers, the Jadīds, at the turn of the 20th century. In the subsequent Soviet period, the state-promoted ideal of a Soviet citizen ran parallel to what might be called the formation of a Soviet Muslim citizen, with either "traditionalist" or "fundamentalist" underpinnings. I aim at identifying continuities, similarities, and differences between these various kinds of moral education, and I highlight resemblances between schools of thought and ideologies that consider each other as rivals or worse. Some of the

3 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Djadidisme, mirasisme, islamisme", *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 37.1–2 (1996), 13–40; Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Le réformisme musulman en Asie Centrale, du 'premier renouveau' à la soviétisation 1788–1937", *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 37.1–2 (1996), 133–210; Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998).

4 William K. Medlin, William M. Cave, Finley Carpenter, *Education and Development in Central Asia: A Case Study on Social Change in Uzbekistan* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

5 Laura L. Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2010); Peter Finke, *Variations on Uzbek Identity: Strategic Choices, Cognitive Schemas and Political Constraints in Identification Processes* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2014).

6 Annette Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität und islamische Gesellschaft im Wandel. Studien über Frauenälteste* (*otin und xalfa*) *im unabhängigen Usbekistan* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2002); Manja Stephan, *Das Bedürfnis nach Ausgewogenheit: Moralerziehung, Islam und Muslimsein in Tadschikistan zwischen Säkularisierung und religiöser Rückbesinnung* (Wiesbaden: Ergon, 2010); Johan Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan: The Morality of Experience* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011).

texts I selected for this study date back to the 13th century but are still in use, or were re-introduced in the late Soviet era; others are from the 19th century or later, up to today.

The questions I am interested in derive from the discipline of moral philosophy, and therefore I use some of the conceptual tools of normative and meta-ethics. I do so in a rather experimental way, since there are only a few comparative systematic text-based analyses of coexisting or rivaling ethics from the viewpoint of moral philosophy. The comparisons that are done in descriptive ethics are usually based on empirical research of attitudes or practices of people.

The sources that I introduce below are not theoretical texts, and usually do not reflect on their own moral theoretical premises. Accordingly, they give us only limited insight into the concerns of normative and meta-ethics. Nevertheless, the texts illuminate aspects of the differences as well as the similarities between the various types of moral education.

Four sets of questions determine the structure of this paper. In the first step, I discuss the scope of ethics in public schools and private Islamic instruction in Uzbekistan and its predecessor political entities, and identify eight types of moral teachings. The second set of questions addresses the foundations of the ethical sentences and their concrete justification. Based on these findings, I turn to the motivational aspects of the morality as well as to its forms and methods. The final part of this paper thematizes the range of moral teachings and their universality. It should be noted that my paper is not an in-depth study but an attempt at testing a new approach with just a limited number of cases and examples. In particular, the moral teachings under consideration call for more research on the centers of their respective normativity, whether norms derive from moral duty, the consequences of actions, or the building/edification of a person's character.

Scope and Types of Moral Teachings

The texts under consideration (see the sub-chapters below) are all concerned with how people ought to act, either generally or in specific circumstances. Their style, and how they are used in schools, private lessons, or sermons, allow us the assumption that they serve didactic purposes, and that their goal is that of moral education. To what extent can their content be subsumed under ethics? Undoubtedly, the texts do not develop any moral philosophy in the strict sense of the word. Even if they include quotes from individual Greek, Central Asian, or European philosophers, they contain no references to the moral

systems that these philosophers stood for. What they do is teach norms, rules, and principles for good or correct behavior, and they convey commands, prohibitions, duties, values, and conventions without differentiating between these elements. I claim that they constitute *moral* factors and have a *moral* force, even when the various elements mentioned are not presented as an imperative for humans as such.[7] Whenever they are bound to a specific community or society, or presented in some other way as particular duties assigned to particular roles within them, they generally follow the principle of fair play by which Shelly Kagan aptly explained the moral force of conventional duties.[8] With the Central Asian Muslim reformers (Jadīds) of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, educational texts began being marked with a clear nationalistic tone, and the Jadīds addressed the human as such; the Jadīd teachings are intended to form a good child, mother and father, worker or citizen, on behalf of the respective nation or union. However, in the texts that are mainly or solely religious/Islamic, the duties and acts (including acts of worship) commanded are qualified as "required", "permitted", "good", or "right", and the goal is the purification of the soul. Furthermore, these categories are associated with attributes or consequences that are widely regarded as belonging to the field of ethics.[9]

In what follows, I will discern eight types of moral teachings in view of their intellectual origins, and I will mention the schools or Islamic private instruction institutes in which they were or are in use. The settings selected here are the public school in Soviet and today's Uzbekistan and the primary school for the Jadīds—the "new-method" (*jadīd*) *maktab*[10]—as well as the traditional

7 For an explanation of the major positions in the debate about the scope of ethics, see Dieter Birnbacher, *Analytische Einführung in die Ethik*, 2nd edition (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 1–63.

8 Shelly Kagan, *Normative Ethics* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1998), 140–43.

9 Islam is often—and mistakenly—regarded as a religion where ethics and law are not distinguished. For a discussion of the main arguments, see Florian Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik im 17. Jahrhundert—Ein weberianisches Verständnis der Handlungsvorstellungen Kātib Čelebis (1609–1657)* (Berlin: EB-Verlag 2011), 149, 152–56. For humanist thinking in Islamic culture see Stefan Reichmuth, "Humanism and Mysticism—Inspirations from Islam", *Humanism and Muslim Culture—Historical Heritage and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Jörn Rüsen, Aladdin Sarhan (Goettingen/Taipei: V&R unipress/Naional Taiwan University Press, 2012), 115–26.

10 See Kiriak E. Bendrikov, *Ocherki po istorii narodnogo obrazovaniia v Turkestane* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Pedagogicheskikh nauk RSFSR, 1960), 247–82; Khalid, *The Politics*, 167–76; Dudoignon, "La question scolaire", especially 165–68.

"old-method" (*qadīm*) *maktab*, the *madrasa* (as the Islamic high school),[11] and the *khānaqāh*, the Sufi convent.[12] I also look at Islamic private instruction in the form of the lessons given by the "traditional" *otin*s or *xalfa*s, that is, female teachers of religious praxis and ethics who are often invited to lead commemorative ceremonies in the communities; equally taken into consideration are the sermons of the so-called Mujaddidiyya, i.e. "the renewers [of Islam]" that started appearing in the late 1970s,[13] and who conducted clandestine teaching in the Soviet era.[14] This Mujaddidiyya should not be confounded with the Sufi Naqshbandī branch that bears the same name. Their texts often serve as teaching materials for the "new" or "young" *otin*s, who often refer to themselves as *da'vatchi*, i.e. missionaries. There is a new, Islamist trend of female teachers for religious practice, but since the late 1990s the state has constrained their missionary teachings.[15]

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11 Guido Hausmann, "Bildung/Alphabetisierung", *Die Nationalitäten des Russischen Reiches in der Volkszählung von 1897*, A: *Quellenkritische Dokumentation und Datenhandbuch*, ed. by Henning Bauer, Andreas Kappeler, Brigitte Roth (Stuttgart: F. Steiner 1991), 324–76, esp. 348–60; Bendrikov, *Ocherki*, 27–60; Medlin et al., *Education and Development*, 26–45. The main sources for the traditional schools remain the descriptions of the *Jadīd*s that are marked by harsh criticism; see Jiří Bečka, "Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Aynī and Other Writers of Central Asia", *Archiv Orientální* 39 (1971), 284–321, and 40 (1972), 130–63.

12 Anke von Kügelgen, "Die Entfaltung der Naqšbandīya muǧaddidīya im mittleren Transoxanien vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Stück Detektivarbeit", *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), 101–51, pp. 142–51.

13 B. Babadjanov and M. Kamilov, "Muhammadjan Hindustani (1892–1989) and the Beginning of the 'Great Schism' among the Muslims of Uzbekistan", trans. from Russian by Stephen Hegarty, *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia* (*Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Centuries*), ed. by Stéphane A. Dudoignon and Hisao Komatsu (London/New York/Bahrain: Kegan Paul, 2001), 195–219; Bakhtiar Babadzhanov, "Islam in Uzbekistan: From the Struggle for 'Religious Purity' to Political Activism", *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* ed. by Boris Rumer (New York/London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 299–330. For the Mujaddidiyya's teachings see Allen J. Frank and Jahangir Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Springfield, VA: Dunwoody Press, 2006).

14 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 74–75, 78–80, 89–239; Sigrid Kleinmichel, *Ḫalpa in Choresm* (*Ḫʷārazm*) *und Ātin Āyi im Ferghanatal—Zur Geschichte des Lesens in Usbekistan im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000), vol. 1, 12–17.

15 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 241–325.

Sufi-inspired Anthropocentric Moral Teaching

As examples of what may be labeled the Sufi-inspired anthropocentric moral teaching, I selected Saʿdī's (d. 1292) *Gulistān* ("The Rose-Garden"),[16] [Pseudo-] ʿAṭṭār's (d. between 1190 and 1230) *Pandnāma* ("The Book of Counsel"),[17] and Navāʾī's (d. 1501) *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* ("The Beloved of the Hearts"),[18] as well as some of the latter's poems. They represent a culture of very broad learning and life experiences that come from beyond the circles of Islamic erudition and Sufi practices. Extracts of these works, with the exception of *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, were read in the traditional *maktab* until the closing of all Muslim schools at the end of the first decade of Soviet rule in 1928.[19] But during the Soviet regime, Navāʾī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* and extracts from Saʿdī's *Gulistān* were printed as expressions of national cultural heritage, and were also translated into Russian.[20] Since independence in 1991, these works have been reprinted par-

16 *The Gulistan of Sa'di: Bilingual English and Persian Edition with Vocabulary*, trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston (Bethesda, MD: Ibex Publishers, 2008). Saʿdīs poems and tales have been especially popular among the Tajik-speaking people (cf. Stephan, *Das Bedürfnis*, 137, 141, 218).

17 Férid Ed-Din Attar, *Pend-namèh ou livre des conseils*, Persian text, trans. into French by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (Amsterdam: APA-Oriental Pr., 1981 [first ed. Paris 1819]). ʿAṭṭār's authorship is disputed in Western scholarship; cf. C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Vol. v: *Poetry of the Pre-Mongol Period*, ed. by François de Blois (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1997), 308–9.

18 ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* (Bukhara, 1325/1907), lithograph. Apparently it has not yet been translated into any 'West European' language.

19 According to the Orientalist and Russian diplomat Nikolai V. Khanykov in his report from 1843, ʿAṭṭār's *Pandnāma* was read at the *maktab*s of Bukhara as part of the *Ch*(*ah*)*ār kitāb* (see below), while in schools where Uzbeks exceeded in number the Tajiks, the *Dīvān* of Navāʾī was taught alongside poems from other Turkic works (Nikolaj Khanikoff, *Bokhara: Its Amir and Its People*, transl. Clement A. de Bode [London: James Madden, 1845], 275–76). Even if not recited at the *maktab*, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* has been copied throughout the centuries, as have most of Navāʾī's works; cf. *Alisher Navoiy asarlarning qo'lyozma va toshbosma nusxalari bibliografik ko'rsatkichi*, ed. by G.Kh. Dalili and Sh.M. Aminov (Samarkand: Alisher Navoiy nomidagi Samarkand Davlat Universiteti, 1990). The Orientalist and envoy in the Russian service Petr I. Demaison (who took courses at a *madrasa* in Bukhara in 1833/34 under the pseudonym of Mullā Jaʿfar) reports that, among other Sufi poetry, poems of Saʿdī were read alongside theological and juridical works; cf. *Zapiski o Bukharskom khanstve* [*Otchety P.I. Demezona i I.V. Vitkevicha*], ed. by N.A. Khal'fin (Moscow: Nauka, GRVL 1983), 44–45.

20 Elisher Navaiy, *Mahbubul Qulub*, ed. Yunus Latif (Tashkent: OzSSR Davlat ilmiy-texnika va sosial-ekonomik adabiyatlar nashriyati, 1939); Alisher Navoi, *Vozliublennyi serdets*, ed. A.N. Kononov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948); Alisher Navoi, "Iz poemy 'Vozliublennyi serdets'", *Antologiia pedagogicheskoi mysli Uzbekskoi SSR*,

tially or in full, and extracts are included in the moral teaching at state schools. These or similar didactic narratives and poems are also used for private lessons by traditional *otin*s or *xalfa*s.[21]

Sufi Theocentric Ethics

As examples of Sufi theocentric ethics I selected two collections of aphorisms and counsels: The *Dīvān/Ḥikmatlar* ("The Wise Sentences") ascribed to the Sufi Shaykh Aḥmad Yasavī (who died in the late 12th or early 13th century),[22] and *Thabāt al-ʿājizīn* ("The Firmness of the Weak") by the Naqshbandī Sufi Allāhyār (d. around 1720).[23] These collections, in their present-day usage, feature noticeably more narrow intellectual horizons than the texts of the first type of Sufi-inspired writings. My sources do not reveal to what extent the poems of Aḥmad Yasavī were taught in the traditional Muslim educational institutions, but it is striking that the traditional *otin*s in post-Soviet times often recite poems ascribed to Yasavī at ceremonies; this might indicate the continuity of their use.[24] Some Jadīds tried to present Yasavī as a nationalist, socialist, or proletarian thinker, but after Stalin's mass repression in the 1930s, Yasavī was officially considered as a reactionary and feudal thinker. Since independence,

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ed. by O.S. Abbasova (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1986), 124–28. Among the many poems and aphorisms of Muslim "wise men" several ones of Navāʾī and Saʿdī were published in *Oz-oz o'rganib dono bo'lur*, trans. Shorasul Zunnun, intr. and comm. Saidbek Hasanov (Tashkent: Sharq Nashriyot-Matbaa, 2006) (previous editions: 1977, 1982).

21 ʿAṭṭār's *Pandnāma* as fourth part of the *Chahor kitob*/*Chahār kitāb* (Dushanbe: Adib, 1990, in Cyrillic script). For the various texts used by these female teachers, among them the *Chahār Kitāb* and poems from Nawāʾī, see Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 130–48, and Kleinmichel, *Ḫalpa*, vol. 2, 227–338.

22 Devin DeWeese, "Aḥmad Yasavī in the Work of Burhān al-Dīn Qïlïch—The Earliest Reference to a Famously Obscure Central Asian Sufi Saint", *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 67/3 (2013), 19 n. 2. There exist many different versions of the *Dīwān/Ḥikmatlar*. The authenticity of the work and its spread is much disputed: Devin DeWeese, "The *Mashāʾikh-i Turk* and the *Khojagān*: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7/2 (1996), 180–207; Devin DeWeese, "Ahmad Yasavi and the *Divan-i Hikmat* in Soviet Scholarship", *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies*, ed. by Michael Kemper and Stephan Conermann (London/New York: Routledge, 2011), 262–90. Apparently, the only translation into a "European" language is Khodzha Akhmed Iassavi, *Khikmety, izlozhenie perevoda na russkii iazyk N.Zh. Sagandykovoi*, trans. Z. Zhandarbek (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2000).

23 For early prints, see Martin Hartmann, "Das Buchwesen in Turkestan und die türkischen Drucke der Sammlung Hartmann", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1904), 69–103, p. 95.

24 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 138–39; Kleinmichel, *Ḫalpa*, vol. 2, 228–29.

he has been seen as a national hero in all the Turkic republics of Central Asia, and his *Dīvān-i ḥikmat* is revered as a manual of ethics.[25] The *Thabāt al-ʿājizīn* of Ṣūfī Allāhyār was one of the most widespread introductions to Islam in the 19th century,[26] and also seems to have been used in Naqshbandī *khānaqāh*s.[27] It still enjoys great respect in the private lessons of traditional *otin*s,[28] and has been reprinted several times.[29]

Another group of Sufi theocentric ethics is formed by the eight or eleven guiding principles (or dicta, *ʿibārāt*/*kalimāt-i qudsiyya*) of the Naqshbandiyya, eight of which were attributed to ʿAbd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī and the additional three to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband.[30] In contemporary Uzbekistan, these dicta are often repeated as "lessons" (*saboqlar*) in booklets dedicated to Sufism in general or to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband in particular. There is, however, one that does not belong to the eleven dicta, namely *dil ba yor-u dast ba kor* ("the hand at work, and the heart with God"). Since 1991, it is this motto that has been most often reproduced in state-sponsored publications and at official conferences, with the purpose of engraining a thorough work ethos.[31] It is said to have the same meaning as the dictum *khalwat dar anjumān* ("solitude within society"), one of the dicta linked to ʿAbd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī. There are several interpretations of the *dil ba yor-u dast ba kor* dictum. In genuine Sufi literature its meaning is explained as being that the Sufi shall outwardly be with the people, but inwardly with God, enabling the Sufi disciple (*murīd*) to go to the bazaar without being diverted from his commemoration of God.[32] In an Uzbek state schoolbook for moral education, having "the heart with God" is explained

25 Thierry Zarcone, "Aḥmad Yasavi, héros des nouvelles républiques centrasiatiques", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 89/90 (2000), 297–322.

26 Hartmann, "Das Buchwesen", 95. It even appears in an academic program for new method schools in Tashkent in 1910, but apparently was soon replaced by moral teaching schoolbooks written by Jadīds themselves (Khalid, *Muslim Cultural Reform*, 168, 171).

27 von Kügelgen, "Die Entfaltung", 116–17.

28 Kleinmichel, *Ḥalpa*, vol. 2, 323; Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 133.

29 So'fi Olloyor, *Sabotul ozhizin—Manzuma*, ed. Rashid Zohid (Tashkent: Cho'lpon, 1991) (Uzbek, in Cyrillic script); repr. 2000.

30 Khwāja Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Pārsā Bukhārī, *Qudsiyya* (Tehran: Kitabkhāne-e Ṭūrī, Ādharmāh 1354/1975), 55–64.

31 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 86; Zarcone, *Aḥmad Yasavī*, p. 314.

32 Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order. A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance", *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976), 123–52, p. 133; Thierry Zarcone, "Le 'Voyage dans la patrie' [safar dar watan] chez les soufis de l'ordre naqshbandi", *Le Voyage initiatique en terre d'islam—Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels*, ed. by M.A. Amir-Moezzi, (Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1996), 301–15, pp. 310–15.

as seeing the result of a work before one's eyes, just as God who created everything for a specific purpose.[33] That is, man is here taught to take God as his model, and to always work in a goal-oriented way. The theocentric expression is thus deprived of its essential characteristic, namely man's binding and submission to God's will, and the incentive to prepare oneself for the life hereafter.

Moral Teaching According to Ḥanafī and Māturīdī Traditions

Under Type 3, I subsume moral teaching according to Ḥanafī and Māturīdī traditions.[34] My examples are three books that form part of the *Chahār kitāb* ("The Four Books"), a popular compilation that, next to some Qur'ānic verses combined in the genre of *Haftyak*, forms the basis of learning in at least the Tajik-speaking traditional *maktab*s: book one of the *Chahār kitāb* (entitled *Nām-i Ḥaqq*), book two (an introduction to "knowledge about faith [*imān*], commandments [*aḥkām*] and pillars [*arkān*] of Islam"), and book three (*Muhimmāt al-Muslimīn*). They teach the correct performance of the five pillars of Islam, the basic Islamic dogmas, and the genealogies of the first four rightly-guided caliphs, in addition to some prayers (*du'ā'*) and imperatives for good behavior.[35] These anonymous imperatives are, in many cases, presented as commands of the prophet Muḥammad.

It can be assumed that these teachings were regarded as being in conformity with the norms of Ḥanafī law and Māturidī theology, or at least did not

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33 "Even the smallest insect contributes to the balance of the world, as modern science has corroborated" (M. Qarshiboyev, S. Nishonova, O. Musurmonova, R. Qo'chqorov, *Milliy istiqlol g'oyasi va ma'naviyat asoslari, 7-sinf*, 3rd ed., Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007, 20). In a post-Soviet presentation of the life and work of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, *dil ba yoru dast ba kor* is put in the context of the political and social activism of the Naqshbandiyya (Veron James Schubel, "Post-Soviet Hagiography and the Reconstruction of the Naqshband Tradition in Contemporary Uzbekistan", *Naqshbandi in Western and Central Asia. Change and Continuity. Papers Read at a Conference Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul June 9–11, 1997*, ed. by Elisabeth Özdalga (Istanbul: Svenska forskningsinstitutet Istanbul/Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 73–87, p. 79); for the reconstruction of Naqshbandī traditions after 1991, see also Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "Le renouveau des communautés soufies en Ouzbékistan", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 5–6 (1998), 285–311.

34 For their spread and character in Central Asia, see Ashirbek Muminov, "Traditional and Modern Religious-Theological Schools in Central Asia", *Political Islam and Conflicts in Russia and Central Asia*, ed. by Lena Jonson and Murad Esenov (Stockholm: Utrikerspolitiska Institutet, 1999), 101–11.

35 For the arrangement and scope of the four texts that form the *Chahār kitāb* or *Kullīyāt*, as it is also called, see M. Nazif Shahrani, "Local Islam and Social Discourse in Afghanistan and Turkistan in the Modern Period", *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*, ed. by Robert L. Canfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 161–88, pp. 172–75.

contradict them. In present-day Uzbekistan, these books are widely used for private lessons by the traditional *otin*s, and are considered to represent the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law.[36]

As far as the judgement (*ḥukm*) of deeds is concerned, the Central Asian jurists seem to have measured them according to the common classical scale of the five commandments (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa*) of Islamic jurisprudence:[37] 1. The obligatory (*wājib*, *farḍ*) act (he who neglects it will be punished by God or the authorities); 2. The recommended (*mandūb*) act (he who performs a recommended act will be rewarded, but he who neglects it will not be punished); 3. The indifferent, permissible (*mubāḥ*) act (he who performs it will be neither rewarded nor punished); 4. The reprehensible (*makrūh*) act (he who neglects it will be rewarded, and he who performs it will not be punished); 5. the forbidden (*ḥarām*) act (he who performs it will be punished).

Jadīd Moral Teaching

Starting in the 1890s, the Jadīds established what is called the "new-method" schools, without, however, establishing one unified program. Gradually, the teaching of acts of devotion and fundamental dogmas was separated from moral education. Thus, moral education was often no longer presented as a religious subject, but became a subject of its own. It was reformed and considered as an "indispensable means of identity construction".[38] The Jadīds in the Turkic-speaking areas of Central Asia used schoolbooks of Tatar Muslim reformers, written in the Turkic language. Others produced new schoolbooks in their local languages, not least to foster patriotism.[39]

As an example, I chose the *Tūrkī gulistān yākhūd akhlāq* ("The Turkic Rose Garden, or Morals") by ʿAbdallāh Avlānī (Avloniy, 1878–1934).[40] The title is, for sure, a reminiscence of Saʿdī's famous "Rose Garden", of which some parts were taught in traditional schools. Avlānī emerged from a family of craftsmen and was educated in traditional institutions such as *maktab*s and *madrasa*s. Over

36 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 131–32.

37 Theodor Willem Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* (Leiden/Leipzig: Brill, 1910), 59–61; Majid Fakhry, *Ethical Theories in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 48–49.

38 Dudoignon, "La question scolaire", 165.

39 Bendrikov, *Ocherki*, 247–82; Khalid, *Muslim Cultural Reform*, 167–76; Dudoignon, "La question scolaire", esp. 165–68.

40 The first edition in sovereign Uzbekistan by M. Maxsumov (Tashkent: O'qituvči, 1992; I use this edition) presents a version in contemporary Uzbek written in Cyrillic script, and also contains a reprint of the original in Arabic script (Tashkent: Tipo Lit "Par. Sots. Revoliuts", 1336/1917; apparently the first edition dates back to 1913).

the years, he directed several of these new-method *maktab*s in Tashkent, and he also ran one of the first benevolent societies, and was very active as a journalist, poet, and author of theater-plays.[41] With *Tūrkī gulistān yākhūd akhlāq*, he addressed the upper classes of the new-method primary school. Ethics, as he explained, is a science, and "those who study it are able to judge man according to his acts, and will understand why God has created man and what man's duties are on earth".[42] He harshly criticized the use of works from authors such as Navāʾī, Ṣūfī Allāhyār, and also of the *Chahār kitāb*, as schoolbooks, mainly because of their poetic language. Nevertheless, he did not go so far as to regard them as a threat to the morality of little children, as did other Jadīd writers; the latter rejected them on the grounds that these verses were composed in Persian, and thus unintelligible to the Uzbek pupils, or that such poetry effeminates the youth.[43]

After the forced closure of Muslim schools in 1928, Avlānī's *Tūrkī gulistān yākhūd akhlāq* seems not to have been taught anymore, although some extracts have been re-published at least since 1986.[44] After independence, the booklet has been reprinted in full, and some passages have also been included in Uzbek State schoolbooks for moral education.[45]

Islamic "Fundamentalist" Moral Teaching

I define "fundamentalist" as the approach to teach Islam mainly with direct reference to the Qurʾān and the Sunna of the prophet Muḥammad and his companions, and the rejection of everything that is considered a deviation from these sources. This approach seems to have been introduced to Central Asia during the early Soviet times through the activities of the Syrian scholar Shāmī-Dāmullā (d. 1932).[46] Shāmī-Dāmullā was expelled from Ottoman territory for propagating "Wahhābism", and found refuge in Central Asia. It was in Tashkent that he gave classes on the *ḥadīth* compilations of the sayings of the prophet Muḥammad, held sermons, and issued fatwas. In 1922, at a congress of

41 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Awlânî, ʿAbdallâh", *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du Monde Musulman périphérique, du XIX^e siècle à nos jours*, ed. by Marc Gaborieau, Nicole Grandin, Pierre Labrousse, Alexandre Popovic, 2 (January 1998), 38–39.

42 ʿAbdallāh Avlānī, *Turkī gulistān*, 2 (Arabic script), 11 (Cyrillic script).

43 Khalid, *Muslim Cultural Reform*, 171.

44 Abbasova, *Antologiia pedagogicheskoi*, 182–93, 302.

45 X. Sultonov and M. Qarshiboyev, *Vatan tuyg'usi, o'rta maktablarning 5-sinflari uchun o'quv qo'llanmasi*, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat 2007), 37, 42.

46 Ashirbek Muminov, "Chami-damulla et son rôle dans la constitution d'un 'Islam soviétique'", *Islam et politique en ex-URSS* (*Russie d'Europe et Asie centrale*), ed. by M. Laruelle and S. Peyrouse (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005), 241–61.

Muslim jurists in Tashkent, he proposed that the rich should share their property with the poor, and his name became linked with the concept of "Islamic socialism".[47] As Ashirbek Muminov has shown, Shāmī-Dāmullā's teaching strongly influenced the Uzbek scholars who established two distinct Islamic groups in Tashkent, the *Ahl-i Qur'ān* and the *Ahl-i ḥadīth*. Most members of both groups were killed during Stalin's terror regime, but their ideas survived, even in SADUM (*Sredneaziatskoe Dukhovnoe Upravlenie Musul'man*), the official Islamic administration set up in the 1940s, and from the late 1970s onwards in Mujaddidiyya circles.

Most of the Mujaddidis' sermons and lessons were recorded on audio-tapes and have largely influenced the proselytizing "new" *otin*s.[48] As an example for Mujaddidiyya moral teaching, I chose a lecture by Abduvali Qori Mirzoyev (b. 1950); Mirzoyev is counted among those who renewed the teachings of the *Ahl-i ḥadīth*.[49] The lecture was apparently held in the Jome Mosque of Andijon sometime after 1992.[50]

Moral Teaching of "Soviet Islam"

The expression "Soviet Islam" designates here the opinions of the Central Asian Spiritual Directorate for Muslims (SADUM). Established in Tashkent in 1943, SADUM was linked to the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults, on both Uzbek and Soviet levels; it was thus largely state-controlled. For decades, the leadership of SADUM was in the hands of one learned family, the Babakhanovs, and its religious policy was shaped by Mufti Ziyauddin Babakhanov (head of the SADUM 1957–82), a disciple of the above-mentioned Shāmī-Dāmullā. Ziyauddin Babakhanov, as well as his son and successor Shamsuddin-Khon Babakhanov (SADUM Mufti 1982–89) and their team, tried to keep the Islamic religion alive by propagating rules that did not conflict with Soviet ideology.[51] They worked towards a "rationalization" of some ritual duties in light of what was expected from a Soviet citizen, and emphasized the progress and welfare

47 Muminov, "Chami-damulla", 248.

48 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 276–78. For examples of the Mujaddidiyya's teachings see Allen J. Frank and Jahangir Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Springfield, Va: Dunwoody Press, 2006).

49 For his life and teaching, see Frank and Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates*, 1–94.

50 Frank and Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates*, 3.

51 For the Muftis of the Babakhanov family, see B.M. Babadzhanov, "Babakhanovy—dinastiia", *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii—Enciklopedicheskij slovar'*, ed. by S.M. Prozorov (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2003), fasc. 4, 12–13. That Ziyauddin was a pupil of Shāmī-Dāmullā is demonstrated by Muminov, "Chami-damulla", 250.

of Soviet socialist society.[52] They did so by leaning on fundamentalist interpretations of the Qurʾān and the Sunna, for these seemed to correspond best to Soviet interests; the Babakhanovs thus produced fatwas condemning pilgrimage to the tombs of Sufi shaykhs, or the practice of commemorative ceremonies—which were also a major concern for the Soviet authorities.[53] When SADUM was abolished, the new Uzbek national Muftiate (Directorate of Uzbekistan's Muslims; O'zbekiston musulmonlar idorasi, O'MI) pursued a quite similar policy.[54]

I chose as an example a sermon on cleanness (*naẓāfa*) that Shamsuddin-Khon Babakhanov gave on a Friday at a mosque in Tashkent, in 1984.[55]

Moral Teaching According to the Soviet State Ideology

Secular moral teaching, according to the Soviet state ideology, did not continue as such after the breakdown of the USSR, and some of its core concepts—such as the promotion of "the struggle uniting all workers against any kind of exploitation" and "militant internationalism"[56]—have simply been buried. However, other features of Soviet moral education have continued in the official moral teaching programs of independent Uzbekistan, and likewise in neighboring Tajikistan; in particular, this holds true for the representation of patriotic duties, the moral basis for the preservation of the family, and the fostering of a work ethos, next to the promotion of physical education. Furthermore, many methods of ethical instruction used in Soviet state schools

52 Mark Saroyan, *Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union* (Berkeley: University of California, International and Area Studies, 1997), 65–69.

53 Bakhtiiar Babadzhanov, "O fetvakh SADUM protiv 'neislamskikh obychaev'", *Islam na post-sovetskom prostranstve: vzgliad iznutri*, ed. by Marta Brill Olcott and Aleksei Malashenko (Moscow: Carnegie Center, 2001), 170–84; cf. Mark Saroyan, *Minorities*, 43–56.

54 Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, "Islam officiel contre Islam politique en Ouzbékistan aujourd'hui: La direction des Musulmans et les groupes non-hanafî", *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest* 31/3 (2000), 151–64.

55 Published in the same year in the official organ of the Spiritual Directorate, the journal *Muslims in the Soviet Orient*, which appeared in a number of languages. I rely on the Arabic issue: "Khuṭbat al-jumʿa allatī alqāhā Samāḥat al-Muftī Shamsaddīnkhān ibn Ḍiyāʾaddīnkhān ibn Īshān Bābākhān fī Jāmiʿ 'Ṭillā-Shaykh' bi-madīnat Ṭashqand", *al-Muslimūn fī l-sharq al-sūfyātī* 3 (1404/1984), 3–4. For the biography and work of Shamsuddin-khon Babakhonov see Babadzhanov, "Babakhanovy", 13–14.

56 Hermann Rajamaa, *The Moulding of Soviet Citizens: A Glance at Soviet Educational Theory and Practice* (London/Stockholm: Boreas Publishing, 1948), 14, 16, 21.

have been maintained.[57] I therefore distinguish this as a special type of moral teaching.

Since the end of the 1930s, Soviet primary and secondary state schools had been well established in the regions mentioned, and school attendance was obligatory. For sure, neither religious nor moral instruction was formally part of the curriculum. Still, the Department of Moral Education of the Institute of Theory and History of Pedagogy developed several curricula for moral education that were meant to be applied in all schools. The teachers were ordered to include moral education in courses of literature, history, geography, and languages, for these were subjects that provided "political education". For the purpose of the present study I rely on Medlin, Cave and Carpenter's analysis of these instructions and of their implementations in Uzbekistan.[58]

Moral Teaching According to Uzbek State Ideology

In 1997, the Uzbek parliament enacted a law of educational guidelines that demanded special attention to spiritual and moral education (*ma'naviy va axloqiy tarbiya*) and instructions for good behavior (*axloq va odob ilmi*).[59] State schoolbooks for moral education existed before 1997,[60] but now its teaching was unified and made obligatory. The law was accompanied by guidelines for teachers. In the year 2007, from which I have a complete set of class-books, the state schools provided moral education for 9 years of schooling, with one hour per week. The schoolbooks for the first four years are entitled *Odobnoma* ("Manual for Decent Behavior/Morality"), those for classes 5 to 6 bear the title *Vatan tuyg'usi* ("The Sentiment of the Homeland"), and those for the last three classes run under *Milliy istiqlol g'oyasi va ma'naviyat asoslari* ("The Concept of National Independence and the Foundations of Spirituality").[61] With a

57 Cf. Sébastien Peyrouse, "La gestion du fait religieux en Asie centrale: poursuite du cadre conceptuel soviétique et renouveau factice", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 13–14 (2004), 77–120; Stephan, "Das Bedürfnis nach Ausgewogenheit", 252–57.

58 Medlin et al., *Education and Development*, 1971.

59 O. Hasanboeva, M. Turopova, R. Yunusova, *1-sinfda odobnoma darslari: Metodik qo'llanma* (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi Vazirligi / Respublika Ta'lim Markazi, 1999), 6.

60 Tursunali Qurbonov, *Odobnoma—Umumta'lim va hunar maktablarining o'qituvčilari va sinf rahbarlari učun qo'llanma* (Tashkent: O'qituvchi, 1991) (Cyrillic script); O. To'raeva and M. Turopova, *Odobnama, O'zbekiston Respublikasi xalq ta'limi vazirligi VI sinflar uchun o'quv ko'llanmasi sifatida tavsiya etgan* (Tashkent: O'qituvchi, 1996) (Cyrillic).

61 I rely on the following classbooks: O. Hasanboyeva, *Odobnoma 1-sinf, O'zbekistan Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi vazirligi 1-sinf uchun darslik sifatida tavsiya etgan* (Tashkent: O'qituvchi, 2000); Q. Abdullayeva, M. Yusupova, S. Rahmonbekov, *Odobnoma 2-sinf,*

progressive increase of conceptual thinking, these textbooks introduce pupils to the rules of decent social behavior, and the values of one's homeland and its traditions. They also dwell on the benefits of nature as well as science and technology, with the goal to serve one's own nation and humanity as a whole.

The Foundations of the Ethical Sentences and their Concrete Justification

From a meta-ethical point of view, all the aforementioned moral teachings share one essential feature: they assume that ethics have an objective or real foundation, presenting the given version of morality that they defend as either empirical or metaphysical fact—and not as relative to subjective opinion. This falls into the realm of what moral philosophy calls moral objectivism, or moral realism.[62] Within this category they can be distinguished by means of models of moral reality that understand moral facts as facts *sui generis*, as in the case of Kant's categorical imperative or Scheler's ethics of value.[63] Hence, with respect to the wide range of existing meta-ethical approaches, the Central Asian ethics under consideration are all related to each other; differences only pertain to the question of where they see the assumed objective foundation of moral truth. In this regard, we can identify three approaches.

O'zbekistan Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi vazirligi 1-sinf uchun darslik sifatida tavsiya ėtgan, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Mehnat, 2003); O. Hasanboyeva, A. Ne'matova, M. Turopova, *Odobnoma 3-sinf, O'zbekistan Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi vazirligi tasdiqlagan*, qayta ishlangan va to'ldirilgan beshinchi nashri (Tashkent: O'zbekiston, 2007); O. Hasanboyeva, A. Ne'matova, G. Ibragimova, *Odobnoma—Umumiy o'rta ta'lim maktablarining 4-sinfi uchun o'quv qo'llanma*, 5-nashri, O'zbekistan Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi vazirligi tasdiqlagan (Tashkent: Davlat ilmiy nashriyoti, 2006); X. Sultonov, M. Qarshiboyev, *Vatan Tuyg'usi—O'rta maktablarining 5-sinflari uchun o'quv qo'llanma* 3rd ed. (Toshkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007); X. Sultonov, M. Qarshiboyev, *Vatan Tuyg'usi—Umumiy o'rta ta'lim muassasalarining 6-sinflari uchun o'quv qo'llanma*, to'ldirilgan va qayta ishlangan 5th ed. (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007); M. Qarshiboyev, S. Nishonova, O. Musurmonova, R. Qo'chqorov, *Milliy istiqlol g'oyasi va ma'naviyat asoslari 7-sinf*, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007); R. Qo'chqorov, S. Nishonova, O. Musurmonova, M. Qarshiboyev, *Milliy istiqlol g'oyasi va ma'naviyat asoslari 8-sinf*, qayta ishlangan beshinchi nashri (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007); O. Musurmonova, R. Qo'chqorov, M. Qarshiboyev, *Milliy istiqlol g'oyasi va ma'naviyat asoslari 9-sinf*, qayta ishlangan beshinchi nashri (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007).

62 I follow Birnbacher in counting what he calls "religious voluntarism" among moral realism and not among moral anti-realism and subjectivism (*Analytische Einführung*, 358, 371–72).

63 Birnbacher, *Analytische Einführung*, 357–81.

One approach derives moral truths from a metaphysical supposition, i.e. from God's will. To derive moral truths exclusively from God's will is commonly called "divine voluntarism", or "divine objectivism". Believers might even agree with the term "divine objectivism", because the undoubted existence of God makes his commands an 'objective' truth for them. The Sufi theocentric ethics, the moral teachings according to the Ḥanafī and Māturīdī traditions, and Islamic fundamentalist moral teachings, suppose that God's will is absolutely binding, because only God knows what is good or bad, right or wrong. Included in God's will are the commands of his prophet Muḥammad, because following Muḥammad is repeatedly mentioned in the Qur'ān as a divine commandment.[64]

Another approach derives moral truths from empirical facts and observations; for instance, from the laws of nature or from traditions and conventions, that is, from observing society and the consensus on how to behave. This approach is thus established on the principle of "empirical objectivism". Right or wrong, good or bad, are thus objective qualities of deeds, and specifically of the interrelation between actions in accordance with specific circumstances. They can be conceived by experience and reason without any reference to other authorities. On this principle rests the moral teaching according to Soviet state ideology.

The third approach asks to distinguish between moral truths that derive from empirical facts and truths that can be derived only, or also, from God's will. I shall call this position "harmonizing objectivism". It seems to be the basis of Sufi anthropocentric ethics, Jadīd moral teaching, the moral teaching of "Soviet Islam", and that of the Uzbek state. Which side dominates, God's will or the "objective facts", is a question that is answered differently. Whereas in Sufi anthropocentric ethics "divine objectivism" seems to be predominant, in the other systems of morality teaching it is the objective circumstances that decide.

An observer will find that all approaches of "objectivism" in fact imply subjectivity, insofar as in practice the divine commands or empirical facts call for interpretation. Whether by inspiration or by reasoning, Sufis, jurists, and theologians will always specify their respective commands, just as scientists interpret their observations to impose their own view.

In textbooks or sermons, the three approaches, "divine objectivism", "empirical objectivism", and "harmonizing objectivism", appear in many different variants, with a great diversity of social facts that they refer to as examples and contexts.

64 Cf. Q. 4:13–14 and 80.

Those ethics that rely on "divine objectivism" refer to the words of God and his messenger Muḥammad in a more or less direct way. While the texts attributed to Aḥmad Yasavī and Ṣūfī Allāhyār rarely ever reference the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth* verbatim, they do refer constantly to God and Muḥammad, though in the authors' own poetical language. This re-phrasing (or re-representation) of the Islamic fundamental sources in the works of Yasavī and Ṣūfī Allāhyār has some new *otin*s dismissing their teachings as worthless.[65] In the teaching of the new *otin*s and of the Mujaddidiyya, both God's and Muḥammad's words are constantly, and almost exclusively, quoted verbatim.

The first book of the *Chahār kitāb* is also composed in rhyme, while the second and third ones are written in prose and composed as questions ("if one asks…") and answers. This format implies that everything said in these books also represents the binding religious tradition in its entirety. The respondent occasionally cites a Qur'ānic verse, a saying by the prophet Muḥammad, his companions, Abū Ḥanīfa (Imām-i Aʿẓam, d. 767, the eponym of the Ḥanafī school), or the pre-Islamic Arab sage Luqmān, who was sanctioned by the Qur'ān.[66]

The moral teachings that rely on "harmonizing objectivism" refer to a broader spectrum of authorities, namely those of religious and non-religious figures (by name or anonymously) and to reason or common sense. Saʿdī, for instance, often illuminates his advice by examples from pre-Islamic and Muslim sages or wise kings, such as the Persian Sassanid Anūshirvān Khusraw (531–79 CE). The Jadīd Avlānī quotes from the Qur'ān or from sayings of the Prophet, but he also reproduces wisdom from Muslim or Greek philosophers, primarily Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), Socrates, and Plato. In addition, Avlānī appeals to reason by disclosing the sense and consequences of each virtue and vice.

In the sermon of the official Soviet Mufti, God and Muḥammad's words concerning a moral rule are cited alongside rational explanations of their usefulness:

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65 Cf. Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 273.

66 The versions of the *Chahār kitāb* differ, however, quite strongly from each other. To give an example, a copy of 1990 (*Chahor-kitob* [Dushanbe: Adib, 1990], in the Tajik language and Cyrillic script) does not mention the "spiritual testament" (*Waṣīyat-nāma*) of Luqmān that apparently forms part of the second book of the *Chahār kitāb* (Shahrani, *Local Knowledge*, 173). A lithograph from Peshawar (without date and publication year, Nourānī Kutubkhāna) does feature this testament (pp. 26–28), which contains the following "imperatives": The things you don't like, don't do them to others, and don't act thoughtlessly, and don't defer what you can do today to tomorrow; and don't do anything without planning, do not betray anybody, and do your work with deliberation" (27).

> Cleanliness is a means to satisfy the Lord, and it encompasses the human limbs and clothes and what one has at home or elsewhere. Cleanliness strengthens the human intelligence and increases man's [*insān*] beauty and magnificence, and it also protects him from illness; cleanliness is the source of health [...]. In order to lead a blessed life and spend it on good deeds [*aʿmāl ṣāliḥa*], one has to be healthy and sane, and this can be achieved only by the observance of the rules of hygiene.[67]

While the Soviet mufti Babakhanov referred not only to the Prophet but also to the latter's companions as being human authorities, in the first half of the 1990s the new Uzbek State schoolbooks for moral teaching referred to a great variety of authorities from East and West, including Plato, Hippocrates, Navāʾī, Ibn Sīnā, Tolstoy, Gorki, Theodor Fontane, and George Sand.[68] After 1997, the textbooks shifted to predominantly Central Asian personalities, with Timur and Islam Karimov at the forefront. Nevertheless, classical Greek and Muslim philosophers and religious scholars continue to be referenced, as well as some Jadīd authors, and in rare instances even the Avesta is mentioned. In contrast, God and the prophet Muḥammad appear only occasionally.

The moral teachings that rely on "empirical objectivism"—in our case the Soviet State instructions—have, likewise, a broad spectrum of authorities to draw from. They clearly favored Russian heroes, like Lenin and well-known scientists. Role-models of other nationalities are mentioned as well, especially Navāʾī, but always disconnected from the Islamic faith. Also prominent are references to reason and scientific experience. In the late Soviet period appeared the first moral wisdom compilations in Uzbek that left modern Western (and Russian) models completely aside. A 1977 booklet with the title *Oz-oz o'rganib dono bo'lur* (perhaps best rendered as "Many a Little Makes a Mickle") provided counsels, aphorisms, didactic stories, and fables exclusively attributed to renowned pre-Islamic and Islamic wise men, "people of the Orient". Uzbek wisdoms are presented next to wisdoms transmitted from Socrates, Luqmān, Saʿdī, Avicenna, Aristotle, Anushirwan, the Arab poet al-Mutanabbī, the Tatar Muslim reformer Rizaetdin ibn Fakhretdin (Riḍāʾ al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, d. 1936), Plato, and many others, in no certain order. The compilation was reprinted in 1982 and again in 2006, with a popular-scientific foreword.[69]

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67 Shamsaddīnkhān, *Khuṭbat al-jumʿa*, 3, 4.

68 O. To'raeva and M.Turopova, *Odobnama* (1996), 118–24.

69 *Oz-oz o'rganib dono bo'lur*, mod. Uzbek trans. Shorasul Zunnun, preface and comm. Saidbek Hasanov (Tashkent: Sharq nashriyot-matbaa aksiyadorlik kompaniyasi Bosh tahririyati, 2006).

Forms and Methods of Teaching

There are striking differences with regards to the forms and methods of teaching in the texts under consideration. I propose four qualifications:

- *Prescriptive*, when a deed is imposed or forbidden as an order by a named or unnamed authority;
- *Appelative*, when a certain way of acting (an act or its omission) is presented as an appeal or a request. This is mostly achieved by counsels and maxims;
- *Cognitive*, when the reasonableness or usefulness of a certain way of acting (an act or its omission) is explained; this is done by definitions or exemplary stories, i.e. by narrated experience;
- *Emotive*, when an act or its omission is presented in a way that evokes hope for prestige or other rewards, or fear of dishonor or other punishments.

Psychologically, mere prescriptions or appeals seldom have an intense effect on people. This effect can only be reached through emotions and/or explanations that make precepts or principles reasonable in view of a particular or general purpose. Unfortunately, field material is available to me only through the existing anthropological literature; most of my statements about emotive characteristics are deduced from the texts.

The moral teachings that are founded on "divine objectivism" are taught in different ways. Aḥmad Yasavī's and Ṣūfī Allāhyār's style is predominantly appelative, although God and the Prophet are constantly referred to; the emotive side is weak. In contrast, books one to three of the *Chahār kitāb* and the teachings of the Mujaddidiyya and the new *otin*s are predominantly prescriptive, and their emotive side is strong. To give an example, in the lessons of the Mujaddidis[70] and the new *otin*s,[71] as well as in the third book of the *Chahār kitāb*, Paradise and Hell are very lively depicted. And while corporal punishment of children was common in the traditional *maktab*,[72] neither the "traditional" nor the "new" *otin*s seem to have recourse to it. Emphasis is laid on the punishment or the reward one has to expect from God. Some new *otin*s even teach how many rewards one has to expect for one or another good deed, e.g. 20 rewards (*thawāb*) for the simple greeting "assalom" and 30 for "assalom

70 Frank and Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates*, 75, 85.

71 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 268, 307.

72 Bečka, "Traditional Schools", 300.

ʿalaykum".[73] For these accounts they are using, perhaps unconsciously, the aforementioned scale of judgments of acts as elaborated by jurists and theologians. In fact, the scale embodies what is commonly called "work ethics", that is, the idea that we are judged, rewarded, and punished by God according to our actions. It presupposes the idea that man is responsible for his deeds, and that he has—at least to a certain extent—free will. It further presupposes the idea that God will stick to the order he established.

The moral teachings based on "harmonizing objectivism" mainly impart appelative and cognitive methods; here, too, the emotive side is weak. Saʿdī, Navāʾī, and ʿAṭṭār express their moral teaching through counsels or maxims that are often brought to the recipient in the form of poems or stories in order to make the bad or good results of a given act comprehensible, in order to instigate reflection. Navāʾī also gives definitions for the virtues he mentions in his *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*. The form of presentation chosen by the Jadīd writer Avlānī does not significantly differ from these, except for the fact that he emphasizes more the explanation of each virtue and vice he presents. Apparently, the Jadīds also avoided corporal punishment in their schools, and depicted Hell and Paradise not in their classes on ethics but in courses on dogma/theology. The morality teaching by educators of Soviet Islam seems to have principally used the appelative, not the prescriptive words of God and Muḥammad, and explained them in support of what man has found to be right or useful by reason. The state schoolbooks of the independent Uzbek Republic are designed in a very modern way, with explicatory sections alternating with poems, songs, stories, and pictures, and with references to television programs and films. Usually, each section ends with questions on what has just been taught. I did not find instigations for corporal punishment, although only fieldwork can provide a definite answer.

The Soviet state ideology, resting upon "empirical objectivism", displays the broadest spectrum in regard to the forms and methods of moral teaching. In fact, Soviet publications for teaching ethics in schools rely on prescriptions, appeals, and explanations, and have a strong emotive side. In the official Soviet schools, the duties of the pupil towards the school were imparted as orders, whereas mutual help, for instance, was taught as a request. As effective ways to awaken and implant virtues as well as rules of conduct and moral feeling, the Department stressed the teacher's role as a model and the conduct of famous personalities, in addition to explanations, discussions, encouragements, and punishments.

73 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 310.

The Range of the Moral Teachings: Universality at Stake

The fact that the moral teachings under consideration do not clearly distinguish moral norms and values from cultural norms, values, conventions, rules of behavior, and etiquette suggest that they could be subsumed under ethical particularism. This classification seems all the more likely—in view of the moral justifications just presented—if we consider that the moral teachings in the region that nowadays constitutes Uzbekistan have been bound to one religion, one political union, or one nation alone. With regard to their foundations, though, all types claim to represent the objective truth and hence purport a kind of universalism. I do not want to enter the great debates among moral philosophers about particularism and universalism at this point.[74] My aim is merely to show that an investigation into the universalizability of norms and values would be worthwhile in order to differentiate—even in cases where there is no clear distinction between moral and cultural norms—in what respect a teaching can be labeled as particularist in the sense of "nationalist" or "culturalist", or otherwise "exclusive". The fruitfulness of such an undertaking in this special case, and my argument, is that it can help highlight what is at stake in moral teachings in contemporary Uzbekistan. *Universalizability* implies that a precept can be expressed in a logical and general form that is bare of any personal pronoun like "I" or "you" and of any personal name, as well as without reference to God or a specific nation. The intrinsic value of the moral norm must be independent of who, where, and when it has been put into effect.[75]

In the texts that I classified under the heading "divine objectivism", the teaching of ethics and the harvest of its fruits is essentially linked to what is considered to be the right faith. The Mujaddidī preacher Abduvali Qori put it the following way:

> In the Holy Qur'ān—[and in] all of the communities [that have a book of divine revelation]—the essence of the summons made by the prophets is: *Worship God, for you have no other god but Him* […]. The communities that maintained that creed found progress and were happy. All of the communities that did not maintain that creed encountered decadence

74 Klaus Peter Rippe, *Ethischer Relativismus. Seine Grenzen—seine Geltung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993); Bernward Gesang, *Kritik des Partikularismus* (Paderborn: Mentis, 2000); Richard A. Shweder, "Relativism and Universalism", *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*, ed. by Didier Fassin (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 85–102.

75 Birnbacher, *Analytische Einführung*, 31–39, 245.

> and were unhappy. Know that every licit and correct thing you see that exists in irreligious nations came into being as a result of the prophets' summons.[76]

Thus, Abduvali Qori leaves no doubt that man depends on revelation to be able to discern good from bad. This dependency is more or less explicit in the moral teaching according to Ḥanafī and Māturīdī traditions, and implicit in the Sufi theocentric ethics. None of these moral teachings meets the demands of the principle of universalizability, since "God" in their understanding denotes a specific and not a general term.[77] This is most obvious in the teachings of the Islamic fundamentalist Abduvali Qori, for in contrast to the mainstream of the two other types of "divine objectivism" under discussion, he disqualifies Christians and Jews as "polytheists" (*mushrik*), restricting monotheism (*tavhid*) to Muslims.[78]

"Harmonizing objectivism" and "empirical objectivism" are moral teachings founded on the conviction that the distinction between what is good or bad, right or wrong, is completely, or at least to a large extent, conceivable by human experience and reason. Such is the case with Saʿdī, Avlānī, the propagators of Soviet Islam, of the Uzbek state positions, and of Soviet ideology—they do not consider a religious faith or the Muslim creed as a necessary condition to develop ethics. Avlānī, for instance, places the "prescriptions of the *sharīʿa*" on the same level as "the law of humanity (*insoniyat qonuni*)", and does not derive the latter from the former.[79] As we shall see in the following examples, a number of moral teachings of these types of ethics can be universalized even though their defenders often exemplify or justify them by recourse to specific authorities.

Leaving aside the eminent distinction with regard to the cognition and development of ethics, all moral teachings agree on the surface on the "virtues" (Uzb., *yakhshi akhloq*) that every man and woman should strive to develop; in the terminology of "divine objectivism", they agree on the "duties" (*fariza*) that are incumbent on every man and woman. The most frequently mentioned virtues are: knowledge, patience, modesty, truthfulness, honesty, kindness, respectfulness, thankfulness, industriousness, frugality, economy, friendship, hospitality and helpfulness. This list shows that in the Central Asian moral teachings of "harmonizing objectivism"—as in ancient Greece and some

76 Frank and Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates*, 34.

77 Birnbacher, *Analytische Einführung*, 35–36.

78 Frank and Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates*, 23, 51, xv.

79 ʿAbdallāh Avlānī, *Türkī gulistān*, 33 (Arabic script), 26 (Cyrillic script).

modern philosophies—the concept of "virtue" encompasses not only character values that are connected with our acts, but also intellectual virtues. Let us take an intellectual virtue, namely knowledge, to demonstrate how differently this is understood. In the teachings of Yasavī, Ṣūfī Allāhyār, and the first three books of *Chahār kitāb*, "knowledge" (*ʿilm*) is restricted to "religious knowledge", and includes what Ḥanafī and Māturīdī scholars and Sufi shaykhs have taught.[80] In Sufi anthropocentric ethics at least, belletristic literature is included in what one should know. For the Mujaddidīs and the "new" *otin*s, i.e. the Muslim female missionaries, the sources for religious "knowledge" are only the Qur'ān and the Sunna and those teachings of the jurists and theologians that directly rely on these sources. The term "knowledge" (*ʿilm*) is used by them also with respect to religious practices. Regular praying and wearing of the veil (*hijob*) is understood as "having entered the knowledge". *The* knowledge is thus a religious one. However, this understanding does not prevent the "new" *otin*s from aspiring to have a profession in a secular field of knowledge such as pharmacy, medicine, or education, which they consider licit and useful.[81]

In order to be considered a man or women of knowledge, the Jadīds, the propagators of Soviet Islam and those of the Uzbek state ideology also require knowledge in the main fields of non-religious sciences, such as geography, history, mathematics, and physics, in addition to knowledge of Islamic rituals and dogmas according to the Central Asian tradition. The Soviet State's ideology required familiarity with the aforementioned secular sciences and knowledge of Soviet politics, economics, socialist patriotism, and proletarian internationalism. To what extent the precept of acquiring knowledge was understood as universalizable is an open question. If formulated as the question of whether everybody should acquire the knowledge needed in his environment, the answer would be "yes".

As an example of how young Uzbeks are nowadays instigated to search for knowledge, I quote from the *odob-noma* for the second class:

> In order to become a real child of our free country, you have to prepare yourself from now onwards. Right now, not much is demanded from you. The most important thing is to study. Also, the Qur'ān and Muḥammad appeal to study. It is not done in vain. Only knowledge opens the way to

80 The third part of *Chahār kitāb* opens with the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad that the search for knowledge is a religious duty for every male and female Muslim and enumerates some basic religious knowledge depicting Paradise and Hell as the future for those who follow or do not follow the divine commands respectively.

81 Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität*, 253, 404.

> the good and to the light. You will learn that the Japanese and American scientists have learnt cybernetics from our forefather al-Khorazmiy.[82]

Here, religion is merely presented as encouraging science and scientific knowledge, and as a way to the good, but not as a condition *sine qua non*—earlier Muslim philosophers and the Jadīds interpreted the Qur'ān and the Sunna in that way. "Knowledge" is here presented as a universal asset. The claim that Uzbekistan is the homeland of science gives the whole appeal a strikingly nationalistic tone but does not violate the principle of universalizability.

There are also differences in the conception of other virtues, for instance in the case of friendship and kindness: with whom should we be friends, and should I be kind to my enemy? Furthermore, there are virtues that are peculiar to some moral teachings only. These virtues often regard subjects that are of special concern to a collective and not to the individual. Hence, they have no distinguished place in Sufi theocentric and anthropocentric moral teachings, since these teachings display, almost exclusively, the advantages of ethics in view of the individual happiness, either of God or the specific human, and not of the community.

A very prominent virtue or duty in other moral teachings that apparently has collective happiness as its ultimate goal is "the love of one's homeland" (*vaṭannī sūymak*). Avlānī made this dictum the title of a chapter in his *Tūrkī gulistān yākhūd akhlāq*, and he linked it to the "patriotic" dictum that "to love one's homeland is part of the faith", which is ascribed to the prophet Muḥammad.[83] The virtue of patriotism seems to have been introduced into Central Asia by the Jadīd thinkers in order to link an Islamic identity to a national, civic awareness.[84] During Soviet times this was replaced by Soviet

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82 Q. Abullayeva, M. Yusupova, S. Rahmonbekova, *Odobnoma—O'zbekiston Respublikasi Xalq ta'limi vazirligi 2-sinf uchun darslik sifatida tasdiqlagan*, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Mehnat, 2003), 10 (referring to the mathematician and polymath al-Khwārizmī, d. around 847).

83 *Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*; 'Abdallāh Avlānī, *Tūrkī gulistān*, 37 (Arabic script), 28 (Cyrillic script). This saying was widely used to religiously legitimize patriotism in Muslim reform circles in last quarter of the 19th century; cf. Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: University Press, 2011), 66. It is not part of the six canonical collections of the sayings ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad.

84 Dudoignon, "La question scolaire", 165; cf. Hisao Komatsu, "The Evolution of Group Identity among Bukharan Intellectuals in 1911–1928: An Overview", *Memoirs of the Research Department of The Toyo Bunko* (*The Oriental Library*) 47 (Tokyo, 1989), 115–44.

patriotism, civic-mindedness, and Party loyalty.[85] Nowadays, "love for one's homeland" ranks at the top of the virtues imparted in Uzbek state schoolbooks, and the latter explicitly refer to Avlānī's in this context, arguing that this patriotism is a sentiment shared by all humans,[86] and consequently universal. Yet the virtue of patriotism is explained mainly with regard to Uzbekistan, and always with its consequences or values in view—the motivation to take care of one's homeland, to let it prosper and to preserve its sovereignty.

It is obvious that the nationalist "love for one's homeland" comes into conflict with the virtue of patriotism in the sense of the Islamic *umma* that has no national borders. The latter is the position of the Mujadiddiyya and similar fundamentalist teachings. These different understandings of "homeland" are not made explicit in schoolbooks but in governmental guidelines against "religious extremism". In one example of this thriving genre, "to love one's homeland is part of the faith" and sayings and deeds of "our ancestors", such as the Ḥanafī scholar Burhān al-Dīn Marghinānī (d. 1197) and the ruler Bābur (d. 1530), are mobilized against the threat of a borderless Islam.[87]

Such claims are, however, not intended to show that the heritage of Central Asia meets the universal moral norms and general human values. Unfortunately, in their campaign against "extremism" the Uzbek authorities imprisoned and killed hundreds of innocent people.[88] The state established a control over Islam, and over religions in general, as well as over the nonviolent opposition in a manner that blatantly violates the schoolbook ethics it prescribes.

85 Medlin et al., *Education and Development*, 105.

86 X. Sultonov and M. Qarshiboyev, *Vatan tuyg'usi, o'rta maktablarning 5-sinflari uchun o'quv qo'llanmasi*, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2007), 37, 42.

87 O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasi huzuridagi din išlari bo'yiča qo'mita, O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasi huzuridagi Toškent Islom Universiteti, O'zbekiston Musulmonlari Idorasi, *Dinij baġrikenglik va mutaassiblik* (*yuz savolga—yuz žavob*) (Tashkent: Toškent Islom Universiteti Našriyot-Matbaa Birlašmasi, 2007), 114–26. This booklet is obviously part of the "Program for the Defense of our Sacred Religion, for the Struggle against Fundamentalism and against Diverse Extremist Tendencies" that was launched in 2000 (cf. Babadjanov, "Islam officiel", 151, 154–56).

88 Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2007), 168–203; Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan*, 1–5.

Conclusion

With its comparative approach and long-range perspective, this contribution searched for continuities, similarities, and differences between moral teachings of different schools of thought and ideologies in the region that nowadays constitutes the Republic of Uzbekistan. The goal was to develop a comprehensive approach to the various trends of teaching morality in public schools and Islamic private instruction over the past 150 years. The eight types of moral teachings that I discerned according to their intellectual origins share the assumption that ethics have an objective or real foundation, and thus claim to represent the objective truth and a kind of universalism. With regard to the nature of the presumed foundation of the moral truth, however, they differ quite considerably. I distinguished the teachings by differentiating between *divine*, *harmonizing*, and *empirical objectivism*. We saw that only the moral teaching according to the Soviet state ideology decisively supports empirical objectivism; this is a clear sign that religious justification has remained indispensable for moral education. Religious authority explicitly justifies the moral precepts, but to various degrees: in the "moral teaching according to the Uzbek State ideology" the religious component is low, but in the "Islamic fundamentalist teaching" it is exclusive. Even among the types of moral education subsumed under *harmonizing objectivism*, the range is wide, and what side of the harmonizing scale dominates obviously depends on the context and the target audience. The Sufi-inspired anthropocentric moral teaching—though not prescriptive but appelative and cognitive—puts examples of pre-Islamic Iranian kings and sages side by side with Muslim references, and appeals to humanity as its frame of reference; yet here, too, we have to keep in mind that the authors lived in a space where *divine objectivism*, with its prescriptions and the emotional imageries of Paradise and Hell, dominated jurisprudence and theology. In fact, this is also the case in the traditional *maktab* and *madrasa*, as well as in the teachings of the "traditional" *otin*s in today's Uzbekistan. On the other hand, a reader of the Sufi-inspired anthropocentric moral teachings who received no religious education in Soviet times or in present-day Uzbekistan would certainly understand their counsels as very beautifully expressed appeals to man in general to foster virtues irrespective of a person's faith or disbelief. This new possibility to understand a Navāʾī or a Saʿdī seems to be the reason why they were included in pedagogical manuals in Soviet and post-Soviet Uzbekistan, and why the defenders and propagators of *divine objectivism*, such as the Mujaddidiyya and "new" *otin*s, so vigorously reject this kind of literature. Yet, the "moral teaching of Soviet Islam", that is of the Central

Asian Spiritual Directorate for Muslims and its Uzbek successor organization, have had no difficulty in adopting some fundamentalist interpretations of the Qur'ān and the Sunna when these interpretations correspond to state interests. It is a trite statement that the context of the recipients and their interpretations of recognized norms and values are decisive elements in the design of moral education. However, the claim to moral objectivity is to be taken seriously, and is crucial for the effectiveness of education in a society where moral relativism or particularism have no established ground. The striking nationalist tone of the Jadīd and present-day Uzbek ethical manuals (with "the love for one's homeland") appears as "particularistic" only at first glance. A further look reveals that it has been justified in universal rational terms, and with authorities that mark their *harmonizing objectivism*, that is, by sayings of the prophet Muḥammad and of non-Muslim thinkers.

Sufi Dynamics

CHAPTER 5

The Small World of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1761–1825), an Egyptian Khalwatī Shaykh

Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen

Even before his death in Cairo in 1791, "Murtadā al-Zabīdī's world" had begun to darken. His was a cosmopolitan and polyglot universe, filled with travel and encounters, with research on lexicography, *ḥadīth*, and genealogy; a world suffused with Sufism and love for the Prophet and his descendants. Stefan Reichmuth has demonstrated that Zabīdī, due to personal sorrow, began to withdraw just as Egyptian prosperity declined in the last third of the 18th century, when a period of political, social, and economic crises started.[1] According to Jabartī, one of Zabīdī's former students, the latter passed away in solitude. His world had been mostly his own, one of his own making, in an Egypt where the *ʿulamāʾ* increasingly focused on local issues. What had Zabīdī shared with Egyptian Sufis of his time? Conversely, which of Zabīdī's traits were exceptional, not found among other Azhar *ʿulamāʾ* and Sufis of his generation, and even less so in the following generation?

These are some of the questions that arise when reading "The Shining Light on the Virtues and Miracles of Our Master Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, Chief of the Saints" (*al-Nūr al-wuḍḍāʾ fī manāqib wa-karāmāt ʿumdat al-awliyāʾ Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*), a hagiography of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1175/1761–1241/1825).[2] While Jabartī, in his impressive homage to Zabīdī, refers to this Azhar Sufi shaykh only in passing, Gilbert Delanoue's pioneering work—published 35 years ago—drew attention to al-Ṣāwī as a major shaykh of the Khalwatiyya order.[3]

More recent studies have underlined the importance of the Egyptian Khalwatiyya at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, between

1 Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–1791), Life, Networks and Writings* (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009).

2 Ismāʿīl ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī al-Ṣāwī, *Kitāb al-Nūr al-wuḍḍāʾ fī manāqib wa-karāmāt ʿumdat al-awliyāʾ wa-ḥujjat al-ʿulamāʾ* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Ṣidq al-khayriyya, 1348 H).

3 Gilbert Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Égypte du XIX^e siècle (1798–1882)* (Cairo: IFAO, 1982), vol. 1, 188–242.

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Cairo and Upper Egypt.[4] Through al-Ṣāwī, we can map other Khalwatiyya networks spreading between the Delta, Cairo, and the Ḥijāz. Far from Zabīdī's vast horizons and wealthy connections, Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's world was small, with limited geographical and intellectual horizons, and attached to solid links that were faithful to Egyptian models established at the end of the Mamlūk and the beginning of the Ottoman period. In the late-eighteenth century, Zabīdī had managed to carve out an important place for himself in Cairo without being linked to al-Azhar. In contrast, the Sufism practiced by al-Ṣāwī and his companions was essentially centered on that institution, which had become a seat of power. This was where, as young men, Sufi students established affiliations, friendships, and editorial projects, ones which they maintained and developed for the rest of their lives. From the late Mamlūk era, this Egyptian Sufism centered on an attachment to the village (*balad*), to al-Azhar, and to the master, in brotherhoods with hereditary transmissions, in which saints mingled with ancestors and disciples with descendants. They did not often leave Egypt, except on pilgrimages to the holy places of Mecca and Medina.

Like Zabīdī and his companions, al-Ṣāwī and his disciples expressed a powerful love for the Prophet, visions of whom punctuated their dreams. These Azharians loved the descendants of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) unquestioningly, and many were themselves respected as *ashrāf*. As did Zabīdī, the Sufis who appear in al-Ṣāwī's *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'* openly expressed love and friendship between master and disciple, between brothers on the Path: hagiographies thereby become ego-documents that illustrate, as did texts of other genres during the 18th century, a growing desire to express one's self and one's emotions.[5]

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4 Here the pioneering work was Ernst Bannerth, "La Khalwatiyya en Égypte", *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales* (*MIDEO*) 8 (1964–66), 1–74. Recent scholarship is mostly the work of Rachida Chih, "Les débuts d'une *ṭarīqa*: Formation et essor de la Khalwatiyya égyptienne au XVIII[e] siècle à partir de l'hagiographie de son fondateur, Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (m. 1181/1767)", *Le saint et son milieu*, ed. by Rachida Chih and Denis Gril (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2000), 137–50; Rachida Chih, "Autorité religieuse et rôle public d'un ouléma d'al-Azhar au XVIII[e] siècle: Vie et carrière du cheikh Aḥmad al-Dardīr (1715–1786)", *L'autorité religieuse et ses limites en terres d'islam*, ed. by Nathalie Clayer, B. Fliche, A. Papas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 33–54; and Renaud Soler, "Transmission et pratique de l'*adab* soufi dans la Ḥāfiẓiyya Ḥalwatiyya, confrérie soufie de Moyenne-Égypte (XIX[e]–XX[e] siècles)", *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 170 (2015), 209–27. For a general overview, cf. Bernd Radtke, "Sufism in the 18th Century: An Attempt at a Provisional Appraisal", *Die Welt des Islams* 36.3 (1996), 326–64.

5 Stefan Reichmuth and Florian Schwarz, *Zwischen Alltag und Schriftkultur: Horizonte des Individuellen in der arabischen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2008); Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self. Middle*

In the Khalwatiyya as taught by al-Ṣāwī, the scrupulous recitation of the Khalwatī litany (*wird*) and of the prayers (*ṣalawāt*) over his master, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dardīr (1127/1715–1201/1786), were the central ties that united the brotherhood.[6] Their relation was marked by the experience of retreats in *khalwa* (seclusion), meetings for the performance of the *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), and an unconditional attachment to the shaykh. Such discipline developed extremely close ties between the disciples, in spite of the fact that the disciples were initiated on varying levels. As with many other brotherhoods of the time, the Khalwatiyya Ṣāwiyya opened devotional, and even initiatory, practices to a mass Sufism, perhaps at the expense of the lively curiosity that characterized al-Zabīdī.

Certain passages in the hagiography show that the shrinking of the horizons of Egyptian Sufism was in large part due to the necessities of the time and to political vagaries. Also, al-Ṣāwī's world was larger than it appears at first glance. It coincided with the conflicts, violence, and pillaging that plagued Egypt during the waning of the 18th century. Al-Ṣāwī's Egypt witnessed Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition and Meḥmed ʿAlī's takeover, his conquests and the beginning of his reforms. In the Ḥijāz, the Wahhābī threat, which added to the traditional Bedouin raids, presented a doctrinal challenge against which al-Ṣāwī clearly fought. At the end of his life, the Pasha of Egypt's new power expanded Ṣāwī's world, and that of his disciples and successors, to the limits of Meḥmed ʿAlī's new conquests in the Ḥijāz and the Sudan. When compared to Zabīdī's universe, the world in which al-Ṣāwī spent his last years was less Ottoman than Egyptian. It was also a world in which the systematic use of writing and legal proof exemplified the growing role of the state.

Embedded Texts

Published in Cairo in 1348/1929,[7] *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'* is a text within a text, written by several authors in a fairly simple Arabic that includes dialectal

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Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (*14th–20th Century*) (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2010); François-Joseph Ruggiu (ed.), *Les usages de l'écrit du for privé* (*Afriques, Amériques, Asies, Occidents, Orients*). Proceedings from a Conference Held at the University of Paris-IV-Sorbonne on June 28–July 2, 2011 (Berne: Peter Lang, 2013).

6 Cf. Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, *al-Asrār al-rabbāniyya wa-l-fuyūḍāt al-raḥmāniyya ʿalā al-ṣalawāt al-dardīriyya* (Cairo: al-Matbaʿat al-maymūniyya, n.d.).

7 As I had no opportunity to consult the manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub and al-Azhar, the present study is based on the first edition, published at the author's expense: Ismāʿīl ʿAbdallāh

expressions and dialogues. It offers a lively image of al-Ṣāwī, who is referred to as "The Master" (*al-Ustādh*), with the title of *al-shaykh* being reserved for Shaykh al-Dardīr.

Al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā' starts with a part[8] written by Muḥammad al-Kutubī al-Ḥanafī, one of the saint's closest companions (and his licensed successor, *khalīfa*), on the foundations of Sufism and the miracles of saints. Then follows al-Ṣāwī's short genealogy and the core of the hagiography,[9] written by Aḥmad al-Shishtī al-Mālikī al-Khalwatī, a close friend of the Master. Aḥmad al-Shishtī announces three chapters: the first on al-Ṣāwī's birth, schooling, and shaykhs; the second on how the Saint committed to his path, his *sulūk* (following the Sufi path) and his *akhlāq* (morality); and the last on how he gave direction (*irshād*) to his disciples, on his miracles (*karāmāt*), and finally the poems (*qaṣā'id*) that others dedicated to him. Shishtī strays from this classical format to spend additional time on autobiographical anecdotes and the tale of al-Ṣāwī's two pilgrimages to the Holy Cities.

The *faqīr*, as Aḥmad al-Shishtī presents himself, speaks in the first person; he used the genre of hagiography to compose an account that illustrates his close ties with al-Ṣāwī. As he tells us, it was he who occasionally replaced the Master for the recital of the *wird* during Ramadan, and who led the *dhikr* in the Master's home when the Master was absent. Finally, al-Shishtī was the one who accompanied his Master during his pilgrimages, and who, in the presence of the Master, pronounced the sermon on Mt. ʿArafa on the rituals of the *ḥajj* (*manāsik al-ḥajj*) during al-Ṣāwī's second pilgrimage.[10] Al-Shishtī also gives an eyewitness account of the shaykh's illness. Al-Shishtī knew each disciple by name and consigned their visions, the miracles they experienced, and even the internal dissensions between disciples.[11]

No wonder then that Shishtī was also closely involved with al-Ṣāwī's texts. He copied the final drafts, and he and his brother Qāsim became the Master's official panegyrists.[12] Al-Shishtī's *qaṣīda*s testify to his close relationship with al-

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al-Maghribī al-Ṣāwī, *Kitāb al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā' fī manāqib wa-karāmāt 'umdat al-awliyā' wa-ḥujjat al-'ulamā'* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-ṣidq al-khayriyya, 1348/1929; referred to as *al-Nūr* for the remainder of this contribution). The copy I worked with bears the stamp of a library in Girgā. It belongs to Father Ernst Bannerth's collection and was given to me by Father Josef Dreher, o.p. It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank Josef Dreher and salute the memory of Gilbert Delanoue.

8 Around 20 pages in the printed version, *al-Nūr*, 2–21.

9 Around 50 pages in the printed version, *al-Nūr*, 21–74.

10 Ibid., 81.

11 Ibid., 44–58.

12 Ibid., 97–103.

Ṣāwī, to the relationship between al-Ṣāwī and the Prophet, and more generally to the spiritual qualities of the shaykh. Aḥmad al-Shishtī also used his brother's notes to recount Qāsim's vision of the Resurrection, in which al-Ṣāwī and his disciples enter Paradise. Shishtī's hagiography was thus inspired by his own experience and that of his brother. Clearly, the text was composed on the basis of preliminary notes and possibly a journal, resulting in a hagiography that is in fact a touching ego-document.

While on pilgrimage, this time without his Master, al-Shishtī died in Medina in Jumāda II 1235/March 1820. The hagiographer thus preceded the Saint in death—a rare occurrence. Al-Ṣāwī then revised al-Shishtī's text and modified certain passages (as is noted on p. 74 of the edition, in a third text included in *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'* that was written after Shishtī's death to complete the hagiography). The author of this third part was Muḥammad al-Kutubī, a *khalīfa* to the Master who also presents himself as a friend of Aḥmad al-Shishtī ("my friend", *ṣadīqī*). As mentioned above, it was al-Kutubī who also provided the doctrinal essay on Sufism that inaugurates the hagiography.[13] Less structured and with a slightly different tone, al-Kutubī's text evokes, through a series of anecdotes, the end of al-Ṣāwī's life.[14] The book then includes a number of poems written in honor of al-Ṣāwī, with Kutubī scrupulously providing the names of their authors, all of whom he knew personally.[15]

The last part of the book is an annotated list of al-Ṣāwī's *khulafā'* (sg. *khalīfa*, the persons whom the Master appointed as his formal successors, by giving them a license, *ijāza*) and other disciples, along with the disciples and descendants of the *khulafā'*, all the way up to the point the text was published.[16] This list was compiled by Shaykh Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī al-Ṣāwī, who lived in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th centuries. It was also this Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh who assembled the various texts written by different authors into the work that would be published in 1348/1929, at Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh's expense in Cairo, at the Maṭbaʿat al-Ṣidq al-Khayriyya, near al-Azhar.

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13 Muḥammad al-Kutubī, shaykh at al-Azhar, was the shaykh to the Syrian Muḥammad al-Jisr (d. 1262/1846). Aḥmad Abū Muṣliḥ al-Fīshāwī mentions him in his short *Risāla fī ʿulamā' Miṣr fī ʿām 1259* [*1843*], MS Cairo, al-Azhar 396, Abāza 6688, fol. 6b, and describes him as "an excellent *ʿālim*, even though his *dhikr* and his piety pull him towards ignorance". Reference given by G. Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. 1, 190, n. 3, and 192, n. 5.

14 He completed the list of al-Ṣāwī's works, compiled earlier by Qāsim al-Shishtī when Qāsim died in Medina sometime between 1807 and 1820; *al-Nūr*, 94.

15 Ibid., 97–142.

16 Ibid., 144–58.

When he published *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'*, Ismāʿīl was already old. Originally from the Nile Delta, he knew all the different branches of the Ṣāwiyya—the Khalwatiyya branch that goes back to al-Ṣāwī—, their shaykhs, their families, and their villages. Though Ismāʿīl bore al-Ṣāwī's *laqab*, this does not mean that he descended from the saint. Rather, Ismāʿīl's father, ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī al-Ṣāwī, had adopted the surname to indicate his brotherly ties to the Ṣāwiyya into which he had been initiated by Muḥammad al-Shādhilī, the nephew and successor of Shaykh al-Ṣāwī. Ismāʿīl was a disciple of Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1341/1922–23), one of the Master's great-grandsons, who undoubtedly inspired the publication and who left the archives and manuscripts to Ismāʿīl.

A century after the death of al-Ṣawī, the publication of *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'* in 1929 was seemingly meant to consolidate the Ṣāwiyya tradition, which was at risk of splintering. The publication came soon after the death of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī, the shaykh's great-grandson and the direct master of the compiler. It also came soon after the Wahhābī conquest of Mecca and Medina (1924–1925), a traumatic event for Egyptian Sufis. When the author noted that Ṣāwiyya rituals (*awrād* and *dhikr*) were performed in Mecca and Medina *until recently*, he involuntarily testifies to their recent disappearance.[17] Egyptian Sufis undoubtedly saw not only Kemalist Turkey but also the emergent Saudi Arabia as a major threat to Sufism and the cult of saints. These anxieties linked back to al-Ṣāwī's fight against Wahhābism during his lifetime. Furthermore, in 1928 the Muslim Brothers were founded; it was time to publish the Saint's hagiography.

Al-Ṣāwī, Azhar's Student and Disciple to Shaykh al-Dardīr[18]

Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī al-Mālikī al-Khalwatī was a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the fourth caliph ʿAlī's son outside of the Shīʿī lineage. Another of his ancestors, Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, was a native of the Ḥijāz who settled in Sā l-Ḥajar, in Gharbiyya right near the Nile on the Rosetta branch, in 805/1402–3.[19] This is where our saint was born in 1175/1761. His father, Sīdī Muḥammad, was a scrupulous and ascetic *ʿālim* who earned a reputation there

17 Ibid., 150.

18 On al-Dardīr, cf. Jabartī, vol. 2, 149, and trans. Th. Philipp, I. Perlmann, G. Schwald, *ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994), vol. 2, 242–44; G. Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. 1, 195–98; Chih, "Autorité religieuse", 33–54.

19 Concerning Sā al-Ḥajar, see the note by ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 13, 2–4.

for holiness.[20] When Aḥmad was two-and-a-half or three years old, his father carried his son on his shoulders to the local school (*maktab*) and stayed with him during his first lesson—during which Aḥmad of course learned the Qurʾān with surprising ease.[21] A little later, a touching scene shows the little Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, still a child, reciting the Qurʾān with his mother at his dying father's bedside.[22] In this narrative also appears his pious and devout mother, who was the daughter of a Bedouin shaykh (*shaykh al-ʿarab*) from Buḥayra and a *sharīfa*. When al-Ṣāwī teaches his mother the declarations of faith (*ʿaqāʾid tawḥīdiyya*) "because he was scared for her [afterlife]", the text states that the holy woman answered him, "my son, everything that you are telling me is in my heart, but I cannot express it as you do". Shishtī comments that this means she did not know how to use the "technical terms of theologians (*iṣṭilāḥ al-mutakallimīn*)".[23]

When he had finished learning the Qurʾān, Aḥmad wanted to continue his training at al-Azhar, but his older brothers prevented him from doing so. He eventually ran away from home. With the help of the local *multazim* (tax-farmer) and relatives from a neighboring village, he finally managed to leave for Cairo and entered al-Azhar in 1187/1773–74, at roughly 12 years of age.

The hagiography tells us very little about his personal life. A spouse is never mentioned, but vague and discreet mentions of his household (*ahl manzilihi*) and the *ḥarīm* of the shaykh suggest he later had a large household with one or several wives. Towards the end of his life, the text mentions his slave-concubine (*jāriya*).[24] Al-Ṣāwī apparently did not have any surviving heirs, since the hagiography makes no mention of them. A single son, Aḥmad, is mentioned in the context of his second pilgrimage.[25] However, this son must have died at a relatively young age, though old enough to have left a daughter behind, Zaynab. She was the Master's only granddaughter and played a key role in the genealogical transmission of the Ṣāwiyya, for she married her father's cousin and the maternal nephew of the Master, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī. Al-Ṣāwī's sister had indeed married al-Ṣāwī's first *khalīfa*, ʿAlī al-Shādhilī, who died in 1240/1824, shortly before his Master, in his village in the Delta, Kafr al-Hawāshim.[26] ʿAlī's brother, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Shādhilī, loved the Master so much that he left his possessions to serve him, which made people refer to him as the "Little al-Ṣāwī"

20 *Al-Nūr*, 23.
21 Ibid., 26.
22 Ibid., 24–25.
23 Ibid., 25.
24 Ibid., 62.
25 Ibid., 69.
26 Ibid., 87.

(*al-Ṣāwī al-ṣaghīr*).[27] The al-Shādhilī family, the conjugal family of his sister, supposedly lived under al-Ṣāwī's roof.

Women exist discreetly in the backdrop, their presence entirely dictated by matrimonial alliances linked to brotherhood networks. For example, Shishtī only had news of the Master's first, unplanned pilgrimage because the son of his paternal cousin was in the small caravan that left with al-Ṣāwī. During his studies, it was al-Ṣāwī's sister who brought him meals in his *khalwa*. When she noticed that he was no longer eating, she warned Shaykh Dardīr. Al-Ṣāwī took his sister with him on his final pilgrimage without waiting for his brother-in-law, ʿAlī al-Shādhilī, who had stayed in his village to make preparations. The anecdote proves that being the shaykh's sister offered this woman a particular status and allowed her to follow her brother to Mecca instead of waiting for her husband at home.

Aside from such brief references, al-Shishtī makes almost no mention of al-Ṣāwī's family, preferring to discuss al-Ṣāwī's teachers at al-Azhar and their predilection for the teenager when they began to notice his signs of holiness. Al-Ṣāwī studied under the shaykhs Shāfiʿī al-Junādī (his tutor after his father's death), Muḥammad ʿIbāda, Aḥmad al-Sijāʿī, the Shāfiʿī legal scholar and Khalwati Sufi Sulaymān al-Jamal (d. 1204/1790),[28] Aḥmad al-Dardīr, the Mālikī legal scholar Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr al-Shādhilī al-Sunbawī (d. 1232/1817),[29] Muḥammad ʿArafa al-Disūqī (d. 1230/1815),[30] and, last but not least, Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī. The last was the shaykh of al-Azhar from 1208/1793 until his death in 1227/1812.[31] Little mention is made of the works written or taught by these shaykhs, and of the works that they composed or taught, only some commentaries, glosses, and summaries (*sharḥ, ḥāshiya, mukhtaṣar*) are mentioned, mostly in passing.

Al-Ṣāwī's training and education was dominated by Mālikī works, thereby following Dardīr, the Mālikī mufti and administrator of the *riwāq* for students of Upper Egypt in al-Azhar. Al-Ṣāwī studied Dardīr's commentary of the *Mukhtaṣar* by Khalīl, the basis for Mālikī *fiqh*, and produced his own commentary on Dardīr's gloss on the latter's own manual of Mālikī *fiqh*, *Aqrab al-masālik*. Yet al-Ṣāwī was also closely linked to Ḥanafī shaykhs such as

27 Ibid., 149.

28 ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 16, 69.

29 On him, see Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. 1, 198, n. 26. Jabartī reserved an entry for him as he had been the student of his father Ḥasan al-Jabartī. Tied to the Shādhiliyya, he wrote commentaries and glosses on grammar, *kalām*, and Mālikī *fiqh*. Jabartī, vol. 8, 420–24, and vol. 9, 256–61. He refused to participate in the Diwan created by Bonaparte.

30 Concerning this Mālikī jurist, see Jabartī, vol. 7, 322–25 and vol. 9, 143–46.

31 On him and his testimony during the expedition of Egypt, see Delanoue, vol. 1, 84–86.

Muḥammad al-Kutubī and another of Ṣāwī's *khalīfa*s, the Ḥanafī mufti in Alexandria.

The *Alfiyya*—a didactic poem on grammar by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273)—was another important building block in an Azharian curriculum, and was read with a number of commentaries, including those composed by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashmūnī (d. 900/1494) and Ibn ʿAqīl. *Ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*, however, do not seem to have played an important role in the Azhar curriculum, and did not attract much interest from the Azharians of the time, as noted by Reinhard Schulze in his discussion of the books published in Būlāq.[32] The only professor of *tafsīr* mentioned is Shaykh Sulaymān al-Jamal, who taught the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and the *Mawāhib* (most probably the *Mawāhib ladunìyya* by al-Qasṭallānī). Al-Jamal also wrote a gloss on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which al-Ṣāwī would later summarize in a text that the hagiography praises for its clarity and simplicity.[33]

As an eyewitness, Shishtī provided information on the teaching methods used in al-Azhar in the 1780s. The students kept their course notes in leather portfolios (*maḥfaẓa*), which the teacher would regularly open to see what the students had noted from his lectures (in the process of *muṭālaʿa*). When Shaykh al-Junādī inspected Aḥmad's portfolio, he found Ibn ʿAqīl's commentary and gloss on the *Alfiyya*, thirty verses from the *Alfiyya*, and two lessons on Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*. The shaykh made the young al-Ṣāwī recite them before questioning him in detail on his lessons. The future saint brilliantly passed the exam.[34] The young man's habit of never asking questions during class, due to his extreme modesty (*ḥayāʾ*), distinguished him from the other students who attempted to attract their teachers' attention with rhetorical questions, without ever calling into question the class or text being studied. Eventually, with Dardīr's permission, al-Ṣāwī asked a question on the commentary of the *Mukhtaṣar*, suggesting that one specific expression that he believed may not have been correct should be crossed out (*shatab*). The other students tried to silence him, offended by his lack of respect (*sūʾ al-adab*) for his teacher, but Dardīr, having already revised the texts, agreed with the young al-Ṣāwī. All the students then had to correct their own copy. This is a clear sign that the

32 Reinhard Schulze, "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture: The Case of Printing", *Culture and History* 16 (1997), 29–72, repr. in G. Roper, *The History of the Book in the Middle East* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 374.

33 *Al-Nūr*, 94. The *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*—begun by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1451?) and completed by al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505)—was undoubtedly the most popular Qurʾān commentary in Egypt at the time, as it still is today. Al-Jamal's gloss is entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhìyya bi-tawḍìḥ tafsīr al-Jalālayn bi-l-daqāʾiq al-khafìyya*, and has been constantly re-published since 1859.

34 *Al-Nūr*, 27.

psittacism so often criticized in al-Azhar was relative: students and masters maintained a critical approach to texts and text editions, which they compared and corrected. The incident above also shows that a characteristic feature of al-Ṣāwī was his precision, be it with regard to a simple fatwa or to the reading of a gloss.

Aḥmad al-Shishtī thus illustrates al-Ṣāwī's rigor and devotion to his masters, especially Dardīr, whose works al-Ṣāwī would later gloss, comment, and summarize, with works such as *al-Asrār al-rabbāniyya wa-l-fuyūḍāt al-raḥmāniyya ʿalā al-ṣalawāt al-Dardīriyya*; a commentary of Dardīr's *Manẓūma*, focused on the Divine Names; a gloss on Dardīr's commentary of *Aqrab al-masālik li-madhhab al-Imām Mālik*; and a commentary on the *mawlid* composed by Dardīr. The gloss on Dardīr's commentary, *Bulghat al-sālik li-aqrab al-masālik*, is characterized by extreme attention to detail when analyzing grammatical and philological questions.

It was in this Azhar setting that al-Ṣāwī was to forge most of his relationships, both with his disciples (*atbāʿ* is the word most often used) and with his friends. After he became professor at al-Azhar, al-Ṣāwī often held class (*dars*) in the morning at the Ḥusayn mosque in Cairo. Reciprocal invitations, between two classes, and two mosques, are part of the etiquette between shaykhs. When he decided to travel on the spur of the moment, one of his key students, a sort of tutor, replaced him.

Little is known of the importance of the curriculum that made Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī a scholar. Shishtī—and thus al-Ṣāwī himself as proofreader of his own hagiography—deliberately chose to skim over the subject. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) is a necessary base but not sufficient on the path to holiness; *ʿilm* and the Sufi path are closely linked and yet clearly separated and ranked. The hagiographer subtly changes titles to indicate spiritual hierarchies; in his account, only the most elevated masters deserve the designation "Ṣūfī", such as Shaykh Jamal, a disciple of Shaykh al-Ḥifnī, as well as the shaykhs Dardīr and ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī (ca 1150/1737–1227/1812). The initiation by a Sufi Master and the pledging of the vow (*ʿahd*) towards him were the real center of al-Ṣāwī's life. This is why, of all his professors, only Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dardīr (1127/1715–1201/1786) is described in any detail. Al-Ṣāwī, after only six months at al-Azhar, would pledge (*ʿahd*) to Dardīr. The latter had succeeded Shaykh al-Ḥifnī (1100/1689–1181/1767), who had been initiated into the Khalwatiyya in his youth by the Syrian Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (1098/1687–1162/1749).[35] Though Shaykh Ḥifnī, who became Shaykh of the al-Azhar mosque in 1757, consecrated the long-term power of the Khalwatīs of

35 On Bakrī, see the translation of Jabartī by Thomas Philipp and Itzhak Perlmann, and Ralf Elger, *Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī: zur Selbstdarstellung eines syrischen Gelehrten, Sufis und Dichters des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2004).

Upper Egypt, it was Shaykh Dardīr who was the center from which the Egyptian Khalwatīs shone at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

Al-Ṣāwī was a zealous disciple who managed to attract uncommitted professors to Sufism. One example is Shaykh al-Jinājī, who, despite being very advanced in years, pledged with Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Kurdī (d. 1195/1780), a disciple of Bakrī and Ḥifnī. Al-Jinājī is known as Jabartī's Sufi Master.[36] Another disciple of Dardīr, Shaykh ʿIbāda, only returned to the good graces of Dardīr thanks to the mediation (*wasīṭa*) of al-Ṣāwī. Shaykh ʿIbāda sighed, "I would prefer to lose my knowledge and reputation for enjoying your status (*manzila*) with the shaykh [Dardīr]".[37] Both these anecdotes allow the hagiographer to underline the spiritual primacy of the very young al-Ṣāwī over his older professors (exception made of Dardīr), all the while forcefully indicating the hierarchy between exoteric science—though always praised—and Sufism, as the heart and secret of this science. *Sharīʿa* and *ṭarīqa*, *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf* go together; however, if need be, teachings can be left behind in favor of orations. One day, Meccan *ʿulamāʾ* came to al-Ṣāwī and asked him to teach them one of his works. He accepted at first, before a vision of the Kaʿba told him to put aside the class he had prepared for them and devote himself to the recital of the *awrād* and the prayer about the Prophet. The visiting *ʿulamāʾ* were won over and nearly begged for forgiveness for not having directly requested the most essential thing from al-Ṣāwī. Similarly, Muḥammad al-Kutubī narrates that a certain al-Bayjūrī composed a poem in honor of al-Ṣāwī even though he lacked knowledge of prosody, thereby illustrating that the force of the young man's expression, guided by divine inspiration, went above and beyond specialists of poetry (*fann al-shiʿr*) and rhetoric (*fann al-balāgha wa-l-balīgh*).[38] Such a judgment confirms how little literature and poetry, *adab* in general, were taught or valued at al-Azhar at the turn of the 19th century. This is the real break with the culture of individuals such as Zabīdī or Jabartī and the culture that was to be found more readily in Morocco, the Sahara, and West Africa.

The young al-Ṣāwī became a devoted Sufi due to a strong degree of determination, *himma*, a term that is used repeatedly in the hagiography written by al-Shishtī. Yet for all of that, he never neglected the sciences (*ʿilm*) and reading (*muṭālaʿāt*). Dardīr attempted to moderate his young disciple's predilection for asceticism and excessive fasting, notably during the *khalwa*, forcing the young man to eat two meals a day: "I love you as my heir in the sciences and in the spiritual state (*fī l-ʿilm wa-l-ḥāl*), and I do not need your wrenching (*jadhb*),

36 Jabartī, vol. 3, 238–52, and vol. 4, 87–95, quoted by Delanoue. This tie, however, cannot be the reason behind Jabartī's silence (probably a disapproving one) concerning al-Ṣāwī.

37 *Al-Nūr*, 31.

38 Ibid., 138–39.

your absence (*ghayba*), nor your excess (*istighrāq*)".[39] However, as soon as he was back in the *khalwa*, al-Ṣāwī forced himself once again to undertake severe fasting (p. 32), eating only a few dates a day.

The strong distinction between *ʿilm* and Path might reflect the circumstance that knowledge production at al-Azhar had become overly associated with power and material success. Worldly matters must be kept at a distance by a shaykh and his disciples, and thus the hagiography highlights their asceticism and scrupulosity (*waraʿ*). Aḥmad al-Shishtī illustrated this further with a reference to the rivalry between a teacher and student, probably among Egyptian Khalwatī shaykhs, all heirs of Ḥifnī and Dardīr. When his professor, ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī, at that time Shaykh al-Azhar, lived on the top floor of the home of the deceased shaykh al-Ḥifnī, al-Ṣāwī visited him with a group to practice the *dhikr* on the ground floor. Going upstairs to give his regards to the shaykh and his disciples, he found them discussing world affairs. Sharqāwī recognized this frivolity and regretted it, and praised al-Ṣāwī's disciples who only thought of their orations (*awrād*) and the Path (*ādāb al-ṭarīq*).[40] This anecdote must be seen as an implicit criticism of the dominant system at al-Azhar.

Al-Ṣāwī went on three pilgrimages to the Holy Cities. The first was in 1207–8/1793. The second in 1232/1817 was motivated by a stroke. The Prophet's intercession had cured Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's hemiplegia—except for a slight discomfort in his left arm—and al-Ṣāwī swore he would visit the Prophet. The last pilgrimage took place in 1241/1825. Al-Ṣāwī would not return home and was buried in Medina.

From this chronology, we see that al-Ṣāwī visited the Holy Places before the Wahhābī invasion of 1805, and returned soon after the Egyptian armies of Meḥmed ʿAlī had regained control of the Holy Cities for the Ottoman Sultan. It was between 1817 and 1818—again a year of al-Ṣāwī's pilgrimage—that Ibrāhīm Pasha, Meḥmed ʿAlī's son, crushed the first Wahhābī kingdom. What is striking here is that two of al-Ṣāwī's visits to Mecca and Medina took place directly after a war against the Wahhābīs, which is hardly a coincidence, as I will discuss below.

Beyond these three actual pilgrimages, there is a suggestion that al-Ṣāwī visited the Holy Places every year with his subtle body, as the text has it; that is, in a state of Sufi trance. Yet for the hagiographer this was more than just a spiritual visit. One year, an illness prevented him from corporally embarking on his subtle pilgrimage. The spirit (*rūḥ*), intimately linked to the body (*jism*), suffers along with the latter, and paradise and torment are united, as al-Ṣāwī

39 Ibid., 32.

40 Ibid., 58–59.

explained to his disciple al-Shishtī, who believed that the spirit was more independent and that sickness would not stand in the way of a spiritual journey.

At the time of his death al-Ṣāwī had no son who could become his direct successor. His sister, who accompanied the Master on his last pilgrimage to the Holy Places, was married to one of the Master's close disciples, ʿAlī al-Shādhilī, who died prematurely. Their son, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī, married Zaynab, the daughter of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's only son, who died before him. It was this Muḥammad al-Shādhilī, nephew to al-Ṣāwī by his mother, who—initiated by his paternal uncle, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Shādhilī—revived (perhaps in the 1840s) the Path in the house of his maternal uncle, Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, in Cairo.[41] By marrying Zaynab, the daughter of his paternal cousin, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī married the granddaughter of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, the only direct descendant of the Saint then still among the living; this brought the two branches of the Ṣāwiyya that had emerged after al-Ṣāwī back together. It is certainly for this reason that Zaynab is the sole female name mentioned in the entire work. The hagiographer, Ismāʿīl al-Ṣāwī, who certainly met her, as he was the disciple of one of Zaynab's sons, tells us that she died at over a hundred years old. Zaynab had five sons, all shaykhs and fathers, who spread the Path further. Most of al-Ṣāwī's descendants were buried in the *zāwiya* of their ancestor, in the cemetery of Cairo, the Qarāfa. This *zāwiya* became the cemetery for both the family and the brotherhood. Some of the Saint's major *khulafā'* were also buried there.

Sufism for All

Al-Ṣāwī's holiness is not spectacular. The hagiographer rarely discusses it in detail, preferring general allusions in order to avoid misunderstandings and incomprehension. However, the different authors of the hagiography dedicated a large portion of their writing to the brotherhood surrounding al-Ṣāwī.

Sufism, as conceived by Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, was true to the form taught to him by al-Dardīr. It is characterized by a fairly exclusive relationship to the shaykh, but with more liberal ties to the brotherhood. After the death of his Master, al-Ṣāwī was also initiated into another Sufi brotherhood, the Shādhiliyya. This initiation went via two shaykhs, one of whom was ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ghuraynī, *khalīfa* of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī. He received permission to initiate and direct disciples in the Shādhiliyya—hence also the "al-Shādhilī" *nisba* of his

41 Ibid., 146. On the Ṣāwiyya and its autonomous sections during the 19th century, cf. Fred de Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-Linked Institutions in Nineteenth Century Egypt. A Historical Study in Organizational Dimensions of Islamic Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 74, 143–44, 148.

brother. Those concerned did not see any contradictions in his dual affiliation. Al-Ṣāwī was also initiated into the Qādiriyya. Later, a Qādirī shaykh passing through dressed al-Ṣāwī in a crown (*tāj*) and a hat (*qāwūq*) in what seems to be an honorific recognition rather than a real initiation.[42]

The different branches of the Khalwatiyya maintained very close yet highly competitive relations with each other. The probable rivalry between al-Ṣāwī and Dardīr's other *khalīfa*s, including his former professor ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī, would explain Jabartī's surprising silence concerning al-Ṣāwī, despite the fact that Jabartī generally expressed his sympathy for the Khalwatīs and a close proximity to the Damardāshiyya (*al-sādat al-Damardāshiyya*), a Khalwatiyya branch led, at the time, by al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Damardāshī (d. 1194/1780).[43] Dardīr, in his commentary of Shaykh Damardāsh's *Risāla fī l-tawḥīd*, had already indicated that he had a link to the Damardāshiyya, which he undoubtedly transmitted to his young disciple. Al-Ṣāwī often visited the Damardāshiyya *khalwa* in Cairo, praying with the Damardāshīs and authorizing his closest disciples to follow the path of Sayyid Muḥammad and to go on retreats in the beautiful *zāwiya* of the Damardāshiyya. Shishtī underlines al-Ṣāwī's influence on this unique brotherhood, a club for Cairo's elite, where Shishtī often went on retreats in one of their many cells. Finally, al-Ṣāwī received all the *ṭuruq* by the *ijāza marḍiya* of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīr, who in turn had received this license from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAydarūs (d. 1192/1778).[44]

When Dardīr died in 1786, al-Ṣāwī was not immediately acknowledged as one of his legitimate successors (*khulafāʾ*). Dardīr, towards his end, had explicitly entrusted his succession only to Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Fayyūmī and to the ascetic Sufi saint, Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Sibāʿī.[45] Yet al-Ṣāwī was surrounded by disciples, including his students at al-Azhar, and some of them did make the *bayʿa* to him, even though formally he was not capable of offering them a pledge or guiding them along the Path (*sulūk*); the text is not completely clear on this. However, underlines the hagiographer, al-Ṣāwī taught them prayers (*khatm al-ṣalāt*) for the Path to God. What we gather from this is that during

42 *Al-Nūr*, 86.

43 On the Damardāshiyya cf. E. Waugh, *Visionaries of Silence: The Reformist Sufi Order of the Demirdashiyya al-Khalwatiya in Cairo* (Cairo/New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2008). During al-Ṣāwī's time, Muḥammad al-Damardāsh (1178/1764–1194/1780) and ʿUṭhmān b. Ḥusayn al-Damardāsh al-ʿĀdilī (1194/1780–1251/1835) followed each other at the head of the brotherhood.

44 Ibid., 38. On this link cf. Esther Peskes, *Al-ʿAidarūs und seine Erben. Eine Untersuchung zu Geschichte und Sufismus einer ḥaḍramitischen Sāda Gruppe vom fünfzehnten bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005), 163.

45 *Al-Nūr*, 38.

this first indeterminate period, al-Ṣāwī initiated his disciples and brought them together without formally declaring his investiture as *khalīfa*, perhaps fearing that other disciples of Dardīr would reject his claim. His position must have been uncomfortable since his home stood next to that of one of the two successors designated by Dardīr, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Fayyūmī. From there, the noisy echoes of the *dhikr* drifted all the way to al-Ṣāwī, who finally lost patience.[46]

It was then, according to Shishtī, that God manifested Himself in various ways so that al-Ṣāwī could, and even should, have demanded his students to make the *bayʿa* to him as Dardīr's rightful *khalīfa*. In a dream, he received permission from Shaykh Dardīr to cultivate the "fertile land" on which the other two *khalīfa*s were already working. In another, longer eschatological vision, he heard over and over again "those who have known you will never be harmed by fire".[47] The scrupulous al-Ṣāwī was unsure of the origin of his vision, but in this dream he saw a large document (*firmān*) offering him his investiture, and containing the seals of all prophets, including Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, and ʿIsā. In the same vision, al-Ṣāwī took the *firmān* to the greatest Azhar shaykhs, living and dead, who—sitting at the foot of their respective columns in the Azhar mosque—also affixed their seals. Al-Ṣāwī put the precious document into his pocket and woke up.

Ṣāliḥ al-Sibāʿī (one of Dardīr's two official successors) saw Dardīr's election confirmed by another vision of his own. A group of saints met at the *ḥaḍra* of Sayyid al-Badawī, the great Saint of Ṭanṭā. One shouted out: "whose turn (*nawba*) to practice the *dhikr* to Allah?", and the other saints answered, "it is Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's turn". This confirmed that Dardīr had definitely given him permission (*ijāza*) to initiate disciples, and had dressed him in the cloak of the *khilāfa* before any other disciple.[48] Finally, it was during Aḥmad al-Badawī's *mawlid* and in Shaykh al-Ghuraynī's *majlis*, who had initiated him into the Shādhiliyya, that al-Ṣāwī's investiture as Dardīr's *khalīfa* was publicly revealed.

Success soon followed, in a climate of obvious competition with the other branches of the Khalwatiyya: Ṣāwī managed to attract students from beyond the circles already reached by Dardīr's other *khalīfa*s. As al-Shishtī proudly stated, "We sang his praise (*madāʾiḥ*) in his *majlis*, and his successors (*khulafāʾ*) multiplied during his lifetime throughout the country".[49] "Throughout Egypt, towns and villages were filled with meetings of disciples praying to the Beloved

46 Ibid., 39.
47 Ibid., 40.
48 Ibid., 42.
49 Ibid., 41.

and practicing the *dhikr* to God, to such a point that he occupied the most important part (*nawba*) in the prayer to the Prophet".[50] Writing during al-Ṣāwī's lifetime, the hagiographer thus emphasizes that the latter's Sufism was open to all.[51]

Welcoming everyone, recruiting a crowd beyond the initiated few, teaching them gently and in groups the rudiments of the Path, focusing on teaching and guiding his disciples (*taʿlīm* and *irshād*), before initiating them with severity (*jalāl*) into the greatness and the difficulties of the Path—these were the characteristic traits of al-Ṣāwī, who was later named *Abū l-Irshād*, "The Father of Guidance". The text underscores the paternal gentleness of the shaykh towards his *awlād* ("sons", here in the sense of disciples), and the brotherly warmth of the "brothers of God", rather than the harshness and difficulties of the Path. "Should someone come to take the pledge, he made it easier rather than more difficult for him, and never made the conditions and rules (*shurūṭ* and *ādāb*) stricter, but rather treated him with love and openness".[52] Only once the disciple was truly committed to the Path did al-Sawī show him the difficulties of the road, as well as its real destination, in order for the disciple to control his carnal soul (*nafs*). The disciples, far from being scared, were even more eager to confront such difficulties.

Furthermore, when reprimanding his disciples al-Ṣāwī treated them with gentleness. He avoided admonishing anyone in particular, despite his knowledge of the state of each of his disciples. He preferred to address a general sermon (*waʿẓ*) so that each could recognize his own sin and repent privately.[53] In an *ijāza* to Muḥammad al-Jisr, he insisted on indulgence as a cardinal virtue of a Sufi master. Such gentleness was combined with a certain sense of humor; in two instances, al-Shishtī's text explicitly showed him smiling (*tabassama*).

The combination of indulgence and severity was underlined several times by both his biographers, because al-Ṣāwī was a saint marked by *jalāl* (divine majesty) and *khawf* (awe, fear of God) who often expressed himself only through tears. As his visions, revelations, and unveilings multiplied, al-Ṣāwī intensified his tears, his fear, and his pious acts.

Both *ʿālim* and Sufi, he was a model *ʿālim ʿāmil* (a scholar who translates his knowledge into an ethical life), and so were some of his disciples. According to

50 Ibid., 47.

51 For a similar phenomenon see Albrecht Hofheinz, *Internalising Islam. Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb, Scriptural Islam, and Local Context in Early Nineteenth-century Sudan* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bergen, 1996).

52 *Al-Nūr*, 42.

53 Ibid., 49.

his hagiographers, al-Ṣāwī managed to maintain a balance between his absorption in God and scholarship. His ecstasy (repeatedly expressed with the terms *sukra* and, especially, *ghayba*) did not prevent him from practicing science. Shishtī relates how, for one or two months of the year, al-Ṣāwī gave himself over to the *sukr* to such an extent that he no longer recognized his surroundings or his companions. Yet even in those periods he read books of the sciences next to the *awrād*, answering *fatwā* requests or questions concerning the search for spiritual knowledge (*maʿrifa*). Of this *ḥāl* that tore him from himself, the only ones to realize what was happening were those who lived with him (*mulāzimūn lahu*), Shishtī explains proudly.[54] Al-Ṣāwī held two types of conventions (sg. *majlis*), which correspond to his two states: on the one hand, the *dhikr* meetings, and on the other, the "general sessions and lessons" during which he read to his disciples from Sufi books on the nobility of the character (*makārim al-akhlāq*). He did not hesitate—explained the hagiographer—to simplify and adapt to what was best suited to their state. According to Shishtī, al-Ṣāwī taught his disciples good manners (*al-khiṣāl al-ḥamīda*), the rules of the sessions (*ādāb al-julūs*), how to eat and drink (*adab al-akl wa-l-sharb*), and how to converse (*mukhāṭabat al-nās*). He insisted on goodness (*rifq*) and mercy (*raʾafa*), honored the great and encouraged the small, and recommended friendship (*ulfa*) and love among them, and urged them not to compete with each other. Nobody should ever complain about another person to him: "My goal is not to attain shaykhhood (*mashyakha*) or leadership (*riyāsa*) over you, but rather to achieve improvement (*iṣlāḥ*) of what I can do [for you]".[55] He practiced simplicity (*mubāsaṭa*), even if this was difficult for him as he was constantly "drunk through contemplation of the King". Shishtī goes on to remark that in his writings and teachings, Ṣāwī wrote glosses and commentaries that were accessible and useful to people (*khalq*) beyond the circle of the Sufis.[56]

What was life like in the brotherhood, in the life of al-Ṣāwī and his family? In his text, al-Shishtī only uses the terms *ṭarīq* (Path) or *ṭarīqa* (brotherhood) in their most technical sense, to insist on the specificities of the Path and initiation; however, the brotherhood, like any group of brothers, is almost always designated in texts by al-Shishtī and Kutubī as a group, an association (*jamāʿa*). Al-Ṣāwī continued in the tradition of his immediate Khalwatī predecessors and insisted on the rules of the brotherhood; this is clear from his gloss of Dardīr's commentary on the latter's own *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*, written

54 Ibid., 44.

55 Ibid., 43.

56 Ibid., 91.

in 1218/1803.[57] Though the *khalwa* appears reserved for the most advanced and zealous disciples, reciting Dardīr's *ṣalawāt* (prayers) and *awrād* (litanies) was at the center of group devotion as taught by al-Ṣāwī. During the month of Ramadan 1219/1804, at the request of one of his disciples, he wrote a commentary on the *ṣalawāt* that was supposed to help his disciples (sg. *murīd*) learn the rules (*ādāb, shurūṭ*) of the brotherhood, become a person who knows God (*ʿārif*), and understand one's stations and states (*maqāmāt, aḥwāl*) on the Path.[58] He taught the recitation of orations (*tartīl al-awrād*), demanding phonetic exactitude, how to pronounce formulas and let their meaning penetrate, and demanded they pay attention to the melody of a *dhikr* (*naghmat al-dhikr*).[59] Dardīr's *ṣalawāt* were recited in the mornings and evenings, and the *wird* (litany) at each of the daily prayers. Missing one of them was unthinkable.[60]

Beyond the *khalwa* for the core group and the *ṣalawāt* and the *wird* for all, al-Ṣāwī held *dhikr* sessions (*ḥaḍra, majlis*) in his home in Cairo, at the mosque of al-Ḥusayn, and in many of the places where he stayed during his trips throughout the Delta. His was an itinerant and proselytizing Sufism. Accompanied by Shishtī and Kutubī, he went from village to village in the Delta, staying in homes here and there to hold *dhikr* assemblies, to teach the *wird*, and to recite or sing poems (*qaṣīda*s and *mawwāl*s). The *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍāʾ* includes a beautiful collection of these poems written by the disciples and successors of the Master.[61] It is filled with tears, love, pledges, and shared euphoria.

There were places where al-Ṣāwī stopped regularly during his travels. In one village, the small room where he used to say the *wird* was called "al-Ṣāwī's

57 Aḥmad al-Dardīr, *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī ādāb ahl al-ʿirfān* (Beirut: Dār al-ḥadīth al-kattāniyya, 2011); R. Chih, "Le livre pour guide: éthique (adab) et cheminement spirituel (sulūk) dans trois manuels sur la voie d'époque ottomane (*al-Sayr wa l-sulūk* de Qāsim al-Khānī m. 1697, *Tuḥfat al-sālikīn* de Muḥammad al-Samanūdī m. 1785 et *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* d'Aḥmad al-Dardīr m. 1786)", *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi Adab*, ed. by F. Chiabotti, E. Feuillebois-Pierunek, C. Mayeur-Jaouen, L. Patrizi (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 520–544; Renaud Soler, "Transmission and Practice of the Sufi *ādāb* in the Ḥāfiẓiyya Ḫalwatiyya, a Sufi Brotherhood of Middle Egypt (19th–20th Centuries)", ibid., 649–668.

58 *Al-Nūr*, 92.

59 Ibid., 43.

60 A disciple who was with al-Ṣāwī in Ṭanṭā requested permission to return to his village at the same time as the *wird* was recited, at dusk. In a hurry, he forgot to recite the *wird*, and lost his possessions, his money, and his companions (*rufaqāʾ*) when leaving Ṭanṭā. He understood that he was punished for having disobeyed the Master, and came back to Ṭanṭā in the middle of the night to make amends. *Al-Nūr*, 80.

61 Ibid., 104–5.

room" (*ghurfat al-Ṣāwī*).[62] In Disūq, an Emir lent him a hall (*maq'ad*) in his palace every year during Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī's *mawlid*. The major *mawlid*s in the Delta, notably those of Sayyid al-Badawī, were the most frequent opportunities to leave Cairo.[63] Having left Būlāq, where the pilgrims from Cairo met before their departure, the Sufis slept in villages along the way.[64] It was also advisable to know where and how to cross the Nile, or when to set sail. When it came to Ṭanṭā's *mawlid*, al-Ṣāwī asked that his own tent (*al-ṣaywān*) be set up and stayed there with his disciples. Some of them apparently preferred to sleep outside on mats or rugs, because the major *mawlid* took place in August, the hottest month.[65]

*Mawlid*s are rehearsals for the *ḥajj* and the visit to Medina—the highlight in the life of a Sufi shaykh. Al-Ṣāwī enjoyed three such moments. The Master decided in 1232/1817 to leave with a dozen disciples, including Shishtī, for his second pilgrimage. These "dervishes" set off with little preparation. The inhabitants of Cairo were surprised, saying "you're going to the Ḥijāz, not to Aḥmad al-Badawī!" This episode underlines the spontaneity of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī and his followers.[66] The costs of the pilgrimage are often mentioned as a major obstacle that only a miracle could resolve. Shishtī notes all the mishaps that occurred during the *ḥajj*: a camel was lost as early as Birkat al-Ḥajj, the first pilgrimage stop close to Cairo; and during the dangerous sea trip between Suez and Jeddah the sails of the two ships crashed into each other. Then a fissure appeared in the boat, but it was sealed by Muḥammad al-Kutubī's garments.[67] Another terrifying danger was the risk of fire when the sailors cooked on board. From Jeddah to Mecca, the caravan was constantly in danger of being attacked by Bedouins.[68] Aḥmad al-Shishtī got lost in the desert for a very long time, alone on his donkey, with no water or food. How was he to find the Master and the caravan? When the latter arrived in Badr and realized Shishtī was missing, the pilgrims climbed mountains to light fires so he could find his way back.[69] When al-Shishtī finally arrived during the night, al-Ṣāwī embraced him with

62 Ibid., 54.

63 Cf. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī: un grand saint de l'islam égyptien* (Cairo: IFAO, 1994); C. Mayeur-Jaouen, *Histoire d'un pèlerinage légendaire en islam. Le mouled de Tantâ du XIII^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2004).

64 *Al-Nūr*, 33, 78–79.

65 Ibid., 85.

66 Ibid., 61.

67 Ibid., 62.

68 Ibid., 67–69.

69 Ibid., 69.

tears. This night of trials, al-Ṣāwī declared, was more beneficial to the lost disciple than a *khalwa* of forty years.

The Love of the Prophet and the Intercession of Saints

"Before all else, he is the devout follower of the Prophet".[70] Thanks to the *ṣalawāt, wird*, poems, and recitations connected to the *ḥajj*, an intense devotion to the Prophet dominated the entire life of al-Ṣāwī and his closest friends and family. His frequent visions of the Prophet punctuated, dictated, or commented any decision or important moment in the life of al-Ṣāwī and his disciples. His link to the Prophet (*taʿalluq bi-janāb al-Muṣṭafā*) is often mentioned. It allowed him to dispense with an intermediary (*wāsiṭa*) and directly obtain spiritual help (*imdād*). Al-Ṣāwī was, in the eyes of his hagiographer, burning with *maḥabba*, the divine love that comes by way of love for the Prophet and love for the shaykh, in this case, Dardīr.[71] The importance of the visit to Medina is underlined: Al-Ṣāwī dreamed of moving there to die in the City of the Prophet. Al-Ṣāwī composed several books directly related to the life of the Prophet.[72] Yet except for a gloss on the summary of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Ibn Abī Jamra (d. 699/1300), he did not dedicate as much energy to *ḥadīth* as did Zabīdī. The passionate ties to Dardīr's legacy, devotion to the Prophet, and friendship within the brotherhood: this was what interested al-Ṣāwī, not the search for transmission links or rare texts.

Beyond the Prophet, but also because of him, the *Ahl al-bayt* and the saints (and, in Egypt in 1800, all saints were considered *Ahl al-bayt*) were the subject of intense devotion. The visit to the tomb of Sayyid al-Badawī and that of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī were the foundation of Egyptian piety. Sīdī Shibl's *mawlid* in Minūfiyya is referred to once in the text. And when traveling through Suez, al-Ṣāwī never missed the chance to visit Sīdī Gharīb's mausoleum. In Cairo, al-Ṣāwī held *dhikr* sessions and taught in the mosque of al-Ḥusayn (the Prophet's grandson). During a major illness, al-Ṣāwī had a vision of the Prophet who reproached Ḥusayn for not saving his beloved al-Ṣāwī. "Must he intervene himself?" asks Muḥammad indignantly. Ḥusayn, ashamed, offers a slice of banana

70 Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. 1, 217.

71 *Al-Nūr*, 46–47.

72 A commentary (*taqrīr*), then a *sharḥ* of the *Ḥamziyya* of Būṣīrī, at the request of the *'ulamā'* and *ashrāf* of Sandiyūn, in Gharbiyya, in front of whom he had recited his poem, and a gloss of *Bānat Suʿād*; *al-Nūr*, 90–91, 96.

to al-Ṣāwī, whose fever drops immediately.[73] One of al-Ṣāwī's slaves dreamed that a major female saint in Cairo, Sayyida Nafīsa, came to accompany armed soldiers in order to protect Shaykh al-Ṣāwī's boat on the Red Sea. In Cairo, the community (*jamāʿa*) also prayed in the mausoleum of Imām Shāfiʿī or in the mosque of al-ʿAynī, another mausoleum.

The centrality of the devotion to the Prophet obtained new significance in the light of the Wahhābī threat. Al-Shistī's sermon during the *ḥajj* of 1232/1817, ten years after the pillage of the Holy Places, resembles a call to order. The *ḥajj* must be completed by a visit to the Prophet's shrine in Medina; *adab* (good manners) must be shown to the Prophet; and who loves the Prophet will be loved by God. "Whosoever completes the *ḥajj*, should he visit my tomb after my death as he would have visited me during my lifetime, will benefit from my intercession (*shafāʿa*)".[74] This was a way to recall the fundamental principles of the intercession of saints, through that of the Prophet himself. This helps us understand why the liminary text by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Kutubī al-Ḥanafī, successor to the Saint, on the *karāmāt* of saints, was used as an incipit to al-Ṣāwī's hagiography.

The visit to the Prophet's tomb in Medina must be conducted according to an etiquette that al-Shishtī details in full. Upon arriving in Medina, Shishtī and Kutubī visited a Sayyid as emissaries for al-Ṣāwī. The Sayyid came and welcomed the Saint before the three Egyptians went to the Prophet's mosque (*ḥaram*). After praying, the disciples placed the Master in front of them as an intermediary (*wasīla*) to the Prophet—both physically (he preceded them) and spiritually. When al-Ṣāwī was invited to enter the burial chamber (*ḥujra sharīfa*), the hagiographer modestly wrote, "We never knew what went on between the Master and God's envoy. But I, the *faqīr*, said, 'Your glance is enough, oh envoy of God'. And God stroked my tongue and I recited the *ṣalawāt*".[75]

Such torrents of devotion left little room for accounts of spectacular or ostentatious miracles, contrary to other hagiographies of the Mamlūk or Ottoman periods. We only find standard miracles, like a miracle of ubiquity (the Saint being at several places simultaneously), or the healing of the spouse and children of Shaykh al-Sirsinawī. Both al-Shishtī and al-Kutubī chose to focus on the gift of clairvoyance, on the fact that al-Ṣāwī knew the *ḥāl* of each disciple intimately, to such a point that he was capable of constantly responding to the individual progress of his followers. Al-Ṣāwī was undoubtedly wary of commonplace miracles because he reprimanded the disciple who, threatened by

73 *Al-Nūr*, 72.

74 Ibid., 67.

75 Ibid., 70.

poverty, tried to invoke through fumigations the divine names of *Muʿīn* and *Wahhāb* in order to obtain the goods of this world. "It is not right for people of *maḥabba* to accuse their Lord of being stingy with his gifts".[76] Furthermore, he sharply criticized a disciple for trying to beget a child by touching the Master's leg (a common *baraka* custom)—although at another time he helped Kutubī to obtain a son whom he later sponsored for the start of his studies. When al-Kutubī's beloved sister was suffering through a difficult labour, al-Kutubī came and asked al-Ṣāwī to intercede. The latter, also suffering stomach pains in empathy with the future mother, began to cry and encouraged his disciple to accept the Divine Will. Back at his sister's side, a resigned al-Kutubī took off all the amulets and talismans that were supposed to help the poor woman and stayed by her side until her death two days later. Dominated by acceptation (*riḍā*), he declared he was no longer pained by the loss of a loved one (*ʿazīz*) and even considered the loss a grace.[77]

Magic and the use of talismans in general were never criticized, especially as al-Ṣāwī wrote an opuscule on the subject.[78] However, we must trust in God, al-Ṣāwī told, and these practices must be replaced by the recitation of *ṣalawāt*, Dardīr's *awrād*, the Galgawatiyya prayer,[79] or—more difficult—by appealing to one of God's Names. Al-Ṣāwī gave individual disciples *ijāza*s of a particular Divine name, as well as other formulas.

The discretion concerning miracles in al-Ṣāwī's hagiography had already struck Gilbert Delanoue, since they are much more prominent in other hagiographies written or published in Egypt in the 19th century. The only concrete miracle mentioned is that of abundance, certainly to illustrate the Saint's riches and his endless generosity. Al-Ṣāwī used a bowl of meat stew (*tharīd*) during important *mawlid*s such as Aḥmad al-Badawī's, and he would stretch it out by adding water without ever diluting the flavor of the stew.[80] Another *mawlid*, another miracle: In Disūq, certainly during the Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī *mawlid*, a crowd gathered at al-Ṣāwī's home and was abundantly fed, despite the lack of provisions. There is even enough at the end to feed the poor, for this was the custom after each feast (*mawsim, mawlid*).[81] Muḥammad al-Kutubī invited the

76 Ibid., 49.

77 Ibid., 83.

78 *Al-Tamā'im wa-l-ruqā li-Abī l-Irshād Sīdī Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī* was not mentioned by the hagiographers but is quoted by the editor of *al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā'* in an attached advertisement: *al-Nūr*, 160.

79 *Al-Nūr*, 77.

80 Ibid., 58–59.

81 Ibid., 59.

Master and the brothers to a meal after a *dhikr* in the al-ʿAynī mosque, next to his home in Cairo. Not having prepared for such a crowd, he feared the meal he prepared would be insufficient. However, al-Ṣāwī ordered that he serve the meal, telling him not to put the dishes on the floor in front of the guests as was the custom. The Saint himself served the dishes to the brothers, circle by circle (*ḥalqan ḥalqan*). In the end, the Master's servant had enough to distribute the leftovers at the mosque.[82] The anecdote confirms the force of the group and the importance of a meal shared between brothers united in a common love—a recurring hagiographic theme.

Love and Friendship: Expressing Oneself

As Stefan Reichmuth highlighted in his study of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, friendship and love, closely associated in the Sufi experience, are expressed in the most sentimental fashion. It was truly love at first sight when Dardīr met his very young disciple, who was twelve at the time. When al-Ṣāwī sat in front of Dardīr, the shaykh looked him in the eyes and his heart burned with love for the boy.[83] From then on, Ṣāwī would always practice his *dhikr* in front of Dardīr because the shaykh's soul (*rūḥāniyya*) fused with his own—to the point that when he was traveling, his place was left unoccupied until his return. Each missed the other deeply when they separated, which explains the abundant use of the term *shawq* (longing). Al-Ṣāwī slept at his shaykh's feet to be ready for his morning orations (*awrād*), but the shaykh never saw him lying down because al-Ṣāwī went to sleep after him and rose before him. The young Aḥmad was so close to Dardīr that he suffered for him and was beaten by men from the *katkhudā* officer of the governor (*kāshif*) of the province whom Shaykh Dardīr had reprimanded during the Sayyid al-Badawī *mawlid*.[84] This anecdote is the only reference that Jabartī made to al-Ṣāwī, and it underlines the young man's exceptional attachment to his Shaykh. Shishtī notes that al-Ṣāwī never took the *baraka* from another Shaykh, he did not attend another's *majlis*, and did not even meet them. This attitude was not common in Cairo at the end of the 18th century. For example, when Shaykh al-Kurdī invited Dardīr's disciples to practice their *dhikr* with him, all went except for al-Ṣāwī who stayed to practice the *dhikr* with his Master, in an excess of boundless love. It is unclear if this

82 Ibid., 85.

83 Ibid., 30.

84 Jabartī, vol. 3, 317–18, and vol. 4, 177; trans. Philipp and Perlmann, vol. 2, 175.

love was for the Prophet, God, or Dardīr.[85] When al-Dardīr returned from his pilgrimage, al-Ṣāwī, who had remained in Cairo, fainted out of an excess of joy and love.[86] When al-Ṣāwī eventually came to, the shaykh declared, "no one has celebrated my return like my son here" (*waladī hādhā*). Al-Ṣāwī composed a *qaṣīda* for Dardīr's return—a *qaṣīda* he posted in a letter (*maktūb*), most certainly at a halt close to Cairo. Dardīr kept it in his pocket and had it read publicly, after less beloved disciples had finished reciting their own *qaṣā'id*.[87]

The Master's preference was coveted and the subject of competition, since, in the end, love created the only hierarchy that counted, overturning family allegiances and privileges due to age. Intense jealousy, conflicts, and rumors multiplied. At al-Azhar, a student, jealous of Shaykh Junādī's preference for the young man (*al-ghulām*), accused al-Ṣāwī of neglecting his courses since he was never seen studying or asking questions in class. Later, Dardīr received an accusation aimed at al-Ṣāwī concerning his negligence (*mufrit*) and the fact that he ignored his *wird*.[88] It was all in vain. The passionate love that Dardīr and al-Ṣāwī felt for each other was not influenced by such jealousies. The text states that it was for love that the shaykh gave him his *ijāza* that he had obtained from al-Ḥifnī (which is a problematic statement, for otherwise it is mentioned that during his lifetime, Dardīr did not install al-Ṣāwī as his *khalīfa*), and that he placed a crown (*tāj*) on him, even though at that time al-Ṣāwī still had no down on his cheeks (*khālī l-ʿadhār*).[89]

The Master's love for the disciple is tied to joy but also often to the inevitable fear (*khawf, raʿb*) and sadness of separation (*firāq*). The terms *karb* and *ḥuzn* (grief, sadness) are used when the Master left on a pilgrimage and the beloved disciple stayed behind (or vice-versa). When Dardīr fell gravely ill in December 1786, al-Ṣāwī donned his clothes of mourning and moved into the ground floor of the shaykh's home, where he stayed without drinking or eating for three days. The dying shaykh called for him. Al-Ṣāwī entered, and kissed his feet. The shaykh said "Aḥmad?", and the assistants answered, "yes". "Why did you stay away for three days when I was missing you?" He was told that the young man had been desolate and mourning in retirement in the house since the beginning of the Master's illness. And the shaykh sighed, "Should I die, no one will miss me except for my son, Aḥmad". Everyone cried and protested, but Dardīr continued, "He is the one that most needs me because he is the

85 *Al-Nūr*, 34.
86 Ibid., 35.
87 Ibid., 35.
88 Ibid., 31.
89 Ibid., 36.

youngest, whereas you are all great *'ulamā'*". Al-Ṣāwī was only 25 years old at the time. According to Shishtī, who was certainly an eyewitness of Dardīr's last moments, "[Dardīr] passed away being worried about my Master, who eventually became his greatest *khalīfa*".[90] The hagiographer certainly chose this story in order to announce Dardīr's real will, because it was important to prove the—controversial, as we have seen—legitimacy of al-Ṣāwī in his Master's succession. The hagiography therefore invented an *ijāza* that Dardīr's gave him while he was still alive.

Al-Ṣāwī would later establish a similar relationship of affection with al-Shishtī, his confidant and secretary all at once. When al-Shishtī left al-Ṣāwī for a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, al-Ṣāwī predicted he would never return, and cried profusely over this disciple who was "dearer to him than his own children".[91] In light of the love and predilection that bound Dardīr, and then al-Ṣawī, to their disciples, the hagiographer insisted that love won over the traditional hierarchy of the *'ulamā'*, who gave preference to age, experience, and science. Al-Ṣāwī "was very gentle with each disciple according to his *ḥāl*, to the point that each disciple thought he was the favorite (*al-farīd fī l-maḥabba*)".[92] However, he always gave preference to those who possessed *himma* (determination, resolution), even if they were very young, rather than to those who were older and well-learned but lacked the quality of *himma*. The two young disciples who assisted al-Ṣāwī towards the end of his life, during his last trips, did not reach the same closeness as did Shishtī, despite their zeal. However, al-Ṣāwī also became attached to a very young man, the young *muḥibb* ʿAlī al-Bayjūrī, to whom the Master developed strong inclinations (*al-mayl ilayhi*) and passionate love (*al-shaghaf bi-ḥubbihi*). His passion was returned when the young man, though ignorant of the art of poetry, composed a premonitory *qaṣīda* when the Master left for the first time for the Ḥijāz, in which he expressed in elegiac tones his suffering due to the separation.[93]

Maḥabba and *shawq* are the dominant terms, first to describe the special relationship between Dardīr and al-Ṣāwī, then to evoke the ties between al-Ṣāwī and a given disciple. It is the *maḥabba* and the *himma* that allowed the Master, first Dardīr and later al-Ṣāwī, to choose a beloved disciple. These relationships were, of course, modeled on those of the two saints with the Prophet, whose many visions are interspersed throughout the hagiography.

90 Ibid., 37.
91 Ibid., 76.
92 Ibid., 45.
93 Ibid., 138–39.

Love between brothers and between master and disciple is partially based on family ties, since the disciples (*atbāʿ*) of the Master are often called *awlād*, whereas Shaykh Dardīr called al-Ṣāwī *waladī*, "my son". Al-Ṣāwī considered al-Shishtī his dearest "son", the one closest to his heart. This love of another kind ultimately has priority. Though al-Kutubī was urged to resign himself to the death of his beloved sister, the separation, and even more so, the death of a shaykh, a disciple, a friend was the moment to let the tears flow in abundance, not to display stoicism. Thus al-Ṣāwī cried when he predicted the deaths of Aḥmad al-Shishtī and of his brother-in-law and disciple, ʿAlī al-Shādhilī.

A love that uses the language of the family stymies the love one has for a corporeal family, or perhaps it offered escape. One brother, overwhelmed by the number of children he had (*ʿiyāl*) and the poverty that he faced, found in al-Ṣāwī's company and orations rest for his soul and peace for his heart. More often, the disciples asked the Master about their families. When Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Sirsināwī gave up hope on his wife and children who were desperately ill, to the point where he had begun preparing their shrouds, al-Ṣāwī poured miraculous water on them and the next morning they rose, cured.[94]

One of the rare instances when al-Shishtī contradicted al-Ṣāwī was over the opposition between family love and love on the Path. In Medina, having visited the tomb of the Prophet, the Master revealed to his disciples that he had not asked the Prophet for permission to leave (*idhn al-safar*); in other words, he had decided to stay on in Medina to finish his life and be buried at the famous Baqīʿ cemetery. The little group protested, certainly because they missed their families (*ʿiyāl*, which designates both women and children) and also because, not having been prepared for such a decision, they had not taken measures before leaving. Aḥmad al-Shishtī, perhaps the speaker for the disciples, argued their *ʿiyāl* would find themselves alone and abandoned. "They have God", answered al-Ṣāwī firmly—who probably no longer had either wife or children at that point. Shishtī then, perhaps not without bitterness, quoted him with saying *idhā yakūn dhanbuhum fī raqbatihim* ("may their sin fall on their own heads"). The Master was so angry that he struck his favorite disciple; but soon a solemn vision of the Prophet ordered al-Ṣāwī to return to Cairo to take care of his disciples.[95] Both would return to Medina to die, first al-Shishtī in 1235/1820. Then, at the start of Shaʿbān 1240/March 1825, al-Ṣāwī announced that "My beloved has invited me and the moment is near". He left on another pilgrimage and died in Medina on 7 Muharram 1241/August 22, 1825.[96]

94 Ibid., 80.
95 Ibid., 71.
96 Ibid., 87.

Al-Ṣāwī's Network: From al-Azhar to the Ḥijāz

The little world of al-Ṣāwī was first and foremost the world of al-Azhar. If the hagiographer insisted on the distinction between *ʿilm* and Sufism, this is perhaps because it was less and less apparent to his contemporaries. It is telling that the passages of the hagiography added by Shaykh Ismāʿīl in 1929 ignore this distinction that was so important to Dardīr and al-Ṣāwī, and to the latter's first disciples. While al-Ṣāwī's relationships with his professors and then with his students began during courses at al-Azhar (almost all his *khulafāʾ* are said to have been *ʿulamāʾ* at that famous institution, and the hagiographer often calls them *ʿālim ʿāmil*, in the sense of "Sufi scholar"), these Azhar links were soon doubled with Sufi affiliations. Qualities such as asceticism (*zuhd*), scruples (*waraʿ*), and modesty are most often used in the text. Aside from Azhar circles, family relationships doubled or expanded the brotherhood, in addition to encounters at holy shrines and during *mawlids*, trips and pilgrimages.

Who spent time with al-Ṣāwī? Who were his disciples? Generally, they were neither rich emirs nor people of little means. In the countryside, the hagiography clearly emphasized that it was the *ʿulamāʾ*, the *ashrāf*, and the rural elite (*aʿyān*) who welcomed him, though al-Ṣāwī did not disdain the simple farmers of the villages he traveled through. His colleagues and disciples, almost all the Sufi shaykhs from the Delta, lived in Cairo; one example of such was Muḥammad al-Kutubī's father, who resided in Cairo but lived off the revenues of his land in the Delta, which he rented and operated.[97] Cairene disciples owned homes in Cairo, sometimes of considerable value, even if they were only mentioned when problems such as fires or bombardments arose. When Muḥammad al-Kutubī decided to build a storied house, with a staircase, he sought in vain a tile-layer (*muballiṭ*). The Master soon sent him one who worked day and night in the middle of Ramadan, refused to be paid, and became a friend to al-Kutubī (*ṣadīq*).[98] Though they were not rich, the al-Ṣāwīs were sufficiently well-off to not be concerned by tales of inheritance or neighborhood disputes.[99] Aside from real estate, money is also often mentioned; *dirham*s were lost, found, and earned unexpectedly, and repentant cheats paid back the money they had taken away from others.[100] This is perhaps an indication of the monetarization of the economy. Al-Ṣāwī's disciples all belonged to a Cairene elite with rural origins: these included professors at al-Azhar, *imām*s,

97 Ibid., 84.
98 Ibid., 84.
99 Ibid., 77.
100 Ibid., 84.

craftsmen, owners, all still with links to the countryside. Their elite status was not excessive; the rare allusions to their family stated they were monogamous (even though it is possible they had concubines), and only al-Ṣāwī himself seems to have had a much larger household, especially because he apparently housed some of his closest disciples. His home was large enough to host three simultanous *dhikr* conventions after his death. There were exceptions to this *aurea mediocritas*: among the Master's dearest disciples we find some high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ*, such as Muḥammad al-Bannā al-Ḥanafī, a Ḥanafī mufti from the port of Rashīd, then Alexandria.[101] There were also soldiers or officers, perhaps Ottoman, and finally an Efendi, an official of modernizing Egypt or the Ottoman state.[102]

Contrary to someone like Zabīdī, al-Ṣāwī and his peers lived in a world where they spoke and read only in Arabic. Their Arabic was strongly inflected by the Egyptian dialect. Al-Ṣāwī answered his own shaykh in the very idiomatic fashion *ʿalā al-rāʾs wa-l-ʿayn* ("on my head and on my eyes"), to express his blind obedience. Sīdī Murjān Agha Salīm, head of the Medina eunuchs, was the only disciple of al-Ṣāwī whose Mamlūk name allows us to assume non-Arabic origins. Though Shishtī strongly defended the universality of his *daʿwā*, the names of the disciples mentioned sound Egyptian, and the hagiographer scrupulously provides the names of the villages, districts, and governorates where al-Ṣāwī's *khulafāʾ* and disciples were buried, as well as their descendants and disciples up to the 1920s. When reading al-Shishtī's and al-Kutubī's parts on al-Ṣāwī's visits to villages and their notes on where his disciples lived, we see that these Sufis rarely left the limits of the central Delta: Qalyūbiyya, Minūfiyya, and Gharbiyya. Al-Ṣāwī did, however, have ties to other parts of the Delta, from the Buḥayra region all the way to Rashīd and Alexandria, where two of his *khulafāʾ*, whom he probably visited, lived. However, it does not appear that he ever traveled to Upper Egypt, although this was where his Master was born, and where two of Ṣāwī's *khulafāʾ* came from.

Was there a world outside of Egypt? Shishtī insists that al-Ṣāwī's *daʿwā* was successful not only in the Delta (*wajh baḥrī*) but also in Mecca, the Maghreb, the Sudan, and throughout Egypt, including in its upper part (Ṣaʿīd). Maybe this was wishful thinking. But we must assume that al-Ṣāwī had followers in Syria (*al-Shām*), for example in Gaza, where a disciple learned of the Saint's death in a vision.[103] *Al-Nūr al-wuḍḍāʾ* does not mention Muḥammad al-Jisr (d. 1261/1846), a Syrian disciple whose son, Ḥusayn al-Jisr, wrote *Nuzhat al-fikr*

101 Ibid., 81.

102 Ibid., 88, 184.

103 Ibid., 88.

fī manāqib al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Jisr, in which he mentions al-Ṣāwī's Syrian disciples.[104] Al-Ṣāwī's world was deliberately focused on the Middle East, ignoring the Maghreb and, even more so, the African continent. This did not hold true for his master, Dardīr, who maintained ties with the sultan of Morocco. In al-Ṣāwī's hagiography, the Maghreb appears only in negative contexts: al-Ṣāwī and his disciples met a person from the Maghreb on a boat between Suez and Jeddah, and did not trust him; eventually this person turned out to be a thief and slanderer. The Egyptians on the pilgrimage were warned by the caravan's emir to be just as wary of individuals from the Maghreb as of Bedouins.[105] It is true that one Tunisian, Shaykh al-Maghribī al-Tūnisī, was among the Master's *khulafā'*; but he was the exception. The non-Arabic portion of the Orient is barely acknowledged. Istanbul, mentioned only once in the text, is far away.

Only the *ḥajj* truly opened the horizons of the Sufi Egyptians of al-Azhar. We notice a clear evolution between al-Ṣāwī's first and second pilgrimages. During his first pilgrimage in 1793, al-Ṣāwī was already sufficiently well-known throughout Egypt for a ship owner (*al-marākibī*) from Suez to offer him free passage on his boat and to feed him at his own expense.[106] But in Mecca and Medina, al-Ṣāwī was still unknown. An Agha in the Medina sanctuary (perhaps the head of eunuchs at the Prophet's Mosque) ordered him to lower his voice when he recited his *ṣalawāt*. They even chased him and his disciples from the sacred space.

By 1817, during his second pilgrimage, al-Ṣāwī had become famous. "When the Governor (*kabīr*) of Suez knew we were coming, he came with his suite and the city's elite to welcome the Master with drums and canons, comparable to the welcome offered to the Governor in the city".[107] The Ḥijāz thus became an extension of Egypt. Once in Jeddah, the emir sent his personal boat and slaves (*ʿabīd*) to welcome the Master and request his presence.[108] He was housed in the home of Jeddah's most prominent elite "with his women, his disciples, his goods and provisions" (*al-ḥarīm wa-l-atbāʿ wa-l-amtiʿa wa-l-muʾna*). The emir of Jeddah came to visit and talk about religious sciences. After a rather

104 Ḥusayn al-Jisr, *Nuzhat al-fikr fī manāqib al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Jisr* (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-adabiyya, 1306 H), 55–59; quoted in Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. 1, 200, n. 31.

105 *Al-Nūr*, 51, 53.

106 Ibid., 50.

107 Ibid., 61.

108 On Jeddah during the 19th century, cf. P. Pétriat, *Le négoce des Lieux saints. Les familles marchandes hadramies de Djedda, 1850–1950* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016). On trade relations between Egypt and the Ḥijāz, see Pascale Ghazaleh, *Fortunes urbaines et stratégies sociales. Généalogies patrimoniales au Caire 1780–1830*, 2 vols (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2010).

violent disagreement over a specific question, the emir left, but soon began sending excuses, as well as some twenty camels for the road and a ram for provisions.[109] In Mecca, pilgrims came to visit al-Ṣāwī to take an *ʿahd* or practice the *dhikr*. Last but not least, in Medina, al-Ṣāwī had acquired many disciples since his first pilgrimage twenty years earlier. These included the Agha who had been so reluctant at first, Sīdī Murjān Agha Salīm of the Tawwāshiyya, who would later transmit the Tawwāshiyya Path to one of the Master's great grandsons, Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī. One of al-Ṣāwī's *khulafāʾ*, Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Farʿūnī, formerly servant at the tomb of Sayyida Zaynab (an important Cairene saint during the Ottoman period), even settled in Medina, where he would die in 1244/1829.[110] When al-Ṣāwī arrived in Medina, delegations came to visit the Master, and the shaykh of Medina's Ḥaram personally invited him to enter the mausoleum room (*al-ḥujra al-sharīfa*). Finally, once back in Cairo, the shaykh of the Mālikīs at al-Azhar came to pay homage to al-Ṣāwī and his three companions. He met them on the outskirts of the city in order to organize a procession to enter Cairo triumphantly and publicly display the shaykh's secret: "The exterior announces the interior" (*al-ẓāhir ʿanwān al-bāṭin*). Al-Shishtī concludes, "the consensus on al-Ṣāwī, and the attachment others show him, are the definitive proof that God loves him (*maḥabbat Allāh lahu*)". The height of his fame, of course, was reached after his death. Al-Shishtī, who had died before his master, was no longer there to stand witness; instead, al-Kutubī recorded the events. Al-Ṣāwī died in Medina in 1241/1825. As soon as the news spread, *dhikr* sessions were held in Mecca, Jeddah, Yanbuʿ, Quṣayr, Suez, and all across Egypt. In Cairo, crowds of disciples came together in the Master's home and the surrounding streets to commemmorate the shaykh's death by holding a *dhikr*.

Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī had lived most of his life in the little Egyptian world that only pilgrimages and the conquest by Meḥmed ʿAlī's armies had opened onto the Ḥijāz. At least, this is the image conveyed in the accounts of al-Shishtī and al-Kutubī. When, a century later, Shaykh Ismāʿīl narrated the story of the Ṣāwiyya paths during the 19th century, the brotherhood had expanded significantly at the end of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's life and after his death. In this image from 1929, the Ṣāwiyya was mainly established in Cairo, around the Master's *zāwiya* in Qarāfa, the cemetery of his descendants, and in many of the newer neighborhoods, such as Roda or Choubra. Cairene shaykhs and disciples were almost all Azhar professors. The brotherhood's mainstay was still the Delta, but Upper Egypt was better represented. As already mentioned, two of al-Ṣāwī's *khulafāʾ*

109 *Al-Nūr*, 63.

110 Ibid., 131–33.

were from the region (from Kafr ʿAmmār, in Gīza, and from Banī Mazār, near Minyā, respectively). A century later, the Ṣāwiyya had spread throughout these regions, between Girga, Asyūṭ, Dayrūṭ, and Banī ʿAdī near Manfalūṭ. It is said that Shaykh Muḥammad Shaḥḥāta al-Ḥaddād (d. 1864), who studied under Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī before transferring to a certain Shaykh Fatḥ Allāh, spread the Ṣāwiyya in the oases of Dākhla and Khārga.[111] The Ḥijāz (essentially Jeddah and Medina) was still mentioned in 1929, although the Sufi brotherhoods were banned from the newly-created Saudi Arabia. At the end of the 19th century, the Ṣāwiyya also spread to Umm Durman in Sudan, thanks to the family of Aḥmad Ḍayf. The brotherhood was more modestly represented in Syria, via the descendants of Shaykh Fatḥ Allāh, and spread the Path throughout Damascus.[112]

There was still no mention of Africa, India or the Yemen, or of Anatolia and the Balkans. Furthermore, the Maghreb was barely mentioned. Al-Ṣāwī's world—or that of his hagiographer—was also that of a sedentary Egypt, busy with herself, getting used to her own centrality, which she spread to the Ḥijāz as she became increasingly detached from Istanbul.

Testing Power in Difficult Times

In the eyes of their posteriority, al-Ṣāwī and Dardīr were protectors of Egypt and defenders of its inhabitants. A careful reading of the available sources shows the many threats that al-Ṣāwī faced. The 1770s and 1780s were years of insecurity, famine, and peasant migrations. In the countryside, during his childhood, in al-Ṣāwī's very village, the *multazim* tried to force villagers to pay their debt by arresting al-Ṣāwī's own brother. However, charmed by the child, the *multazim* erased his brother's debt.[113] A similar incident took place later with one of his disciples. During Dardīr's period and at the start of al-Ṣāwī's, the Sufis had to face threats similar to those during the Mamlūk or Ottoman periods. An emir made advances to the young, still smooth-faced al-Ṣāwī; a *katkhudā* ordered the young al-Ṣāwī to be beaten with a stick; and Dardīr defended the *ashrāf* when they were attacked by the governors of the province. During Dardīr's era, Cairene emirs even threatened to kill certain *ʿulamā'* at al-Azhar, but Dardīr

111 Ibid., 150.

112 Ibid., 149–50.

113 Ibid., 26.

taught al-Ṣāwī invocations to keep danger at bay. The emirs implicated died soon after.[114]

Once al-Ṣāwī became shaykh, it was his turn to defend his disciples. An unjust emir (*ẓālim*) ordered unmotivated arrests, but his house was soon ruined and he passed away;[115] the emir of Buḥayra imprisoned one of al-Ṣāwī's disciples, but liberated him in the morning; a village *ḥākim* falsely showed affection for al-Ṣāwī and his friends but mistreated al-Ṣāwī's host, one of the *balad*'s elite and one of his disciples.[116] In the city and in the countryside, crooks abounded. One partially annexed an adjacent house; another dishonestly took revenue from a field that one of al-Ṣāwī's disciples had rented, despite the judgment of the village's notables and shaykhs.[117] Travelling by night on the open road was dangerous, and it was best to find shelter or return home before dark. In the villages in the Delta, just as in the 15th century, the Sayyid al-Badawī pilgrims were often robbed and pillaged. In Kafr al-Sukkariyya, known for murders and thefts, the orations, *dhikr*s, and Qur'ān readings by al-Ṣāwī and his followers led to a general conversion of the inhabitants who, until then, had been united in crime. At least, this was the account recorded in the writings of Shishtī.

With the wars amongst the emirs and then the French expedition, the end of the 18th century was an even more troubled time. Not only were the villages unsafe, but so too were the streets of Cairo. Each year, al-Ṣāwī's disciples assembled at the tomb of Imām Ḥusayn for the last three nights of Ramadan to read the *wird* with their Master, who was needed to protect them.[118] On the first day of one Ramadan, soldiers were pillaging the city and nobody dared go out at night. It was only during the second half of the month, when al-Ṣāwī traveled to al-Ḥusayn's sanctuary, that inhabitants stepped out for the saint, who, with his mere presence, re-established safety in the streets.[119] A disciple who left the shaykh's home to meet up with the absent Master in the Mosque of Sultan Ḥanafī traveled along unsafe roads without a lamp. He was robbed of his clothes, but was finally saved and clothed by a mysterious saint. In Cairo, the seat of power, well-known Azhar Sufis such as Dardīr or al-Ṣāwī were in an exposed position, and we have seen that they did not hesitate to take risks. The sons of *vizir wālī Miṣr* (perhaps the sons of Meḥmed ʿAlī) stood up angrily from al-Ṣāwī's *majlis* before their father, the governor, ended the persecution that

114 Ibid., 36–37.
115 Ibid., 54–55.
116 Ibid., 79.
117 Ibid., 84.
118 Ibid., 60.
119 Ibid., 60.

could have taken place.[120] This episode is not completely clear in the hagiography; it seems to emphasize tensions between the Sufis and the political authorities while at the same time testifying to al-Ṣāwī's proximity to the rulers.

At the end of the 18th century, the Ḥijāz was even more dangerous. Bedouins wanted to pillage and spill the blood of pilgrims returning from Medina, but al-Ṣāwī, the true protector of the caravan of which he was the "hidden" leader (*amīr al-ḥajj al-bāṭin*), quickly won them over to his *baraka*. The texts insist that he was also the "apparent" *amīr al-ḥajj* (*amīr al-ḥajj al-ẓāhir*), since the supposed *amīr*, in 1207–8/1793, was wounded and robbed near ʿAqaba, whereas al-Ṣāwī and his followers were unharmed. During the second pilgrimage in 1817, the emir of the *ḥajj* was sufficiently clear-headed to explicitly delegate his powers to al-Ṣāwī, who took the caravan under his protection and rode ahead of it during their triumphal return to Cairo.[121]

Again, the hagiography gives a double message; while a saint is not supposed to let himself be compromised by too close relations to the state, al-Ṣāwī here seems to have acted in government service, directly or indirectly being put in charge of securing and organizing the *ḥajj* caravan. The evidence is insufficient to arrive at far-reaching conclusions, but it seems the hagiography was struggling here exactly with this issue, which, we may assume, was not unknown to the reader anyway.

For the same period, Pascale Ghazale's study of the Cairene Maḥrūqī family of traders has underlined that Meḥmed ʿAlī used the *ḥajj* to reinforce his authority. Aḥmad al-Maḥrūqī made the pilgrimage in 1798, and his son Muḥammad, head of the traders in 1816, went on the *ḥajj* one year before al-Ṣāwī did. The Maḥrūqīs participated in trade between Egypt and the Ḥijāz; this included commercial relations but also the financing of Egypt's military campaigns, relations with the Bedouins, and the maritime transport between the two countries. It is not inconceivable that al-Ṣāwī played a similar role, as a spiritual authority.[122]

Al-Nūr al-wuḍḍā' includes few direct or explicit allusions to other events during al-Ṣāwī's lifetime. The only reference to the French expedition to Egypt might be included in an anecdote: the small house of al-Shishī's father was destroyed by bombs (*bi-l-rusās*) "during Egypt's war with the Pasha of the Citadel".[123]

120 Ibid., 56.

121 Ibid., 67–68, 73.

122 Ghazaleh, *Fortunes urbaines et stratégies sociales*, 165–72.

123 *Al-Nūr*, 56.

Al-Ṣāwī was extremely sensitive to issues and conflicts weighing on Muslims, that is, on Egyptians (since non-Muslim inhabitants are never mentioned). He suffered from the general tribulations (*al-balāʾ al-ʿāmm*) that struck the population, and fell ill even before they appeared. The hagiographer related that al-Shishtī's father checked on the state of the Muslim community by asking about the Master's state.[124] One day, al-Ṣāwī fell terribly ill and prescribed intensive prayers to his disciples. Later, it was discovered that on the same day God had uncovered the secret thoughts of the godless (here: *kufra*) living in "Islambul" who had been plotting for a decade. The text continues, explaining that the *fitna* grew and caused wars that lasted for years, and the godless destroyed many villages. We asked God to strengthen Islam, concluded the hagiographer, but this *fitna* also led to a change in the army of Islam in most countries.[125] Is this fairly mysterious passage alluding to the Ottoman government, which is never referred to elsewhere? Is it describing the beginning of military reforms at the heart of the Empire under Maḥmūd II as in Egypt under Meḥmed ʿAlī? What war does it refer to? Our shaykh, as did Azharīs in general, here expressed his support for Egyptian authorities. Furthermore, soon after 1220/1807, he wrote a short epistle on the *jihād*, using Qurʾānic quotes that reference it. Whether this treatise alluded to the context of the French occupation (which ended in 1801) or of the wars against the Wahhābīs, we do not know.

Calm returned with Meḥmed ʿAlī, in 1801–5. The active presence of the saint al-Ṣāwī in the lives of men took on a new meaning with the power of the Pasha of Egypt and a re-established administration that protected the population. Written documents regained their value: when the vizier ordered that al-Ṣāwī be left unmolested, he had it written down.[126] The hagiography mentions a high-ranking government official who became a disciple of the Saint: the director (*naẓīr*) of the gunpowder factory (*maʿmal al-bārūd*) in the Defense Ministry in Cairo (the Jihādiyya), Sulayman Efendi al-Ballānī. For the occasion, the hagiography proudly evokes Meḥmed ʿAlī Pasha's conquests of the Ḥijāz and of parts of the Sudan and Europe ("Rūm"), and particularly in Greece. Written during Meḥmed ʿAlī's lifetime, al-Ṣāwī's hagiography neglects everything concerning the sultan of Istanbul. Worldly powers change incessantly, but the Egyptian State was increasingly present. When a village *ḥākim*, responsible for a dam he vowed to serve and protect, insulted one of al-Ṣāwī's disciples, he was quickly punished. The Nile broke through the dam, which led

124 Ibid., 80.
125 Ibid., 81.
126 Ibid., 56.

to him losing his rank in a countryside that was increasingly well-policed by the state.[127]

Another imminent danger for a person like al-Ṣāwī was wealth, and in particular the wealth linked to political and administrative power. When he entered the Prophet's mausoleum, al-Ṣāwī prayed to God that he should never receive any revenue (*rizq*) from an unjust person (*ẓālim*). This was certainly a normal form of wariness for a Sufi shaykh. However, al-Ṣāwī went even further when he asked that he and his followers should never become stewards (*nāẓir*) of a *waqf* or a mosque, or tutors (*waṣī*) to orphans. He concluded by praying that his income (*rizq*) should never comprise a fixed amount because he had placed his trust (*wafā*) in Islam. This is the hagiographer's way of emphasizing al-Ṣāwī's hope that he would never be tempted to take on a governmental position with a fixed salary or live off *waqf* revenues, perhaps indicating that this temptation was real. The hagiographer asserts that this prayer was granted to him and to those of his disciples who had drunk from his goblet.[128] As we saw earlier, while they were comfortably established, they did not aim for the wealth and possessions of al-Azhar's great shaykhs such as ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī, who talked to his disciples about earthly affairs. Despite this reluctance, al-Ṣāwī readily spent time with the shaykhs of the Damardāshiyya, undoubtedly the richest in Egypt; we know that the Damardāshiyya's social rise had been facilitated by the Ottoman authorities, and the wealth that they gathered as *multazim*s they managed to secure for themselves by turning it into *waqf* endowments. But al-Ṣāwī's prayer at the Prophet's tomb might not just reflect the shaykh's caution; on the contrary, it testifies to the fact that, in general, Sufi shaykhs participated actively in lucrative responsibilities that bound them to powerful emirs and the founders of *waqf*s. Al-Ṣāwī might have been no exception, but the hagiography of course suppresses such an impression.

Al-Shishtī even explained that the rank (*maqām*) of prophets and spiritual guides (*murshid*) to God is comparable to that of ministers to sultans. Our saint here indicates a parallel hierarchy, and worldly rulers are respected, as donors and protectors, as long as they respect the spiritual independence of the Sufi. The famous hagiographer Shaʿrānī, in the 16th century, had faced the same

127 Ibid., 79. Cf. Ghislaine Alleaume, "Les systèmes hydrauliques de l'Égypte pré-moderne: essai d'histoire du paysage", *Itinéraires d'Égypte. Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin s.j.*, ed. by Christian Décobert (Cairo: IFAO, 1992), 301–22.

128 *Al-Nūr*, 52.

dilemma. The traditional Sufi metaphor that compares the power of saints to the power of the influential helps defend a political vision.[129]

Al-Ṣāwī inherited the awareness of the shaykh's political responsibility from his own master, Dardīr. Jabartī informs us about the energy Dardīr deployed to defend the Egyptian population's interests, especially that of Cairo, against the demands of the emirs. Al-Ṣāwī explains that just as ministers leave the ruler's council (*dīwān*) to improve (*iṣlāḥ*) worldly matters and occasionally return to present complaints or appreciation, so do prophets and spiritual guides belong to the world of humans and occasionally go before God (in the *ḥaḍra aḥadiyya*) to take the overflowing grace (*fayḍ*) and bring it back to the supplicants. However, they cannot remain forever in the presence of the Dispensatory King (*Wahhāb*) or else the spiritual guidance they offer to mankind would end.[130] This is how al-Ṣāwī explained the alternating periods of *sukr* (spiritual intoxication) and vigil in his life.

Sign of the Times, Doctrinal Debates and Wahhābism

The period's troubles were not only political in nature, they were also doctrinal. Here too, al-Ṣāwī lived in a troubled time. Several allusions seem to indicate that al-Ṣāwī was not simply a Sufi imbued with *fiqh*, in adoration of the Prophet, and occupied with his devotions. He also dealt with fundamental theological issues and defended his position publicly in violent debates.

When Dardīr was still alive, al-Ṣāwī was already publicly vocal about his position. One day, someone who denied the existence of saints and miracles insisted in Dardīr's presence, "If this were true, we would never know trials or sorrow"; that is, the saints would solve all of humanity's problems. Shaykh Dardīr did not deign to answer. However, al-Ṣāwī was furious about both the negation of the friends of God and the impoliteness in the *majlis* of his shaykh. That night, he wrote an epistle refuting the critic's stance, and the next day al-Ṣāwī read it to him and to a large crowd. It was his first text,[131] and Dardīr declared, "It is as if he wrote it by taking it straight from my heart". Does not the verse *inna awliyāʾ Allāh lā khawf ʿalayhim wa lā hum yaḥzanūn* ("no fear

129 The impact of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt on the political vision of Egyptian Sufism has been demonstrated in Michael Winter, *Studies in the Writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī. Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1982, repr. 2009).

130 *Al-Nūr*, 44.

131 Ibid., 90.

will bear on the friends of Allah, and they will not be saddened", Q 10:62) suffice to prove their sanctity (*wilāya*) to anyone who is a pious believer? The critic did not know what to say and remained quiet.[132] Was the critic already influenced by Wahhābī ideas in the early 1780s? Or was he simply expressing a rational skepticism that Sufi sources rarely gave voice to?

When it was al-Ṣāwī's turn to become shaykh, he was prey to attacks by emirs, governors, and their underlings. These attacks were perhaps motivated by scissions within the Khalwatiyya. Without offering any further details, Shishtī relates how an enemy pretended to be one of the Master's disciples and tried to poison him. The would-be murderer died, his house was destroyed, and his wife was forced to make a living by begging.[133] This anecdote demonstrates that the Sufism that appears to have dominated during the 19th century in Egypt was not unanimously accepted—at least not in the form practiced by al-Ṣāwī. Derision was always a real threat for the Sufi shaykhs. A man who pretended to have learned the Divine Names asked al-Ṣāwī to teach him other Names. Al-Ṣāwī easily unmasked the impostor who had never learned anything from anyone. Provocations of this kind undoubtedly had the purpose of revealing the Sufis as heretics. Al-Shishtī was fully conscious of the risks and always remained discreet concerning the spiritual state and rank of the saint for whom he wrote his hagiography.

In 1817, a sharp argument broke out in the Hijaz between al-Ṣāwī and his host, the Emir of Jeddah, who had until then been extremely polite and forthcoming with the Saint, but who then disassociated himself from him. Shishtī explains that the two had quarreled over a point of *ʿilm* and that al-Ṣāwī considered his host's position contrary to the Sunna. We do not have any further information except that the Emir of Jeddah soon sent his apologies and presents. This confirms the emir's good manners but does not necessarily prove he was convinced. Perhaps the tension resulted from a debate over the Wahhābī positions at the precise moment the Egyptian armies were crushing the rest of the Najd kingdom?

Beyond criticisms that were perhaps already quite old concerning the worship of saints, beyond debates about the Sunna or hostile maneuvers, al-Ṣāwī was especially challenged by Wahhābism. This is alluded to twice in his hagiography. In a vision where he appeared to another Khalwatī shaykh, al-Ṣāwī revealed his glory among the saints, while a mysterious cry repeated the words "O worshippers of God, take care, this is *dunyā*'s final hour, only that which remains will remain, only those who leave will leave, and do not leave

132 Ibid., 90.

133 Ibid., 57.

your religion as have those from the Mashriq". The hagiographer explains that "those from the Mashriq" refers to "those from the Hijaz among the innovators (*mubtadiʿīn*) who appeared in 1220 H. [1807]", that is, to the Wahhābīs.[134] Al-Ṣāwī, still in the vision, protested loudly and declared his innocence concerning the errors committed by these people from the East.[135] Al-Ṣāwī's *ḥāshiya* on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* includes a short passage that explicitly denounces the Wahhābīs, this time as liars working for the devil.[136] In this light we have to see that during their *ḥajj*, al-Ṣāwī urged al-Shishtī to deliver a sermon that emphasized the cult of the Prophet, and the visit to his shrine; this cult, forbidden under the Wahhābī reign, was a key part of the oration.

As Esther Peskes has magistrally demonstrated, our knowledge of the events in the Ḥijāz is based on a controversial historiography that has partially been rewritten or censored after the facts. Were the conquest of Mecca by Ibn Saʿūd from 1803–6, then the occupation of Medina in May 1805, the occupation of Mecca from 1807 to 1812, not only accompanied by the destruction of holy shrines but also by the rejection of pilgrim caravans, especially from Egypt? The most debated question remains whether the Prophet's tomb itself was pillaged by the Wahhābīs. For al-Ṣāwī and his disciples, there is no question that they were, and al-Shishtī's sermon on the necessity of the cult of the Prophet appears as an act of militant spirit, performed in the context of reconstruction. The image that al-Ṣāwī presents of the Wahhābīs corresponds to the self-image of a Wahhābī like Ibn Ghannām (d. 1811), and emphasizes that the Wahhābīs in fact aimed to eradicate devotional Islam and attachment to the Prophet. Al-Ṣāwī and Ibn Ghannām, both contemporaries of the events, were well aware of the pillaging and destruction of the tomb during the Wahhābī occupation of Medina.

But al-Ṣāwī's attacks on the Wahhābīs, and Ibn Ghannām's apologetic writings, do not correspond with the writings of Ibn Bishr (d. 1873). The latter wished to give the Wahhābī movement a less destructive image, reducing the origins of the conflict to a political and military affair between Mecca and the oasis of Dirʿiyya.[137]

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134 Ibid., 75.

135 Ibid., 75.

136 Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, Ihyāʾ dār al-turāth, vol. 5, 76. The editor of the al-sunnah.org website has seen another edition of the text in Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

137 Esther Peskes, *Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalwahhāb (1703–1792) im Widerstreit. Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Frühgeschichte der Wahhābīya* (Stuttgart: Klaus Steiner Verlag, 1993), 329–30.

At the end of 1811, Sultan Maḥmūd II ordered Meḥmed ʿAlī to launch a military expedition to chase the Saudi armies from the Holy Cities. Ibrāhīm Pasha defeated the Saudi state in the Najd in 1817–18, the same year al-Ṣāwī returned to Mecca on a pilgrimage that, as was seen above, had clear political overtones. In 1825, however, during his third pilgrimage, al-Ṣāwī faced a new adversary; this time it was another famous Sufi, Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1760–1837), who challenged him.[138] The Moroccan scholar had lived in Mecca for 25 years. Was this their first meeting? The two men were of the same generation and had perhaps already met in 1817. Or was it Aḥmad b. Idrīs' success that pushed the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ* to urge al-Ṣāwī to counter Aḥmad b. Idrīs' advocacy of *ijtihād*?[139] The hagiography remains completely silent about the meeting between al-Ṣāwī and Aḥmad b. Idrīs, but in the latter's *al-ʿIqd al-nafīs* this encounter has a very prominent place. At the request of the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*, Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī supposedly gave Ibn Idrīs a sort of test. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, winner of the joust (according to *al-ʿIqd al-nafīs*, of course), is said to have declared, "Oh Ṣāwī, it would be better if you left that as it is. Hurry to go to Medina, for your time is near".[140] Al-Ṣāwī did in fact die several days after his arrival in Medina on 7 Muḥarram 1241/August 22, 1825. He was buried near the Prophet. As we know, soon after their dispute the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ* forced Ibn Idrīs to leave Mecca for Yemen. Was this the posthumous revenge by al-Ṣāwī and his Meccan followers?

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138 On Aḥmad b. Idrīs, see R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, and London: Hurst, 1994); Bernd Radtke, John O'Kane, Knut S. Vikør, Rex S. O'Fahey, *The Exoteric Ahmad Ibn Idris: A Sufi's Critique of the Madhahib and the Wahhabis. Four Arabic Texts with Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

139 Cf. Rudolph Peters, "Idjtihād and Taqlīd in 18th and 19th Century Islam", *Die Welt des Islams* 20.3–4 (1980), 131–45. For a recent discussion of the debates around "Neo-Sufism" and the issue of *ijtihād*, see Samuela Pagani, "Sufismo, neo-sufismo et confraternite musulmane", in Roberto Tottoli (ed.), *Islam*, vol. III of *Le religioni e il mondo moderno*, chief ed. Giovanni Filoramo (Turin, 2009), 29–68, esp. 38–41 (on the critique of the Sunnī legal schools) and 41–46 (on the centrality of the prophetic model).

140 Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs, *al-ʿIqd al-nafīs fī naẓm jawāhir al-tadrīs* (Cairo: Dār jawāmiʿ al-kalim, 2006), 4–5. J.S. Trimingham, in a quote, situated Aḥmad b. Ṣāwī as a disciple of Ibn Idrīs, which seems improbable considering the profound divergence of their viewpoints: *Sufi Orders*, 77, n. 8. On Ibn Idrīs' biographies, see J. Voll, "Two Biographies of Ahmad Ibn Idris al-Fasi (1760–1837)", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6.4 (1973), 633–45.

Conclusion

Zabīdī's culture was vast, embracing love of the Prophet, genealogies, and a taste for literature. Dardīr's culture had established an Azharī model that would remain dominant throughout the 19th century. The preoccupation with *fiqh* and grammar, and the devotion to the Prophet and the saints were requisites to the Path, and there were no shortcuts. Al-Ṣāwī piously followed in Dardīr's footsteps, championing meticulous grammatical corrections and traditions instead of creative innovation. He believed he was guided by his visions and ecstasy as much as by his intensive practice of the *dhikr* and recitations of the *ṣalawāt*. Jabartī (1756–1825), by keeping silent on the subject of this shaykh who was his contemporary and one of the main Khalwatī masters of his time, certainly chose to express his disdain of a saint whose horizons were more limited than his, or else he saw him as a competitor for his own shaykhs and friends. Probably, al-Ṣāwī deserved better. He had inherited Dardīr's courage to defend his entourage or those he believed belonged to this circle (the Cairenes, the Sufis, Muslims in general) against various and exceptional perils. His intense mystical life, based on his reputation and his holiness, did not prevent him from participating in political affairs, all the while refusing the possible nominations and gratifications (if we can trust the hagiography). This was true under the French and, later, under the Pasha of Egypt. His devotion to the Prophet became a political act during the Wahhābī period. Although Ibn Idrīs' hagiography places Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī as the herald of the traditions of Masters, of *madhhab*s, and of glosses against *ijtihād*, he gives him an abusively crepuscular role. While we do not have any writing on *ijtihād* from al-Ṣāwī's pen, there is good reason to say that with his works, acts, and his form of piety, al-Ṣāwī belongs to the Egyptian Sufi world of the 19th century; the rupture with previous models was, above all, political. In the 18th century, Zabīdī's itinerary, vast culture, and networks had established the depth and breadth of his world. Dardīr's world remained Ottoman but was also strongly Egyptian. Al-Ṣāwī's existence was confined to the borders established by the armies of Meḥmed ʿAlī.

CHAPTER 6

Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī and *Ḥadīth*

Thomas Eich

In this article, I analyze the role of *ḥadīth* (prophetic sayings) in the work of the eminent Rifāʿiyya Shaykh Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (d. 1909). My case-study comprises two books authored by Ṣayyādī himself and one ascribed to Abū Shujāʿ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1185), a disciple of the founder of the brotherhood, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī. All three were published in the 1890s, at the peak of al-Ṣayyādī's influence in Syria and Istanbul. I argue that these works are of specific interest because of their *isnād*s. A *ḥadīth* consists of two parts, a text (*matn*, "the saying") and a chain of transmitters (*isnād*) authorizing that text. The focus of most academic studies on *ḥadīth* is on the first centuries of its transmission. Research on *ḥadīth* often treats the *matn* as the *ḥadīth*-part carrying the actual message, while the *isnād* is mostly not viewed as a carrier of a significant message; scholars turn to the *isnād*s only as a means to establish when a given *ḥadīth* variant came into circulation, and to reconstruct its history of transmission. But as recent research has shown, *isnād*s can also be used to project a certain view of history, especially when the transmission lines integrate various authorities/transmitters into one framework, or when they ascribe opposing views to one and the same authorizing figure. This way, *isnād*s can be understood as serving a pivotal social function for a community, i.e. repairing or glossing over rifts that otherwise might have torn the community apart.[1] In a similar vein, my analysis of the three aforementioned *ḥadīth* books authored by Rifāʿī Sufis and published in the 1890s will show how those writings presented leading figures of legitimation within the Sufi Rifāʿiyya *ṭarīqa* around 1900 as nodes of *ḥadīth* transmission. In the three books, these figures are presented as bringing together two separate fields of this transmission that had existed separately for centuries. In addition, I will point to *ḥadīth* material with *isnād*s going back to the Shīʿī Imāms. I argue that this substantiates my previously-published argument that the Rifāʿiyya around 1900 constituted a sort of social linkage between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in the Arab Middle East, and particularly in Iraq.

1 See, for example, Scott Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, Hadith *Literature, and the Articulation of Sunni Islam: The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Maʿin, and Ibn Hanbal* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Herbert Berg, "The Isnād and the Production of Cultural Memory: Ibn ʿAbbās as a Case Study", *Numen* 58 (2011), 259–83.

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Research on Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī

Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Wādī al-Ṣayyādī, commonly known by his later eponym Abū l-Hudā, was born in 1850 into humble origins in the northern Syrian countryside. He forged a remarkable career in late Ottoman society and eventually became part of the entourage of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) in the late 1870s. Abū l-Hudā was a shaykh of the Rifāʿiyya and he became the *ṭarīqa*'s most prominent and influential figure in his time. Among other things, he secured exemption from military service for members of the larger Rifāʿī family in Syria and Iraq who could produce a testified *nasab*.[2] During the 1880s and into the 1890s, he commanded considerable influence in Istanbul, although later his influence waned.[3] He died shortly after the Young Turk coup d'état in 1909.

The ambiguous image of Ṣayyādī in historical scholarship is partly a reflection of the polarized stands his contemporaries took towards him. Often, he is described as a reactionary against the *tanzimat*-reforms and as an opponent of so-called Salafī thinkers of the late 19th and early 20th century.[4] In addition, he is often mentioned as an important person in the context of Abdülhamid II's pan-Islamic policy. I have previously argued that Abū l-Hudā owed important career moves to his contacts with *Tanzimat*-reformers, and pointed to those he had with personalities who would later on become known as representatives

2 This process of military exemption of Rifāʿīs started in 1885 (see Muharrem Varol, *II. Abdülhamid'in danışmanı Ebü'l-Huda Sayyadi'nin hayatı, eserleri ve tesirleri* [*1850–1909*] [unpublished master's dissertation, Marmara Universitesy, Istanbul 2004], 35, based on Ottoman archival sources). This disagrees with the "official Rifāʿī narrative" that the exemption was granted in 1889, as maintained in Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī: Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung sufischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003), 115–16, based on a publication by Abū l-Hudā. I kindly thank Muharrem Varol for sharing his work with me, as well as Tobias Völker for translating selected parts of it from Turkish.

3 See also Varol, *II. Abdülhamid'in*, 54–56, based on analysis of several petitions of Abū l-Hudā from the Ottoman archives, showing the first indications of losing influence as occurring roughly in 1893.

4 For a problematization of the use of the Salafi-label for turn-of-the-century thinkers such as ʿAbduh see Henri Lauzière, "The Construction of Salafiyya: Reconsidering Salafism from the Perspective of Conceptual History", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010), 369–89.

of Salafism. I also cautioned against overstating Abū l-Hudā's role in the late Ottoman Empire's pan-Islamic policy.[5]

The Rifāʿiyya and Ṣayyādī in late Ottoman times also had a role in Abdülhamid II's policy towards the Shīʿī population of Iraq. This was especially seen in the appointment of Rifāʿīs as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in several Iraqi districts with significant Shīʿī populations, including some of the shrine-cities. In all likelihood, this has to be viewed against the background of a clearly discernible relatedness of some Rifāʿī and Shīʿī rituals and teachings. To this can be added Rifāʿī poetry, which regularly addresses some of the Shīʿī Imāms and Fāṭima. There are descriptions of how some of this poetry was recited by 19th- and early 20th-century Rifāʿīs during their visits to Shīʿī shrines. In a social milieu with strong overlaps between Shīʿīsm and the Rifāʿiyya *ṭarīqa*, Sunnīs and Shīʿīs established and cherished social connections. These social connections could be a possible explanation for certain patterns of action during the 1920 Iraqi uprising against the British: Whereas one party, *al-ʿAhd*, which was led by a shaykh with a strong late-Ottoman anti-Shīʿī record, only mustered support from pre-dominantly Sunnī regions, the *Ḥaras al-istiqlāl*, with a mixed Sunnī-Shīʿī leadership and links to the aforementioned social milieux with overlaps to the Rifāʿiyya, extended their basis to Sunnīs and Shīʿīs alike and could thus significantly broaden the regional pattern of the uprisings.[6]

In what follows, I want to draw attention to Abū l-Hudā as a *ḥadīth* scholar by analyzing three Rifāʿiyya writings published in the 1890s, with particular focus on one of them, Abū l-Hudā's *Shifāʾ al-qulūb bi-kalām al-nabī al-maḥbūb* ["The Healing of the Hearts with the Speech of the Beloved Prophet"], published in 1895.[7] I will first briefly introduce *Shifāʾ al-qulūb* and situate it within

5 For a brief summary with further bibliography see Thomas Eich, "Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī", Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE, ed. by Kate Fleet et al., available at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-l-huda-al-sayyadi-SIM_0028, accessed June 10, 2015.

6 Thomas Eich, "Abū l-Hudā, the Rifāʿīya and Shiism in ḥamidian Iraq", *Der Islam* 80 (2003), 142–52, and Thomas Eich, "Patterns of the 1920 Rising in Iraq: The Rifaʿiyya Tariqa and Shiism", *Arabica* 56.1 (2009), 112–19. For Abū l-Hudā's many activities, my analysis of his network plus corrections of some aspects of my previous analysis in the light of new materials, see my "Publish or Perish in 19th-Century Sufism: New Materials on Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī", *Sufism and the Printing Press in the 19th Century*, ed. by Rachida Chih, Catherine Majeur-Jaouen, Rüdiger Seesemann (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 371–99.

7 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Wādī al-Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʿ al-qulūb bi-kalām al-nabī al-maḥbūb* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-falāḥ, 1313); re-edition by Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Saqbānī (Damascus: Maṭbūʿāt maktab al-zāwiyya, 2009). Unless otherwise indicated, I refer to the 2009 edition.

Abū l-Hudā's oeuvre. Then I will analyze the *isnād*s provided in the book and show how two authorizing figures from the Rifāʿiyya served as major nodes of transmission for Ṣayyādī: his Iraqi shaykh Muḥammad al-Rawwās (d. 1870) and Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d. 1182), the "founder" of the Rifāʿiyya. After this, I will introduce two further books into the analysis, Abū l-Hudā's *al-Nafaḥāt al-muḥammadiyya fī l-aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn al-aḥmadiyya* and the *Kitāb ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa maʿa Allāh* ascribed to Abū Shujāʿ Ibn Munajjiḥ al-Shāfiʿī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1185), a pupil of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d. 1182). These two books were published in 1895 and 1897 respectively. Taken together, the three books probably cover the bulk of specifically Rifāʿī contributions to *ḥadīth* scholarship in the late Ottoman Empire, and show the noteworthy presence of *isnād*s going back to Shīʿī Imāms. In sum, I will conclude that *ḥadīth* was one more field in which a relatedness of Rifāʿiyya and Shīʿa can be postulated.

Abū l-Hudā's Shaykh Rawwās and the *Shifāʾ al-qulūb*

The *Shifāʾ al-qulūb* was published in 1313 (1895/96) in Cairo, at the Maṭbaʿat al-falāḥ. This is remarkable because in the mid-1890s the newspaper *Jarīdat al-Falāḥ* had just published a series of articles in which Abū l-Hudā was severely criticized. In addition, as far as I can tell, Abū l-Hudā published only one book, the *Shifāʾ*, with Maṭbaʿat al-falāḥ. This breaks with a clearly discernable pattern in Ṣayyādī's publication record: usually he published several books in a row with only one or two publishing houses, and in a limited time span. Between 1311 and 1315 (1893/94 until 1898/99) these were al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿilmiyya (5 books in 1311–13) and al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿumūmiyya (4 books in 1315).[8] Thus, the publication of the *Shifāʾ* in the Maṭbaʿat al-falāḥ is unusual.[9]

The *Shifāʾ* is also exceptional to a certain degree in Abū l-Hudā's oeuvre with respect to the topic of *ḥadīth*. His only comparable book with a focus on *ḥadīth*, *al-Nafaḥāt al-muḥammadiya fī l-aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn al-aḥmadiya*, was also published in Cairo in 1313 (1895/96). With a view on the vast publication record of

8 These numbers refer to the books where I could unambiguously identify printing presses. See the bibliography provided in my "Publish or Perish", 390–99, for the respective years.

9 However, in the same year, 1313, another book was published at Jarīdat al-falāḥ press by a follower of Abū l-Hudā, including some links to larger debates about Ṣayyādī, the Rifāʿiyya, and their relation to the Qādiriyya, which were hotly contested issues between roughly 1885 and 1895: Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ālūsī, *Sharḥ al-qasīda al-qādiriyya*, ed. by ʿUthmān al-Mawṣulī (Cairo: Jarīdat al-falāḥ, 1313/1895–6). On the possible implications of this publication see my *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī*, 139–40 and my "Publish or Perish", 383 n. 66.

Abū l-Hudā in that time one should not overestimate this coincidence, but it seems obvious that in the mid-1890s Ṣayyādī paid greater attention to *ḥadīth* than in his earlier or later publications.

The *Shifā'* clearly ties in with Abū l-Hudā's publication strategies from the 1890s, namely his increased references to his shaykh, al-Rawwās. The representation of Rawwās went through several stages in Abū l-Hudā's work from the 1870s. In the beginning, he did not attribute any specific importance to this shaykh. Then, during the 1880s, Rawwās became an authorizing figure for his *aḥzāb*, i.e. the prayers supposedly composed by the founders of the *ṭarīqa* that the *murīd*s recite at the beginning of each *dhikr* session, together with verses of the Qur'ān.[10] In the third phase, from the 1890s, Abū l-Hudā published complete books by Rawwās and works about him. The elaboration of Rawwās's image in Ṣayyādī's texts aimed at legitimizing the latter as a leader within the Rifā'iyya: the Sufi chain of legitimation (*silsila*), which he, since the 1880s, claimed to have received from Rawwās, was more trans-regional than the regionalized northern-Syrian *silsila* that Ṣayyādī mentioned in his earlier writings.[11]

Abū l-Hudā's *Shifā'* demonstrates that he also used Rawwās for his authentication in the field of *ḥadīth*. The book is divided into 16 chapters and comprises roughly 160 *ḥadith*s.[12] For most of them, Abū l-Hudā does not provide an explicit *isnād*, but in ten cases an elaborate *isnād* is provided. I assign numbers to them based on the order of their appearance in the book, from 1 to 10.[13] *Isnād*s 6 and 8 are almost identical down to the collection of Tirmidhī. In all ten cases, the *isnād* goes first from Abū l-Hudā to his Shaykh Muḥammad al-Rawwās. After this they can be easily categorized into one of two groups: first, the group of *isnād*s going from Rawwās with an identical chain to Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 7), and, second, the group where they do not (nos 3, 6, 8, 9, 10). In the second group, Rawwās is said to have received the *isnād* from an Azhar shaykh, Thu'aylib Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Nāṣir al-Fashnī al-Ḍarīr (d. 1823) (nos 3, 6,

10 See MacDonald, D.B., "ḥizb", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*, ed. by P.J. Bearman, et al., available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.encyclopaediaofislamonline.emedien3.sub.uni-hamburg.de/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2-Glossary-and-Index-of-Terms/hizb-SIM_gi_01615, access January 28, 2016.

11 See my *Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī*, 73–76.

12 The editor of the 2009 re-publication of the *Shifā'*, Ḥasan al-Saqbānī, inserted an enumeration into the text counting 157 *ḥadīth*s, but the logic behind his differentiation is not always transparent.

13 Ṣayyādī, *Shifā' al-qulūb*, 17–18 (no. 1), 21–22 (no. 2), 31–32 (no. 3), 32 (no. 4), 43–44 (no. 5), 47–48 (no. 6), 55–56 (no. 7), 77–78 (no. 8), 92 (no. 9), 128–39 (no. 10). See the appendix for the details.

8, 9)[14] and/or Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sambāwī al-Mālikī al-Azharī al-shahīr bi-l-Amīr (d. 1817) (nos. 3, 6, 8, 10) (see table 1).[15] In terms of *isnād* criticism this might be viewed as problematic, because according to the standard biography of Rawwās he was born in 1805 in southern Iraq and then moved to the Ḥijāz at the age of 15; there, he spent several years before going to al-Azhar for 13 years.[16] In this time-frame, the *isnād* via Thuʿaylib might be considered possible (if the shaykh went to the Ḥijāz while Rawwās was there, or if Rawwās relocated to Egypt before Thuʿaylib's demise in 1823). But this is more difficult to conceive for Muḥammad al-Amīr, who died in 1817. Grossly speaking, the majority of "Azharī"-*isnād*s lead to a canonical collection (no. 3 to Bukhārī, 6 and 8 to Tirmidhī, 9 to Muslim), whereas the majority of the "Rifāʿī"-*isnād*s do not (only no. 1 to Bukhārī). There are other cases throughout the book in which reference is made to, e.g., Rawwās' *sanad* to Bukhārī and then simply to Bukhārī's *sanad* to an earlier transmitter such as Ibn Masʿūd or Abū Hurayra.[17] Additionally, there are cases where reference is simply made to Rawwās' *sanad* to an early transmitter but additional information on these *sanads* is not provided in the *Shifāʾ*.[18]

Of the ten cases with elaborate *isnād*s throughout the book, eight are positioned (almost) immediately at the beginning of a chapter, in one case

14 Abū l-Hudā refers to him as al-Fahhāma al-Shaykh Thuʿaylib (31), Walī Allāh Thuʿaylib (45 and 77), and al-Shaykh Thuʿaylib al-Azharī (92).

15 Ṣayyādi refers to him as Abū Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Miṣri (p. 31), adding Shaykh al-jāmiʿ al-Azhar on p. 128.

16 Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī*, 79.

17 Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʾ*, 64 (via Bukhārī to ʿUthmān, opens chapter 10 *Bāb fī qirāʾat al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*), 65–66 (Bukhārī to Ibn Masʿūd), 103ff (Bukhārī to ʿAlī), 105 (Bukhārī and Muslim to ʿĀʾisha, opens chapter 12 *Bāb fī luzūm al-tamassuk bi-l-sunna al-saniyya wa-l-tabāʿud ʿan al-bidaʿ al-qawliyya*), 122–23 (Muslim to Abū Dharr), and 138 (Tirmidhī to Anas). To these might be added two cases in which there is no explicit reference to a canonical collection but which might refer to such *isnād*s of Rawwās as referenced elsewhere in the book, 52 (*sanad* to Ibn Masʿūd might mean the *sanad* via Bukhārī to Ibn Masʿūd on page 65–66) and 78 (*sanad* to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, possibly the *sanad* via Bukhārī to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on 17–18).

18 Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʾ*, 28–29 (*sanad* to Muʿādh b. Jabal), 38 (to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar), 38 (via Suyūṭī to Abū Rāfiʿ), 39 (*ṭarīq* Ibn ʿUmar), 51 (via Ibrāhīm al-Rifāʿī to Abū Hurayra, also referred to on pages 54 and 55). The first opens chapter 3 *Bāb luzūm ḥaqq Allāh wa-ḥaqq rasūlihi*, the following three open chapter 6 *Bāb fī ḥifẓ ḥuqūq al-mashāyikh*, and the last is the first *isnād*—preceeded by two *ḥadīth*s without *isnād*—provided in chapter 8 *Bāb fī ṣiḥḥat al-yaqīn bi-waʿd Allāh taʿālā ʿalā lisān nabīhi wa-awliyāʾihi raḍiya Allāh ʿanhum*.

followed by another elaborate *isnād* (chapters 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 15).[19] To those might be added the short-cut-referenced *isnād*s of Rawwās just mentioned, which open chapters 3, 6, and 8. Taken together, this creates the strong impression that Rawwās' *isnād*s provide structure to the book and legitimize its individual chapters.

Analysis of the *isnād*s provided in the *Shifāʾ* shows clearly that they aim to establish Abū l-Hudā's Shaykh Rawwās as a *ḥadīth* transmitter. Additionally, they include the founder of the Rifāʿiyya, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, as a node of *ḥadīth* transmission. While Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī is mostly brought into connection with *ḥadīth* sources that are not included in the Sunnī canonical collections (of Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, and Ibn Māja), Rawwās' other *isnād*s are usually Azharī *isnād*s that go back to the canonical *ḥadīth* compilations. The introduction of Rawwās thus links transmission at an institution of *ʿilm* (al-Azhar; canonical) to transmission in the Sufi circles of the Rifāʿiyya (outside of the established canon). These two transmission lines provide Abū l-Hudā with a high degree of flexibility to employ various pools of *ḥadīth* for the attainment of specific goals, which will be discussed below.

This strategy of linking two transmission lines had considerable success: The last part of Abū l-Hudā's *Shifāʾ* mentions that after the final version had been prepared for print at the end of Ramaḍān 1313 (March 1896), the editors received poems in praise of the book, which they then added to the publication. The final print was completed in Dhū l-Qaʿda 1313, two months after the first publication.[20] Almost all of the nine works of praise were written by Azharī scholars, including Azhar's rector of the time, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Imbābī (d. 1896).[21]

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19 No. 1 (chapter 1): *Bāb fī ikhlāṣ al-nīya wa ṣidq al-muʿāmala li-bārrī al-birriyya* ("Rifāʿī"-*isnād*); No. 2 (chapter 2): *Bāb fī taqwā Allāh wa-l-khashiya minhu* ("Rifāʿī"-*isnād*); No. 3 (chapter 4): *Bāb fī maḥabbatihi ṣallā Allāh taʿālā ʿalayhi wa-sallama* ("Azharī"-*isnād*, No. 4 ["Rifāʿī"-*isnād*] is the second *ḥadīth* in this chapter); No. 6 (chapter 7): *Bāb fī ḥifẓ Allāh taʿālā fī l-ḥālayn: al-sirr wa-l-ʿalāniyya* ("Azharī"-*isnād*; positioned close to the chapter opening); No. 7 (chapter 9): *Bāb fī dhikr Allāh* ("Rifāʿī"-*isnād*); No.8 (chapter 11): *Bāb fī l-ṣalāt ʿalā l-nabī* ("Azharī"-*isnād*); No. 10 (chapter 15): *Bāb fī l-raḥma li-jamīʿ al-khalq kabīruhum wa ṣaghīruhum* ("Azharī"-*isnād*). Only two elaborate *isnād*s are placed in the midst of a chapter (No. 5 in chapter 6: *Bāb fī ḥifẓ ḥuqūq al-mashāyikh* ("Rifāʿī"-*isnād*); No. 9 in chapter 11: *Bāb fī l-ṣalāt ʿalā l-nabī* ("Azharī"-*isnād*).

20 Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʾ*, 142–63. For the date of the final print see the first edition, page 68.

21 On him see Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 12th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿilm lil-malāyīn, 1997), vol. 7, 75.

Abū l-Hudā's *Nafaḥāt* and Wāsiṭī's *Ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa*

I will now broaden the analysis by incorporating two further Rifāʿiyya books on *ḥadīth* published in the 1890s. I start with *al-Nafaḥāt al-muḥammadiyya fī l-aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn al-aḥmadiyya*, published in 1895 in Cairo. This book is a collection of 40 prophetic sayings transmitted through Abū l-Hudā's shaykh Rawwās. The booklet is of course a variant of the widespread "Forty *Ḥadīth*" genre, which is derived from the prophetic saying that the transmission of 40 *ḥadīth*s is particularly meritorious. Brief mention is also made of the famous "forty *ḥadīth*" collection of Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 1277).[22] However, here the topos of "40 Aḥmad-*ḥadith*s" (*aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn al-aḥmadiyya*), as encapsulated in book's title, refers to the report that Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d. 1182) had the habit of opening his sessions with a *ḥadīth*, which he then commented upon. These sessions were collected by one of Rifāʿī's followers, Abū Shujāʿ Ibn Munajjiḥ al-Shāfiʿī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1185) and compiled under the title *Kitāb ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa maʿa Allāh*. This book was published in 1897, two years after the publication of the *Nafaḥāt*, again in Cairo.[23] The *Nafaḥāt al-muḥammadiyya* provide Rawwās' *isnāds* for each of the 40 *ḥadīth*s from the *Kitāb ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa* (and the *matn*, of course), together with a very brief commentary. The *Nafaḥāt* is thus a book linking the *ḥadīth*s of the *Kitāb ḥalat ahl al-ḥaqīqa* with the present through documenting their transmission history up to the 1890s.

The publication of the *Nafaḥāt* in 1895 ties in with several patterns of the publication strategies of Abū l-Hudā at that time. First, it complements the simultaneously-published *Shifāʾ* in its obvious aim of presenting al-Ṣayyādī as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*. Even more than in the *Shifāʾ*, this goes together with a presentation of Rawwās as a *ḥadīth* transmitter. The importance of this focus on Rawwās is additionally highlighted by the fact that the *Nafaḥāt*'s publication preceded by two years that of the *Kitāb ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa* of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, the *ṭarīqa*'s founder. As mentioned above, Abū l-Hudā expanded the role of Rawwās in his writings of the 1890s, probably in order to bolster Abū l-Hudā's own legitimization as the overall leader of the Rifāʿiyya in the late Ottoman Empire. The presentation of Rawwās as a chief *ḥadīth*-transmitter for Abū l-Hudā (and thus within the Rifāʿiyya) through the publication of two books in the same year has to be seen in this context.

The *Nafaḥāt* provides additional material showing two separate transmission processes of *ḥadīth* bridged through Rawwās, in the same manner as that

22 Ṣayyādī, *al-Nafaḥāt*, 2–4.

23 See my "Publish or Perish", 395–96.

mentioned above with regards to Abū l-Hudā's *Shifā'*. At the beginning of the *Nafaḥāt*, Abū l-Hudā gives the *isnād* that links him, through Rawwās, with Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī for the 40 *ḥadīth*s; this is the same *isnād* as that given in the *Shifā'*.[24] The remainder of the book contains the different *isnād*s linking Rifāʿī with the Prophet, in addition to their *matn*s and a brief commentary for each of them. The final chapter provides additional *isnād*s through Rawwās (without any *matn*s). These *isnād*s are clearly presented in two groups. First, three transmission licenses (*ijāzāt*) Rawwās received from al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Baghdādī, al-Shaykh al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Rifāʿī al-Baṣrī the muftī of Baṣra (d. 1850),[25] and al-Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rāwī (d. ca. 1837).[26] One of these three transmitters, Ibrāhīm al-Rifāʿī, is the person through which Rawwās obtained all of the "Rifāʿiyya *ḥadīth*s". No *isnād* from the other two shaykhs (Baghdādī and Rāwī) to Rawwās is provided in the books analyzed here.

These are clearly *isnād*s Rawwās received in Iraq from Rifāʿiyya shaykhs. Next to this group of transmitters, the book mentions the two Azhar shaykhs, Muḥammad al-Amīr and Thuʿaylib, followed by Rawwās' *isnād*s to the *kutub al-ṣiḥāḥ*. Abū l-Hudā never fails to mention that Rawwās had several *isnād*s to the respective canonical collections, but he always just gives the Azharī *isnād* to *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīh Muslim*, *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, and *Sunan Ibn Māja*,[27] and never the Rifāʿiyya line of transmission to these well-known classics. This feature strengthens the conclusion drawn from the *Shifā'*, namely that Rawwās' *isnād*s to canonical collections were Azharī *isnād*s, and were clearly perceived as such by Abū l-Hudā himself.[28] This presentation of *isnād*s without *matn* also substantiates the point that, at the time, it was fundamental for Ṣayyādī to present himself as a person "having" those *isnād*s, demonstrating that he was linked to major sources and authorities in *ḥadīth* transmission. In other words: the *isnād*s were carrying a major message.

The *Nafaḥāt* also tie in with a further pattern of the publication strategies of Abū l-Hudā at that time: After the *isnād*s, he provides the *silsila* of his *ijāza* for

24 Ṣayyādī, *al-Nafaḥāt*, 5.

25 On his biography see ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nuʿmān al-Ālūsī, *al-Durr al-muntathar fī rijāl al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar wa-l-thālith ʿashar*, ed. by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ālūsī (Baghdad, 1967), 108.

26 On him see Ibrahīm al-Rāwī, *Bulūgh al-ʿarab fī tarjumat al-Sayyid Rajab wa-dhurriyatuhu ahl al-ḥasab* (Beirut: Maṭbaʿat Jarīdat al-Iqbāl, n.d.) (manuscript finished in 1333/1914), 58ff.

27 Ṣayyādī, *al-Nafaḥāt*, 35 (Bukhārī, Muslim), 36 (Tirmidhī), 36–37 (Nasā'ī), 37 (Ibn Māja).

28 Ṣayyādī, *al-Nafaḥāt*, 34–37.

Sufism (*ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*), and this Rifāʿiyya *silsila* is almost identical with the *isnād* for the "Rifāʿiyya-*ḥadīth*s".[29]

Later, Abū l-Hudā provides the two *silsila*s mentioned above: first, the more trans-regional line documented in later writings from the 1880s, and then the more regional northern Syrian *silsila* that Abū l-Hudā mentioned in his earlier publications.[30] The first one is clearly indicated as more important. After several sections with additional information on Ṣayyādī's three ways by which he received the *khirqa* (pp. 39–42), praise of Abū l-Hudā by the person responsible for the print (43–44), and a bibliography of Ṣayyadī's writings (44–46), the text also offers his genealogy (*nasab*) (46–47), before the table of contents at the end of the book (48). This means that after the primary focus of the book on Abū l-Hudā's *ḥadīth isnād*s, his Sufi chains of authorization plus his *nasab* are also meticulously recounted. This *nasab* overlaps with the *silsila* to a certain degree (see below). Thus, the person who reads or hears the text of the *Nafaḥāt* from start to end will constantly encounter very similar chains of names that always link Abū l-Hudā with a source of authority, by *isnād*, *silsila*, and *nasab*; consequently, *ḥadīth*, Sufism and the status of Sayyid are all combined in the person of Ṣayyādī.

Shīʿī *ḥadīth* in the Three Books

In this final section, I will focus on a specific group of *ḥadīth*s in the analyzed publications. These are *ḥadīth*s that include a number of Shīʿī Imāms in their *isnād*s. Four such *ḥadīth*s can be found in the *Ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa*, and therefore also in the *Nafaḥāt*;[31] Shīʿī Imāms feature in 10 per cent of the *ḥadīth*s contained in the respective books. All of the *isnāds* are linked to Muḥammad and lead from him through the line of Twelver Shīʿī Imāms up to the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim, with one of them going further to the eighth Imām, ʿAlī al-Riḍā (all of them bypassing al-Ḥasan).[32] The *isnād* that includes ʿAlī al-Riḍā

29 The only difference is that in this chain a Jamāl al-Dīn al-Salīmī al-Rifāʿī is mentioned between Sirāj al-Dīn al-Rifāʿī thumma al-Makhzūmī and Sayyid Quṭb al-Dīn b. al-Rifāʿī.

30 Ṣayyādī, *al-Nafaḥāt*, 37–39. On the two *sisila*s in Abū l-Hudā's, see my *Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī*, 73–76.

31 Wāsiṭī, *Ḥālat ahl al-ḥaqīqa*, 74 (*ḥadīth* no. 18), 118–19 (no. 29, identical with Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʾ*, 55), 152 (no. 38, *isnād* identical with no. 18), 156 (no. 39), matching Ṣayyādī, *Nafaḥāt*, 17–18, 25–26, 31, 32.

32 Ṣayyādī, *Nafaḥāt*, 25–26.

goes further through the latter's brother and remains explicitly a "family *isnād*" up to the point where it reaches a certain Sayyid Thābit, who is separated from ʿAlī al-Riḍā by eleven generations. This *isnād* has the most significant overlaps with Abū l-Hudā's *nasab* provided at the end of the *Nafaḥāt*, whereas in the other cases the overlap ends with Imām Mūsā. Within the *isnād*s there are occasionally sobriquets for Imāms, such as "the Martyr" (*al-shahīd*) for Mūsa al-Kāẓim, or *al-shahīd al-maẓlūm* ("the martyr killed by oppression") for Ḥusayn.[33] It has to be kept in mind that in Twelver Shīʿī thought, a statement of an Imām is authoritative in its own right, and would not need an *isnād* reaching back to Muḥammad. For this reason, Shīʿī *ḥadīth* compilations mostly do not have such *isnād*s.[34]

What we are observing in these works is, therefore, a curious mix of *isnād*s leading to early authorities of transmission common for Sunnī *ḥadīth* (such as Bukhārī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī or Ḥudhayfa)[35] with *isnād*s following an entire line of transmission through to the line of the first seven or eight Imams of Twelver Shīʿism. I suggest that this feature is indicative of the existence of the aforementioned Rifāʿiyya-related social milieu in which Sunnīs and Shīʿīs established and cherished social connections. In these *isnād*s—all of which are "Rifāʿiyya-*isnād*s"—Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī is therefore presented as a nodal point linking the early transmitters of *ḥadīth* considered trustworthy by the Sunnī community of Abū l-Hudā's lifetime with those forming the core of early *ḥadīth* transmission for the Shīʿīs.[36]

Against this background I want to get back to the *Shifāʾ*, where Abū l-Hudā provided a Shīʿī *isnād* to *ḥadīth* no. 7 (see table 1). This *ḥadīth* has the aforementioned *isnād* that includes the line of the Imāms from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 818). The *isnād* opens the "Chapter on the Remembrance of Allah" (*Bāb fī dhikr Allāh*), and states that Gabriel told Muḥammad that God had told him: "The expression 'there is no God but God' is my castle. Who pronounces [this formula] enters my castle; and who enters my castle becomes safe from my punishment".[37]

33 Ṣayyādī, *Nafaḥāt*, 18.

34 R.P. Buckley, "Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq as a Source of Shīʿī Traditions", *The Islamic Quarterly* 43.1 (1999), 37–58, pp. 37–38.

35 See Ṣayyādī, *Nafaḥāt*, 14–16, for example.

36 This aspect is strengthened by the recounting of Abū l-Hudā's *salāsil* and his Sharifan *nasab* at the end of the *Nafaḥāt*, which always go back to Shīʿī Imāms (and not only ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who is of course strongly revered by Sunnīs in general).

37 Ṣayyādī, *Shifāʾ*, 55.

I assume that the particular positioning of this *ḥadīth* at the beginning of the chapter is a way of signaling its specific importance for the chapter's subject (which is closely related to the Sufi practice of *dhikr*). I furthermore suppose that the author, as well his intended audience, must have been aware that its *isnād* provides a clear link to the Shīʿa. Based on these two assumptions, I envisage two levels of interpretation of this *ḥadīth*, one general and one linked to Sufi ritual.

On the first level, the construction of mixed Sunnī-Shīʿa *isnād*s makes a statement that in one of the most fundamental aspects of their religious beliefs, Shīʿīs and Sunnīs are in agreement. This is remarkable in the specific context of the late Ottoman Empire in the 1890s. During the 19th century, the religious make-up of the population of the Iraqi provinces of the Ottoman Empire shifted significantly through a wave of conversions to Shīʿism, which occurred especially in the process of sedentarization of large population groups.

From the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire had positioned itself as a thoroughly Sunnī power, while Iran, its immediate neighbor and fierce competitor for regional hegemony, had become predominantly Shīʿī in this period. Much of the fighting between the two empires took place in Iraq. Against this background, the significant growth of a Shīʿī Iraqi population during the 19th century constituted a significant problem for the Ottomans, and they launched campaigns against Iraq's "Shiʿitization", albeit with meager results.[38]

This leads to my second level of interpretation. Elsewhere, I argued that Ottoman support for the Rifāʿiyya was part of those political measures that aimed at cultivating a milieu of Shīʿī-Sunnī interaction, and that for these measures the Ottoman establishment worked through Abū l-Hudā, as the Rifāʿiyya's leader.[39] This interaction was most visible in rituals. Here, the "remembering of the name of God" (*dhikr Allāh*) also has a pivotal place. I would therefore argue that the placing of the aforementioned *ḥadīth* with a Shīʿī *isnād* at the beginning of the chapter about *dhikr Allāh* was meant as a strong statement by one of the general leading religious figures of the late Ottoman Empire that Sunnīs and Shīʿīs agree on the fundamental issues in their respective creeds. This points to the role of Abū l-Hudā and the Rifāʿiyya in Hamidian politics as a linkage between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in Iraq, where the Rifāʿiyya had most of its shrines and followers, and where we must assume Abū l-Hudā wanted these books to be read.

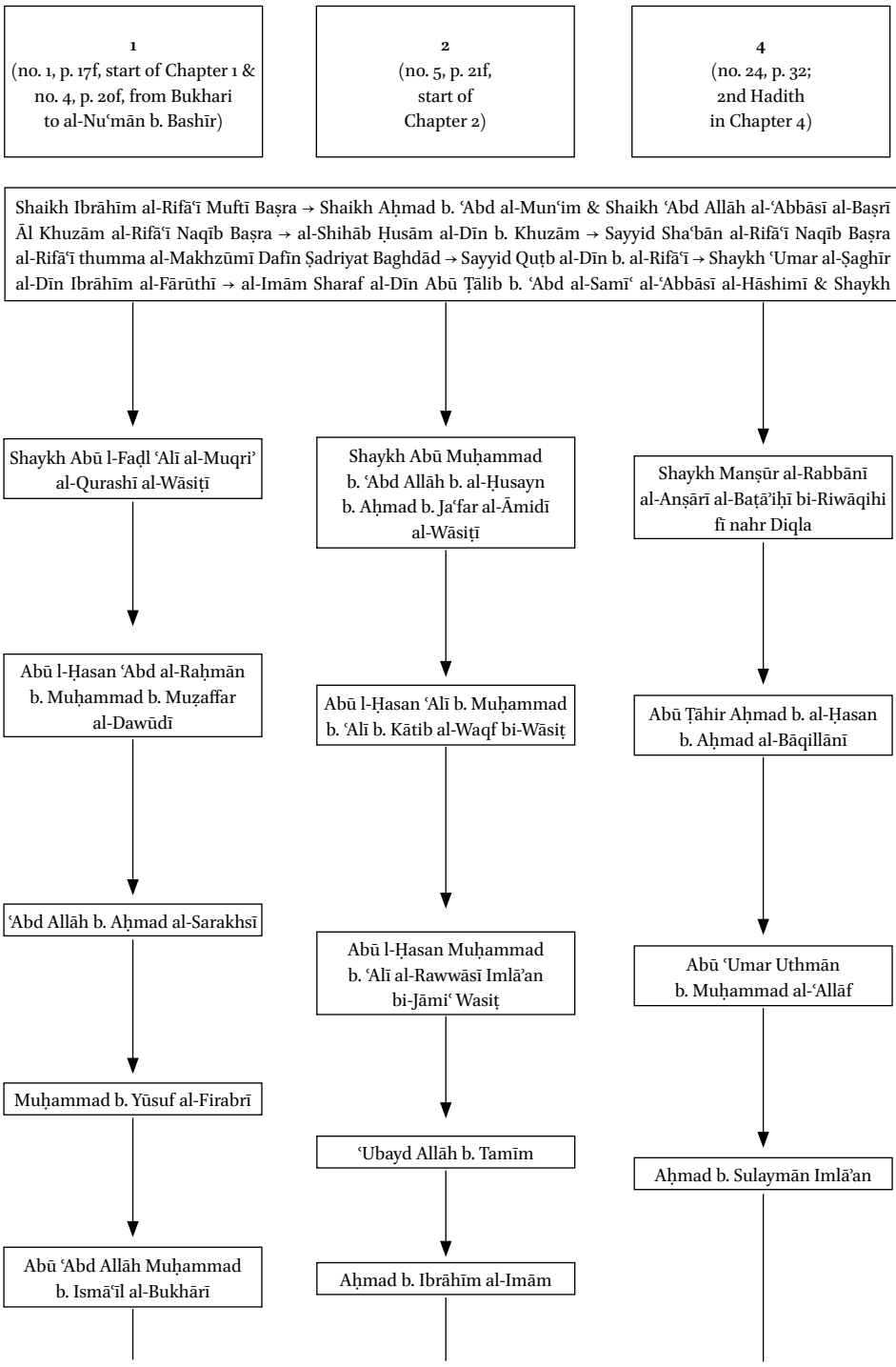
38 Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London: I.B Tauris, 1998).

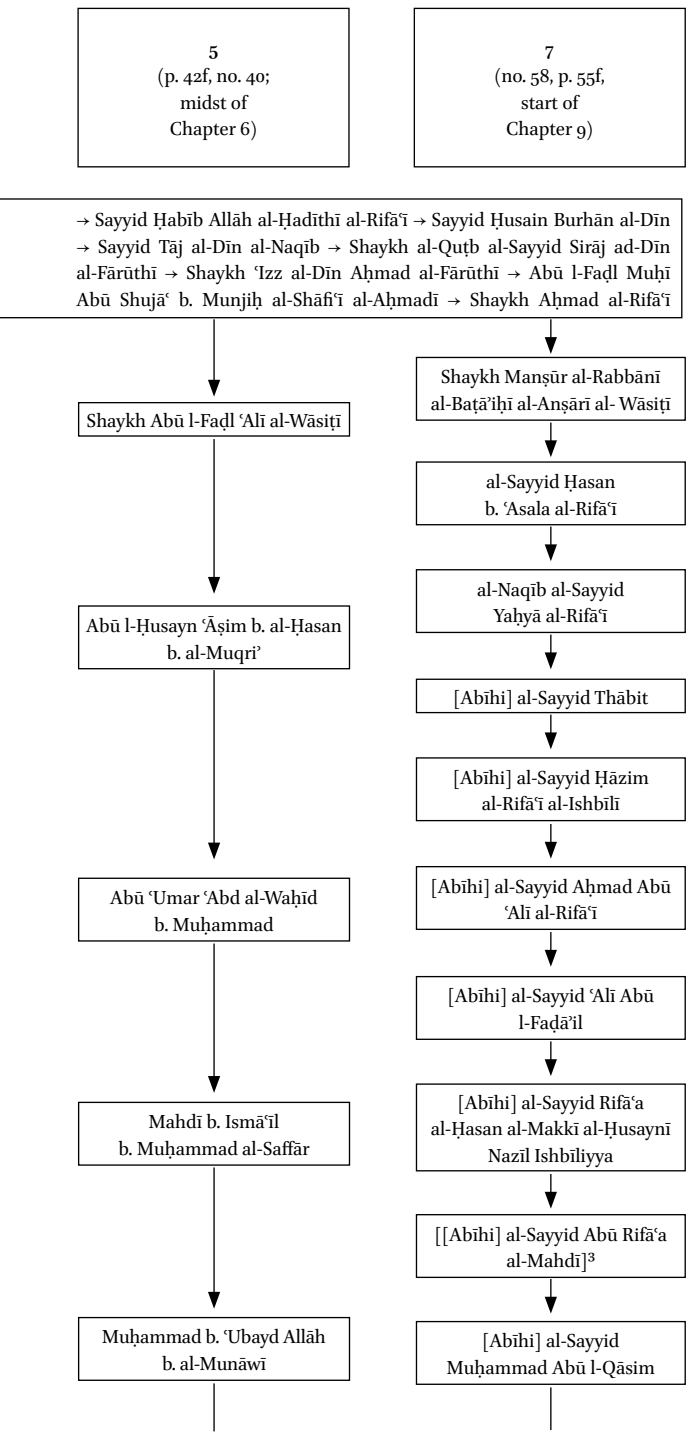
39 Eich, "Abū l-Hudā, the Rifāʿiya and Shiism in Ḥamidian Iraq".

Conclusion

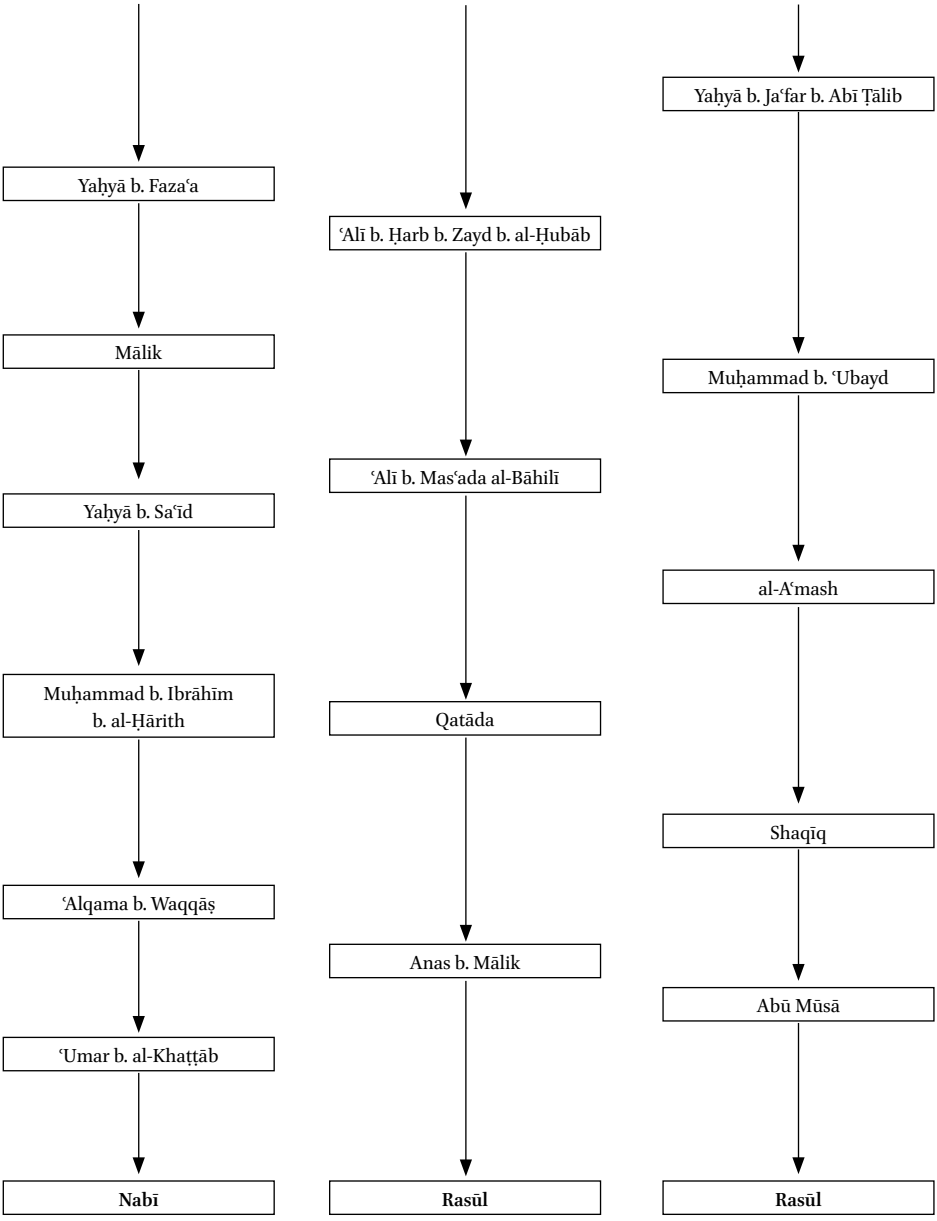
In the mid-1890s, the publication activities of the Rifāʿiyya put particular emphasis on the field of *ḥadīth*, with three publications in three years. The *isnād*s in these publications are clearly divided into two groups. One group linked Abū l-Hudā and his shaykh, Rawwās, through Azharī scholars to the canonical collections. The other group were *isnād*s from Abū l-Hudā and Rawwās to Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (always with the same chain of transmitters), fanning out after Rifāʿī to earlier authorities. This group mostly authorized material from outside of the canon. Therefore, Rawwās and consequently Abū l-Hudā were portrayed not only as *ḥadīth* transmitters in their own right, but also as bridging the two lines of transmission, which appears to have been disconnected so far. In addition, a noticeable percentage of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* could be identified in the corpus. This further substantiates my earlier thesis of a certain closeness between the Rifāʿiyya and Shīʿism, which partly explains the significant support from the late Ottoman state towards the Rifāʿiyya.

Group 1 of isnāds *going from Rawwās with an identical chain to Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī*

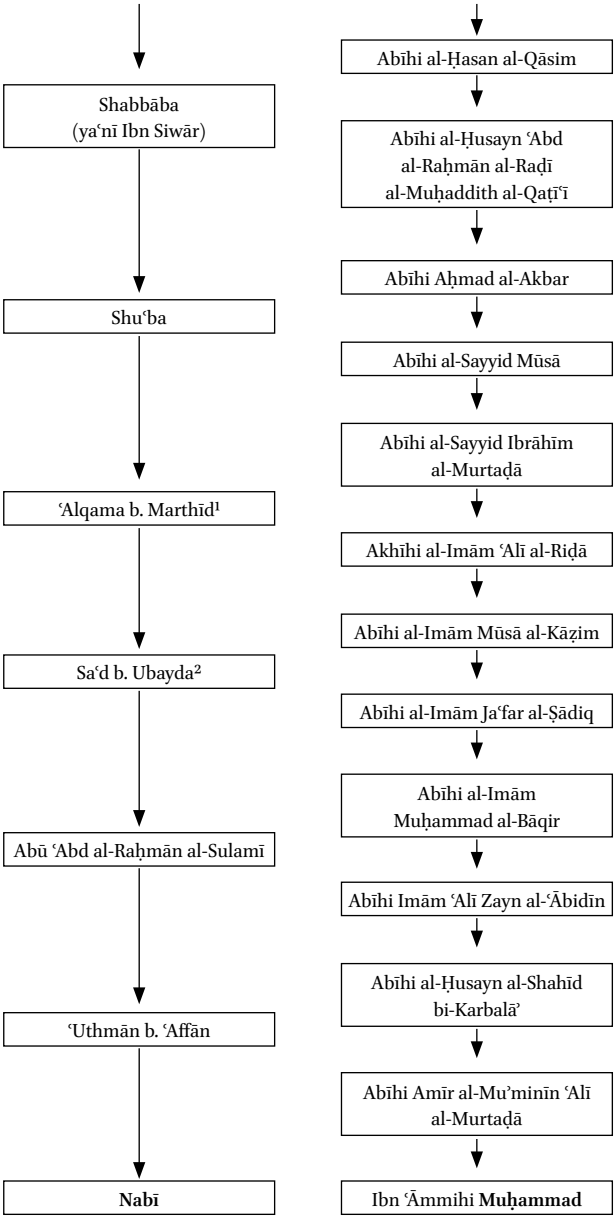



5
(p. 42f, no. 40;
midst of
Chapter 6)
7
(no. 58, p. 55f,
start of
Chapter 9)
→ Sayyid Ḥabīb Allāh al-Ḥadīthī al-Rifāʿī → Sayyid Ḥusain Burhān al-Dīn → Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn al-Naqīb → Shaykh al-Quṭb al-Sayyid Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Fārūthī → Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fārūthī → Abū l-Faḍl Muḥī Abū Shujāʿ b. Munjiḥ al-Shāfiʿī al-Aḥmadī → Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī
Shaykh Manṣūr al-Rabbānī al-Baṭāʾiḥī al-Anṣārī al- Wāsiṭī
Shaykh Abū l-Faḍl ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī
al-Sayyid Ḥasan b. ʿAsala al-Rifāʿī
al-Naqīb al-Sayyid Yaḥyā al-Rifāʿī
Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿĀṣim b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muqriʾ
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Thābit
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Ḥāzim al-Rifāʿī al-Ishbīlī
Abū ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Waḥīd b. Muḥammad
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Aḥmad Abū ʿAlī al-Rifāʿī
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid ʿAlī Abū l-Faḍāʾil
Mahdī b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Saffār
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Rifāʿa al-Ḥasan al-Makkī al-Ḥusaynī Nazīl Ishbīliyya
[[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Abū Rifāʿa al-Mahdī][3]
Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Munāwī
[Abīhi] al-Sayyid Muḥammad Abū l-Qāsim

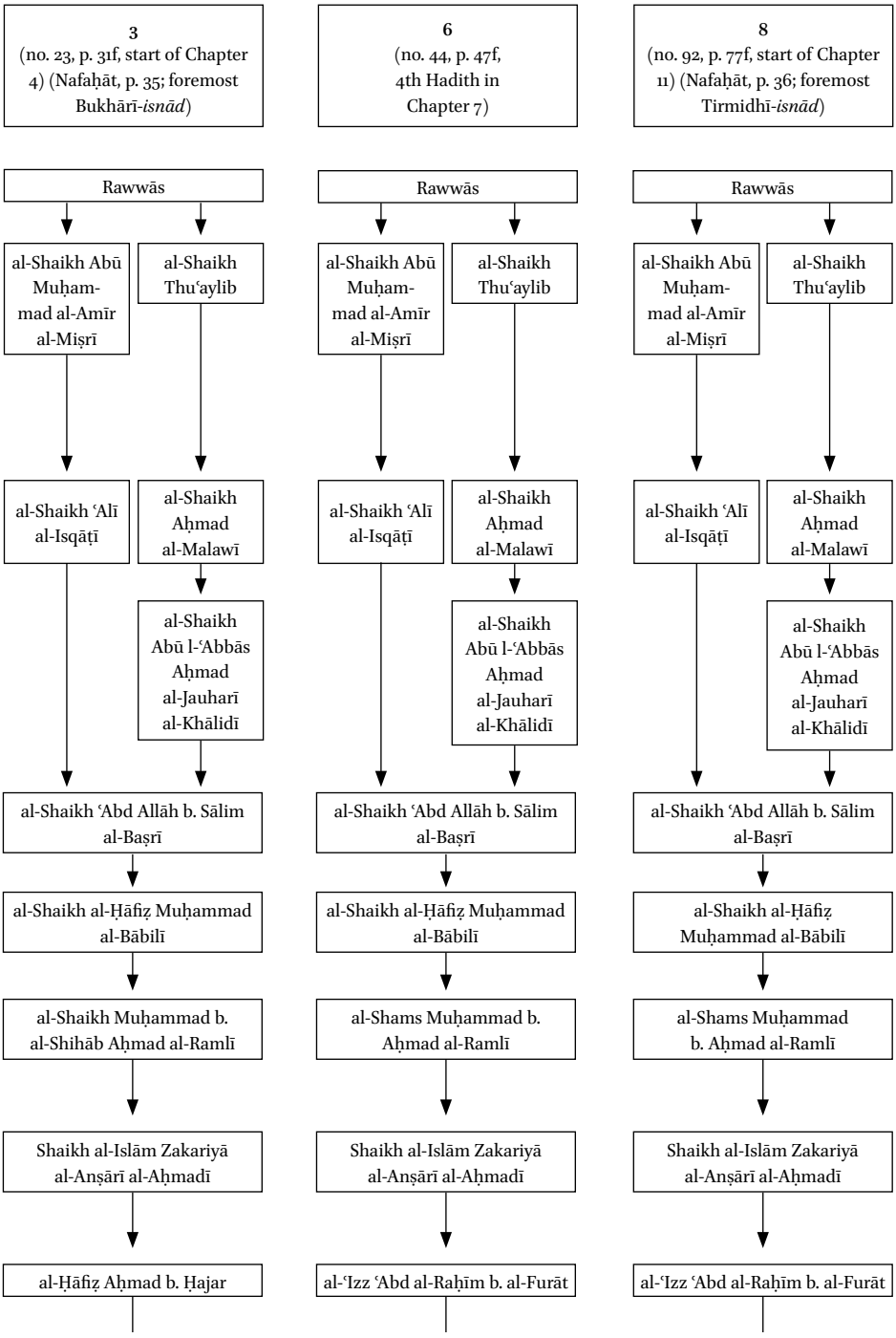
Group 1 of isnāds *going from Rawwās* (cont.)

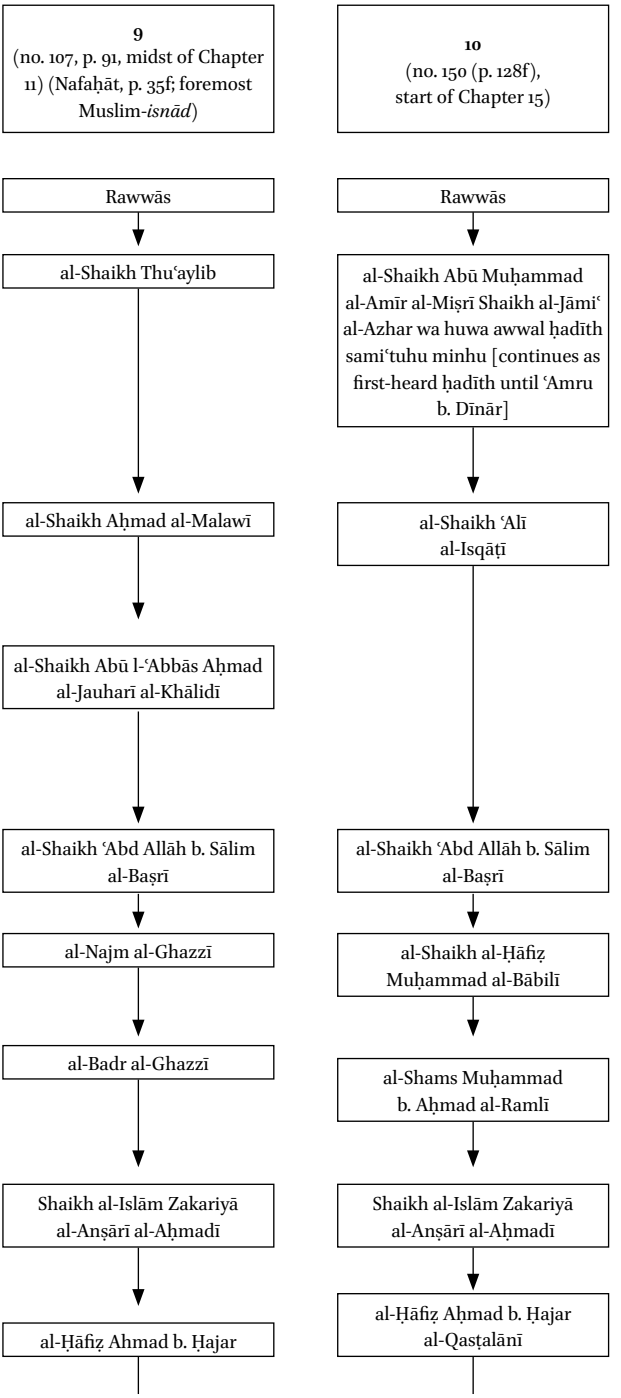


1 Correted by 2009 editor Saqbānī from: Shu'ba b. 'Alqama b. Mazīd in the 1890s original.
2 Corrected by 2009 editor Saqbānī from: Sa'īd in the 1890s original.
3 Added by 2009 editor Saqbānī with reference to other 19th century Rifā'iyya publications.

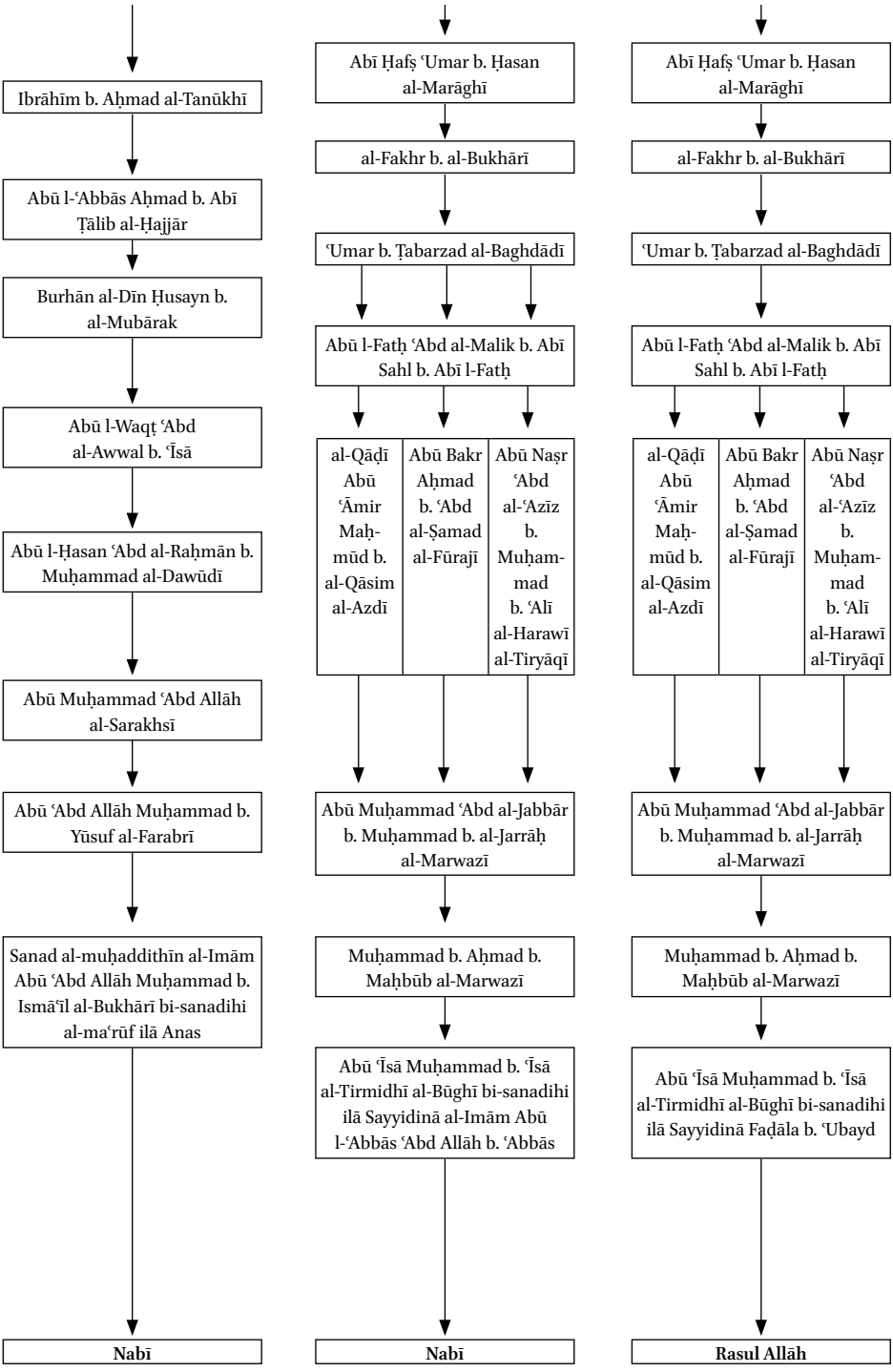

Shabbāba
(yaʿnī Ibn Siwār)
Shuʿba
ʿAlqama b. Marthīd[1]
Saʿd b. Ubayda[2]
Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī
ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān
Nabī
Abīhi al-Ḥasan al-Qāsim
Abīhi al-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Raḍī al-Muḥaddith al-Qaṭīʿī
Abīhi Aḥmad al-Akbar
Abīhi al-Sayyid Mūsā
Abīhi al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā
Akhīhi al-Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā
Abīhi al-Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim
Abīhi al-Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq
Abīhi al-Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir
Abīhi Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
Abīhi al-Ḥusayn al-Shahīd bi-Karbalāʾ
Abīhi Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā
Ibn ʿĀmmihi Muḥammad

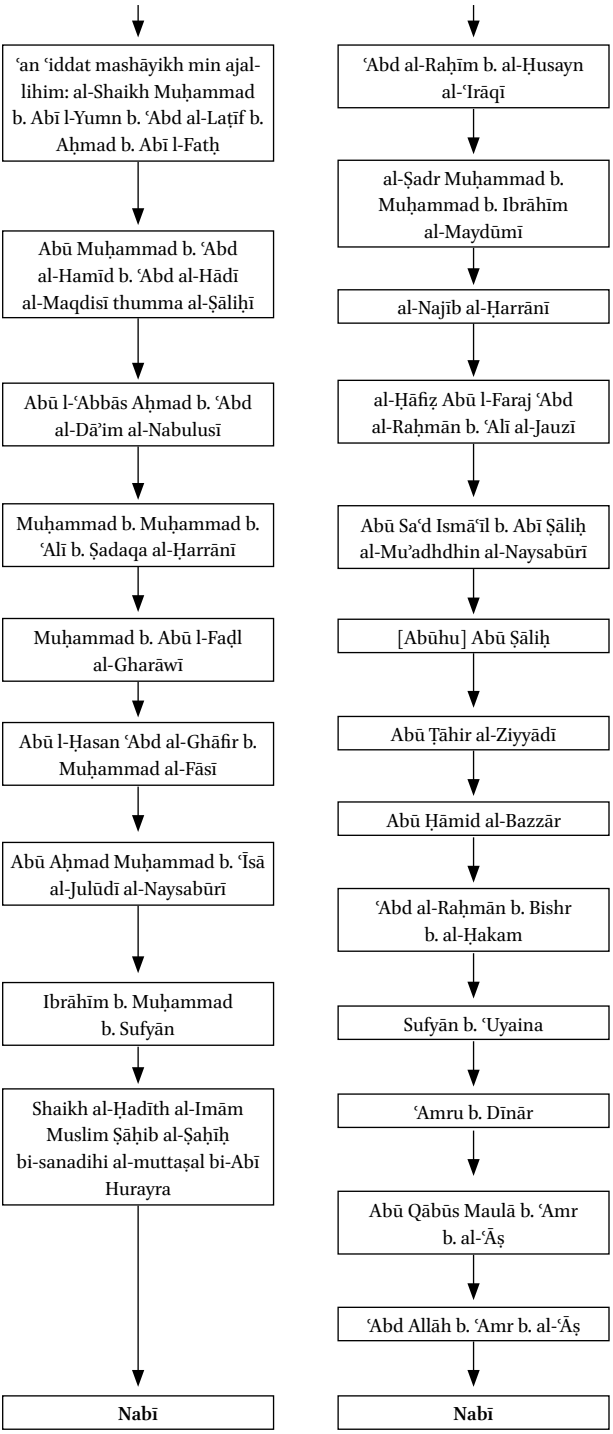
Group 2 of isnāds *that Rawwās received from Thuʿaylib Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Nāṣir al-Fashnī al-Ḍarīr* (*d. 1823*) *and / or Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sanbāwī al-Mālikī al-Azharī al-shahīr bi-l-Amīr* (*d. 1817*) [*mostly to canonical collections*]




9
(no. 107, p. 91, midst of Chapter 11) (Nafaḥāt, p. 35f; foremost Muslim-*isnād*)
10
(no. 150 (p. 128f), start of Chapter 15)
Rawwās
Rawwās
al-Shaikh Thuʿaylib
al-Shaikh Abū Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Miṣrī Shaikh al-Jāmiʿ al-Azhar wa huwa awwal ḥadīth samiʿtuhu minhu [continues as first-heard ḥadīth until ʿAmru b. Dīnār]
al-Shaikh Aḥmad al-Malawī
al-Shaikh ʿAlī al-Isqāṭī
al-Shaikh Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Jauharī al-Khālidī
al-Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī
al-Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī
al-Najm al-Ghazzī
al-Shaikh al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad al-Bābilī
al-Badr al-Ghazzī
al-Shams Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ramlī
Shaikh al-Islām Zakariyā al-Anṣārī al-Aḥmadī
Shaikh al-Islām Zakariyā al-Anṣārī al-Aḥmadī
al-Ḥāfiẓ Ahmad b. Ḥajar
al-Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Qasṭalānī

Group 2 of isnāds *that Rawwās received from Thuʿaylib Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Nāṣir* (cont.)




ʿan ʿiddat mashāyikh min ajal-lihim: al-Shaikh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Yumn b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Fatḥ
Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī thumma al-Ṣāliḥī
Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nabulusī
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī
Muḥammad b. Abū l-Faḍl al-Gharāwī
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī
Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī al-Naysabūrī
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān
Shaikh al-Ḥadīth al-Imām Muslim Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaḥīḥ bi-sanadihi al-muttaṣal bi-Abī Hurayra
Nabī
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī
al-Ṣadr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maydūmī
al-Najīb al-Ḥarrānī
al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Jauzī
Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Muʾadhdhin al-Naysabūrī
[Abūhu] Abū Ṣāliḥ
Abū Ṭāhir al-Ziyyādī
Abū Ḥāmid al-Bazzār
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr b. al-Ḥakam
Sufyān b. ʿUyaina
ʿAmru b. Dīnār
Abū Qābūs Maulā b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ
Nabī

CHAPTER 7

Sayfallāh-Qāḍī Bashlarov: Sufi Networks between the North Caucasus and the Volga-Urals

Shamil Shikhaliev and Michael Kemper[1]

This paper is about two regional Naqshbandiyya groups in the late Russian Empire—one in the Tatar and Bashkir lands of the Volga-Urals, and the other in the multi-ethnic North Caucasus—and how they got in touch and became, for a short period, connected. These inter-regional Sufi links were established through active networking, and found their reflection in Arabic-language *ijāza* documents; these are the "licenses to teach" that individual Sufi masters issue to their disciples, and also, as we will see, to senior visitors. *Ijāza*s are therefore central to our analysis of Sufi networks.

Traditions of Sufism in the greater Volga area (from Nizhnii Novgorod, through Kazan and Samara down to Astrakhan), in the Urals (Bashkortostan and adjacent regions), and in Daghestan have so far been studied independently from each other, and often from ethnic and national perspectives. But in the late 19th and early 20th century the Daghestani and Tatar Sufi lines were becoming increasingly connected. This interaction between Islamic elites of the late Russian Empire was, ironically, facilitated by Russian military and administrative policies: the conquest of Daghestan and Chechnya, which dragged on for decades and was completed only in the early 1860s, drew the North-East Caucasus into the imperial fold, and many Daghestanis, whether rebels or not, were exiled to the Volga lands,[2] where they came into contact with Tatar Islamic authorities.[3] But, above all, the new Sufi connections resulted from

1 We express our sincere gratitude to Alfrid Bustanov (St. Petersburg/Amsterdam) for his handwritten copy of the St. Petersburg manuscript that we analyze below. Rasūlī's *ijāza*s for Bashlarov the three of us discovered together in a Makhachkala apartment. Research for this paper was funded by the Russian Scientific Foundation for the Humanities (RGNF, project no. 15-01-00389) and by the Dutch Scientific Organization (program "The Russian Language of Islam").

2 Austin Jersild, "Imperial Russification: Dagestani Mountaineers in Russian Exile, 1877–83", *Central Asian Survey* 19.1 (2000), 5–16.

3 Michael Kemper, "Daghestani Shaykhs and Scholars in Russian Exile: Networks of Sufism, Fatwas and Poetry", *Daghestan and the World of Islam*, ed. by Moshe Gammer and David J. Wasserstein (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2006), 95–107.

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some outstanding Sufi masters' active searches for *ijāza*s, that is, for additional Sufi affiliations and teaching licenses on top of those they already had from their home regions. The central personality in our story, both as a recipient of *ijāza*s and as their transmitter, is Sayfallāh Qāḍī Bashlarov (1853–1919), who, during his many travels and the jobs he had in various places, established a network that ranged from the Caucasus to Siberia, and from Kazan and Astrakhan to Kazakhstan. Bashlarov gathered *ijāza*s that allowed him to simultaneously act as a master of the Naqshbandiyya (in various lines), the Shādhiliyya, and the Qādiriyya Sufi brotherhoods.[4]

This contribution starts with a brief exposition of the various Sufi scenes in Daghestan and in the Volga-Urals up to the late 19th century and then provides a short sketch of Bashlarov's wanderings. Subsequently, we focus on his relations with three important Tatar Sufi masters:

1) Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī (Kamalov, 1804–1893), who resided in Chistopol in present-day Tatarstan;
2) Zaynallāh Rasūlī (Rasulev, 1833–1917), who had a well-known Sufi center in Troitsk, east of the Ural Mountains (today in the Cheliabinsk region); and
3) Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ajawī al-Kirmānkhānī, a Tatar Sufi master from the Kasimov region of Inner Russia who provided Bashlarov with an *ijāza* of the Shādhiliyya brotherhood, which Bashlarov then brought to Daghestan, where the Shādhiliyya had hitherto been absent. Based on this *ijāza*, Bashlarov and his disciple Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī (1852–1937) integrated Shādhiliyya elements into their Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya teaching; the result is the curious combination of Shādhiliyya and Khālidiyya practices and transmission lines that is today the dominant form of Sufism in the Republic of Daghestan.

We found these documents bound together in two Arabic manuscript volumes in which various *ijāza*s were collected; one of these *ijāza*s, concerning the Shādhiliyya, we translate in full.

4 Shamil Shikhaliev, "Saipulla-kadi", *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, ed. by Stanislav M. Prozorov, fascicle 4 (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura RAN, 2003), 72–73; Shamil Shikhaliev, "Bashlarov", *Bol'shaia rossiiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Bol'shaia Rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, 2006), vol. 4, 146.

Naqshbandiyya Sufism in Daghestan and in the Tatar Lands

The development of Sufism in both Daghestan and the Volga-Urals has been shaped by the Naqshbandiyya at least since the early 19th century. In the Middle Volga area and the Urals, the Naqshbandiyya came in the guise of its Mujaddidiyya branch, from Central Asia, where it had become widespread at least since the 18th century. Tatar students of Islam who studied in Central Asia were initiated into the Mujaddidiyya by a number of important (but still little-studied) Sufi masters, above all Niyāzqulī b. Shāhniyāz al-Turkmānī (d. 1821, a Turkmen shaykh who taught in Bukhara),[5] and Fayḍkhān b. Khiḍrkhān al-Kābulī (d. 1801, a famous master in Kabul). We know of more than a dozen Tatar students who claimed to be affiliated to these two masters, and who, upon returning to their native villages in the Volga-Urals, spread these Mujaddidiyya links among their own students.[6] The Mujaddidiyya's impact was so powerful that it completely overshadowed whatever Sufi links had existed in Tatar lands before the advent of this brotherhood; at least, the available Tatar biographical dictionaries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries have little to tell about such older Sufi lines.[7] What we do know, however, is that in the late 18th and early 19th centuries some Tatar scholars used to visit Daghestan while on the *ḥajj* to Mecca,[8] and some of them might have studied with local scholars; but whether they picked up Sufi links in Daghestan, or further on in Anatolia, our sources do not tell. Other Central Asian Sufi brotherhoods, like the Yasawiyya and Suhrawardiyya, might also have had adepts in the Volga region, yet little is known about such links in the modern period.

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5 On Niyāzqulī, see Anke von Kügelgen, "Die Entfaltung der Naqšbandīya muǧaddidīya im mittleren Transoxanien vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Stück Detektivarbeit", *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), 101–51, esp. 131–36.

6 Michael Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789–1889. Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998), 91–92.

7 The core corpus of these biographical dictionaries are Muḥammad Murād al-Ramzī, *Talfīq al-akhbār wa-talqīḥ al-āthār fi waqā'i' Qazān wa-Bulghār wa-mulūk al-Tatār*, 2 vols (Orenburg: Karimov and Khusainov, 1908); Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marjānī, *Mustafād al-akhbār fi aḥwāl Qazān wa-Bulghār*, 2 vols (Kazan: Universitet, 1880 and 1885); and Riḍā' al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, *Āthār*, two vols of 15 fascicles, vol. 1 (Kazan: Universitet, 1900), vol. 2 (Orenburg: Karimov, 1901–8). The latter two have seen re-editions in modern Tatar.

8 On Muslim scholars of the Volga-Urals who studied in Daghestan, see al-Ramzī, *Talfīq al-akhbār* vol. 2, 410, 411, 414, 413, 422, 425, 427, 475; al-Marjānī, *Mustafād al-akhbār* vol. 2, 161–63.

In Daghestan, too, the Naqshbandiyya eclipsed the Sufi schools that had had adherents there before the early 19th century.[9] Yet here the Naqshbandiyya came in the form of the Khālidiyya, itself an offshoot of the Mujaddidiyya, and it arrived not from Central Asia but from the Ottoman Empire. All Daghestani Khālidiyya branches trace their origin back to Ismāʿīl al-Kurdamīrī (d. 1277/1860–61),[10] who was a disciple and *khalīfa* (that is, possessor of a general *ijāza*) of the famous Mawlānā Khālid al-Baghdādī (d. 1827), the namesake of the Khālidiyya.[11]

Ismāʿīl al-Kūrdamīrī originated from the South Caucasus village of Kurdamir (in present-day Azerbaijan). In the early 1820s, he initiated and provided *ijāza*s to several disciples from southern Daghestan, and from there the Khālidiyya branch quickly spread northwards into the Avar mountains. In the period of the Imāmate—the *jihād* movement against the Russian conquest of the Daghestani mountains—two of the three *jihād* Imāms, Ghāzī Muḥammad (ruled as Imām ca. 1828–32) and Shāmil (Shamwīl, Imām 1834–59), had links to two outstanding Daghestani Khālidiyya Sufi masters of the time, Muḥammad al-Yarāghī (d. 1839) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī (d. 1866).[12] Yet there is no reason to conclude that Khālidiyya "Muridism" was the backbone of Shāmil's *jihād*, as is often maintained in Russian and Western historiography;[13]

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9 There are scattered indications of a Khalwaṭiyya presence in the 16th and 17th centuries, and of Suhrawardiyya shaykhs.

10 Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīqa al-nadiyya fi ādāb al-ṭarīqa al-naqshbandiyya wa-l-bahja al-khālidiyya*, printed in the margins of al-Wāʿilī al-Najdī, *Asfā al-mawārid min salsal al-Imām Khālid* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿilmiyya, 1313), 80; Shuʿayb b. Idrīs al-Bagīnī, *Ṭabaqāt al-khwājagān al-naqshbandiyya wa-sādāt al-mashāyikh al-khālidiyya al-maḥmūdiyya*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿAtāʾ (Damascus: Dār al-Nuʿmān lil-funūn, 1417/1996), 348ff. Both state that Kurdamīrī passed away in Amasya in 1277 (1860–61). According to other sources, his death took place in 1848.

11 On Mawlānā Khālid, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 22 (1982, published 1984), 1–36.

12 *Die Islamgelehrten Daghestans und ihre arabischen Werke. Naḏīr ad-Durgilīs (st. 1935) Nuzhat al-aḏhān fī tarāǧim ʿulamāʾ Dāġistān*, ed. by Michael Kemper and Amri R. Šixsaidov (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2004), 102–4 (Yarāghī), 106–113 (Ghāzī Muḥammad), 114–20 (Shāmil), 129 (Jamāl al-Dīn).

13 Anna Zelkina, *In Quest of God and Freedom: Sufi Responses to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus* (London: NYU Press, 2000); Galina M. Yemelianova, "Sufism and Politics in the North Caucasus", *Nationality Papers* 29.4 (2001), 661–88, esp. 663ff ("The Naqshbandi shaykhs and their disciples led the military resistance to the Russians"). Less determined is Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

rather, the motivation for *jihād* was the movement's opposition to the elders and noblemen who administered, and benefitted from, local customary law (*ʿādāt*); the goal of the jihadists was to introduce Islamic law.[14] Sufis were not prominently involved in the *jihād*, neither in Shāmil's armed forces nor in the administrative and legal systems of the *jihād* state.[15] Furthermore, we know that Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī was opposed to having Ghāzī Muḥammad start a *jihād* against the overwhelming power of the Russians.[16] But the fact remains that it was in the *jihād* period that the Khālidiyya gained prominence in many parts of Daghestan. After Russia's subjection of Shāmil, some Sufi masters (including al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī) went into exile, but, through enormously popular shaykhs like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī (d. 1882),[17] the Khālidiyya remained powerful in Daghestan and continued to maintain a strong position there throughout the Soviet era.[18]

Yet the 1860s also saw the formation of the Khālidiyya-Maḥmūdiyya as an offshoot of the Khālidiyya described above. This branch is named after Maḥmūd al-Almālī (ca. 1810–77, also from what is today northern Azerbaijan), who, via two shaykhs, also stood in Kūrdamīrī's line. For all we know, al-Almālī did not side with the *jihād* movement against the Russian Empire.[19] Al-Almālī had but a small number of devoted followers in Daghestan and the Volga region (he died in exile in Astrakhan); in Daghestan, the Maḥmūdiyya remained in the shadow of its bigger brother, the Khālidiyya. This changed only in the early 1990s.

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14 Michael Kemper, "Ghāzī Muḥammad's Treatise against Daghestani Customary Law", *Islam and Sufism in Daghestan*, ed. by Moshe Gammer (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2009), 85–100; Michael Kemper, "The Daghestani Legal Discourse on the Imamate", *Central Asian Survey* 21.3 (2002), 265–78.

15 Michael Kemper, "The North Caucasian Khālidiyya and 'Muridism': Historiographical Problems", *Journal for the History of Sufism* 5 (2006), 151–67.

16 Durgilī, *Die Islamgelehrten Daghestans*, 132–39 (letter of Jamāl al-Dīn to Yarāghī).

17 On al-Thughūrī, see Durgilī, *Die Islamgelehrten Daghestans*, 143–45.

18 Shamil Shikhaliev, "Downward Mobility and Spiritual Life: The Development of Sufism in the Context of Migrations in Dagestan, 1940s–2000s", *Allah's Kolkhozes: Migration, De-Stalinisation, Privatisation and the New Muslim Congregations in the Soviet Realm (1950s–2000s)*, ed. by Stéphane A. Dudoignon and Christian Noack (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014), 398–420; cf. Vladimir Bobrovnikov, Amir Navruzov, Shamil Shikhaliev, "Islamic Education in Soviet and Post-Soviet Daghestan", *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States*, ed. by Michael Kemper, Raoul Motika, Stefan Reichmuth (London/New York: Routledge, 2009), 107–67.

19 M. Kemper, "Maḥmūd al-Almālī al-Shīrwānī al-Dāghistānī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*.

This is the historical setting in which the following accounts operate, and where the trajectories of Tatar and Daghestani Sufism crossed and enriched each other.

Sayfallāh Qāḍī Bashlarov, the Itinerant Sufi Doctor

The person whom we identify as the most important link between the Naqshbandīs of the North Caucasus and the Volga-Urals was Sayfallāh Qāḍī Bashlarov (1853–1919), an extraordinarily interesting Sufi, scholar, and medical doctor who shaped the Maḥmūdiyya as we know it today.[20] Bashlarov is known as the author of a major Sufi compendium, *Kanz al-maʿārif*,[21] and his disciple Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī (d. 1937) preserved a considerable corpus of Bashlarov's letters.[22] Both Bashlarov's treatise and his correspondence—all in Arabic—were published in Damascus in the 1990s. In addition, Bashlarov produced compilations of medical information, taken from Russian and German sources, that remain in manuscript form.[23]

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20 Shamil' Shikhaliev, "Ustaz trekh tarikatov: Saifulla-kadi Bashlarov", *Dagestanskie svi-atyni*, vol. 1, ed. by Amri R. Shikhsaidov (Makhachkala: Epokha, 2007), 146–64; Shamil' Shikhaliev, "Sufii i rossiiskaia vlast' v Dagestane v 19-om—pervoi polovine 20-ogo veka: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii", *Obychnoe pravo i pravovoi pliuralizm na Kavkaze v XIX—nachale XX veka. Materialy Vserossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii 24–26 sentiabria 2009*, ed. by P.I. Magaiaeva (Karachaevsk: Karachaevsko-cherkesskii gosudarstvennyi universitet im. U.D. Alieva, 2009), 294–302.

21 Mīr Khālid Sayfallāh b. Ḥusayn al-Nitsubkrī, *Kanz al-maʿārif fi asrār al-laṭāʾif*, manuscript of 378 folios, in private possession of authors; Bashlarov, *Mawāfiq al-sādāt fi riyāḍ ahl al-saʿāda fi ḥawḍ al-murādat* (in the Avar language) (Makhachkala: "Nurul' irshad", 2011).

22 Mīr Khālid Sayfallāh b. Ḥusayn Bashlār al-Nitsubkrī al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī al-Naqshbandī al-Qādirī al-Shādhilī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dāghistānī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh ilā fuqarāʾ ahl Allāh*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿAtāʾ al-Bakrī (Damascus: Dār al-Nuʿmān lil-funūn, 1998) (edition based on a MS copied in 1957, probably by a certain Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Nahrī); Ḥasan Ḥilmī b. Muḥammad al-Qaḥī, *Maktūbāt al-Qaḥī al-musammā Wasāʾil al-murīd fī rasāʾil al-ustādh al-farīḍ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿAtāʾ al-Bakrī (Damascus: Dār al-Nuʿmān lil-funūn, 1998). See also Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī al-Naqshbandī al-Shādhilī al-Dāghistānī, *Sirāj al-saʿāda fī siyar al-sādāt* (Makhachkala: Dār al-Risāla, 2011), which has some of Bashlarov's letters; cf. Shamil' Shikhaliev, "Sochinenie Khasana Khil'mi al-Kakhi 'Siradzh as-Saadat': Kratkii istochnikovedcheskii obzor", *Nauchnoe obozrenie: ezhekvartal'nyi sbornik statei* 52 (2011), 4–11.

23 One of these medical compilations, entitled *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ṭibbiyya*, is composed in Arabic with Lak parts (in Arabic script), and with recipes in German, Russian and Latin. Another of these works (apparently in Russian) was lost when Bashlarov's library

Bashlarov—who in his letters called himself Mīr Khālid Sayfallāh b. Ḥusayn b. Mūsā Bashlār al-Nitsubkrī al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī—was born in 1853 in Nitsovkra, a Lak village close to Kumukh (Ghāzī Ghumūq), the major town of the Lak territory in Central Daghestan. Kumukh was the seat of a local khanate that the Russians kept in place until 1859 as a counter-weight to the *jihād* movement in the neighboring Avar mountains. Sayfallāh's father Ḥusayn was a master in manufacturing weapons, and soon after 1859 (the year the Russians captured Imām Shāmil) he emigrated to Astrakhan, the old Tatar city—by that time with a very mixed population—at the mouth of the Volga River. There, Ḥusayn established a small arms shop. The young Sayfallāh, after receiving his first education in Nitsovkra, joined his father in Astrakhan in 1861. There, he first went to a Tatar *madrasa* but then transferred to a Russian school, where, over five years, he achieved good knowledge of Russian. In both the *madrasa* and the Russian school our Lak pupil made contact with Tatars. In 1869, he returned to his native Daghestan and became a clerk in the Russian garrison of Kumukh. He continued to study with the Daghestani scholar Ḥasan "al-Ṣaghīr" al-Kudālī (d. 1878) in the Avar mountain village of Kudali (today Gunibskii raion), deepening his knowledge of the classical Islamic curriculum that is typical for Daghestan: Arabic language, rhetoric, logic, and Shāfiʿī Islamic law. Reportedly, he also took lessons in medicine from al-Kudālī. In Kudali, he met Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī (Kakhibskii, 1852–1937), from the Avar village of Kakhib; the latter would become his main friend and disciple, and the person who propagated Sayfallāh's teachings in Daghestan by copying his works and collecting his letters.[24]

From 1871 to 1875, Bashlarov studied with the aforementioned Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya master ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī (Sogratlinskii, d. 1882) in the Avar village of Sogratlʿ; previously, Sayfallāh's father Ḥusayn had taken lessons from al-Thughūrī. While not being particularly close to Shāmil, Thughūrī had made a name for himself as a fierce opponent of Russian rule.[25] In 1877, in the context of a new Russian-Ottoman war, Daghestanis and Chechens rebelled

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in Temir-Khan Shura was pillaged by Denikin's troops during the Russian Civil War. A third compilation, reportedly in German, was kept in the library of Bashlarov's grandson Gadzhi Abakar, but since the 1960s nothing has been known about its fate (interview Shikhaliev with Sayfallāh Bashlarov's grandson S.G. Bashlarov [b. 1928], Makhachkala, December 2002; the latter's information was based on the accounts of his father Ḥusayn, 1889–1949, and his mother).

24 al-Qaḥī, *Maktūbāt al-Qaḥī.*

25 Michael Kemper, "'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī (al-Ṣughūrī)", *Encyclopaedia of Islam: Three.*

against the Russian administration, with Thughūrī's son Ḥajjī Muḥammad one of the leaders.[26] According to the Daghestani philosopher and historian Magomed A. Abdullaev, the Russian authorities surmised that Sayfallāh Bashlarov sympathized with the rebellion, and exiled him to Saratov province in the Volga region.[27] Yet this assertion is doubtful. In a letter that he addressed to a certain Saʿīd Afandī (who had indeed been sent to Inner Russia for his participation in the unrest), Bashlarov writes about the authorities' attempt to produce inventories of the personal property that the exiles left behind in their villages, and about Daghestanis who, in the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877–78, had volunteered to go to the front on the side of the Russian Empire. The rebellion in Daghestan was suppressed in November 1877, and the letter indicates that six months later Bashlarov was not in custody or exile, as can be seen from its colophon: "[This letter is] from your servant Sayfallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nitsubkrī, [written] 25 Jumada II 1295 [May 28, 1878]. And I, the above-mentioned Sayfallāh Qāḍī, am now in Kumukh, in the house of the late Ḥajjī Atā".[28]

According to the accounts of Bashlarov's descendants in Daghestan, it was on his own account that Bashlarov moved to the Volga area in the 1880s. Upon his arrival in Saratov, influential representatives of the Tatar elite arranged for him to be attached to some medical men from Germany whom German colonists had invited to the region. With these doctors, Bashlarov further increased his knowledge of medicine and even obtained some kind of diploma in the late 1880s with an attestation that allowed him to practice as a doctor.[29] Be that as it may, Bashlarov then spent several years, up to 1891, in the city of Astrakhan,[30] where he probably practiced medicine. In 1891, he briefly returned to the North Caucasus, and continued his religious education with the Naqshbandiyya Maḥmūdiyya master Khāṣṣ-Būlāṭ al-Kustākī (d. 1893) in the village of Kostek (which at that time belonged administratively not to Daghestan but to the neighboring Terek region).

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26 Durgilī, *Die Islamgelehrten Daghestans*, 149–50; T.M. Aitberov, Iu.A. Dudaev, Kh.A. Omarov, *Vosstanie dagestantsev i chechentsev v posleshamilevskuiu epokhu i imamat 1877 goda* (Makhachkala: Mezhdunarodnyi fond Shamilia/Dagestanskii gosudarstvennyi universitet/Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnografii DNTs RAN, 2001).

27 Magomed A. Abdullaev, *Sufizm i ego raznovidnosti na severo-vostochnom Kavkaze* (Makhachkala: Novyi Denʿ, 2000), 160.

28 Letter Sayfallah-Qāḍī al-Nitsubkrī, Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography RAN (Makhachkala), fond 16, opis' 4, no. 346.

29 Interview Shikhaliev with S.G. Bashlarov (b. 1928), Makhachkala, 2002.

30 Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj saʿāda fī siyar al-sādāt* (Makhachkala: Dār al-Risāla, 2011) (Arabic edition), 219.

On the recommendation of Khāṣṣ-Būlāṭ al-Kustākī, Bashlarov then went back to the Volga region, this time to the city of Chistopol' of Kazan Guberniia, to become a disciple of the Sufi shaykh Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī (Kamalov, 1804–93).[31] But al-Chisṭāwī soon passed away, and Bashlarov started travelling throughout the Middle East, perhaps making the *ḥajj*, with educational stops in Istanbul, Damascus, and Aleppo.[32] In the late 1890s, he returned to the Russian Empire, to work again in the medical profession. In one letter to Ḥasan al-Qaḥī, he mentions that, at the time of writing, he resided in Nazran (today Ingushetia), and in another letter he refers to Kharkov (Ukraine) as his current place of dwelling.[33] In early 1903, Bashlarov was in Kazakhstan (*ṣaḥrā Qirghīz*, "the Kyrgyz steppe") on the invitation of a wealthy trader by the name of Tursha, presumably to work as a doctor.[34]

From 1905 to early 1908, Bashlarov worked as a teacher at a new-method (*Jadīd*) school in Ufa, Bashkiria.[35] During this period, he became a follower and disciple of the authoritative Khālidiyya shaykh Zaynallāh al-Rasūlī (Rasulev, 1833–1917), who had a famous Sufi center in the town of Troitsk, east of the Urals.[36] From Rasūlī he obtained more *ijāza*s, as shall be seen in detail below.

In March 1908, Bashlarov settled in Temir Khan Shura (today Buinaksk), then the capital of Daghestan oblast'.[37] Reportedly with money provided by prominent businessmen from Kazan and Astrakhan, Bashlarov built himself a house near Temir Khan Shura's railway station. There he probably served as a *qāḍī* until March 1914; in that year, there was again unrest in Daghestan, the so-called *anti-pisarskoe vosstanie*, against the forced introduction of Russian clerks and the Russian language in the local village courts, an affair in which he, perhaps still working as a clerk, may have been involved. This time, the authorities did indeed exile Sayfallāh Qāḍī Bashlarov, to Saratov *guberniia* in the

31 On Kamalov, see A.A. Khasavnekh, "Nakshbandiiskii sheikh Volgo-Ural'skogo regiona M.-Z. Kamalov i ego sochinenie 'Tabsirat al-murshidin'", *Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki* 155.3, part 2 (2013), 120–26.

32 al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj sa'āda*, 193.

33 al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj sa'āda*, 213.

34 al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj sa'āda*, 215.

35 According to Abdullaev (*Sufizm i ego raznovidnosti*, 319), this was the Ghāliyya madrasa, but the latter was established only in 1906.

36 On Rasūlī, see Hamid Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev: The Last Great Naqshbandi Shaykh of the Volga-Urals Region", *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change*, ed. by Jo-Ann Gross (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1992), 112–33.

37 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 29, 49, 59.

Middle Volga region.[38] Upon his request he was allowed to settle in Astrakhan, where he remained until 1915, when his exile ended.[39] He returned to Temir Khan Shura, where he died in the night of 1 Ṣafar 1338/October 25, 1919. After his death, his library was looted by Denikin's White Army.

Bashlarov's trajectory thus stands out both by its geographical scope and the variety of his activities, ranging from Sufism through medicine to *Jadīd* education. He served as a link between several professional groups, and his biography also indicates that Bashlarov maintained good relations not only with Daghestani and Tatar business elites but also with the Russian authorities, who—the exile period notwithstanding—employed him as a clerk and let him function as a local *qāḍī*.

Let us now analyze these peregrinations from the viewpoint of how Bashlarov gathered *ijāza*s.

From Daghestan to the Volga Region: Chisṭāwī

Bashlarov came to study the Sufi practice under the aforementioned Khāṣṣ Būlāṭ al-Kustākī (d. 1893). The latter was a deputy of Shaykh Maḥmūd Afandī al-Almālī (1810–1877), the eponym of what emerged as the Maḥmūdiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya.

But, as Bashlarov himself wrote, Kustākī sent him away:

> With the well-known shaykh and scholar al-Ḥājj Khāṣṣ Būlāṭ al-Kustākī I had a very strong bond of love (*maḥabba*). I studied with him and under his guidance I read *Silk al-ʿayn*.[40] Then I told him that I desired to take an oath (*ʿahd*) from him [that is, to become his *murīd*], for he belonged to the *khalīfa*s of our shaykh Maḥmūd al-Faʿʿal ["The Effectual", al-Almālī]. He said: 'The spirit (*ruḥāniyya*) of my shaykh Maḥmūd al-Almālī appeared to me, and told me that your foster relationship will be with Shaykh Muḥammad Dhākir [al-Chisṭāwī], a person of high position [in Sufism]; [it also told me] that you will be with him in the spring'. This

38 al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj saʿāda*, 225; "Zhurnal registratsii kantselarii genral-Gubernatora Dagestanskoi oblasti, No. 62 za 1914 g.", Dagestanskii ob"dinennyi istoriko-arkhitekturnyi muzei, fond 62, opis' 1, delo 63, fol. 3.

39 "Raport voennogo gubernatora Dagestanskoi oblasti [S. Vol'skogo] kavkazskomu namestniku [I.I. Vorontsovu-Dashkovu]", Central Archive of the Georgian Republic, fond 13, opis' 27, delo 3266, fol. 36.

40 A popular work on Sufi ethics composed by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ḥabīb al-Ṣafadī (d. 915/1509).

> confused me. But he told me again: 'I hoped that you would become my son, but the order is from Allah', and I longed to see Muḥammad Dhākir, sacred be his secret. I fell sick and remained [in Kostek] for four months. Then, in the spring, I said farewell to [Kustākī] and moved to Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī.[41]

This Chisṭāwī was another disciple of the Daghestani Maḥmūdiyya founder Maḥmūd al-Almālī. As Alfrid Bustanov has shown, Chisṭāwī was also a successful merchant, and from his native Chistopol' in the Volga region he was able to support his master al-Almālī financially when the latter found himself in Russian exile in Astrakhan, up to the latter's death in 1877. They exchanged letters and students.[42] Chisṭāwī had several *khalīfa*s in the Volga region,[43] and he wrote one major Sufi book, *Tabṣirat al-murshidīn*.[44]

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41 Sayfallāh b. Ḥusayn Bashlar al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 89.

42 Alfrid Bustanov, "Sufizm bez granits: pis'ma dagestanskogo sheikha Makhmuda al-Almali v Chistopol'", *Istoricheskie sud'by narodov Povolzh'ia i Priural'ia. Sbornik stetei*, vol. 5, chief ed. Il'dus Zagidullin (Kazan: Publisher, 2015), 51–66.

43 Including Jihānshāh b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Nīzhghārūṭī al-Ḥājjtarkhānī (1881–1937?), author of a popular history of Astrakhan; see Allen J. Frank, "Sacred History and the 1905 Revolution in a Sufi History of Astrakhan", *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 297–317. Riḍā' al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn (Fakhretdinov), who would become the towering figure of Tatar Islam in the early 20th century, had also been a pupil of al-Chisṭāwī, but around 1887 Chisṭāwī withdrew his blessing from him; see Marsil' N. Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva (1872–1917): Vlast' i sufizm v poreformennoi Bashkirii. Sbornik dokumentov* (Ufa: Institut istorii, iazyka i literatury RAN, 2009), 68. There were also more disciples of Maḥmūd al-Almālī in the Volga region, including ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ḥājjṭarkhānī, 1819–99; see *Islam v Povolzh'e: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, chief ed. D.V. Mukhetdinov (Moscow/Nizhnii Novgorod: ID Medina, 2013), 16, 23, 144.

44 During our research in many Daghestani private book collections and mosque libraries we came across only one single manuscript copy of Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī's *Tabṣirat al-murshidīn*, which reflects the relative marginality of the Maḥmūdiyya in early 20th-century Daghestan. Judging from the style of the handwriting, this copy was made by Shuʿayb al-Bagīnī (d. 1912), author of the major biographical work mentioned below. The manuscript is in the private possession of Shaykh Arslanali Gamzatov, head of the Council of 'Ulamā' in Daghestan's Muftiate (Muslim Spiritual Administration, DUMD). See Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Chisṭāwī, *Tabṣīrat al-murshidīn min al-mashāyīkh al-khālidiyya*, published as an appendix to Shuʿayb b. Idrīs al-Bāginī, *Ṭabaqāt al-khwājagān al-naqshbandiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿAtā' (Damascus: Dār al-Nuʿmān lil-funūn, 1417/1996).

Bashlarov arrived in Chistopol' much later, probably in the spring of 1892. By that time, so Bashlarov wrote in one of his letters, al-Chisṭāwī had one and a half thousand *murīd*s. "He taught me, and ordered me to perform the *Sulṭān al-dhikr* [expressed in the chanting of 'Allah'] over forty days, and after that he also instructed me how to perform the *dhikr* of *al-nafī wa-l-ithbāt* [i.e., with *lā ilāha illā Llāh*, 'there is no God but Allah']". These are just the basic rituals, but the reference to the forty days might refer to an intensive experience of seclusion (*khalwa*) with his master.

Bashlarov spent a couple of months in Chistopol'. At one point, he went back to the Caucasus to visit his ailing mother,[45] and in his absence Muḥammad Dhākir passed away in 1893. Bashlarov's stay with al-Chisṭāwī did not bring him anything new in terms of Sufi lines; as Chisṭāwī was another disciple of Maḥmūd al-Almālī, this link merely strengthened Bashlarov's earlier link to the Daghestani Khālidiyya and Maḥmūdiyya. And Bashlarov had no *ijāza* document from him that would formally make him his deputy or successor.

With Zaynallāh al-Rasūlī in Troitsk: The Khālidiyya Ḍiyā'iyya

Fifteen years later, in 1907, Bashlarov joined the disciples of the famous Khālidiyya master Zaynallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Rasūlī (d. 1917). Once again, the inspiration to join a new shaykh came from his previous (by then deceased) master, as Bashlarov describes in one of his letters to his own disciple al-Qaḥī:

> Once, the *ruḥāniyya* of my shaykh [Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī] ordered me to go to Shaykh Zaynallāh al-Maʿmūrī al-Sharīfī, who lived in the region of Siberia, to the east. I was confused. At that time, I obtained a letter from Sayyid Abū ʿUbayda [al-Ḥusaynī, one of Muḥammad Dhākir's *khalīfa*s], saying he was already with the great Sufi and scholar Zaynallāh al-Sharīfī al-Trūyskī, and asking me to come and see him. He gave me a detailed exposition of [Zaynallāh's] virtues (*manāqib*) and high standing. […] And I got a letter with a limited license (*ijāza muqayyada*) [from Zaynallāh]. Again, I did not know what to do. Then, one night, the *ruḥāniyya* of the great pious man, the saint (*walī*) ʿAbdallāh al-Qūbī[46] visited me, and said: 'you have to come to Zaynallāh, he is waiting for you'.

45 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 89.

46 In another letter (Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 215) this person again appears to Bashlarov in a dream; here the name is given as ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥājj Mamma al-Qūbī. Quba is in Azerbaijan.

> And I saw the *ruḥāniyya* of Shaykh Muḥammad Dhākir, and he looked at [my] Sufi qualities (*laṭā'if*), and tested [me] on certain issues, and then he gave me a full *ijāza*, and called me an Uwaysī.[47]

What we see here again is the importance of *ruḥāniyya* visions; the appearance of the spirit of the former master makes the disciple free to join a new master. This brings us back to Bashlarov's report about al-Kustākī having a vision of Maḥmūd al-Almālī's *ruḥāniyya*, with al-Almālī ordering al-Kustākī to release Bashlarov and send him to Chisṭāwī. Importantly, these *ruḥāniyya* "orders", as a reoccurring *topos* in our Khālidiyya accounts, provide the disciple with the legitimacy to move to another Sufi center and to acquire new Sufi *ijāza*s that would supersede the previous licenses (without, however, making them completely obsolete). The *ruḥāniyya* thereby supports the enlargement of the Khālidiyya, and the interlinkage of the separate Khālidiyya lines. Curiously, Bashlarov's vision of Chisṭāwī's *ruḥāniyya* even included an element of examination (here referred to as *imtiḥān*), resulting in a full "*ijāza*-through-vision", obviously as a preparation for his transfer to Rasūlī.

According to his disciple al-Qaḥī, Bashlarov experienced this vision on 5 Ṣafar 1325 (March 21, 1907),[48] and we must assume that Bashlarov then went to Troitsk to see Rasūlī. Zaynallāh b. Ḥabīballāh b. Rasūl b. Mūsā b. Bayramqul b. ʿĀshiq al-Sharīfī al-Trūyskī (1833–1917) was a *khalīfa* of the well-known Ottoman shaykh Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Gümūshkhānevī (Gümüşhanevi, 1813–93), from whom Rasūlī had obtained a Khālidiyya *ijāza* in Istanbul, on his way back from the *ḥajj*, in 1869–70.

Gümūshkhānevī was very close to the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbdülḥamīd, whom he served as a consulter, and who supported Gümūshkhānevī's *tekke* in Istanbul. This Sufi convent was located directly across from the Sublime Porte, and many high officials used to frequent the master there. Butrus Abu-Manneh, in his studies on the 19th-century Ottoman Naqshbandiyya groups, argues that the Palace fostered Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Gümūshkhānevī's line of the Khālidiyya (named the "Khālidiyya Ḍiyā'iyya" after him) because it was in opposition to other Khālidī groups that were associated with unrest in the Ottoman lands; equally important was the fact that Gümūshkhānevī attracted overwhelmingly

47 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 90. "Uwaysī" refers to Uways al-Qaranī, a famous ascetic from the first century of the *hijra* who claimed to have a spiritual link with the prophet Muḥammad without ever having met him. In some of his writings Bashlarov called himself al-Uwaysī; cf. *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 196.

48 al-Qaḥī, *Sirāj sa'āda*, 217. Here, Bashlarov's vision and Chisṭāwī's *ijāza* are rendered in a slightly different form, and with the date.

Turkish disciples, thus drawing the Khālidiyya away from its Kurdish origins.[49] Gümūshkhānevī placed much emphasis on *ḥadīth*, which, as Abu-Manneh argued, "is less binding to the rulers than *shariʿa*"; *ḥadīth* emphasizes piety, and allows for political quietism,[50] while the *sharīʿa*-mindedness of other Khālidiyya lines translated into a rigidity that put the ruler under pressure and led to conflict. *Ḥadīth*, as we will see below, also figures prominently in the *ijāza*s to disciples in Russia.

Gümūshkhānevī used the technique of seclusion (*khalwa*) for the speedy initiation and education of his *murīd*s, to turn them into his *khalīfa*s, and he also put Rasūlī into a forty-day *khalwa*.[51] Rasūlī had already been linked to the Naqshbandiyya through a Mujaddidiyya master by the name of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Qurbān ʿAlī al-Chardaqlī (1809–72), from the Cheliabinsk area east of the Urals.[52] But it was the Khālidiyya *ijāza* from Gümūshkhānevī that catapulted Rasūlī to prominence back home; people flocked to him, especially from Bashkiria and neighboring Kazakhstan. Rasūlī invested their donations into his Sufi convent (*khānaqāh*/*mihmānkhāna*). His success aroused suspicion, and his Muslim opponents denounced him as an innovator and sectarian whose anti-Islamic teachings might lead to a rebellion (Russian: *bunt*).[53] The central issues in which Rasūlī was accused of introducing illegitimate innovations (*bidʿa*s) were, as Marsil' Farkhshatov argues, his employment of elements that supposedly led to trance-like states in his mosque,[54] and equally criticized were his public celebrations of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid*), and his use of rosaries, talismans, and *shamā'il* (written or printed calligraphic posters).[55] But these were hardly innovations, and instead appear as trumped-up arguments designed to appeal to the Russian administration and cover up their real motives, such as envy of success. In any case, his Muslim opponents

49 Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Shaykh Ahmed Ziya'üddin el-Gümüşhanevi and the Ziya'i-Khalidi Sub-Order", in his *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826–1876)* (Istanbul: Isis, 2001), 149–59.

50 Abu-Manneh, "Shaykh Ahmed Ziyā'üddīn el-Gümüşhanevi", 153–56.

51 Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev", 118; Ramzī, *Talfīq*, 491–98. Cf. Butrus Abu-Manneh, "*Khalwa* and *Rābiṭa* in the Khālidī Suborder", *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, ed. by Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, Thierry Zarcone (Istanbul and Paris: IFEA et Editions Isis, 1990), 289–301.

52 On him, see Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 87; Rizaeddin Fäxreddin, *Asar*, vol. II, chief ed. M.A. Usmanov (Kazan: Rukhiiat, 2009), 138–39.

53 Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 93.

54 For reports, see Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 90.

55 Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 54–61.

(including Rasūlī's former Mujaddidiyya teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Chardaqlī)[56] denounced him for being a dangerous and fanatic sectarian, and in official reports Rasūlī appears as an imposter who claims to be "a third Muḥammad".[57] Obviously, for the authorities the problem was his huge charisma and popularity, and the allegedly uncontrollable emotions that he evoked among the masses. The Russians remembered the *jihād* movement of Imām Shāmil in the North Caucasus, which they saw as a form of "Muridism" linked to the Khālidiyya, and they certainly knew that Rasūlī's mentor Gümūshkhānevī in Istanbul held strong anti-Russian views.[58] After several investigations in which he defended his Orthodox conformity with the *sharīʿa*, Rasūlī spent eight months in prison, and in early 1873 was exiled to the cold Russian north (first to Vologda area, then to Kostroma).[59] Only in 1881—long after Russia's victorious 1877–78 war against the Ottomans—was Rasūlī allowed to return. He then obtained an official position as *imām*, and again attracted huge crowds.

Rasūlī was not just a charismatic preacher and healer. At his neighborhood *madrasa* in Troitsk (called the *Rasūlīyya*) he introduced the phonetical method of the *Jadīd* educational reform movement of the time, and Rasūlī also published defenses of the *Jadīd* pedagogical methodology and of the permissibility of Russian schools and of Russian insurance services for Muslims. In present-day Bashkortostan, he is therefore celebrated as a patriotic front-man of progress and enlightenment.[60] Rasūlī's support for the incipient *Jadīd* movement might also be one reason why his opponents—whom Algar calls "traditionalists loyal to Bukharan models of religiosity and learning"[61]—wanted the authorities to remove him.

Rasūlī's *murīd*s reportedly ran into the thousands. Note that Bashlarov's *ruḥānīyya* narrative, quoted above, gives an insight into how Rasūlī spread his influence over significant geographical areas: before they ever saw each other Rasūlī already sent him a "limited" *ijāza* (probably for one or several Naqshbandī litanies), obviously as a sort of appetizer that would make

56 Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 68, 87.

57 Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 96–97 (report by a Bashkir *imām* who secretly attended Rasūlī's mosque as a spy for the authorities; it is unclear who would be the "second" Muḥammad).

58 Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev", 118.

59 Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva*, 73.

60 Denis N. Denisov, Gadil K. Valeev, Rauf N. Gizatullin, "Rasulev Zainulla Khabibullovich", *Islam na Urale: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod: ID Medina, 2009), 298–300.

61 Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev", 119.

Bashlarov join Rasūlī's Sufi community in Troitsk, where more and more encompassing *ijāza*s would await him.

Bashlarov must have been under Rasūlī's wing roughly from March 1907 (when he said he obtained the Uwaysiyya *ijāza* from Chisṭāwī) until at least 5 Rajab 1325 (August 13, 1907), when Rasūlī issued for him an *ijāza* for the Naqshbandiyya.[62] Five months were seemingly enough to make the disciple a full shaykh, as he had already been familiar with the brotherhood's practices. Next to now being the deputy of Russia's most prominent Sufi master, Bashlarov's Khālidiyya line via Rasūlī had the advantage that it had only two intermediaries to Mawlānā Khālid, and was therefore shorter than the complicated Caucasian *silsila* that Bashlarov had inherited from al-Kustākī and al-Chisṭāwī;[63] and in contrast to the Daghestani Khālidiyya lines, it was more international.

Ijāza *Volume 1: Rasūlī to Bashlarov*

At the end of his time in Troitsk, Bashlarov copied a collection of *ijāza*s that Rasūlī had obtained from various masters; this interesting Arabic manuscript is preserved in a private library in Makhachkala. Some of these *ijāza*s gave Rasūlī the right to teach individual Islamic sciences while others allowed him to transmit Sufi practices and prayers (*duʿā*) of the Naqshbandiyya order.[64]

All of these individual texts contain the line of transmission (*silsila*) of the respective contents. To give one example, Bashlarov copied Rasūlī's line of transmission concerning the teaching of the *ḥadīth* material that is enclosed in the famous *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 870). This *ijāza* collection that Bashlarov copied had been composed by Rasūlī in the first person; for instance, Rasūlī tells us that "I obtained the license to teach Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the scholar and *ḥadīth* expert (*muḥaddith*) ʿAlī b. Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Madanī, who in turn received it from ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Abū Saʿīd

62 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 129.

63 Mawlānā Khālid—ʿAbdallāh al-Makki—Ibrāhīm al-Qadqāshīnī—Yūnus al-Lālalī—Maḥmūd al-Almālī—al-Kustākī (as well as Chisṭāwī); little is known about Qadqāshīnī and Lālalī.

64 In the following, we will refer to this document as *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*. The manuscript, preserved in the private archive of Il'ias A. Kaiaev (b. 1964) in Makhachkala, has on the title sheet *Thabat malja' al-wāṣilīn wa-quṭb al-ʿārifin jāmiʿ al-kamālāt wa-manba' al-fuyūḍāt dhū l-janāḥayn Abū l-Mawāhib Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaykh Zaynallāh ibn Ḥabīballāh al-Sharīfī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī*. We extend our sincere gratitude to Mr. Kaiaev for giving us kind permission to use and publish this manuscript.

al-Mujaddidī al-Farūqī al-Naqshbandī al-Daymawī al-Madanī, who in turn received it from the scholar Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Anṣārī al-Sindī al-Madanī", and further back to Bukhārī himself.[65]

Other *ijāza*s of this compilation gave Rasūlī the right to teach the *ḥadīth* collection *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* by al-Ṭabrīzī (d. 1340/41); the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* by the North African Sufi al-Jazūlī (d. 1465); the *Ḥizb al-Shādhilī* (obviously a litany ascribed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, d. 1258, the founding father of the Shādhiliyya); as well as *al-Ḥizb al-aʿẓam*, *Ḥizb Imām al-Nawāwī*, and *Ḥizb al-dawr al-aʿlā.* These are standard litanies, still in use today among the Daghestani Shādhiliyya-Maḥmūdiyya shaykhs.

This part of the volume ends with the following fragment, written by the hand of Rasūlī himself:

> I give the right to teach all that has been listed above to Mullā Sayfallāh b. al-Bashlār al-Ḥusaynī al-Dāghistānī, just as this license had been given to me by the shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Madanī, under the conditions (*sharāʾiṭ*) that were formulated by the persons mentioned [in the individual *silsila*s]. And I pass on [to Bashlarov] everything that had been bestowed upon me by the aforementioned [Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Witrī]. And I am the servant of the poor and the weak, Mullā Zaynallāh b. Ḥabīballāh b. Rasūl b. Mūsā b. ʿĀshiq al-Naqshbandī, on 27 Jumādā II 1325.[66]

This date corresponds to August 6, 1907. All of these *ijāza*s, as Rasūlī mentions, were given to him by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Madanī in the year 1314 (1896–97),[67] and now they were transmitted, as a package, to Bashlarov. We will return to this Witrī below.

The central element of this volume[68] is of course the Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya *ijāza* that Rasūlī gave to Bashlarov (via Gümūshkhānevī). While the text is written in Bashlarov's handwriting, the name of the recipient,

65 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fol. 2.

66 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fol. 4.

67 On Nūr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Ḥasanī al-Najafī al-Madanī as a *muḥaddith* and Sufi, see Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim ashhur al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashrikīn*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Khayr al-Dīn, 1969), vol. 7, 194.

68 The volume contains other *ijāza*s that Rasūlī conferred upon Bashlarov, each with the personal seal of the master. These include the license to teach individual *ḥadīth*s and *ḥadīth* collections, as well as Ibn ʿAqīl's commentary on Muḥammad b. Mālik's *Alfiyya*, a famous poem that elucidates the grammar of the Arabic language.

here: Mullā Mir Sayfallāh al-Dāghistānī [i.e., Bashlarov himself], was added by Rasūlī's hand. Probably, Bashlarov wrote down the *ijāza* text as it was read to him by Rasūlī but left a space for the latter to add Bashlarov's name as a token of authenticity. Rasūlī also signed the *ijāza* (with "Mullā Zaynallāh b. Ḥabīballāh"), and completed it with his seal.[69]

Our manuscript continues with more *ijāza*s that adhere to the same model, with Rasūlī filling in Bashlarov's name, signing, and giving his seal. Most of these texts concern the transmission of Sufi litanies and practices, including *Ḥizb al-aʿẓam* and the famous *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*. While all *ijāza*s in this volume are composed in Arabic, at the end of these *ijāza*s the recipient Bashlarov added some annotations in Tatar, particularly on the way in which these litanies should be performed, an indication that the conversation on these topics was conducted in Tatar.[70]

Rasūlī also mentions the names of those who transmitted scriptural (*ẓāhir*) sciences to him (as opposed to mystical, *bāṭin*, knowledge). Here appears the name of his teacher in Troitsk, a certain Dāmullā Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Minkārī (Mängäri)[71] al-Qazānī, who in turn was educated by a number of Bukharan theologians, especially the Qāḍī Kalān Muḥammad Sharīf and Dāmullā Ḥasan Akhund from Bukhara. Sometimes several scholars taught Rasūlī one and the same litany. This is especially clear in the case of the *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, intended to be performed before or while on a sea journey; separate *ijāza*s to teach this prayer were given to him by his Ottoman Khālidiyya master Gümūshkhānevī, by the Tatar scholar Fatḥ Allāh al-Ūrūwī (1767–1843),[72] as well as by the aforementioned al-Witrī. All three of them Rasūlī would pass on to Bashlarov.[73]

One *silsila* in the text is called "Turkmen" (*Turkmānīyya*), after the famous Turkmen shaykh of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya in Bukhara, Niyāzqulī al-Turkmānī (d. 1821), who was referred to above as a pivotal figure for spreading the Mujaddidiyya to the Volga-Urals. The *silsila* in this document passes from Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564–1624)[74] and his son Muḥammad Makhdūm to Aḥmad al-Makkī through several Central Asian shaykhs to Niyāzqulī; from

69 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fol. 9.

70 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fols 10–12.

71 On him Farkhshatov, *"Delo" shaikha Zainully Rasuleva (1872–1917)*, 69.

72 On this influential Tatar scholar from the village of Sluzhilye Ury, see Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*, 57–61, 354ff.

73 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fols 18b–19.

74 Underneath this *ijāza* a text added mentions that Sirhindī was also a shaykh of the Qādiriyya, Chishṭiyya, Kubrāwiyya, and Suhrawardiyya; this might be intended as legitimacy for the Khālidis' own combination of brotherhood linkages. *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fol. 20b.

the latter, it passed to a certain Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥaḍrat to Rasūlī's first teacher, ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Chardaqlī (d. 1872).[75] This was the classical Central Asia-related Mujaddidiyya link that Rasūlī's Khālidiyya *ijāza* from Istanbul would overshadow.

To sum up, these Sufi certificates "doubled" Bashlarov's earlier *ijāza*s into the Naqshbandiyya; what was new for our itinerant Daghestani was the Khālidiyya Ḍiyāʾiyya line, through Gümüshkhānevī, and the "Tatar" Mujaddidiyya link through Niyāzqulī al-Turkmānī in Bukhara. The manuscript thus brings together various Naqshbandiyya branches, from Istanbul (Gümüshkhānevī), Medina (Witrī), Bukhara (Niyāzqulī and his disciples), and the Volga-Urals (also with scholars like al-Ūrūwī and al-Chardaqlī).[76] Equally noteworthy is the fact that the Sufi *ijāza*s are accompanied by certificates concerning the traditional scriptural disciplines that were taught at the madrasas, with *ḥadīth* having a prominent place.

The Shādhiliyya Addition (al-Ajawī, Astrakhan)

During his 1914–15 exile in Astrakhan, Bashlarov met another shaykh by the name of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Ajawī al-Kirmānkhānī (alternatively, al-Khān-Kirmānī) al-Qazānī. Unfortunately, his name does not appear in the available Tatar biographical literature. From his *nisba*s we can deduce that he came from the Tatar (of the Mishar sub-group) village of Azeevo (Äjä in the Tatar language) in what is today the Riazan oblast' of the Russian Federation. Azeevo is located some 40 km south-east of the old town of Kasimov, the Khan-Kirman of his the second *nisba*. His third *nisba* indicates that al-Ajawī must have resided in Kazan for a while. That al-Ajawī stayed in Medina we know from the fact that it was there that he obtained some of his *ijāza*s.

As Bashlarov claims in one of his letters to al-Qaḥī, on 15 Rabīʿ II 1333 (March 1, 1915) this Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ajawī gave him an *ijāza* of the Shādhiliyya Sufi brotherhood.[77] After his return to Daghestan, Bashlarov passed this Shādhiliyya *ijāza* on to his own friend and disciple Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī (Kakhibskii), on 28 Rajab 1333 (June 12, 1915), that is, just a couple of

75 The MS (fol. 20b) has "Charda Qulī/Chardaqlī ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥaḍrat", but there can be no doubt that ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Chardaqlī is meant.

76 *Ijāzāt Rasūlī-Bashlarov*, fols 13–14. The *silsila*s include more Central Asian scholars, from Bukhara, Khwarazm, Herat, and Shash/Tashkent, all in the context of the non-Sufi sciences.

77 *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 128 (letter of Sayfallāh to Qaḥī, with *ijāza*).

months after he had been made a shaykh of the Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ajawī.[78]

Ijāza *Volume II: Witrī to Ajawī* [*to Bashlarov*]

We do not have a text of Ajawī's *ijāza*s for Bashlarov at our disposal. However, what we do have is a volume of manuscript *ijāza*s that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Ajawī al-Kirmānkhānī obtained himself.[79] These *ijāza*s are all original documents as they were given to him by several masters. Among his shaykhs, the most prominent was the previously-mentioned Shādhiliyya shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Madanī; Witrī signed his *ijāza*s and added his seals to them. Again, the *ijāza*s seem to have been collected in one volume for the purpose of being transmitted further on in a package; and as we know from Bashlarov that he met al-Ajawī in Astrakhan and received a Shādhiliyya *ijāza* from him, there is good reason to assume that this *ijāza* volume ("Witrī to Ajawī") contains the ones that Ajawī passed on to Bashlarov.

This new Shādhiliyya link comes in an old Naqshbandiyya framework. Our *ijāza* volume also contains a copy of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ajawī's own Sufi treatise, *Risāla fi ṭarīq sādāt al-naqshbandiyya* (fols 1–5b),[80] next to Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Risāla fī l-maʿārif al-ʿāliyya* (12b–15), and al-ʿAjlūnī's *ḥadīth* collection *ʿIqd al-jawhar al-thamīn* (18b–39b).[81]

The *ijāza* parts issued for Ajawī start with a standard Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya *ijāza* (fol. 5b), provided by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Witrī al-Madanī. He gave it to al-Ajawī in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina on 24 Muḥarram 1322 (April 10, 1904).[82]

The second *ijāza* (fol. 7b), undated, is not from Witrī but from a certain Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥabashī. It gives Ajawī permission to teach

78 *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 193–96.

79 Muḥammad-Salih b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Ajawī, *Risāla fi ṭarīq sādāt al-naqshbandiyya* [in the following referred to as *Ijāzat Witrī-Ajawī*], Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg), C 2302, 78 folios. In the Arabic manuscripts catalog of the Institute this *Risāla* is ascribed to Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Watarī [i.e., Witrī] al-Madanī (*Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, ed. Anas B. Khalidov [Moscow: Nauka, 1986], vol. 1, 144). Yet the author of the *Risāla* and of the volume as a whole is clearly al-Ajawī.

80 *Ijāzat Witrī-Ajawī*, fols 1b–5b.

81 A collection of prayers read before and after the recitation of the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (fols 44–46b).

82 *Ijāzat Witrī-Ajawī*, fol. 5b.

both the "traditional" and the "rational" sciences (*al-manqūl wa-l-maʿqūl*)—that is, practically all religious sciences taught at a standard madrasa, probably including Qurʾānic studies, *ḥadīth*, and Islamic law but also theology and Arabic grammar, logics, rhetoric, stylistics, and perhaps even natural sciences. The text includes the line of transmission through which al-Ḥabashī obtained this *ijāza*; this chain of masters contains various famous scholars including Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī.

The following *ijāza* (fol. 8b) al-Ajawī obtained from a certain Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Shāhmuḥammad al-Abādī; as the latter writes, al-Ajawī conducted the Sufi practices of *dhikr* and *murāqaba* under his supervision in Medina in 1322 (1904–5), and then gained an "absolute" (all-encompassing) *ijāza* in these practices. While the *dhikr* ("remembrance of Allah") is a practice common to all Sufi brotherhoods, the reference to the *murāqaba*—a concentration and meditation practice—might indicate that al-Abādī transmitted these practices in the Naqshbandiyya form. Further on in the volume, we find another *ijāza* by the same al-Abādī, who, on 13 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1322 (February 18, 1905), provided Ajawī with the license to teach all the sciences in which Abādī had himself been given *ijāza*s, without specification.[83] Most probably, Ajawī obtained all three *ijāza*s during one stay in Medina, in 1904 and early 1905.

The Shādhiliyya ijāza

Finally, from among the *ijāza*s contained in this volume[84] the most fateful one is the Shādhiliyya license that Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Witrī gave to al-Ajawī. This document is al-Witrī's autograph. Composed in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina on 23 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1320 (February 21, 1903),[85] it contains Witrī's personal seal ("al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ẓāhir Witrī").[86]

83 *Ijāzat Witrī-Ajawī*, fol. 78.

84 Several *ijāza*s in this volume are addressed not to al-Ajawī but to his son Ibrāhīm al-Ḥājjṭarkhānī. Muḥammad Murād al-Ramzī, in Astrakhan on 7 Ramadan 1332/July 30, 1914, noted on the title page of al-ʿAjlūnī's *ḥadīth* collection *ʿIqd al-jawhar* that he permitted Ibrāhīm to teach this oeuvre; and Ajawī himself also gave *ijāza*s to his son (fols 63, 64, 65, 67b–70b, 72b–75, 78).

85 This date indicates that al-Ajawī had stayed in Medina before the *ḥajj* season.

86 *Ijāzat Witrī-Ajawī*, fol. 63.

This al-Witrī al-Madanī[87] (b. ca. 1262/1845–46, d. 1904) is a curious personality. None of our Tatar and Daghestani biographical sources ever mention him except in passing; the only exception is Rizaetdin Fakhretdinov (Riḍā' al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, 1858–1936), who, in his *Āthār* III, unpublished and therefore uncensored during his lifetime, collected what contemporary Tatar scholars said about Witrī, and added his own impression.[88] From these accounts, we learn that Witrī was a respected *ḥadīth* scholar based in Medina, and that he attracted a number of Tatar scholars and students. In 1895, Witrī visited Bukhara and Samarkand, where he taught *ḥadīth* to local and Tatar students. Reportedly, he got in trouble with his Central Asian colleagues because he refused to pay a visit to the tomb of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, the popularity of which he saw as an expression of excessive shrine-cult; but then the emir of Bukhara resolved the conflict by making him precious gifts, and thereby convincing him to indeed visit the shrine.[89] Witrī then went on pilgrimage to the shrine of the *ḥadīth* scholar Imām Bukhārī, which obviously suited his image as a *ḥadīth* expert. From there he travelled on, via Astrakhan, to Kazan and Ufa, seemingly at the invitation of the mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in Ufa, Muḥammadyār Soltanov. For forty days, Witrī was lavishly accommodated by the mufti's wife in her house (the mufti himself was at Nikolai II's coronation ceremony, which was in late May 1896), and many Tatar scholars came to visit him; even Rasūlī was brought to Ufa to have conversations with him. Witrī—whose father hailed from Baghdad—did not speak Tatar, so Fakhretdinov helped translate for him, and asked him questions during the *ḥadīth* classes he gave. As Fakhretdinov reports, rumor had it that Witrī managed to collect 60,000 roubles from Russia's Muslims for pious purposes in Medina; the trip was thus of a fund-raising nature in the first place. Fakhretdinov also provides a letter in which Mufti Soltanov asked Witrī to write to wealthy Tatar merchants and ask them to donate to help establish a madrasa for Tatar students in Medina, obviously hoping to direct the flow of money to a useful goal; Witrī

87 As his name is written in several variants in various sources, we first believed that this Witrī was identical with, or related to, the well-known Muḥammad Ẓāfir b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Witrī al-Madanī (1829–1903), the son of the North African founder of the Madanīyya branch of the Shādhiliyya, and an influential person around the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbdülḥamīd II; see Fred de Jong, "Madanīyya", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 5, 948.

88 Rizaeddin Fäxreddin, *Asar*, vols III-IV, chief ed. M.A. Usmanov (Kazan: Rukhiiat, 2010), 284–305.

89 Ibid., 295.

wrote a polite response in which he completely evaded the topic.[90] In fact, he might have used the money to build for himself a splendid house in Medina,[91] and he reportedly also made money from trading precious manuscripts that he brought home from his many trips to the Maghreb, Egypt, the Hijaz and India.[92]

Fakhretdinov was not impressed by Witrī as a scholar either: as he found out in private conversations, Witrī was not aware of the legal works of the towering Kazan scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marjānī (d. 1889), and had given no thought to the problems of the northern Muslims (esp. how to perform the '*ishā*' night prayer if there is no night in summer). Also, Witrī ridiculed the political and Islamic intellectuals of the time, like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān from Bhopal, which clearly bothered Fakhretdinov.[93] The latter reports that the well-known Tatar theologian Jārallāh Bīgī (Bigiev) also described Witrī as vain and weak in scholarship;[94] and, supposedly, even Rasūlī was critical of Witrī's capacities.[95] Here, we should, however, keep in mind that Fakhretdinov, and his source Bigiev, were no friends of Sufism.

While Fakhretdinov's reports thus have to be read with caution, it is possible that Witrī was active as a broker in the first place, and that he used the social capital of his *sayyid*-status, and as an Arab from the Holy City, to impress the Tatar elite. Fakhretdinov does not mention Witrī's possible Sufi affiliations, and his report about Witrī's refusal to honor the tomb of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband casts doubts on the Witrī's credibility as a Naqshbandī. All this leaves open the possibility that Witrī only distributed *ijāza*s in order to secure the gratitude of his various hosts.

According to the text of our *ijāza* document, Witrī obtained his Shādhiliyya certificate from a certain Muḥammad Fanjīrū al-Fāsī,[96] "on my first journey

90 For the correspondence Soltanov-Witrī see Fäxreddin, *Asar* III, 289–21. Fakhretdinov mocked Witrī's lack of action, and argued Witrī should at least have composed a book on Russia's Muslims, to make them known to the Muslim world; yet for such a work, Fakhretdinov believed, Witrī would have lacked the intellectual capacity (*dirāya*). Fakhretdinov's account of Witrī has been discussed by Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 172–73, but without emphasizing Fakhretdinov's rejection of Witrī.

91 As implied in the reports of two other Tatar scholars whom Fakhretdinov quotes; ibid., 294–95 and 300–1.

92 Ibid., 302 (A Tatar scholar reports that Witrī sold manuscripts to Indian publishers).

93 Ibid., 289.

94 Ibid., 295.

95 Ibid., 296.

96 Al-Fāsī had his *ijāza* from Sīdī al-ʿArbī al-Darqāwī (d. 1823), who also provided the Madaniyya-founder Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī with an *ijāza*.

to Fez" on September 11, 1870 (18 Jumādā II 1287). This indicates that he was regularly travelling to the east and west, perhaps collecting donations and exchanging *ijāza*s.

Noteworthy, too, is the selection of prayers and litanies that Witrī mentions in this Shādhiliyya *ijāza*. At least one of them is from the context of healing ceremonies, and this is the only one where the *ijāza* provides the performative context (describing readings with spitting). As seen above with Rasūlī, who gained prominence as a healer, precisely this part of the *ijāza* might have appealed to the Khālidiyya in Russia, which, it seems, was criticized by competitors for its healing activities. The Shādhiliyya *ijāza* thus provided additional legitimacy to their healing practices. And it might have been this medical element that appealed to Sayfallāh Bashlarov, who, as seen above, practiced medicine in a number of towns and other places.[97]

That Bashlarov obtained exactly this *ijāza* from al-Ajawī we know from one of the former's letters to Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī, in which he states that he obtained a Shādhiliyya *ijāza* from Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Ḥanafī al-Naqshbandī, that is, from al-Ajawī. In this letter (dated Rabīʿ II 1333/February-March 1915, in Astrakhan), Bashlarov also provides the beginning of the *ijāza* itself, which is by and large identical to the *ijāza* that al-Ajawī obtained from al-Witrī.[98] We can therefore conclude that al-Ajawī passed his own *ijāza* from al-Witrī to Bashlarov in unchanged form, that is, with the *silsila* and with the individual litanies as given in the Witrī-Ajawī *ijāza* (that we provide in translation below). And this is also the form in which Bashlarov transmitted it further to al-Qaḥī, as we know from one of his letters.[99]

The Shādhiliyya *ijāza* from Witrī to Ajawī, which for Witrī was perhaps no more than a trading item, is thus the blueprint for the implantation of the Shādhiliyya in Daghestan, where it today represents the state-supported brand of Islam, in the form of a Maḥmūdiyya-Shādhiliyya establishment.

The Qādiriyya

It remains to be mentioned that, according to Bashlarov's own claims, in Russia he also got an *ijāza* of the Qādiriyya brotherhood.[100] This license, so he wrote in one of his letters, he obtained from the Tatar Khālidiyya shaykh Muḥammad-Murād al-Ramzī (al-Manzilawī, 1855–1934), a scholar whom we

97 The volume contains one more *ijāza* (Witrī to Ajawī) on prayers that were believed to have healing powers (fol. 70b).

98 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 128.

99 Ibid., 194–95.

100 Ibid., 91 and 125.

know above all for having composed the first Arabic translation of Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Maktūbāt* (a founding text of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya) and of al-Waʿiẓ al-Kāshifī's *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, a famous biographical compilation central to the Naqshbandiyya as a whole; to this edition he wrote an attachment in the margins, *Dhayl*, in which he provided information on later shaykhs of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya and Khālidiyya (including short entries on Rasūlī and Chisṭāwī).[101] Ramzī also wrote one of the standard historical and biographical works on Muslim scholars and Sufis of the Volga-Urals region, also in Arabic.[102]

According to Bashlarov, Ramzī gave him the Qādiriyya *ijāza* when he visited Rasūlī in Troitsk, and only in oral form;[103] obviously, this mode of transmission was not strong enough to embrace the Qādiriyya practice and to establish an active Qādiriyya presence in Daghestan. In fact, the Maḥmūdiyya shaykhs in present-day Daghestan do not train *murīd*s in Qādiriyya practices, although they do use the *nisba* "al-Qādirī" in their publications. Interestingly, Bashlarov obtained the Qādiriyya from Ramzī on the same day, August 13, 1907, that Rasūlī transferred his Naqshbandiyya *ijāza* to him—that is, in a broader package.

Conclusion

When talking about the links between the Volga-Urals and the North Caucasus, between Tatars and Bashkirs and Avars, Kumyks and other Muslim groups in Daghestan, one important observation must be made about the important function of the city of Astrakhan, which has so far not obtained much scholarly attention. Sayfallāh Bashlarov lived and worked in Astrakhan in 1861–69, and Maḥmūd al-Almālī spent time there too, and passed away in that city in 1877. Among Almālī's students in Astrakhan were Bashlarov's first and second teachers in the *ṭarīqa*, Khāṣṣ-Būlāt al-Kustākī (in Daghestan) and Muḥammad Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī (in the Tatar lands). In the late 1880s to 1891, Bashlarov again worked in Astrakhan, practicing medicine; at that time, al-Ajawī's son Ibrāhīm was residing there, and Muḥammad Murād

101 ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (with Ramzī's *Dhayl* in the margins) (Mecca, 1307 [1889–90]).

102 Ramzī, *Talfīq al-akhbār*.

103 Sayfallāh al-Nitsubkrī al-Ghāzī Ghumūqī, *Maktūbāt Khālid Sayfallāh*, 91 and 125. That an oral *ijāza* is not powerful enough to train *murīd*s in that tradition was also emphasized by M.I. Abdurakhmanov (b. 1971), *murīd* of a contemporary Maḥmūdiyya shaykh (interview Shikhaliev, March 2007).

al-Ramzī came to teach him the aforementioned *ḥadīth* collection. In early 1915, Bashlarov settled again in Astrakhan, and on March 1, 1915 he obtained an *ijāza* from al-Ajawī, probably when the latter visited his son Ibrāhīm in that city.

The goal of this chapter was to elucidate the Sufi networking of our main hero, Sayfallāh Bashlarov. He came from the Daghestani Khālidiyya tradition: one of his first teachers was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī, the most eminent Daghestani Khālidī in the post-Imāmate period. Bashlarov then continued his Sufi path with Khāṣṣ-Būlāṭ al-Kustākī, who stood not in Thughūrī's Khālidiyya line but in that of the Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya. Kustākī forwarded him to the Tatar Chisṭāwī, another disciple of Maḥmūd al-Almālī, who probably enjoyed more prestige, and who, by being successful in the Tatar lands, stood apart from the competition between Khālidīs and Maḥmūdīs in Daghestan. Many years later, Bashlarov joined, on his own initiative, Rasūlī in Troitsk in the Urals region, who gave him another Khālidiyya *ijāza* that linked him to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Gümūshkhānevī, the major Khālidī shaykh in Istanbul; and from Murād Ramzī, on the occasion of the latter's visit to Rasūlī, Bashlarov gained more Khālidiyya *ijāza*s, plus a Qādirī one. Finally, years later, Bashlarov enriched his *ijāza* connection by a Shādhiliyya one, from al-Witrī via al-Ajawī, plus more Naqshbandī *ijāza*s. How do we interpret this collection of *ijāza*s, over a lifetime?

In its classical form an *ijāza* is a formal document that completes the education process of the disciple, which often took years or decades, and that makes the former disciple a shaykh in his own right. By becoming a shaykh, the disciple enters the chain of transmission (*silsila*) of the given Sufi brotherhood, which he can pass on to future generations. An *ijāza* of this kind testifies to the perfection of the disciple, in the eyes of the master. Employing the terminology of social network studies—as Stefan Reichmuth has done in many of his writings—such an *ijāza* is a documentation of a "strong tie",[104] a relationship in which both student and master have invested over a considerable period of time, and which potentially remains close for the rest of their lives. An *ijāza* of this kind demonstrates the master's trust in the new shaykh, who ideally will become his *khalīfa* (successor) and take over from him.

But, obviously, the *ijāza* process can also be speeded up. Mawlānā Khālid, the founding father of the Khālidiyya, used the Sufi techniques of *khalwa* and *rābiṭa* to quickly educate disciples, who would then be equipped with *ijāza*s and sent back to their homelands to spread the Khālidiyya; this accounted for

104 Cf. Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties", *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973), 1360–80.

the fast expansion of the Khālidiyya into the Caucasus.[105] Gümūshkhānevī in Istanbul continued the quick *khalwa* education with people like Rasūlī, who brought it to the Urals.

At this point, the *ijāza* ceases to be a certificate for long educational processes and becomes a testimony of networking, and a tool for expanding a given shaykh's influence geographically. This quick expansion usually leads to problems of control; in their assigned regions, the new *khalīfa*s would be tempted to act independently, which resulted in the emergence of rival lines. The ultimate case of using *ijāza*s and *silsila*s for the aggrandizement of one's own political influence is perhaps Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (d. 1909), another shaykh close to the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbdülḥamīd II; as Thomas Eich has shown, Abū l-Hudā not only used *ijāza*s to establish a power base in Syria and Iraq but also attempted to minimize the influence of his competitors at the Ottoman court by arguing that their Sufi brotherhoods were in fact nothing but offshoots of his own Rifāʿiyya.[106] Here, the Sufi contents are completely overshadowed by political ambitions.

Very different is the case of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791), who, as Stefan Reichmuth has shown in his magnificent monograph, was a professional collector of Sufi affiliations. In one of his works, Zabīdī collected the *silsila*s of no less than 127 brotherhoods, into many of which he himself claimed to have obtained *ijāza*s (most notably the Chishṭiyya, Qādiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, Khalwatiyya, and Jazūliyya); the Indian polymath thus aimed to represent Sufism *in toto*, being the vessel of all Sufi lineages.[107] Zabīdī transmitted *silsila*s and *ijāza*s to a wide number of friends and acquaintances who came to visit him from all parts of the Muslim world. Here, the issuing of *ijāza*s became an expression of sympathy, and next to being a pious endeavor, the gathering of *ijāza*s from different brotherhoods appears as an archeology of the Sufi tradition. No wonder, then, that when he passed away Zabīdī left no Sufi branch, no *khalīfa*s who would carry on from where he stopped; yet still, his enormous *ijāza* collecting activities made him a respected link in the accepted transmission lines, be that of *ḥadīth* studies, genealogies or Sufism. His name also comes up repeatedly in Tatar and Daghestani *ijāza*s for *ḥadīth*.

105 Abu-Manneh, "*Khalwa* and *Rābiṭa* in the Khālidī Suborder".

106 Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī: Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung sufischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003), 60f, 168ff (Abū l-Hudā attempting to swallow the Shādhiliyya-Madaniyya). See also Eich's contribution to the present volume.

107 Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91): Life, Networks and Writings* (Oxford: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009), esp. 11–13, 35, 63, 93, 107, 293.

Against the background of these extreme cases, the *ijāza*s of our Tatar, Bashkir and Daghestani shaykhs that we discussed in this paper seem to reflect a middle way. On the one hand, our shaykhs Chisṭāwī, Rasūlī, Ajawī and Bashlarov made considerable efforts to obtain, and transmit, *ijāza*s from several transmission lines of the Naqshbandiyya: these would include the older Mujaddidiyya that linked the Volga-Urals to Central Asia and India, the Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya line that came to Russia from the North Caucasus, and the Gümūshkhānevī line that entailed a direct link to the Ottoman capital. Differences between these three lines are not accentuated, obviously to avoid conflicts within the Naqshbandiyya, but it is clear that the Khālidiyya is regarded as the top of the pile. These multiple Naqshbandiyya links were forged and maintained over a considerable period of time, by study trips and occasional visits, by mutual exchanges of students, by composing Sufi manuals, by a very active correspondence through mail, and formalized by *ijāza*s. Some shaykhs—like Shuʿayb al-Bagīnī in Daghestan, and the Tatar Ramzī in Medina—would, in their bio-/hagiographical works, cement these links for posterity, and students would use the correspondences of the various masters as texts that elucidate not only their Sufi practices but also their mutual respect and love, and their hierarchies in the *silsila*.[108]

But at the same time, our Khālidīs also experimented with two other brotherhoods, the Shādhiliyya and the Qādiriyya. These were *ṭarīqa*s that had no active presence in the Volga-Urals and in Daghestan; they were thus free to be embraced without entering into conflict with any earlier Qādirī or Shādhilī master in Russia.[109] Here, our study provides some interesting results. First, the person who brought the Shādhiliyya *silsila* to Russia, the Arab Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Witrī al-Madanī, was a *ḥadīth* scholar in the first place. This link between *ḥadīth* and Sufism is clearly reflected in our *ijāza* volumes, where *ḥadīth* is transmitted side by side with Sufism. Even more, al-Witrī was not particularly famous as a representative of the Shādhiliyya; rather, on his trips to Morocco he seems to have picked up the *ijāza* in question next to other items, and we do not know whether he attached any particular value to it.

108 Maḥmūd al-Almali's letters to Chisṭāwī were copied and used by Chisṭāwī's disciples as teaching materials; see Bustanov, "Sufizm bez granits".

109 The only potential exception being the Kunta Ḥājjī *wird*s in Chechnya, which are usually regarded as originating from the Qādiriyya; yet the Chechen *wird*s quickly developed a life of their own, and the actual Qādiriyya connection of Kunta Ḥājjī and his followers has remained very diffuse. We know of no conflicts between Kunta Ḥājjī masters and the Daghestani Maḥmūdiyya-Shādhiliyya over the latter's claim to also be Qādirīs, especially as the Maḥmūdīyya do not teach Qādiriyya practices.

Al-Witrī was a broker. That he had no strong reputation as a Shādhiliyya shaykh was not a problem for the recipients of his *ijāza*; on the contrary, they could easily accept the Shādhiliyya from him without compromising their strong ties to their previous teachers of the Naqshbandiyya lines. The Shādhiliyya was of a secondary nature, maybe at first a welcome byproduct; it would not threaten or supersede the core Naqshbandiyya identity of the recipients. The same goes for the Qādiriyya links that Ramzī transmitted to Bashlarov, and Ramzī was even careful enough to not transmit the Qādiriyya in written form, which might have led to the emergence of Qādiriyya offshoots. The oral Qādiriyya line was thus meant to remain on a symbolic level,[110] to bolster the claim of the Naqshbandīs—already known from Sirhindī and the Central Asian Dahbīdiyya[111]—that their *ṭarīqa* includes many others.

But the Shādhiliyya did make considerable progress in Daghestan, although it remained subordinate to the Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya. The Shādhiliyya came through what sociologist Granovetter called a "weak tie", a one-time meeting with considerable effect, because or in spite of the fact that it was not followed up.[112] Bashlarov transmitted his Khālidiyya (Maḥmūdiyya and Ḍiyā'iyya) and Shādhiliyya *ijāza*s to his only disciple and successor (*khalīfa*), Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī (d. 1937), who came from the Avar village of Kahkhib.[113] Before becoming Bashlarov's disciple, al-Qaḥī had already earned Maḥmūdiyya *ijāza*s from his first masters, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Asalī (d. 1904), from the Avar village of Assab, and Shuʿayb al-Bagīnī (1856–1912), from the Avar village of Baginub; Bashlarov's *ijāza* superseded these earlier links. The Naqshbandiyya and Shādhiliyya links were then transmitted further, obviously in a package, to al-Qaḥī's disciple Muḥammad, from Assab (d. 1942), and then went on to Ḥumayd Afandī of Andykh (d. 1952), Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Urib (d. 1967), to Ḥasan Ḥilmī al-Qaḥī's own son Muḥammad-ʿĀrif (d. 1977), Muḥammad-Saʿadu-Ḥājjī of Nizhnii Batlukh (d. 1995), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Afandī of Verkhnee Inkho (d. 1977), Ḥamzat

110 In the course of the 20th century, Maḥmūdiyya and Khālidiyya shaykhs engaged with each other in disputes about the legitimacy of oral *ijāza*s, with Maḥmūdīs claiming that there were no more Khālidiyya shaykhs after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī, for the latter had left no written *ijāza*. See Shamil Shikhaliev, "Sufische Bildung in Dagestan", *Repression, Anpassung, Neuorientierung. Studien zum Islam in der in der Sowjetunion und dem post-sowjetischen Raum*, ed. Raoul Motika, Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013), 141–68.

111 Florian Schwarz, "*Unser Weg schliesst tausend Wege ein*": *Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000).

112 Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties".

113 It was only in 1917 that Bashlarov transmitted his Khālidiyya *ijāza* from Rasūlī to Qaḥī, although he had obtained this *ijāza* in 1907; this might have been out of respect for Rasūlī, who passed away in 1917.

Afandī of Tlokh (d. 1977), and Muḥammad Afandī of Khuchada (d. 1987). The latter passed the *ijāza* on to Saʿīd Afandī Chirkeevskii (Atsaev, 1937–2012).

In the early 1990s, this Saʿīd Afandī became Russia's most famous Sufi master. He brought the Daghestani Muftiate under his control and established teaching institutes to produce the imāms that would then be assigned to Daghestani mosques. While he outmaneuvered his Khālidiyya competitors, Saʿīd-Afandī's group became the target of the rising radical groups in the country, and in 2012 he was assassinated by a female suicide bomber.[114]

This Maḥmūdiyya/Shādhiliyya condominium, shaped by Bashlarov and brought to political prominence by Saʿīd-Afandī Chirkeevskii, is still the dominant brotherhood in the Republic of Daghestan; the republican leadership and the Kremlin support it as a bulwark against Islamic radicalism and terrorism.[115] Accordingly, the *ijāza*s that we discussed above are directly connected to the choices that the Daghestani authorities have made in their religious policies.

Separated in time and space from their original setting (the Maghrib), this Shādhiliyya link was an innovation in Daghestan, and took on new functions and meanings in its interaction with the dominant Khālidiyya. Bashlarov employed his "quick" Shādhiliyya *ijāza* from Ajawī to introduce the Shādhiliyya as a form of propedeutic to his Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya. Since Bashlarov, and up to the present day, the Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya masters in Daghestan reserve the Maḥmūdiyya teachings and practices to the advanced *murīd*s who are ready to devote their whole life to Sufism, while broader circles of followers are introduced only to the practices of the Shādhiliyya. The latter's repertoire includes the popular loud (vocal) *dhikr* that the Maḥmūdiyya otherwise does not practice; in fact, the Maḥmūdiyya shaykhs criticize the loud *dhikr* when it is practiced in the Naqshbandiyya but conduct it themselves in the framework of the Shādhiliyya. With the addition of the Shādhiliyya elements to their repertoire, the Maḥmūdiyya shaykhs obtained effective and popular instruments (taken from the Shādhiliyya) to gain more followers while keeping the core Maḥmūdiyya group quite closed and avoiding accusations that they violate the Naqshbandiyya principle that the *dhikr* should not include chanting

114 Kemper, "The Discourse of Said-Afandi, Daghestan's Foremost Sufi Master", 167–218.

115 For the Maḥmūdiyya takeover of the Muftiate, see "Epilogue: The Split of DUMSK and the Split of DUMD", in Michael Kemper and Shamil Shikhaliev, "Administrative Islam: Two Soviet Fatwas from the North Caucasus", in *Islamic Authority and the Russian Language*, ed. by Bustanov and Kemper, 55–102, pp. 99–102. Cf. Michael Kemper and Shamil Shikhaliev, "Islam and Political Violence in Post-Soviet Daghestan: Discursive Strategies of the Sufi Masters", *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 17, special issue: *Constellations of the Caucasus: Empires, Peoples, and Faiths*, ed. by Michael Reynolds (2016), 117–54.

and shouting (remember that Rasūlī, in Russia, had been attacked precisely for the ecstatic elements in the ceremonies he conducted). This division of instruments enhanced the Maḥmūdiyya's outreach while not threatening the integrity of the core group.[116] Up to the present day, the Maḥmūdiyya opposes the loud *dhikr* as part of the Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya ritual, whereas their competitors from the rival Khālidiyya branch do practice it as part of the Naqshbandiyya tradition; for the Maḥmūdiyya, the Shādhiliyya's loud *dhikr* is thus a means to distinguish themselves from their Naqshbandiyya rivals.

Note that while Bashlarov was a Lak by nationality, all his Maḥmūdiyya disciples were ethnic Avars, up to the present day; only on the Shādhiliyya level did Said-Afandī elevate non-Avars to the rank of *khalīfa* (as in the case of the Kumyk Arslanali Gamzatov, b. 1954).[117] An "emancipation" of the Daghestani Shādhiliyya from their Khālidiyya Maḥmūdiyya masters, and of the Kumyks from the Avars within the condominium, has so far been prevented.

Appendix: Witrī's Shādhiliyya *ijāza* for al-Ajawī

Institut vostochnykh rukopisei Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk (St. Petersburg), MS C2302, fol. 63.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful,

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, and blessing and peace be upon our master Muḥammad, and on his family and his companions.

I just gave an *ijāza* to our brother in Allah the Almighty, the pious scholar, the successful person of refined manners, the outstanding *khwāja*[118] Dāmullā Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Ajawī al-Khānkirmānī, [an *ijāza* for teaching] the elevated Sufi order of the Shādhiliyya, may Allah let us derive the benefits from [the intercession of] their masters. [This I did] after I taught him (*talaqqantuhu*) the Expression of Unity (*kalimat al-tawḥīd*), and after I took his hand (*ṣāfaḥtuhu*),[119] and after I exchanged an oath

116 Kemper, "Khālidiyya Networks in Daghestan and the Question of *Jihād*", *Die Welt des Islams* 42.1 (2002), 41–71.

117 On Gamzatov, see Shamil Shikhaliev, "Iz istorii poiavleniia v Dagestane posledovatelei nakshbandiiskogo i shaziliiskogo tarikatov", *Gosudarstvo i religiia v Dagestane. Informastionno-analiticheskii biulleten'* 1.4 (2003), 39–57, p. 50.

118 The epithet *khwāja* can be read here as reflecting the circumstance that the recipient already belonged to the Naqshbandiyya, the *ṭarīq-i khwājagān*, "Path of the Masters".

119 This *muṣāfaḥa* is part of the initiation rite. Shaykh and novice sit opposite each other, pressing their knees against those of the other, the *murīd* puts his hands on his own knees, and the shaykh lays his hands on those of the *murīd*.

with him (*ʿāhadtuhu*) and gave him permission (*adhintu lahu*) to read the required Shādhiliyya recitations (*al-waẓīfa al-shādhiliyya*) in the mornings and in the evenings. The first of these is the *ṣalāt al-mashīshiyya*.[120] [I also gave him permission] to read the litany (*wird*) every day after the morning prayer and after the evening prayer, and this [*wird*] is *lā ilāha illā Llāh* ["there is no god but Allah"], a hundred times. And the *istaghfur Allāh* [a prayer for asking Allah's forgiveness], which is *lā ilāha illā huwa al-ḥayy al-qayyum* ["there is no god but Him, the Living and the Eternal"], and *atūbu ilayhi* ["I repent to Him"], without adding [to the word Allah] the word *al-ʿaẓīm* ["the Great", one of Allah's names];[121] this is done a hundred times, and *al-ṣalāt al-ummiyya* [is done] a hundred times, [and I admonished him] to be steadfast in continuing the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Allah the Almighty until it is to him like daily food, and to keep the spiritual and physical ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), and to be forgiving towards the community of Muḥammad (*al-umma al-muḥammadiyya*).

And the foundation for this all is to fear Allah the Almighty and to observe him (*murāqabatuhu*) internally and externally.

I received this all in this manner from our shaykh who knows Allah the Almighty, and who lived for more than a hundred years, our Master al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Fanjīrū al-Fāsī al-Maghribī,[122] during my first journey to Fez, on 18th of Jumādā II, in the year 1287 [September 14, 1870], Allah be merciful on him. And he [Muḥammad Fanjīrū al-Fāsī] took the brotherhood—may Allah make us derive benefits from it—from the knower of Allah the Almighty, the perfect saint (*walī*) Sīdī[123] al-ʿArbī al-Darqāwī al-Zarhūnī; and the latter [took it] from the knower of Allah the Almighty, the Ocean of Elixiers (*baḥr al-kīmiyā'*) Sīdī Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿImrānī, [who was] from the notables of the tribe of ʿImrān, wearing the honorific name of Jamāl; from Sīdī al-ʿArbī b. ʿAbdallāh; from his father, the knower of Allah the Almighty Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad; from the knower of Allah the Almighty Sīdī Qāsim al-Akhṣāṣī; from the knower of Allah Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh; from the knower of Allah the Almighty Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Fihrī; from his brother the knower of Allah the Almighty Abū l-Maḥāsin Sīdī Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Fihrī; from the knower of Allah the Almighty Abū Salīm Ibrāhīm b. al-Zawāwī al-Tūnisī; from the knower of Allah the Almighty Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Zarrūq, who died 899 [1493]; from the knower of Allah Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUqba al-Ḥaḍramī (?); from the knower of Allah Sīdī Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Wafā'ī; from his uncle Sīdī ʿAlī b. Wafā; from Sīdī Dāwūd al-Bākhilī al-Iskandarī; from Tāj al-Dīn b. ʿAtā'allāh; from Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Marsī; from the great knower [of Allah], the leader (*imām*) of the *ṭarīqa*, Sīdī Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b.

120 Named after Ibn Mashīsh (d. 1227), the spiritual master of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī.

121 In everyday situations, when pronouncing "Allah", Muslims often add *al-ʿaẓīm* to it; this should not be done here.

122 Died 1289/1872–73.

123 Lit. Sayyidī, "my Lord/Master".

ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī, who is famous as al-Shādhilī, and who died in 656 [1258], and who was born in 571,[124] may Allah the Almighty make us benefit from him and from the other shaykhs of the *ṭarīqa*, amen.

And the chain of the knower al-Shādhilī and his outstanding masters [goes back to] our master ʿAlī b. Abū Talib, in the way that is well-known and famous so that I do not need to repeat it here.

And I also gave an *ijāza* to the aforementioned [al-Ajawī] that he himself can give *ijāza*s [of the Shādhiliyya] to anybody in whom he sees an aptitude for Allah's emanations (*fayḍ*). This is a complete, independent, and general *ijāza* (*ijāza tāmma muṭlaqa ʿāmma*). [I admonished him] to not forget me in his pious invocation (*duʿā'*, i.e. to Allah) after reading the *wird*, may Allah grant me and him success, and to the people whom He loves and with whom He is satisfied.

And I also gave him an *ijāza* to write for each malady and sickness the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, without dropping any of the letters, and then washing [them out in water], or attaching them [to a string in order to produce a talisman];[125] and that he says to the present [sick person]: *yā salām*, 120 times, and then spits at him with his saliva (*min rīqihi*).[126]

This I said with my mouth, and wrote with my pen; and I am the small servant [of Allah], a stupid person who acknowledges his weaknesses and shortcomings, the dust on the shoes of the real knowers [of Allah], Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid Ẓāhir al-Witrī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Naqshbandī al-Qādirī al-Shādhilī al-Madanī, servant of knowledge (*ʿilm*) and *ḥadīth*, in the Noble Mosque of the Prophet, on 23 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1320 [February 20, 1903], in the City of Medina that lightens her inhabitants. The best prayer and greetings [to the recipient].

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124 According to standard sources, Shādhilī lived 593–656 (1196–1258).

125 In Avar, such an amulet is known as a *sabab*; in Kumyk it is a *heykel*.

126 This is a well-known practice in Daghestan. After writing the *Fātiḥa* (or other text fragments) the ink is dissolved in water (in some variants: in water collected from seven different springs), and the patient drinks it. If the patient is present, then the master pronounces the "yā salām", if he is absent, he just gives the paper (or the water with the paper) to the relatives who came to see him. On Fridays, the patient also washes himself with that water. Only shaykhs who have received an *ijāza* for this particular practice are allowed to perform it.

CHAPTER 8

Against Leviathan: On the Ethics of Islamic Poetry in Soviet Russia[1]

Alfrid K. Bustanov

Introduction

The well-established narrative on the history of Islamic communities in the Soviet Union contains a tragic story of cutting off the living tradition of Islamic thought by killing the elites, burning private libraries and destroying religious schools and mosques, all with the aim of creating a new type of individual with a Soviet mindset.[2] This is the narrative that I struggle with in my research. The documents that I work with clearly demonstrate that the Soviet regime did not completely wipe out Muslim literature, however harsh and destructive the impact of its repressions might have been. What I see in the private archives stemming from the Soviet era is that, under the new circumstances, religious thought developed its own dynamics, and the religious elites learned to express themselves in new ways. The Friday sermon (Ar.: *waʿẓ*; Tatar: *vägaz'*) gained a new role, as it was the major officially-sanctioned form of public religious communication throughout the whole Soviet era. In a state that understood itself as atheist, new genres of religious prose appeared. The scholars of Islam who did not perish in the labor camps continued producing sophisticated religious texts of traditional character, including Qur'ān commentaries and short theological treatises. In 1944, the Soviets re-established the muftiate for the European part of Russia and Siberia, and this administered the small number of officially-sanctioned mosques and a network of *imām*s in this vast

1 This research was conducted between the years 2013 and 2017, and supported by the Dutch Scientific Foundation (NWO) under the framework of the research project "The Russian Language of Islam", as well as by the TAIF Company (Republic of Tatarstan).

2 On the destruction of Islamic infrastructure and the repression of the Tatar elites in the 1920s and 1930s, see Il'nur Minnullin, *Musul'manskoe dukhovenstvo i vlast' v Tatarstane (1920–1930 gg.)* (Kazan: Institut Istorii, 2006); Il'nur Minnullin, "Schrittweiser Vollzug: Die Vernichtung der islamischen Geistlichkeit Tatarstans, 1917–1938", *Repression, Anpassung, Neuorientierung: Studien zum Islam in der Sowjetunion und dem postsowjetischen Raum*, ed. by Raoul Motika, Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013), 169–214.

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area. These Soviet *imām*s also produced religious literature, even if it was never printed.

This article argues that, in these circles, Islamic poetry in Tatar or Arabic became a popular form of expressing piety. This poetry was also used as a powerful tool for combating enemies both inside and outside of the religious community. What I am studying is how the traditional genre of pious poetry accommodated or resisted the new contexts of Socialist reality. For this purpose, I look at four case-studies from different settings.

Stylistically-refined language using rhythm and rhyme is familiar to every *madrasa* student. Most of the schools' texts are meant to be memorized and then recited by heart—including verses on the rules of Arabic grammar and of Qur'ān recitation, often according to a certain mode (*maqām*) that makes it easier to keep them in mind. The Qur'ān, itself a form of rhymed prose, provided the standard for much pious writing, and served as a reference and model for generations of Muslim scholars. As many didactic school texts were written in verse, the standard Islamic education taught young co-religionists to think and express themselves in that medium.[3] Yet in traditional Muslim schools there were no special classes teaching poetry composition and what social functions it could have. From quite early on, the actual art of composing poetry (*ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*) became a matter of status for properly-educated Islamic scholars and Sufis, who would recite their works to each other at literary debates and competitions (*maḥāfil*). Almost every Muslim scholar in the Russian Empire engaged in the writing of poetry in order to demonstrate familiarity with wider literary worlds. To take one example, when the Tatar scholar ʿĀlimjān al-Bārūdī (1857–1921), in his diaries from August 1920, suddenly includes a Persian poem that he himself wrote,[4] this was not only to show his erudition and literary skills, but also to have it recited in an audience familiar with Persianate cultural codes. In Daghestan particularly, the local poetical tradition in classical Arabic produced a huge body of texts of the highest caliber.[5] The powerful genre of pious poetry survived in Soviet Russia and Central Asia[6]

3 See Anke von Kügelgen's article on Islamic school texts in this volume.

4 ʿAlimjān al-Bārūdī, *Köndälek*, MS Kazan, University Library 1604 T, fol. 151a. His students at the Muḥammadiyya madrasa in Kazan also held that "to compose and learn poetry is crucial" (short sentence accompanying Arabic verses in a student notebook: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, A 1219, fol. 138a).

5 For example, Magomed Gaidarbekov, *Antologiia dagestanskoi poezii na arabskom iazyke*, manuscript kept at the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography in Makhachkala, Daghestan.

6 While on a short visit to Astana in winter 2014, at the central mosque I was shown a solid manuscript volume with ethical poetry in Turkic. The book was composed in northern

despite anti-religious policies and the state-enforced radical departure from Arabic script for public use.

From my experience of working at the Oriental Sector of Kazan University Library, one of the largest Islamic manuscript collections in Russia,[7] I would estimate that in terms of manuscript volumes half of the whole written heritage of Russia's Muslims has come down to us in the form of religious poetry.[8] Several texts from this body were crucial for the building of Muslim identity. The most famous example is probably the *Qiṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* ("Tale of Joseph") by Qul ʿAlī (13th century). Largely based on the Qur'ānic narrative of the prophet Joseph and written in Turkic, this poem had a wide circulation among the Muslims of Russia, from Nizhnii Novgorod in the west to the Baraba Steppe in the east.[9] This geography indicates the actual borders of a religious and literary community, one which often included the baptized Tatars who read and transmitted that same work. At least since the late 18th century, some masterpieces of Persian ethical poetry were also popular in Inner Russia, the most famous being Saʿdī's *Busṭān* ("The Rose Garden").

Madrasa students memorized similar works, as indicated by short excerpts that we often find written in the margins of other books that they copied. Starting from approximately the early 19th century, student notebooks, in Tatar literature called *shäkerd däftäre*, include portions of Arabic, Persian, or Turkic poetry, often composed by the students themselves. In late Tsarist Russia, such notebooks had developed into fully-fledged collections of the poetry popular

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Kazakhstan in the milieu of the *khwāja* hereditary communal elite of the late 1950s. A seminal work on the biographies of Kazakh religious scholars of the Soviet era composed in the Stagnation period contains large amounts of poetry: Sadwaqas Ghilmani, *Biographies of the Islamic Scholars of Our Times*, vol. 1, ed. by Ashirbek K. Muminov and Allen J. Frank (Almaty, 2015). To the best of my knowledge, no research has thus far been undertaken to put this rich poetical legacy into historical context.

7 For the history of the Oriental Sector of the Kazan University Library see Diliara Usmanova's chapter in this volume.

8 For a broad introduction to Islamic poetry of Inner Russia see: Kh.R. Kurbatov, *Iske tatar poeziyasendä tel, stil', metrika häm strofika* (Kazan, 1984).

9 For a detailed analysis of the importance of *Qiṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* see Dzhavad Almaz, *Kissa-i Iusuf Ali—bulgaro-tatarskii pamiatnik* (Moscow, 1960); Agnes Nilufer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy, and Literacy* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2014), chapter 2; Mirkasïym Gosmanov, *Qaurïy qaläm ezennän. Arkheograf yazmalarï* (Kazan, 1994), 105–55. A Tatar scholar of literature, Al'bert Fatkhiev, wrote extensively on the ideological and ethical sides of Qissa-yi Yusuf, but none of these studies were published. On Fatkhiev's oeuvre, cf. Alfrid Bustanov, "Lichnyi arkhiv tatarskogo arkheografa Al'berta Fatkhi i vostochnaia arkheografiia v Kazanskom universitete vo vtoroi polovine XX veka", *Islam v sovremennom mire* 11.1 (2015), 159–74.

at that time, sometimes in new translations. Over the 19th century, Muslim scholars produced thousands of versed lines, and only a small part of this vast legacy has so far been published and properly studied.[10]

This article introduces several cases of Muslim moral poetry produced between the 1930s and 1980s in different areas of the Soviet Union. In the first part, I draw attention to a Sufi-minded author who embarked upon literary activities under Stalin, right before the Great Terror. This case, stemming from the city of Kazan, documents a living tradition that has much in common with similar texts from the Tsarist period; this work was thus being developed in isolation from, and as a counterpoint to, the terrifying Socialist reality of those years. The second part of my article brings us to the Penza region, and studies the oeuvre of an unofficial *imām*—that is, an *imām* who served his community without having a license from the official Islamic spiritual administration. This poet quarreled with the state-appointed religious figures of the time by means of writing ethical poetry. While this case testifies to the struggle inside the Muslim community, the third case, from rural Western Siberia, exemplifies a life-long combat against the writers' Soviet-minded slanderers. And finally, the last example I want to introduce here is a complex case from late Socialist Leningrad, where an *imām* of the local mosque constantly produced religious texts, including poetry, and participated in clashes over authority in which poetry became a central instrument for attack and defense.

There must be many more examples of Islamic poetry from the Soviet era, from similar or other contexts, written for a whole variety of purposes;[11] the few cases introduced here might serve as a starting point for a serious investigation of Muslim literary activity under the Soviet regime, in local and transregional contexts.

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10 *Gäbderäxim Utïz Imäni äl-Bolgari, Shigïrlär, poemalar*, edition of the text by Änvär Shäripov, introd. by M.A. Usmanov (Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näshriyatï, 1986); *Gabdeljabbar Qandalïy, Shigïrlär häm poemalar*, edition of the text, annotations and introduction by M. Gosmanov (Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näshriyatï, 1988); Ilham Gomärov, *Mägrifät jïrchïsï. Gali Chokrïyning tormïsh häm ijat sähifäläre* (Kazan, 2006); Alsu Khasavnekh, *Filosofsko-eticheskie motivy v sufiiskoi poezii Abul'manikha Kargalyi* (Kazan, 2015); Michael Kemper and Diliara Usmanova, "Vaisovskoe dvizhenie v zerkale sobstvennykh proshenii i poem", *Gasyrlar avazy—Ekho vekov* 3–4 (2001), 83–128.

11 One would be Ṣādiq Īmānqulī (b. 1870, perished in a Soviet labor camp in 1932), a prominent scholar of the early Soviet period who wrote an extensive commentary of the Qur'ān as well as a collection of pious verses. His language has much in common with that of Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī. See Mulla Sadïyq Imanqolïy, *Münäjatlär. Gazällär. Qasïydälär*, ed. by Masgut Gainetdinov (Kazan, 2000). On the author see: Marsel' Akhmetzianov, "Shagïyr' häm din galime", *Miras* 9 (1995), 78.

All of the Arabic-script texts analyzed below have miraculously survived in private archives from across the Russian Federation, and I gathered them during my years of fieldwork. The one exception is a collection of Arabic poetry from Sverdlovsk region, because its composer, Mükärämä Välieva, donated it to the fieldwork members of the manuscript expedition of Kazan State University in 1980.[12]

Sufi Isolationism under Stalin: Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī

In Fall 2013, I worked in the private archive of a prominent *imām* of late Socialist Kazan, ʿAbd al-Khabīr Yārallāh (Iarullin), and came across a small notebook with calligraphic handwriting. It turned out that this collection of Tatar poetry was authored by a Naqshbandī shaykh named Qiyyām al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qadīr al-Qādirī al-Nūrlāṭī (ca. 1882–1951). According to his own verses, al-Qādirī was born somewhere on the Kondurcha River where it flows very close to the settlement of Nurlat, hence his attributive name (*nisba*) al-Nūrlāṭī. In the early 20th century, al-Qādirī studied at the famous Kizläü[13] madrasa near Nurlat and received a license to instruct students on the Sufi path.[14] In 1913, he set out on a trip to Hungary, Austria, and Turkey, but did not yet perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. Between 1922 and 1929, Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī served as a village *imām* in Oly Artash (in what is today Saba region of the Republic of Tatarstan). From 1924, the OGPU Secret Police had started to keep a close eye on al-Qādirī's activities as a Sufi authority. We know that al-Qādirī was repeatedly put in prison or sent to labor camps, but he survived.

From around 1941, al-Qādirī held the position of *imām* at the Marjānī mosque in Kazan, the only mosque that remained open in that city during the entire Soviet era, and he also held the title of *qāḍī*, which in the Soviet era meant he was a Tatarstani representative of the Ufa Muslim Spiritual Administration that Stalin revived in 1944. In this position, he produced a Tatar-language

12 Mükärämä Välieva, *Majmuʿat al-ashʿār* (1946), MS Kazan, University Library 6092 T.

13 This place name originates from the word *kizläü*, "a natural spring". There is a spring near the village that is regarded as holy and strongly associated with the sanctity of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Kizlāwī (d. 1823), the founder of the local dynasty of Sufi authorities. Often this spring is also named after Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh.

14 The particular line of spiritual descent that al-Qadiri had inherited via ʿUbayd Allāh al-Kizlāwī goes back to a Mujaddidī Shaykh Fayḍkhān al-Kābulī (d. 1803), a famous teacher of many students from the Volga-Urals at the turn of the 18th century. This line of succession was the most powerful in Inner Russia and its network survived in the region at least until the 1950s.

FIGURE 1
Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī at the conference in Ufa, 1947. Fragment of a group photograph (from the private archive of the Isaev family, St. Petersburg).

fatwā in which he called upon his co-religionists to support the fight against the Nazis, with quotations from the Qur'ān and the prophetic traditions.[15] In 1945, al-Qādirī was included in the first Soviet delegation that, headed by the Ufa mufti ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rasūlī (Rasulev), was allowed to perform the *ḥajj*.[16] On photographs, we see al-Qādirī among the Muslim scholars at an Islamic conference in Ufa in 1947, and then at the election of the new mufti, Shākir Khyialetdinov (1890–1974), in 1951. Most probably, al-Qādirī passed away soon after this, since in 1952 his position at the Marjānī mosque was held by Ismāʿīl Mushtarī (1888–1962).

The reason why al-Qādirī wrote poetry was the tragic path of his life, as he claims himself. In a small poem written on April 9, 1935, al-Qādirī confessed

15 MS 3742, Institute of Language, Literature and Art of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, archive of written and musical heritage. This *fatwā* should not be mistaken for a similar call disseminated at approximately the same time by Mufti ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rasūlī (1889–1950). See Jeff Eden, "A Soviet Jihad against Hitler: Ishan Babakhan Calls Central Asian Muslims to War", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59.1–2 (2016), 237–64.

16 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rasūlī (mufti of the Muslim Spiritual Administration in Ufa from 1943 to 1950) was the son of the Khālidiyya shaykh Zaynallāh Rasūlī (d. 1917).

that some people warned him to not write poetry, because it is useless; still, al-Qādirī always carried his notebook with him to write down occasional verses, since "to pass through a moment of history one needs a way // Everyone then has to take a lesson from it".[17] Writing was, for al-Qādirī, the only means to escape the terrible reality of the 1930s. Al-Qādirī thus linked his personal experience of the difficulties of the early years of the Soviet empire to the Sufi *topos* of wandering alone, far from home, in the *gorbät*, the world to which one does not belong. The author writes about himself as being nothing but a hopeless sinner (*gonāhkār*). Hence his political quietism, and his orientation towards patience, enduring and the purification of the soul in the historical period that a person happens to live in.

The only piece of writing that we have from al-Qādirī so far is his notebook that survived at ʿAbd al-Khabīr Iarullin's home. How did the manuscript end up there? According to the historian Nail' Tairov, of Kazan, the two Muslim authorities knew each other well. Iarullin, who only died in 1994, remembered al-Qādirī as a scholar with whom he spent time in a labor camp in the early 1930s.[18] It is safe to assume that, after their relatively short period of imprisonment, the two continued to communicate in Kazan, since the Marjānī mosque became the only place of public meetings for the city's practicing Muslims. At a certain point, al-Qādirī's precious notebook fell into the hands of Iarullin, who was fond of old literature and held Tatar Muslim writers in high esteem.

Al-Qādirī's notebook is a good example of literary experiments: one and the same poem appears in different versions throughout the manuscript. As well as Tatar poetry, the booklet contains some Arabic verses, Tatar translations of some prophetic traditions, and a description of two dreams, in one of which al-Qādirī meets the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Qādirī also provides autobiographic verses and short poems (*qaṣīda*s) dedicated to his relatives and friends, to thank them for their help during his period of imprisonment in the 1930s. Al-Qādirī does not provide details on why and when he was put in prison (*zindan*) and does not blame anyone for bringing this fate upon him; for him, it was a time of difficulty (*yamansu chaqlarïm*), and only his friends Mingullah and Zainap, together with his wife Himaya, visited him. The hard work in a labor camp in Siberia almost drove him crazy, as al-Qādirī complained in his

17 Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī, [*Münäjat*], MS Kazan, University Library 5940 T, fol. 4b: "Tarikhi däverdän ütü öchen kiräk ber chara // Gïibrätlänmäk tiesh bulïr khär kürgännän barcha da".

18 Nail Tairov, *Akchuriny* (Kazan, 2002), 68; interview by the author with Nail' Iarullin, the grandson of ʿAbd al-Khabīr Yārallāh, July 25, 2016.

verses.[19] He mentions by name his wife, three daughters, and a son. Upon his return from Siberia, al-Qādirī was again separated from his children,[20] probably because he was classified as a public enemy and exiled to a place remote from Kazan. And indeed, he was an opponent of state policies: in one of his short verses from the early 1930s, al-Qādirī calls upon his audience not to listen to the "evil propaganda" (*yalgan däg'va*) of collectivization: Muslims should not give their property away, since it fuels the fire that will torture its owners in Hell.[21] Given all the personal problems caused by the political regime, al-Qādirī describes his epoch in an eschatological light, as a time immediately preceding the Day of Judgement:

> Our time is unprecedented in happiness
> We have been striving on the path of religion, let our graves be full of light
> This is a lesson for us, a time of examination
> Let's be patient to what will happen to us, without joining the group of unbelievers.[22]

This *topos* of pious defiance coupled with resignation reminds us of the verses composed by Bahā' al-Dīn Vaisov (d. 1893), another Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya master of the Volga-Urals from the late 1880s.[23] The continuity with pre-revolutionary Islamic literature is also clear from other poems. Al-Qādirī's notebook contains a section in which he describes his travel somewhere on a steamboat. While this travel was not for the purpose of the *ḥajj* (which he could perform only in 1945), the way he describes his voyage and its dangers—a fire broke out on the boat—reminds us very much of the traditional Tatar *ḥajj* accounts (*ḥajj-nāmä*). The latter emphasize the pain of being separated from one's family, and al-Qādirī also writes about two crying babies that he left behind.[24]

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19 Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī, [*Münäjat*], MS Kazan, University Library 5940 T, fols. 15a, 17a, 52b.

20 Ibid., fol. 52b.

21 "Yalgan dägvagïz ilä kilmägez minem hozurïma // dägvagïznï isbät itkäch, malïn birsäm üzegezgä // ul kemsägä alïp birgän malï uttan ber ölesh // äy, ömmätem, batïyl dägvalardan saqlan vä tïrïsh". Ibid., fol. 28b.

22 "Bu tarixi däveremez mislesez zur bäxettän // Sägïy ittek din yulïnda, nur balqïsïn lähettän // Sïnau bara üzemezdän, bu—imtihan däveremez // Sabïr itik här kürgängä, bulmïyq käfer qüramï". Ibid., fol. 28a.

23 Bahā' al-Dīn Vayszāda, *Jawāhīr-i ḥikmat-i darvishān*, 2 vols (Kazan, 1907).

24 For similar tropes see 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ramaḍān, *Ḥajj-nāmä* (Astrakhan, 1910).

Another element of continuity with late-19th century Islamic poetry is praise of nature. The Sufi poet ʿAlī Choqrī (d. 1889) had held Sufi conventions in his garden, which, as his son ʿĀrifallāh Choqrī described, was turned into a mosque in the open, with bees and trees and water.[25] Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī continues this trend of describing nature, for instance in a fragment entitled *Mäüläm güzäl* ("My Lord is Beautiful"), in which he hints at the famous prophetic tradition *huwa l-jamīl wa-yuḥibbu l-jamāl* ("He [God] is beautiful and loves beauty"). Al-Qādirī argues that God created everything in the world in the most beautiful manner, so even the smallest creatures (*makhlūqāt*) contain in themselves the divine secrets (*Allah äsrarï*); nature must be seen as a classroom for gaining spiritual knowledge, and forests and rivers are linked here with the Sufi path. No surprise, therefore, that "What a miracle: water gives its impact and the frogs croak // Our teacher Kizläwi educated many students".[26] All creatures perform the rite of God's remembrance (*ziker asha sämag*), and humans should do the same.

Al-Qādirī was personally acquainted with many prominent religious figures of the Volga-Urals region of his era. After the first Soviet mufti, ʿĀlimjān al-Bārūdī, passed away in Moscow in 1921, al-Qādirī composed an extensive elegy (*marthiya*) in his praise.[27] This literary piece is very traditional in its structure: the author starts with information on the teachers of the deceased, his education in Bukhara, and his travel to the Near East; he then reminds us that Bārūdī established the famous Muḥammadiya madrasa in Kazan and even gives a detailed description of its curriculum (from which we may infer that al-Qādirī himself studied there). At the end of the elegy, al-Qādirī provides the names of Bārūdī's Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya shaykhs, namely Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gümūshkhānavī (Gümüşhanevi), Zaynallāh al-Ṭrūyskī (Rasulev), and Muḥammad-Dhākir al-Chisṭāwī,[28] plus a list of al-Qādirī's teachers at the Muḥammadiyya.

This poem in praise of al-Bārūdī is followed by short panegyrics (*tahniʾa*) devoted to other members of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly (the muftiate

25 Michael Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789–1889: Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1998), 377–79.

26 Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī, [*Münäjat*], MS Kazan, University Library 5940 T, fol. 4b: "Gajäp hikmät: täesir birä su, baqalar görläve // Küp möridlär tärbiya qïldï bezneng ishan Kizlävi".

27 Ibid., fols. 53b–55b. Peculiarly enough, another *marthiya* devoted to Bārūdī was produced by Ṣādiq Īmānqulī, to whom I referred above (note 11): Imanqolïy, *Münäjatlär. Gazällär. Qasïydälär*, 37–39. Cf. poetry in praise of Bārūdī by his students: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, MS A 1219, fols. 29b–40b, 157b–161a.

28 On these three masters see the chapter by Shamil Shikhaliev and Michael Kemper in this volume.

in Ufa), including Bārūdī's successor as mufti, Riḍā' al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn (Fakhreddinov), and the *qāḍī*s Kashshāf Tarjimānī, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Kamālī, Mahdī Ma'qūlī, and the female judge Mukhliṣa Būbī. This part of the poem hints at the fact that al-Qādirī was very close to Russia's Muslim establishment well before he became a *qāḍī* of Tatarstan during the war. After the death of Mufti Fakhreddinov in 1936, all of these members of the Spiritual Assembly were imprisoned and subsequently executed.[29] Al-Qādirī survived.

The sources discussed above contain traditional verse forms (like the *qaṣīda*) and traditional poetic genres, especially the elegy (*marthiya*) but also *munājāt* (invocations of God) and the *tahni'a* (congratulation verses). Continuity is also evident from the conservative literary language that our author maintained, with many Arabic and Persian loanwords (which by that time had been purged from the official Soviet Tatar literary language), and with a terminology and metaphors of the Sufi tradition that had, officially, already been exterminated. These aggressive linguistic experiments, the state's open persecution of Muslim authorities, and the changes in society are not the topic of this poetry; rather, the author withdraws into calls for patience and praise of God. This isolationism again reminds us of how the Islamic discourse functioned in Imperial Russia before the 1880s: the Muslim scholars and poets of Inner Russia struggled to preserve the borders of their community, and at least part of the Islamic literature that they produced could evoke the impression that they lived in the caliphate, not in an empire of Orthodox Christianity.[30] The main difference is that, in the Soviet Union, the audience for sophisticated religious texts became extremely small. Passion towards the purity of classical literary genres can be seen here as an intellectual reaction to rapid changes in society, or even as an attempt to escape from reality.

Prison Poetry from Siberia: Hamza Turushev

While al-Qādirī calls for patience, Ḥamza b. Ṭurūsh al-Osāqī (Turushev, 1899–1973) actively blames his slanderers for time lost in prison. There is no reliable biographical account of Turushev; all we have are the memories of his adopted daughter, Nailia Ibragimova, and hagiographical narratives that circulate among the lay Muslims in rural areas of western Siberia.[31] These accounts

29 Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī, [*Münäjat*], MS Kazan, University Library 5940 T, fols. 16b–19b.

30 Michael Kemper, "Review of *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*", *Die Welt des Islams*, 47.1 (2007), 126–29.

31 In August 2013, thanks to Ramil' Sabirov, I had the unique opportunity of meeting Nailia Ibragimova at her house in Ust'-Ishim settlement, about 600 kilometers north of Omsk on

portray Turushev as a victim of the Soviet regime, a person under continuous persecution who spent most of his life in prison. The creation of Soviet-era "hero-saints" who sacrificed themselves to preserve religious knowledge from complete destruction, and to transmit it to the next generation, is a common theme in the post-Soviet hagiographical process, among both Muslims and Orthodox Christians.[32] Yet Hamza Turushev himself did not have much to say about politics.

While al-Qādirī had the ambition to write sophisticated poetry (consciously addressing future generations), Turushev did not have that pretense; he saw his own writings as pious advice (*naṣīḥat*) that does not necessarily need to satisfy high tastes: "My word is not a poem, but advice // Not even in Persian or Arabic".[33] As I hope to demonstrate below, Hamza Turushev belonged to the same isolationist trend as al-Qādirī, but with a brand of Muslim piety that was less influenced by the grand tradition of Sufism in Russia and with no references to Sufi lodges or "brotherhoods".[34] What also makes Turushev's case special is the discussion of slandering as a widespread practice in Soviet society. For this, he refers to the repertoire of the Islamic tradition.

Hamza Turushev originated from Vershiny village in what is today the Tiumen' region of western Siberia. As his daughter says, right after Turushev entered a local madrasa in the late 1910s, he was apprehended by the police and taken to a notorious prison in Tobol'sk. In the decades that followed, he was repeatedly imprisoned for certain periods and found himself continuously under pressure from the Soviet state. His only crime was his devout religiosity, as Nailia Ibragimova testifies.

Indeed, among Turushev's private files we find some verses composed in prison during the 1940s and 1950s. While al-Qādirī refused to put blame on those who got him thrown into prison, Hamza Turushev clearly points at his enemies who slandered and denounced him. In this context, Turushev

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the Irtysh River, and could work with Hamza Turushev's written oeuvre. The documents cited below originate from Ibragimova's private archive inherited from her father.

32 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "From Revival to Mutation: The Religious Personnel of Islam in Tajikistan, from De-Stalinization to Independence (1955–91)", *Central Asian Survey* 30.1 (2011), 53–80; Zhanna Kormina and Sergei Shtyrkov, "Staritsa i smert': zametki na poliakh sovremennykh zhytii", *Gosudarstvo, religiia i tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 32 (2014), 107–30.

33 "Bu süzem shigïr' imes, ber näsïyhät // yazganïm bulmasa da färsï-garäp".

34 For the critique of "Sufi brotherhoods" as a social category in colonial Central Asia, see Devin DeWeese, "'Dis-ordering' Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the 18th and 19th Centuries", *History and Culture of Central Asia/Istoriia i kul'tura Tsentral'noi Azii,* ed. by Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Kawahara Yayoi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2012), 259–79.

compares himself with the Muslim poet of the South Urals, Āqmullā (1831–95), who had clashed with his enemies and eventually perished at their hands. Still, very similarly to al-Qādirī, Turushev's poems reflect submission to fate, as, for instance, by making the phrase "each Mūsā has his Pharaoh"[35] the refrain of one of his poems.

Such verses invite comparisons with the traditional genre of prison poetry (*ḥabsiyat*) as we know it from Persian literature.[36] As in al-Qādirī's poems from captivity, here again a Qur'ānic prophetic narrative, that of Mūsā (Moses), is used to express how pious Muslims interpreted the new social practices of the Soviet era, namely widespread denunciation with subsequent imprisonment. Turushev is very dramatic and pessimistic in his autobiographic accounts:

> Enemies took the property that I earned rightfully (*hälal küchem*)
> They took it and sent off my young head to a tiny cell
> Now I sit there in a tiny cell
> Without seeing the light of the world, my youth fades away in a foreign place.[37]

Referring to himself as "the poor and stupid one who is drowning in the sea of exile" (*faqīr al-ḥaqīr al-ghāriq fi baḥr al-ghurba*), Hamza Turushev employs the Sufi concept of *gorbät*, "wandering in loneliness". While, overall, there are fewer Sufi reminiscences in Turushev's work, his verses also contain metaphors of nature and references to God's wisdom. The lack of elaborated Sufi terminology and imagination in Turushev's texts is compensated by embeddedness in local religious tradition. The surviving parts of his library contain Kazan editions of books on Islamic law, and the fact that in their margins we find Turushev's glosses and annotations shows that he was seriously engaged with these legal works. His own handwriting—as our photo shows—is very exceptional, not the standard *naskh* that most Tatar students and teachers used.

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35 "Bez tügel päygambärgä giybät bulgan // bulïr dip här Musaga ber Firgäven"—"Not just me, the Prophet was slandered // Each Mūsā has his Pharaoh".

36 Rebecca Gould, *The Political Aesthetic of the Medieval Persian Prison Poem, 1100–1200* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2013). A similar case in Tatar literature—the written oeuvre of Aḥmadjān Tubïli (1826–189?), who wrote poetry in Tobol'sk prison—was studied by Alsu Khasavnekh, *Etiko-esteticheskie vozzreniia poeta-sufiia 19 veka Akhmetziana Tubyli* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Kazan University, 2002).

37 "Hälal küchem belän tapqan malïm doshman qullarïna aldïlar // Aldïlar da malïm yäsh bashïmnï tar jitleklär echenä yaptïlar // inde häzer, tugan, ultïramïn tar jiteklärneng echendä // kürmäyem yaqtï dünya yüzen yäsh gomerlär ütä chit ildä". These verses are from June 1947.

FIGURE 2 *Hamza Turushev and his daughter Nailia, and a sample of Turushev's handwriting. Private archive of Nailia Ibragimova, Ust'-Ishim.*

We know that his literary production had aspects of handicrafts: he produced his own colored inks from flowers that he grew in his garden, and the artful binding of his books was also his own work. Equally noteworthy is the fact that his library reflects a strong interest in traditional Muslim medicine and even in magic (*'ilm al-ḥurūf*);[38] and in fact, he practiced these sciences and among the local population he had a reputation as a healer and even as a saint. This popularity might have been the reason why he was constantly under attack.

In a letter to his friend in Omsk, Hamza Turushev mentions that in the local mosque he not only recited the Qur'ān before the Friday prayer, but also read out a pilgrim account of Soviet Muslims who went on the *ḥajj* in 1954. As he puts it in his notes, this made a huge impression on the mosque attendants, who were moved to tears. Here, we have to keep in mind that the Muslim believers were deprived of any opportunity to perform the *ḥajj* themselves, and when, in 1945, some Muslims had the luck of being included in the small

38 The first detailed account of the importance of magic in the history of Central Eurasia has appeared recently: Matthew Melvin-Koushki and James Pickett, "Mobilizing Magic: Occultism in Central Asia and the Continuity of High Persianate Culture under Russian Rule", *Studia Islamica* 111 (2016), 231–84.

official Soviet delegation, their travel notes were widely circulated among the Muslims of Inner Russia, in handwritten form. This, of course, was another attempt to link back to the very traditional genre of pious travelogues (*säfär-nāmä, ḥajj-nāmä*) that we know from Tatar Muslim literature from at least the 18th century.[39]

The Qur'ān as a Weapon: 'Umar Dashkin

During our visit to the village of Urta Äläzän in Penza region[40] in the summer of 2014, our attention was drawn to the heritage of a local citizen by the name of 'Umar b. Bilāl Dashkin (1912–88). Dashkin had much in common with Turushev: a rural specialist of Islam, he was fond of traditional literary styles, collected old books, practiced Muslim medicine, and was regarded as one of the main pillars of the local religious tradition in his village. Both poets are also interesting from a linguistic point of view, for they exemplify the richness of the Tatar literary tradition that accommodated dialectical forms; in the case of Turushev, the Siberian version of Tatar, and in Dashkin's writings, the Mishar dialect. However, Dashkin's poetry is also full of special Arabic terminology, which brings his style closer to that of Qiyyām al-Dīn al-Qādirī.

Unlike Turushev and al-Qādirī, Dashkin was never subjected to political repression. He somehow managed to avoid not only the mass repressions of the Great Terror (1936–38) but also any anti-religious persecution that regularly flared up again after Stalin. The price that Dashkin had to pay for escaping victimization was his complete marginalization from the local field of public religion. There was only one officially-sanctioned mosque in the village, and its *imām*, a person called Khalil, became Dashkin's major target of anger.

When the Second World War was over, returning soldiers pushed for more religious freedom. The village elders and Dashkin himself wrote a flurry of petitions to the government, including to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, requesting that a second mosque be opened in

39 Several examples of Tatar pious travelogues have been recently published: *Tatar säyaxät-namäläre*, ed. by Ä. Alieva (Kazan: Tatar kitap näshriyate, 2015).

40 Today, this huge village has a mono-ethnic population of more than 10,000 people and boasts twelve recently-built mosques. The post-Soviet re-emergence of Islam there was closely connected to business and the privatization of livestock. On this ongoing process from a sociological perspective, see Liliya Sagitova, "Traditionalism, Modernism and Globalisation among the Volga Muslims: The Case of Sredniaia Eliuzan", *Allah's Kolkhozes: Migration, De-Stalinization, Privatization, and the Emergence of New Muslim Congregations in the USSR and After (1950s–2000s)*, ed. by Stéphane A. Dudoignon and Christian Noack (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2013), 454–93.

FIGURE 3 *ʿUmar Dashkin (second from the right) recites a manuscript text at a religious gathering, Urta Äläzän, 1950s. Private archive of Asiiat Dashkin, Penza.*

the village; their argument was that the existing mosque did not have enough space for all believers. This letter-writing campaign continued until the 1970s; eventually, Dashkin received an answer from the local government informing him that "Urta Äläzän has a mosque with two mullas;[41] this is enough for you and other believers to carry out your religious needs".

Part of the archive perished in a fire, as ʿUmar Dashkin recounted with much regret, but what has come down to us contains not only Dashkin's verse work, composed between the 1950s and 1970s, but also fragmentary Tatar translations of the Qurʾān, a handwritten genealogy of Dashkin's family, private letters, and some photographs. Dashkin also collected *fatwā*s (publications of religious advice) issued by the Soviet muftiates, including one against the veneration of shrines signed by the Central Asian mufti Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Bābākhān. Dashkin's son Asiiat, who inherited the bulk of the surviving documents, is actively seeking to popularize his father's writings, and in cooperation with a scholar from Kazan University he edited a selection of Dashkin's poems.[42]

41 [The second *imām* might have been just the *muʾadhdhin*, the caller to prayer.].

42 Gomer Biläl ulï Dashkin, *"Söyäm sine, Äläzänem ..." Shigïyrlär*, ed. by Khatib Minnegulov (Kazan, 2012).

Some of Dashkin's pious poems were direct attacks on the official village *imām* and his followers, who, in Dashkin's opinion, perverted the norms of true religion. In a sophisticated manner, Dashkin employed several Qur'ānic verses that condemn those Muslims who follow their human passions and turn away from the path of God; the original verses he added on the margins of his poems against what he perceived as the impious local clergy. For example, he selected verse 114 of *Sūrat al-An'ām* ("What, shall I seek after any judge but God? For it is He who sent down to you the Book well-distinguished; and those whom We have given the Book know it is sent down from thy Lord with the truth; so be not thou of the doubters" [Arberry]) as the conceptual frame for the following verses:

Those who take unbelievers as their leaders forget about God,	*Käferlärne röhbär tanuchï Allahnï onïtar,*
Our mulla is on the wrong path by following those without faith.	*Bezneng mella bozïq yulda dinsezne röhbär tota.*
The mulla whom the *akhund* appointed is a disaster for the village,	*Axun quygan bezgä mella äsabä kebek awïlda,*
Pious outside, devil inside; neither a priest, nor a mulla.	*Tïshï—dindar, eche—shaytan, tügel pop, tügel mella.*
He calls for leaving religion aside,	*Din tashlarga kotïrta,*
Attacks religion by issuing wrong advice.	*Dingä qarshï höjüm itep, yalgïsh fätwa chïgara.*
On feast gatherings, he collects alms from each line [of the crowd],	*Gaet mäjleslärendä söynïf sayen xäer jïya,*
He deprives the poor, the destitute, the weak of their legal share [in the donations].	*Fäqïyr, mesken, gajizlärne shärgïy xoquqtan tïya.*
When lay people practice religion, the elite must be their pillar,	*Dinne gawwam totkanda, xawwas anïng teräge,*
But a dishonored elite is of no use to lay people.	*Ezdän yazgan xawwaslarnïng gawwamga yuq kiräge.*
If you say "I am a Muslim", then act in accordance with religion!	*Sin möselman bulam disäng, eshlä dingä möefïyq,*
Don't be a hypocrite in what you do and say, in where you apply force and in your heart.	*Qulïng, teleng, kücheng, küngeleng belän bulma mönafïyq.*

It is easy to guess that by "unbelievers" (*käferlär*) Dashkin meant the Communists, or those who publicly spoke against religion. As for Turushev, so

too for Dashkin, the main criterion of righteousness was the practice of Islamic ethics. He held that the "red mullas" do not correspond with this criterion: they are hypocrites whose deeds and thoughts differ from what they say. The traditional concept of a Muslim society, according to which the masses (*ʿāmma*) rely on the guidance of the elite (*khāṣṣa*), is turned upside down: the contemporary elites do not follow the religious prescriptions, and therefore the rest of the community does not really need them. Dashkin emphasizes that the unrighteous *imām* was appointed by the *ākhund*, i.e. by the regional representative of the state-supported muftiate in Ufa. In the case of Dashkin's native Urta Äläzän, the *ākhund* in charge was Yārallāh al-Yūsufī (Iusupov, 1880–1975) from the neighboring village, a long-standing member of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly in Ufa who, at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, enjoyed significant prestige as an Islamic authority.[43] Dashkin himself was probably under al-Yūsufī's influence and might have been his former student. Although in the poem above he criticized him for appointing bad *imām*s, Dashkin remained loyal to al-Yūsufī, and when the latter passed away in 1975 he composed a long elegy (*marthiya*) in which he mourned al-Yūsufī's death and praised him in the highest tones as the last Muslim scholar of that region.

At the Epicenter of Conflict: ʿAbd al-Bārī Isaev

Each author analyzed here was a tireless wordsmith: constant pious writing was a natural everyday practice for them. ʿAbd al-Bārī Isaev (1907–1983), from Ufa and then Leningrad, was no exception: his theological and literary writings—all preserved in manuscript form—are so numerous that, if published, they would constitute a whole series of books. His personal archive was split among his children in Leningrad, Moscow, and Dushanbe, but due to the kindness of the Isaev family, I gained access to most of what he produced between the 1940s and 1983.

In early Soviet Bashkiria, Isaev managed to receive a solid religious education: with a teacher called Ḥabīb al-Rijāl ʿAbd al-Qādirī, he memorized the

43 In a private letter dated April 1918, Yārallāh al-Yūsufī, who already held the position of *akhund* at that time, asked Ismāʿīl ʿĀbidī (Gabitov, 1881–1938), *imām* in Kazan, to send him his recent book entitled *Some Lessons for the Muslim Youth*. Archive of the written and musical heritage of the Institute of Language, Literature and Art of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fond 53, op. 5, delo 14, fol. 66. In his notebook the aforementioned ʿAbd al-Khabīr Iarullin called Yārallāh al-Yūsufī "a living history". Private archive of Nail' Iarullin (Kazan), notebook no. 4, fol. 1.

whole of the Qur'ān by the age of 14, and then studied in Ufa at the ʿĀliya madrasa with Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Kamālī (1873–1942?). At the time when Isaev studied in Ufa in the 1920s, Kamālī was working on a Tatar translation of the Qur'ān. My assumption is that Kamālī's interest in a vernacular version of the Qur'ān greatly affected his young student, for Isaev spent most of his life analyzing various aspects of the Holy Book and preparing a full translation. Isaev had finished this work by the late 1970s, and hoped to get it published.[44]

In the first quarter of the 20th century, other scholars of Inner Russia had attempted to produce Tatar translations of the Qur'ān, but their projects failed: the translations by al-Kamālī and Burhān al-Dīn Sharaf (1883–1941) were lost, and Mūsā Bigiev's (1875–1949) work was not allowed for publication in late Imperial Russia and consequently was also lost.[45] So, even today, a truly vernacular rendition of the Qur'ān into Tatar, authored by a Muslim scholar, is still lacking, while the market is full of popular translations.

When ʿAbd al-Bārī Isaev became *imām* in Leningrad in 1956, he found himself at the epicenter of public conflicts over Islamic authority in the city. While the troubles around Isaev came from inside the Muslim community, the state also participated, as both an arbiter and the cause of the tensions. The Soviet institution for controlling and managing religion was the Council of Religious Affairs, which operated on regional and central levels, while each mosque had a consulting body (in bureaucratic jargon "the group of twenty", *dvadtsatka*) that administered the collection of donations and controlled the *imām*. In Leningrad, this council forced Isaev to step down from his position as *imām* in 1967. In 1975 he became mufti (that is, chairman of the Spiritual Administration in Ufa, officially in charge of all Muslims in European Russia and Siberia), but in 1980 he was pressured to leave this office. Conflict with state officials gave Isaev a bad reputation: accusations, rumors, and denunciations almost completely overshadowed his achievements in reviving and transmitting Islamic knowledge in post-war Leningrad.

His conflicts in Leningrad are documented by the poetry that Isaev's supporters used to defend him. But let us first look at reports "from below" that Isaev's opponents filed against him, and then juxtapose them with the writings

44 Before Isaev passed away in 1983, he gave the only copy of his translation for editing and subsequent publication to his daughter Fiia (b. 1938), who lives in Dushanbe; she graduated from the Oriental Faculty of Leningrad University as an Arabic studies specialist. An edition is currently being prepared for publication.

45 For more details on the traditions of exegetics and translation among the Muslims of Russia, see Timur Batyrkaev, "Koranicheskaia ekzegetika musul'man Povolzh'ia i Priural'ia (konets 18—nachalo 20 vv.)", *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka* 2.9 (2008), 104–30.

of his supporters. My interest is here not in the names and biographies but in the language and the very practice of personal denunciations (the Arabic terms used in our Tatar documents being *shikāya* and *ʿarīḍa*).[46]

In the summer of 1971, someone in Leningrad spread the rumor that ʿAbd al-Bārī Isaev was being considered for re-appointment as *imām* at the magnificent big mosque of the city (which had been returned to the Muslim community in 1956, when Isaev was appointed *imām* for the first time). This rumor caused a wave of petitions to Mufti Shākir Khyialetdinov in Ufa from a number of believers in Leningrad, who feared that if Isaev came back he would take revenge on them for the events that forced him to step down from this position in 1967. A certain ʿIlāj al-Dīn Valeev, in his Arabic-script Tatar letter, underlined that Isaev is not to be trusted. According to this slanderer, Isaev had made the disparaging remark that "the mufti [in Ufa] is as stupid as the mulla that he sent [to replace Isaev]". Isaev, so the letter goes, was "a cheat and swindler" (using two terms of Russian origin, *zhulik* and *aferis*), did not possess deep knowledge and did not care about the mosque. Another denunciation letter, signed by "mosque elders" (*mächet qartlarï*) but in fact anonymous, discredited Isaev from a legal point of view, claiming that he regularly stole money from the mosque budget. All these accusations repeat the idea that Isaev is an enemy (*doshman*) and largely repeat Soviet patterns of denunciation without any particular reference to Islam.

Curiously enough, Mufti Khyialetdinov in Ufa seems to have taken these letters from Leningrad seriously; one of them bears his short note "important".[47] We have good reason to assume that the whole campaign against the Leningrad *imām* was inspired by the local plenipotentiary (*upolnomochennyi*) of the Council of Religious Affairs, N.M. Vasil'ev, who did not trust Isaev and openly supported his enemies in the mosque administration.[48] In October 1959, Isaev

46 On denunciations as a Soviet practice see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), chapter 4.

47 All the documents against Isaev were carefully preserved by Khyialetdinov in the archive of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly, but when Isaev succeeded Khyialetdinov in 1975, he moved them to his personal archive.

48 A somewhat similar conflict took place at approximately the same time in July 1963: after a solid reconstruction organized in the mosque of Rostov-on-Don in 1956, its *imām* Kalām al-Dīn Shangareev (1905–86) was removed from his position and then imprisoned for a time in the context of events in Novocherkassk. As a result, the mosque ceased to function. The whole process was initiated by local military officials. Later, in 1977, Shangareev had to step down from his position as *imām* in Perm', losing the fight with the mosque's *dvadtsatka.*

had complained to Mufti Khyialetdinov about Vasil'ev, and even asked to be transferred to another city, but at that time Khyialetdinov did not take any action.[49]

After Isaev lost his position at the Leningrad mosque, one of his supporters who witnessed the whole conflict wrote an anonymous poem addressing Mufti Khyialetdinov; the poem takes the form of the *munājāt* genre, originally a rhymed invocation of Allah.[50] The language of this poem is very simple, and full of Mishar Tatar dialectical forms and phraseology; in terms of its style and metaphors, this text is very similar to examples of Soviet Muslim poetry that we analyzed above. For example, when talking about the enemies of Isaev, the author reminds his readership of the Qur'ānic narrative of Yūsuf (Joseph): "Yūsuf the Prophet went through many troubles // If there is not enough time, the roses in the garden cannot blossom" ("Törle awïrlïqlar kürgännär Yosïf päygambärlär // Waqït jitmi chächäq atmïy baxchadagï güllär").

The main difference between the language of denunciations and the poem in defense of Isaev is the use of religious terminology. We saw that the denunciation letters lack any references to religious concepts, and their reproaches are based more on the norms of Soviet society than on Islam proper. In contrast, the anonymous supporter of Isaev connects the latter's arrival to Leningrad with a revitalization of religion in the city, for Isaev put believers onto the right path, giving them guidance (Ar.: *hidāya*). Isaev is praised for the reconstruction of the mosque after the great destruction that occurred during the long siege of Leningrad, and the author emphasizes that before Isaev's tenure as *imām* nobody cared about the state of the building. Furthermore, this letter to the mufti characterizes Isaev from a moral standpoint, albeit positively, and always links his qualities to religious concepts.

The author of this piece in defense of Isaev must have been one of the lay parishioners, and the state-organized removal of Isaev certainly caused discontent and frustration among the community of believers. This is how the author describes their feelings:

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49 This is evident from Isaev's official letter (*'arīḍa*) addressed to Mufti Khyialetdinov. Together with other documents related to the Leningrad mosque, this document was bound in a thick folder and kept in the archive of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly in Ufa. The Assembly's employee 'Abbās Bibarsov (1937–2012) removed it from there and added it to his own library in Urta Äläzän in the Penza region, where it is still kept today. I thank the Bibarsov family, and especially the brothers Muqaddas and Ayyūb, for allowing me to work with their archive in the winter and summer of 2015.

50 After Isaev became mufti, he attached this poem to his personal archive. The author of the poem must have known Mufti Khyialetdinov in person, since in the text he addresses him directly and asks him to come to Leningrad so that they see each other again.

We all have devoted our hearts to Islam in sincerity
Performing [pious] deeds, but [suddenly] we are left without an *imām*.
As there was no *imām*, all the people stopped going to the mosque,
Our mosque, which had been so lucky in the past, now goes through its darkest days.

Barïbïz da din islamga ixlas küngelebezne saldïq,
Gamäl qïlïp yöri idek, häzer häzrätsez qaldïq.
Häzrät bulmagach mächetkä böten xalïq tuqtaldï,
Shatlanïp bargan mächetebez qarangï köngä qaldï.

But the poem stops short of stating that by removing Isaev, the state organs for managing Islam are responsible for disrupting the community life. Rather, its author blames evil-minded Muslims who denied Isaev's contribution to the community's success, and who were jealous of his popularity. These people were not local parishioners but "mullas who had just escaped from the collective farm" (*kolxozdan qachqan mullalar*), that is, not locals, not persons knowledgeable in Islamic matters, and not bearers of an official license (*ukazï yuq*). This characterization of Isaev's enemies combines the traditional request that an *imām* should have deep knowledge of Islam with the state's demand that he must be certified on his loyalty to the Soviet regime. Moreover, the author puts part of the blame on Isaev himself, for it was him who put those who then betrayed him into positions of authority: by 1967, the mosque administration

FIGURE 4 *Mufti Khyialetdinov's visit to Leningrad mosque in 1956. ʿAbd al-Bārī Isaev follows the mufti on the left, three of his opponents are portrayed on the right. Private archive of ʿAli Isaev, St Petersburg.*

was headed by "kolkhoz mullas" who wrote petitions to the mufti and secured the arrival of a new *imām*, Fayḍ al-Raḥmān Sattarov (b. 1929).[51]

The usurpers of the mosque are blamed for crossing the red lines of religion. The author claims that they drank alcohol in the mosque:

[We] found bottles of alcoholic beverages on the shelves [for the shoes of the attendants],	Xämer salgan sheshälärne kichtälärdän taptïlar,
They sold off Islam by drinking alcohol in the mosque.	Mächet yortïnda xämer echep islam dinen sattïlar.
And the young mulla learned to drink with them.	Yäsh mulla da öyrände alar belän echergä
They wait until the mulla left the mosque to have a jolly night party.	Mulla yuq mächettä kötälär yaxshï bäyräm kichlären.

Regardless of whether these accusations were true or not, both sides used moral and legal arguments in their quarrel about Isaev. The reference to alcohol consumption does not mean that Islamic piety stands above Soviet markers of social behavior, for the Party and government also officially combated alcoholism. At any event, this anonymous denunciation letter "from below" combines elements from the Islamic and Soviet discourses of the time,[52] and while this conflict appears as a struggle between two parties of the same Muslim community, with both claiming religious authority and loyalty to the state institutions, in practice the whole issue was orchestrated by the Council of Religious Affairs.

Isaev's own responses to denunciations of this kind were closely embedded in his religious worldview. This is clear from the verses he produced after his elevation to the office of mufti, at a convention of the assembly (*prezidium*) of the Spiritual Administration in Ufa in 1975. His election came as a complete

51 Fayḍ al-Raḥmān Sattarov, a graduate of the Mir-i ʿArab madrasa in Bukhara, served as official *imām* in several mosques in European Russia in the 1970s. In the 2000s, Sattarov became notorious as the leader of an isolationist and ultra-conservative religious group that the press used to call "Faizrakhmanisty", "the followers of Fayḍ al-Raḥmān", understood as a sect with a self-proclaimed prophet. Unfortunately, there is no impartial research on this group. Today, Sattarov resides in Kazan.

52 For another example of this phenomenon, see Paolo Sartori, "Towards a History of the Muslims' Soviet Union: A View from Central Asia", *Die Welt des Islams* 50.3/4, *A Muslim Interwar Soviet Union* (2010), 315–34; Sergei Abashin, "A Prayer for Rain: Practicing Being Soviet and Muslim", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25.2 (2014), 178–200.

surprise to him, since at that time he did not occupy any public position; he interpreted this success as a triumph of truth. In his verses from February 1977, written in Ufa, we read:

Thanks to [You] God, endless praise!	Älhämdülillah, meng hämedlär!
You made me attain my great desire.	Ireshterdeng böyek teläkkä.
I was patient for God's sake	Sabïr ittem Xodam haqqï öchen
When it was difficult to my heart.	Awïr bulganda da yörekkä.
"The bottom of patience is yellow gold",	"Sabïrlïqnïng töbe—sarï altïn",
as said the great ancestors.	Monï äytkän böyek babalar.
The stupid people who were my enemies	Minga doshman bulgan nadan xalïq
Now look at me with amazement:	Ise kitep qarap qalalar:
Everywhere I go they give me great respect,	Qayda barsam, minga böyek hörmät,
Everyone is ready to serve me when I come.	Bar da hezmät itä aldïmda.

In other words, Isaev also does not reflect on the role of state institutions in his poetry; all blame is placed on the unnamed enemies who were to be easily eliminated after he reached the highest rank in the Soviet hierarchy of Islam. But that was an illusion: in 1980, the officials forced Isaev out of the mufti's chair. Blamed for sins that he did not commit, he returned to Leningrad and passed away three years later.

In my understanding, Isaev did not manage to gain a strong position in the USSR's politicized sphere of religion because he maintained an exclusively religious approach to his work. He continued to be an *ʿālim*, a traditional scholar of Islam, at a time when the state demanded only "servants of the religious cult" (R. *sluzhiteli kul'ta*, Ar. *rijāl al-dīn*), administrators with no deep knowledge or passion for intellectual work.

While still in office as mufti, in the summer of 1977, Isaev obtained a letter from a Muslima in Leningrad by the name of Hanifa Zamaleeva, in which she cautioned him from removing Ḥāfiẓ Makhmutov (1937–2008) from his position of *imām* in Leningrad.[53] Zamaleeva reminded him of similar events in

53 Eventually, Makhmutov lost his position. In his Russian-language memoirs he noted on Isaev: "He is vain, conservative, puts himself before others, hates those who know more than he does, and does not respect other opinions". These words from Makhmutov's retrospective autobiography are quoted, without criticism, in Renat Bekkin, "1917–1991 yellarda Petrograd-Leningrad möselman tatarlarï tormïshï (shäxsi fotoarxivlar turïnda

his own biography. Just like the petitioners from 1971 cited above, she accused Isaev of corruption and immoral behavior. Isaev's response demonstrates how he approached the problem:

> Hanifa, I do not know you, and we are not acquainted, therefore you know nothing about me. Yet while being amazed by your stupidity, and in spite of the fact that I don't have the time, I believe that it is crucial that I write back to you, since as a mufti I am responsible for showing people the right path. Allah says that helping a sinner to find the right path is the duty of each Muslim, and I will be responsible for this on the Day of Judgment and get a reward if I manage to explain to you [how things really are]. However, Allah also makes clear that some stupid people will not find the right path anyway.[54]

On the following pages of his reply, Isaev cites the Qur'ān and responds to each and every accusation that Zamaleeva put forward. Of course, his pious advice was not an adequate response to her politically-colored denunciation that did not care about verses of the Qur'ān. The result is self-evident: soon after, Isaev lost his position.

Concluding Remarks

By comparison to the male poets discussed above, a much more optimistic project comes from Mükärämä Välieva, a woman from the Sverdlovsk region in 1946. In the extremely difficult post-war years she took a collection of classical Arabic poetry and translated it into old-fashioned literary Tatar.[55] The verses

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uylanular)", *Fänni Tatarstan* 1 (2016), 84. Such a characterization of course tells us nothing about Isaev but much about how individuals were blackened in the years of late Socialism. Another uncritical account, portraying Makhmutov as a dissident and a romantic hero struggling with the Soviet regime has also appeared recently: Renat Bekkin, "Istoriia tataro-musul'manskoi obshchiny Petrograda-Leningrada (1917–1991 gg.) po materialam gosudarstvennykh i chastnykh arkhivov", *Gosudarstvo, religiia, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 34.4 (2016), 118–47.

54 Private archive of 'Ali Isaev (St Petersburg), opis' 3, delo 3, fol. 1a. Documents from this archive have been systematized by the author for the purposes of this study.

55 After the Second World War, the Union of Writers of the Tatar Autonomous Republic (the state-funded organization to control literary activities) produced a significant amount of heroic accounts of the war, and a mass of Russian literature from this field was translated into Tatar. Against this background, Mükärämä Välieva's conservative approach, against

deal with Islamic ethics and partly with Islamic law, for instance when Välieva writes an extensive legal commentary in favor of the headscarf (*ḥijāb*) that Tatar women used to wear; curiously, here she is not so much turning against the anti-religious atmosphere in society but rather against fashion of the time (for which she uses a Russian word, *moda*).[56]

What we see here is that the personal experience of being a Muslim in the Soviet Union varied widely, and it is impossible to make generalizations about how the individual was impacted by the social transformations. Yet our fragmentary overview of examples of pious writing from the Soviet Union shows a whole body of diverse literary activity performed by Muslims in the atheist state. These writings have so far remained untouched. Taken together, they challenge the narrative, very common in the publications on Soviet Islam by religious and academic authors, that the state managed to completely destroy high Muslim culture in Russia, and that the tradition of religious literature was disrupted.

Proving a line of continuity with the past could bolster the legitimacy of the present-day institutions of public religion in Russia and the power of individual authorities who have been in office since the late Soviet era. This is certainly not what I intend to do. Rather, the purpose of my paper is to emphasize the transformation, re-orientation, and redefinition of traditional literary genres (Qur'ān translation, *munājāt*, *shikāya*) and practices (*fatwā*-writing, denunciation) under very specific, and often risky, conditions.

What do the cases presented above tell us about Islamic poetry in Soviet Russia? First of all, by writing poetry our authors display their excellent knowledge of Tatar literature and language; their poems were completely alien to the forms, vocabulary and styles adopted by the official Soviet Tatar writers. Their language and the very script they employed made their intellectual product marginal and "old-fashioned" for wider society. While we still have no research on the functioning of Muslim intellectual networks and the circulation of religious literature in the Soviet Union, two goals can be identified behind the writing of pious poetry under the atheist regime: resignation on the one hand, and the struggle for authority on the other. Many of our authors (Dashkin, Turushev, Isaev and his anonymous supporter) wrote poems to fight their enemies and slanderers, who themselves only employed the usual

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the public mainstream, looks even more striking. Cf. *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v Tatarii 1941–1970. Dokumenty i materialy* (Kazan, 1976), 148–53 (on poetry, prose, and translations produced between 1946 and 1948).

56 Mükärämä Välieva, *Majmūʿat al-ashʿār* (1946); MS Kazan, University Library 6092 T, fols. 98a–b.

Soviet clichés for accusing and denouncing. With their emphasis on religious ethics and the Qur'ānic word, religious poems were meant to promote the fundamental sources of religion. Most poets mentioned above operated between the mosque community and the various organs representing the state, while Välieva might just have turned to poetry to make the world look better in times of hunger.

The social structures of Sufism, including the line of succession (*silsila*), regular gatherings, and the transmission of knowledge, did not outlive the Stalinist era, either because of the persecution or because the remaining Sufis simply stopped educating *murīd*s. But the marginality of rural western Siberia helped to keep up the popular Sufi imaginary. While Sufi structures and practices in Soviet Russia declined, the remaining Islamic authorities gave the Qur'ān more prominence in their writings. This is especially evident in writings by Dashkin and Isaev, who were inspired by the works of Near-Eastern Muslim thinkers such as Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905),[57] and who openly opposed the popular veneration of Sufi shrines and the gatherings for commemorating the deceased. Quite in accordance with the Party line,[58] Sufism was seen by this group of scholars as part of condemned traditionalism as opposed to modernism and Soviet progress.

In one way or another, all the authors presented here suffered from the imagined Leviathan, the all-powerful state that pushed through collectivization, enacted violent repression, or provoked an endless stream of denunciations against them from inside the Muslim community. But some also looked to the state for support, like Dashkin who petitioned the authorities in Moscow to open a second mosque in his village, or Isaev who became mufti; and none of our authors formulated any ideological opposition to the Soviet state.

57 There are direct references and citations from Muḥammad 'Abduh's Qur'ān commentary in both Dashkin's and Isaev's manuscripts dating from the 1960s and 1970s.

58 Michael Kemper and Shamil Shikhaliev, "Administrative Islam: Two Soviet Fatwas from the North Caucasus", *Islamic Authority and the Russian Language: Studies on Texts from European Russia, the North Caucasus and the West Siberia*, ed. by Alfrid K. Bustanov and Michael Kemper (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2012), 55–102.

Unusual Encounters with Islam

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CHAPTER 9

Blessing and Curse in the "Promised Land": Jonas Korte's Travels in the Ottoman Empire, 1737–1739

Ralf Elger

From the early 18th century, European Orientalists believed the Ottoman Empire was in decline. The land of the sultans was still powerful, even after the 1683 defeat outside Vienna and the unfavorable 1699 treaty of Karlowitz, but observers in Europe were convinced that the Ottoman Empire suffered from a number of inherent deficiencies. From their perspective, this went all the way back to the Turks' "laziness",[1] disinclination towards education and lack of economic skills.[2]

This contribution examines Jonas Korte (1683–1747), a "born-again" Christian author from the town of Laaß, near Dresden in central Germany, who offered a very different interpretation. He did not deny that social, political, economic or "rational" ("vernünftige"[3]) factors impacted the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire, but he believed that the real cause for the latter's decline was God's will. This is the central argument found in his travelogue, entitled "Journey to the land that once was the promised land, but that over the last seventeen hundred years has been afflicted by the curse; and also to Egypt, Mount Lebanon, Syria und Mesopotamia".

1 A term in general use at that time, including by Korte.

2 Asli Cirakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York: Lang, 2002), 70.

3 "Vernünftig" is Korte's own term. See, for example, p. 25 of his travelogue. All page numbers in this article refer to the third edition: *Reise nach dem weiland gelobten, nun aber seit siebenzehn hundert Jahren unter dem Fluche liegenden Lande, wie auch nach Ägypten, dem Berg Libanon, Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Halle: Grunert, 1751). In this edition, the travelogue has 712 pages, and the supplement 286. Both parts are paginated independently. The first edition was published in Altona (Gebrüder Korte, 1741), the second in Halle (Grunert, 1743). Over the course of the years, Korte modified his text considerably and added supplements. Systematic research on these editions could reveal how his position developed over time. For the moment, all that we have are the notes by Daniel Cyranka, *Studien zum deutschen Mohammed-Bild im 18. Jahrhundert* (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Universität Halle, 2010), 194–95.

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Korte travelled in the Middle East between 1737 and 1739. Starting from Altona, near Hamburg, he went via Venice to Alexandria, Rosetta, Cairo, Damiette, Joppe (Jaffa), Rama, Jerusalem, Acre (Akkon), Tyros (Tyre), Sidon, Tripoli, Laodicäa (Latakia), Aleppo, the Euphrates and Mesopotamia. He then returned to Aleppo from where he continued on to Antioch (Antakya), Scanderone (Iskenderun), Cyprus and back to Venice. For Korte, all the Oriental cities he visited belonged to the Promised Land, because "God promised the land from Egypt to Syria to the offspring of Abraham".[4]

The 1700 years mentioned in the title of the book would take us back to the first century CE. Indeed, Korte refers to the destruction of the Jewish Temple in the year 70 CE, which he saw as a punishment for the Jews' straying from God's true path. It was not just the Jews who were punished, but others who disobeyed God's will were as well, in particular the Oriental Churches and the Roman Catholics. In his book, Korte does not reflect much on the Jews; in fact, he seems to have hardly ever encountered a Jew on his travels. Instead, Korte's focus is on the Oriental Christians, who in his view were heretical. But he also has a lot to say about Muslims, especially the Ottomans, the masters of the "Orient"[5] in those days. The Muslims—says Korte—are essentially God's tool for inflicting the curse, but they also suffer from its consequences.

According to Korte, the rationalist Orientalists ignored the curse and excluded "God from the regime of this world" altogether.[6] In his mind, these Orientalists not only misinterpreted the situation in the Orient but also showed themselves to be "atheists".[7] True Christians would never cast doubts on the reality of this curse, for it was announced in the Bible.[8]

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4 Korte, *Reise*, 541.

5 This is Korte's own term.

6 Korte, *Reise*, 679.

7 This term appears quite often in the travelogue. Its exact meaning in the 18th century usage was not precise, and it was often used to attack religious opponents of various kinds, even if these did not deny the existence of God. Korte also uses the terms "naturalists" and "mockers of religion" ("Religionsspötter"), sometimes in connection with "atheist". The three terms seem to be synonymous for him. See for "atheism" in early modern terminology Dorothea Weltecke, *"Der Narr spricht: Es ist kein Gott". Atheismus, Unglauben und Glaubenszweifel vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2010). For the German debates about atheism see Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment contested: philosophy, modernity, and the emancipation of man, 1670–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 164–200.

8 He refers to 5 Moses, 29th chapter, verses 22–29: So that the generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the LORD hath laid upon it. And that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah,

Korte wrote his book for the true Christians, and in particular for those who are mostly labelled as "Pietists", but who prefer to call themselves "born-again" Christians, like Korte himself. They were under attack not only from atheists but also from mainstream Protestants, those misguided Christians who put theological and philosophical reasoning above absolute trust in the revelation. The purpose of describing the results of God's curse in the Orient was to reinforce the faith of that "little flock" ("kleine Herde") of real Christians. And Korte believed that the consequences of the curse, as he witnessed them during his travels, ultimately proved the truth of the Bible.

It is no wonder, then, that the historiographies of academic Orientalism do not mention Korte,[9] and he is also a marginal figure in studies of the Western image of the Orient.[10] A survey of born-again Orientalism from the 17th century to the present still needs to be written, and in such a work Korte would figure prominently.[11] Such a survey would probably start with Gottfried Arnold

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Admah, and Zeboim, which the LORD overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath: Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the LORD God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt. For they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom he had not given unto them. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book. And the LORD rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day. The secret things belong unto the LORD our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law. (King James Bible from http://www.die-bibel.de/).

9 There are several recent works on the academic, mostly non-religious, branch of German Orientalism. See Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London: Routledge, 2009); Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Sabine Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft"—Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

10 Korte is mentioned, though very unfavorably, in Annette Katzer, *Araber in deutschen Augen. Das Araberbild der Deutschen vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2008), 135–36. Katzer argues that his text deserves no interest because as a pious observer Korte could not escape from existing religious, theological "stereotypes" about the Orient. Daniel Cyranka, in his unpublished *Studien zum deutschen Mohammed-Bild im 18. Jahrhundert*, devotes a long chapter to Jonas Korte, with information on his biography, his theological positions, and the written sources he used.

11 This would complement the study by David D. Grafton, *Piety, Politics, and Power: Lutherans Encountering Islam in the Middle East* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2009). Chapter three is about European Pietists and the Orient, but does not include Korte.

(1666–1714),[12] who was a friend of Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705),[13] the "father" of the Pietist (i.e. born-again) movement.[14] Arnold's most important work was "Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie" (1699), in which we find long passages about the "Orient".[15] Another milestone would be Hendrik Myrike's (lived after 1684) "Reyse nach Jerusalem und dem Land Kanaan",[16] which was edited by the famous Pietist Johann Henrich Reitz (1665–1720).[17] Korte's book would follow suit; it was met with some interest and saw three editions between 1741 and 1751, as well as a translation into Dutch.[18]

The letters of the "Herrnhuter" (Moravians) from Istanbul and Cairo (second half of the 18th century)[19] would also belong to born-again Orientalism, as well as the travel writings of the Pietist missionary and author Stephan Schultz (1714–76), who worked in the "Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum" (which existed from 1728 to 1792 in Halle). Schultz was obviously impressed by Korte, and emulated his style of writing to a certain extent.[20] In the

12 Antje Mißfeldt (ed.), *Gottfried Arnold. Radikaler Pietist und Gelehrter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011).

13 Veronika Albrecht-Birkner (ed.), *Hoffnung besserer Zeiten. Philipp Jacob Spener und die Geschichte des Pietismus* (Halle/Saale: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2005).

14 Roger E. Olson and Christian T. Collins Winn, *Reclaiming Pietism. Retrieving an Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids, WM: B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015); Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

15 Gottfried Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (Leipzig/Frankfurt-am-Main: Fritsch, 1699–70).

16 *Hr. Henrich Myrike gewesenen Reformirten Predigers zu Constantinopel Reyse nach Jerusalem und dem Land Canaan* (Osnabrück: Fuhrmann, 1714; second edition Itzstein, 1720). The travelogue was edited and commentated on by the famous Pietist Johann Henrich Reitz (1665–1720). In the edition of 1720, Reitz mentions the "curse" on Jerusalem.

17 Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus. Johann Henrich Reitz' "Historie der Wiedergeborenen" und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhock and Ruprecht, 1989); Douglas H. Shantz, "Back to the Sources: Gottfried Arnold, Johann Henrich Reitz and the Distinctive Program and Practice of Pietist Historical Writing", *Commoners and Community: Essays in Honour of Werner O. Packull*, ed. by C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener: Pandora, 2002), 75–99.

18 *Reize van Jonas Korte, naar Palestina, Egypte, Phenicie, Syrie, Mesopotamie en Cyprus. Naar den derden druk uit het Hoogduitsch vertaald. Eerste Deel. Met plaaten* (Haarlem, NL: J. Tydgaat, 1776).

19 Arthur Manukyan, *Konstantinopel und Kairo: die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine im Kontakt zum Ökumenischen Patriarchat und zur Koptischen Kirche. Interkonfessionelle und interkulturelle Begegnungen* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2010).

20 Though Stephan Schultz does not mention Korte, I think he knew his text. First, because Korte had close contacts with the Halle Pietists and was certainly known to

19th century, Korte's thesis of the curse was repeated in an Oriental travelogue by the well-known Charles William Meredith van de Velde (1818–98).[21] Eventually, born-again Orientalism also featured in North American missionary activities,[22] and later in US-policies towards the Middle East.[23]

Of course, born-again Orientalism has to be seen in the context of Christian Orientalism in general, including writings by authors of Lutheran, Catholic, and other persuasions. Yet the aim of the present article is to draw attention to born-again Orientalism, in order to challenge, in preliminary form, the fact that research is predominantly focused on secularized Orientalism, in the wake of Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838),[24] Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88),[25] and others. I always found it hard to believe that Christian Orientalism, characterized by a strong bias towards theology and a theocentric

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Schultz. Secondly, the two travelogues show some suspicious resemblances; for example, Schultz compares between the "nowadays blessed Switzerland and the devastated Canaan … When Canaan enjoyed God's blessings in earlier days Switzerland ranked 50 percent below it" ("jetzt so gesegneten Schweizer-Landes, mit dem verwüsteten Canaan […]. Als Canaan noch unter dem göttlichen Segen gestanden, so ist die Güte der Schweiz gewiß um 50 Grad geringer zu rechnen gewesen, als das Land Canaan"). Stephan Schultz, *Die Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa*, 5 vols (Halle: Verlag Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1771–75), vol. 5, 135–36. See also Jan Schmidt, "The Journey of Stephan Schultz, Protestant Missionary from Halle, in the Ottoman Empire 1752–1756", *Oriens* 39 (2011), 17–57.

21 Charles William van de Velde, *Reis door Syrie en Palestina in 1851 en 1852* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1854). German translation: *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina in den Jahren 1851 und 1852* (*Aus d. Niederdt. übers. von K. Göbel*) (Leipzig: Weigel, 1855–56). Korte is mentioned several times in volume two of the German translation, 24–48. At the beginning of his report the Dutch traveler quotes from a letter he sent to a friend: "There are moments in life when the circumstances we are in impress us from different angles to an extent that we reach a degree of bewilderment which cannot be expressed except through silence. In such a state I am now. On a journey to the Holy Land! A stranger from distant lands comes in order to see the plagues and maladies that the lord afflicted on His country" (from the German translation, vol. 1, 1).

22 See Hans Ludwig Kieser, *Nearest East. American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 2010).

23 Grafton's aforementioned study goes up to the year 2003, when Bush sent his troops to Iraq. See also Mark Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

24 Michel Espagne, Nora Lafi, Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn (eds.), *Silvestre de Sacy: le projet européen d'une science orientaliste* (Paris: CERF, 2014).

25 Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein (eds.), *Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer—Leben und Wirkung. Ein Leipziger Orientalist des 19. Jahrhunderts mit internationaler Ausstrahlung* (Frankfurt-am-Main: P. Lang, 2013).

theoretical approach, would have died out after the so-called "paradigm-shift" in Oriental studies from theology towards philology.[26]

Having said this, my goal is not to defend Christian and in particular born-again Orientalism as a valuable scientific approach. Of course, it was biased, but this does not make it different from colonial Orientalism, Arab nationalism, Muslim modernism, and fundamentalism. As such, Marxist interpretations, post-colonial studies, and other ideological research strategies are no different in that respect. Like all of these, born-again Orientalism is an interesting part of cultural history and needs to be taken seriously.

Since we do not know much about the contours of born-again Orientalism as a whole, Korte's specific position inside that Orientalism cannot be described with due precision at this point. My feeling is that his particular contribution was the creation of a specific form of Oriental travelogue: A travel account that provides realistic and empirically-grounded geographical and historiographical descriptions that are directly analyzed, and unpacked, from a born-again perspective. This seems to be Korte's innovation for his time, and it proved to be influential in the later literary history of born-again Orientalism.

To accomplish the production of such a travelogue, a strong and flexible personality was needed. This Korte possessed, as his life-story demonstrates, because, before he started his journey to the Orient in 1737, he had wandered through many German and European cultural milieux.[27]

The son of a teacher, he achieved a certain level of education, including in Latin and French. While that education was later augmented by his activity as a publisher of theological and academic books, Korte was proud of not being an academic scholar. This is clear from an episode from his travelogue, in which an academic Orientalist claimed that, in the Orient, two-thirds of the inhabitants were Christians. To this Korte remarks: "This person made his calculation in the study room".[28]

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26 Stefan Heidemann, "Der Paradigmenwechsel in der Jenaer Orientalistik in der Zeit der literarischen Klassik", *Der Deutschen Morgenland. Bilder des Orients in der deutschen Literatur und Kultur von 1770 bis 1850*, ed. by Michael Hofmann and Charis Goers (Munich: W. Fink, 2008), 243–57.

27 Beside Jonas Korte's autobiographical statements in the travelogue, the main source for Korte's life is an article by an anonymous author: "Jonas Korte, einer der bekanntesten Altonaischen Schriftsteller des vorigen Jahrhunderts", *Hamburg und Altona. Ein Journal zur Geschichte der Zeit, der Sitten und des Geschmaks* (*sic RE*), *III. Jahrgang*, 7 (1804), 282–92.

28 "Dieser hat aber seine Rechnung in der Studierstube gemacht" (Korte, *Reise*, 564).

Korte for his part was not confined to the desk but strove for empirical field research. The reason is given in a report about an experience he had in the year 1703:

> In my twentieth year, when I taught children in the village of Bocksdorf, near Dresden in Saxony: While reading the Bible, I came across a certain passage in 5 Moses, chapter 29, from verse 22 to the end, which included these memorable words: Strangers from distant countries would come and see what the Lord did to his disobedient people and land etc.[29] These words impressed me even in the early days of my life, being the words of God. From this time onwards, I harbored the idea of inspecting the land that God chose to reveal the greatness of his grace and his seriousness; this land which He made a prime example to the whole world, especially Christendom, in such an eminent way.[30]

Korte could not immediately carry out his plan to visit the Orient. First, he went to Hamburg and Lübeck in Northern Germany, and, in 1709, in the service of a certain gentleman, he joined an army in Brabant.[31] Korte ended up in Rotterdam, and it was there that, lying ill for fourteen weeks, he experienced a "rebirth", as he called it. As he had already been a pious man before, one wonders how this "rebirth" changed his life. In my opinion, the intention of this account can be seen in his autobiographical notes to his readers: He writes that since his time in Rotterdam he pursued his earlier plan of visiting the Orient more seriously than before. And, indeed, in 1713 he made his first journey to the Ottoman Empire, in order to see with his own eyes how God's curse had afflicted the Promised Land. The journey led him to Constantinople, but, as

29 See footnote 8, above, for the whole of the Bible passage in question.

30 "Schon in meinem zwantzigsten Jahre, als ich auf einem Dorfe Bocksdorf, nahe bey Dreßden in Sachsen, Kinder informirte, kam ich bey Lesung der Schrift auf die besondere Stelle im 5 B. Mose am 29. Cap. vom 22. Vers bis zu Ende, darinnen diese merckwürdige Worte stehen: Es würden Frembde aus fernen Landen kommen, und sehen, was der Herr an diesem seinem abtrünnigen Volcke und Lande gethan habe. u. s. w. Diese Worte gaben mir schon damals einen Eindruck, als ein Gottes=Wort, und ich ging von selbiger Zeit an mit den Gedancken um, das Land selbst zu sehen, an welchem Gott die Grösse seiner Güte und seines Ernsts besonders geoffenbaret, und welches er der gantzen Welt, vornemlich aber der Christenheit, zu einem warnenden Exempel auf eine so eclatante Weise gesetzet". (passage from § 6 of the unpaginated preface).

31 Here he is referring to the "War of the Spanish Succession", 1701–14.

he wrote, he could not continue his travel to Jerusalem because he felt he was spiritually unfit for such an endeavor; via Smyrna, he returned to Europe.[32]

Later, between 1720 and 1723, Korte suffered from a crisis of "atheismo sceptico".[33] He recovered, but the topic of "atheism" continued to intrigue him and figures prominently in his travelogue.

In 1725, Korte established a printing house ("Jonas Korte"), and the first work he published was a treatise that proved the immortality of the soul from the perspective of natural history, authored by the Halle University professor Johann Joachim Lange (1699–1765).[34] Korte's business, located for the most part in Altona, was successful, and, shortly before his second journey to the Orient, he handed it over to some of his brothers; it then became the publishing house "Brothers Korte". Jonas continued to work with them after his return in 1739.

Jonas Korte had contacts with the main Pietist groups of his time. His model was August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), the founder of "Franckesche Stiftungen" ("Francke's Foundations") in Halle.[35] Korte was also close to the Moravians in Herrnhut (in Saxony, Germany), and in 1739 the council (Konzil) of the Moravians considered sending him on a diplomatic mission to Istanbul, although at that time Korte was already in the Orient.[36] In Herrnhut, Korte met Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–82), later a major figure in Swabian Pietism,[37] and urged the latter to accompany him to the Orient. Oetinger

32 Korte, *Reise*, 2.

33 He was cured by a treatise which proved, says Korte, "that Jesus was the true Messiah, because he foretold that somebody whom he named would be killed. And this indeed happened forty years after resurrection. I wish that this proof may impress all mockers of religion as it did myself, after I lay ill for three years with skeptical atheism, but then began to recover from it" (Korte, *Reise*, 101ff. The treatise in question was a disputation by Gottfried Klippel, *Diss. Hist.-Crit. de Zacharia, Barachiae Filio: Ad Matthaei XXIII. V. XXXV Variaque Loca Alia Illustranda* (Leipzig: Verlag Breitkopf, 1720).

34 *Dogma Sanioris Philosophiae Primarium De Immortalitate Animae Humanae, Ex Ipso Naturae Lumine Demonstrabili Et Evidenter Demonstrata* … (Halle-Hamburg: Jonas Korte, 1725).

35 Korte, *Reise*, 15–17.

36 Manukyan, *Konstantinopel und Kairo*, 32–33.

37 Ulrike Kummer, *Autobiographie und Pietismus. Friedrich Christoph Oetingers "Genealogie der reellen Gedancken eines Gottes-Gelehrten". Untersuchungen und Edition* (Bern etc.: P. Lang, 2010).

declined, and became minister (Pfarrer) in Hirsau bei Calw in 1738; it was there that Korte wrote down his travelogue after he returned in 1739.[38]

When Korte left for the Orient in 1737 he traveled alone and, as he wrote, he journeyed not as a pilgrim or missionary but simply in order to discover proofs of God's curse. The question arises of how he managed there financially, although he probably had enough money to cover the expenses from his former work as a book publisher.[39] As he did not know any Oriental languages, he was forced to rely on the help of Europeans living in the Orient, among them consuls, merchants, and even the Franciscans in Jerusalem.[40] From this, we can deduct that he was in contact with the members of European society in the Orient. His most notable contact was the British Orientalist Richard Pococke (1704–65),[41] who traveled in the region between 1737 and 1742.[42]

As he embarked upon a spiritual journey, Korte did not report much in the way of practical concerns in his travelogue. Yet what the travelogue lacks in detailed reports it makes up for in literary ambition; in fact, it should be counted amongst the monuments of Pietist literature. With much dedication, Korte continued to work on the text until the end of his life.

The text has two layers, the first of which is Korte's description of his travels and what he personally encountered; the second, interspersed throughout the first, contains treatises about various subjects, particularly long historical narratives, as well as studies of Oriental religion, including the history of Islam and of the prophet Muḥammad. Also described are the Oriental Christians, especially the "Greeks",[43] and Korte repeatedly dwells on the curse and its consequences. In several places, he discusses contemporary religious tendencies in Europe and atheism. Thus, Korte's book not only discusses the Orient but also draws lessons from his travel experiences to interpret the religious situation at home, to promote the born-again movement.

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38 *Friedrich Christoph Oetingers Leben und Briefe*, ed. Karl Christian Eberhard Ehmann (Stuttgart: Verlag Steinkopf, 1859), 112–13.

39 Korte, *Reise*, Vorrede § 14.

40 See Korte, *Reise*, 18, 29–30, 35, 41.

41 Korte, *Reise*, 51.

42 Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. I: Observations on Egypt* (London: W. Boyer, 1743); *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II* (London: W. Boyer, 1745).

43 Korte's treatment of Oriental Christianity is not very discriminating. He knows Armenians, Copts, Maronites etc., but does not mention the differences between them. The seventh chapter (Korte, *Reise*, 474ff.) is called "About the judgement on the Oriental church" ("Vom Gericht über die morgenländische Kirche"). Here, he produces a long list of this Church's deviations, without separating the different denominations from each other.

A certain method can be discerned in how Korte selected topics and arranged them in his narrative. Everything serves his general aim of proving the truth of the curse thesis. For one, Korte is eager to demonstrate that the region was once indeed the "Promised Land". This was exactly the truth of the revelation that atheists denied; they argued that the Near East, barren and unfruitful land, could never have seen milk and honey flowing. As such, Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722)[44] said that the Patriarchs lived:

> in tents in the fashion of the Arabs. They did not plant and harvest, but their cattle, their herds and water-wells were their only belongings.[45]

Against this view, Korte argues:

> It is wrong to say that the Patriarchs, like the Arabs in former times and today, did not sow and harvest. The Arabs who dwell in tents are good agriculturalists, in addition to those who live in villages. They provide the towns with grain and cattle, like our farmers do. And they themselves secure their living by this trade. This is a truth that needs no further proof because it is attested by daily experience. The smart count [de Boulainvilliers, RE] could have learned this also from his countrymen, who traveled in these countries in great numbers in order to gain riches there. Had he noticed that then he would not have written such nonsense.[46]

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44 Korte refers to Boullainvilliers' book: *La Vie de Mahomed* (London/Amsterdam: P. Humbert, 1730). The German translation is called: *Das Leben des Mahomeds mit historischen Anmerkungen über die Mahomedanische Religion und die Gewohnheiten der Muselmänner* (Lemgo, 1747). The quote about the "Arabs" is on p. 30. See, for Boullainvilliers' rationalist thinking, Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003) , 565–74. The "Vie de Mahomed" is mentioned on p. 571.

45 (Sie lebten) "unter Zelten, nach der Araber Weise, sie dachten weder an Säen noch Ernten, sondern hielten ihre Rinder, ihre Heerden und Wasserbrunnen für ihr einziges Vermögen" (quoted by Korte, *Reise*, Supplement, 207).

46 "Daß die Patriarchen weiland, als die Araber in vorigen Zeiten, wie auch heut zu Tage, nicht gesäet und geerntet haben selten, ist eins so falsch als das andere. Die Araber, so in Zelten wohnen, sind ja ordentliche Bauren, wie die, so in Dörfern wohnen, von welchen die Städte eben so wohl, wie bey uns aller Orten, mit Getreide und Vieh versorget werden, gleichwie sie selbst ihren Unterhalt davon haben und nehmen. Daß dieses letzte also sey, braucht keines Beweises, weil es die tägliche Erfahrung beweiset, und welches dieser kluge Graf von seinen Landesleuten gar leicht sich erkundigen können, die in grosser

In this passage, Korte stresses the importance of first-hand experience. Yet he also uses the Bible as proof:

> [The claim] that the Patriarchs lived in their tents and did not sow and harvest requires reconsideration. Abraham could armor 300 men from his family alone. So it is easy to imagine that his family consisted of more than 1000 men. And who could give bread and subsistence to all these mouths, if they did not cultivate the land themselves?.[47]

This argument could convince those who believed in the biblical stories, but certainly not an atheist. Yet I think Korte did not consider the latter as his prime audience. Instead, he spoke to those Christians who generally trusted the Bible but were vulnerable to the doubts the atheists shed on it.

Such doubts may have arisen from John Toland's (1670–1722) book *Origines Judaicae*.[48] Toland denied the truth of biblical stories about the Promised Land by referring to the Roman geographer Strabo (d. 23 CE):

> Strabo's description of Judea concurs with travel-reports about the current situation and condition of the soil at present day, but it digresses significantly from the writer of the Pentateuch who says that Judea was full of fruit, milk, and honey (or rich with all types of food). This could, as usual, be explained in a figurative way. But [such a positive image of the land] was also imperative if one wishes to encourage the colonists, who since a considerable while were erring here and there, [to come to Judea] (and for these, Judea may truly have seemed like Paradise). And this encouragement was effected in a very subtle way.[49]

Menge in diese Länder reisen, um Geld und Gut alda zu gewinnen, bevor er solch ungereimt Zeug dahin geschrieben" (Korte, *Reise*, Supplement, 207–8).

47 "Daß aber die Patriarchen in ihren Zelten nicht sollen gesäet und geerntet haben, braucht, deucht mich, ein kleines Nachdencken. Da Abraham in seinem Hause allein 300 Mann bewafnen konte, so ist sich leicht vorzustellen, daß seine Familie über 1000 Mann starck gewesen: wer sollte aber allen diesen Mäulern Brodt und Unterhalt verschaft haben, wo sie nicht selbst das Land gebauet hätten?" (Ibid., 208).

48 *J. Tolandi dissertationes duae, Aedeisidaemon et Origines Judaicae* (Den Haag: T. Johnson, 1709).

49 "Strabos Beschreibung von Judäa stimmt mit dessen von allen dorthin Reisenden beobachteter heutiger Lage & Bodenbeschaffenheit bestens überein; wenngleich sie ungemein vom Schreiber des Pentateuch abweicht, der Judäa als überaus früchtereich, wie von Milch & Honig (oder dem Reichtum an allen Arten von Lebensmitteln) triefend darstellt: was doch, wenn man es nicht wie üblich figürlich erklärt, zur Ermutigung & zum

The theologian Johann Jakob Rambach (1693–1735), of Halle University, had previously rejected this view by writing:

> This fertility of the land Canaan [in Biblical times] was doubted and denied by a famous atheist and mocker of religion of our days, John Toland, in his *Originibus judaicis*. He bases this clear contradiction to the scripture partly on a testimony of the heathen writer Strabo and partly on the present condition of the land. He is daring enough to pretend that Moses used pious fraud (*piam fraudem*) when he praised the Promised Land to the Israelites who had left Egypt … He wanted to encourage them to occupy such a splendid land.[50]

Jonas Korte did not mention Toland, but he knew Rambach[51] and probably also this passage. He was certainly aware of the problem that the contemporary state of the Promised Land was different from its descriptions in the Bible, and tried to resolve this contradiction.

But this was a problematic enterprise. Korte acknowledged that in his time, the land was not fertile indeed:

Ansporn der schon lange kreuz & quer umherirrenden zukünftigen Landnehmer (mit Rücksicht auf welche man Judäa sicher ein Paradies nennen konnte) ganz unumgänglich so dargestellt werden mußte, wie es ja auch sehr umsichtig geschah". The German translation is by Michael Palmer, *Adeisidaemon. Vernunft zwischen Atheismus und Aberglauben / Materialismus und Commonwealth bei John Toland. Mit einer Neuausgabe und Übersetzung von Tolands Adeisidaemon & origines Judaica* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Berlin 2002); e-book: http://opus.kobv.de/tuberlin/volltexte/2003/502/, 75.

50 "Diese jetzt beschriebene Fruchtbarkeit des Landes Canaan (zu biblischer Zeit, RE) hat ein bekanter Atheist und Religions=Spötter unserer Zeiten Io. Tolandus in seinen originibus judaicis in Zweifel ziehen und leugnen wollen. Er beruft sich bey dieser offenbaren Contradiction gegen die Schrift theils auf das Zeugniß des Heydnischen Scribenten Strabonis theils auf die heutige Beschaffenheit des Landes, und ist so frech und effrontè, daß er vorgiebt, Moses habe einen piam fraudem darin begangen, daß er den Israeliten, die aus Egypten ausgegangen, das verheissene Land so treflich vorgestellet und angepriesen, vt animus & calcat adderetur occupaturis, damit die Israeliten Courage bekämen, ein solch vortreflich Land einzunehmen" (Johann Jakob Rambach, *Collegium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Veteris Testamenti, Oder Ausführlicher und gründlicher Discurs über die Kirchen-Historie des alten Testaments Von Erschaffung der Welt bis auf die Geburt Christi: Mit Exegetischen, typischen und sonderlich Moralischen Anmerckungen, Mit den Synchronismis der politischen und gelehrten Historie, Wie auch mit einer Einleitung über alle Bücher A. T. Versehen* (Frankfurt/Leipzig: Verlag Möller, 1737), vol. 2, S. 12.

51 See Korte, *Reise*, Supplement, 269.

> I did not see running water in Judea and Galilee, except for the Jordan, though I traveled for six or seven days there. Also, I did not see more than eight or ten wells, and the water from these dwindled away after just 50 or 100 steps. Only the aforementioned source of St. Jean irrigated several gardens.[52]

However, Korte denied that the land had always been dry:

> Yet I am sure that many water sources existed in this land when it was blessed. In the scripture, we find rich testimonies of wells that nowadays are not visible. In this I see the main indicator for the extraordinary blessing on this land.[53]

Again, the argument comes from the Bible. Korte did not come up with any climatological theory that might have convinced an atheist critic. Instead, he interprets his empirical findings in a seemingly paradoxical way: it is exactly the present infertility of Palestine that proves the curse that God inflicted on this land. The former fertility was God's work, and it ended when God cursed the land while saying:

> I inflicted this severe punishment on the malicious inhabitants … so that your offspring is continuously warned: If they do not follow my laws they shall suffer the same fate. This is what Moses told his people when they saw this land and were about to enter it, and when he took his leave. Moses described blessing and curse, and they were to choose which of the two they wanted.[54]

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52 "Ich habe in Judaea und Galilaea, ausser dem Jordan, nicht ein einig fliessend Wasser oder Bächlein gesehen, ob ich schon sechs bis sieben Tage=Reisen darinnen gethan. Auch habe über acht oder zehen überfließende Quellen nicht gesehen, die aber mit ihrem Überfluß über fünfzig oder hundert Schritte nicht reichten, so war das Wasser verraucht, ohne allein die Quelle zu St. Jean, davon oben gedacht, die etliche Gärten wässerte" (Korte, *Reise*, 377–78.).

53 "Ich bin aber gewiß, daß es solcher Quellen viel im Lande zur Zeit seines Segens gegeben habe, ja, daß das Land voll davon gewesen, wie man auch viel Spuren in der Schrift findet, daß vorhin Quellen gewesen, wo man ietzo keine siehet: welches ich denn auch für eine Haupt=Ursache seines ausserordentlichen Segens mit rechne" (Korte, *Reise*, 377–78).

54 "Eben darum lasse ich ietzt auch dieses harte Straf=Gericht über die böse Einwohner ergehen, eben zu der Zeit, da ich anhebe dich in Isaac zum großen Volck zu machen, damit diese deine Nachkommen ein beständig Denckmal vor den Augen haben möchten, daß, wo sie nicht wandeln werden in meinen Rechten und Gebothen, es ihnen dereinst auch

Because the Jews did not listen to the warnings, the Lord "cursed this land and this people so that the whole world would be impressed by this miracle".[55]

On the one hand, the present situation was a punishment for the Jews, which had begun in the year 70 with the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.[56] On the other hand, it also punished "the Oriental Church" (die "morgenländische Kirche")[57] for its deviations from true Christianity. As early as the days of the Apostles, there were Christians who had left the right path,[58] and they continued to do so until the seventh century. Then they were punished with the Muslim occupation. In Korte's time, Islam had been ruling supreme in the area for centuries, and there were no signs that the curse would end soon.

Korte describes in detail the shortcomings of the "Oriental churches": They did not prevent Christians from falling prey to the "false teachings of Muhammad" ("die Irrlehren des Mahometh").[59] Those who still called themselves Christians lived more like pagans and were mocked by the Muslims (Mahomethaner).[60] There was no man of God who would call for a "rebirth",[61] and

> for many centuries, no high-spirited book appeared among them, like, in the Occident, Kempis' work about the succession of Christ,[62] and there is no Arndt,[63] no Bunyan[64] and the like.[65]

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also ergehen werde. Eben dieses stellte auch Moses diesem seinem Volck ernstlich und beweglich vor, da sie in dem Gesicht des Landes stunden, in dasselbe einzugehen, und er von ihnen Abschied nahm; da legte er ihnen Segen und Fluch vor Augen, daß sie erwählen solten, welches sie wolten" (Korte, *Reise*, 190).

55 "Da die Juden nicht auf die Warnungen hörten, hat der Herr „diß Land und diß Volck zum Fluch und zum Wunder der gantzen welt gemacht" (Korte, *Reise*, 191).

56 Korte, *Reise*, 393.

57 This church is criticized by Korte in chapter 7.

58 Ibid., 504.

59 Ibid., 475.

60 Ibid., 475.

61 Ibid., 476.

62 Thomas von Kempen (about 1380–1471), *Thomae a Kempis Bücher von der* Nachfolge Jesu Christi: auffs neue, nach einer der allerältesten Handschrifften, treulich übersetzet, und an statt des vierten Buchs vermehret mit denen Göttlichen Hertzens-Gesprächen des gottseligen Gerlachs, insgemein genandt der andere Thomas a Kempis, nun erstlich verteutschet … Übersetzer: Gerhard Tersteegen (Düsseldorf: Van der Smissen, 1730).

63 Johann Arndt (1555–1621). Probably, Korte is referring to his *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christentum*.

64 John Bunyan (1628–88). His work *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That Which is to Come* (London, 1678), was highly successful in those days. The first German translation came out in 1694: *Eines Christen Reise nach der seeligen Ewigkeit*.

65 Korte, *Reise*, 477.

Furthermore, the Christians "were not able to convert one single person from among their enemies" to their own faith.[66] Their pitiful situation is obvious from their "miserable, meager, shameful, and harmful human laws (Menschen-Satzungen)".[67] Korte complains that there are no religious debates, and that

> for a thousand years in these lands no new doctrine, no new religion appeared. Nothing is heard about heresy, there are no complaints about a deteriorated Christianity … This great silence indicates that the Lord abandoned them, and that he changed the position of his spot light.[68]

God sent "Mahometh" to deliver the curse, says Korte, and thereby contradicts the view, widespread at his time, that the Muslim prophet was just an imposter:

> Such is the opinion of all those who, in this time, embraced atheism. I know unfortunately from experience how harmful that is! Thus, one excludes God from the regime of this world, and makes him an idle spectator who allows one third of the world to be betrayed by the trickery, cheating and lies of a single man, who leads their souls astray to hell.[69]

In order to demonstrate how God's regime ("Regiment") functions in the world, Korte paid much attention to Islam. He strove for an "impartial" analysis of Islam, following Adrian Reland (1676–1718),[70] with whose works he was familiar.[71] But he contradicted enlightenment writers who praised Muḥammad, such as the aforementioned Henri de Boulainvilliers.[72] Against the latter's presentation of Muḥammad, Korte noted:

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66 Ibid., 477.

67 Ibid., 478.

68 "Diese grosse Stille und Sicherheit ist mir kein geringes Kennzeichen, daß der Herr von ihnen gewichen, daß er den Leuchter von seiner Stelle verrückt" (Korte, *Reise*, 479ff.).

69 Ibid., 679.

70 Alastair Hamilton, "Adrianus Reland (1676–1718). Outstanding Orientalist", *Zes keer zestig. 360 jaar universitaire geschiedenis in zes biografieën* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1996), 22–31; Alastair Hamilton, "From a 'Closet at Utrecht'. Adriaan Reland and Islam", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 78.2 (1998), 243–50.

71 *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (Utrecht 1705, 1717). German: *Zwey Bücher von der Türkischen oder Mohammedischen Religion* (Hannover 1716, 1717).

72 For Boullainvilliers' "rationalist" thinking, see Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 565–74. The "Vie de Mahomed" is mentioned on 571ff.

> Strangely enough, in former times the church ministers, themselves mostly stupid, depicted Mahometh as the most stupid man, a person afflicted by epilepsy. Through this malady, the Devil did his work on him, they said. An evil spirit haunted him so that he always acted as a sorcerer and magician. Thus, he founded his religion and built his monarchy, which is still stable. Nowadays, those who consider themselves strong brains elevate this Mahometh to the rank of a most intelligent, capable and malicious brain, a person who achieved all his great works by trickery and astonishing eloquence. With these [techniques] he was able to subdue everything. Yet both parties [the church ministers and the enlightened] forgot about God, [ignoring] that he had something to do with Mahometh's cause, or that he cared for it, [arguing that God] just let it happen, as an idle spectator. Much could be said about Mahometh's cause and God's firm and unchanging regime on earth, and I confess that I would like to read something solid about this from a wise man and theologian.[73]

"Mahometh", sent by God as a tool, was correct in attacking the deteriorated churches and in criticizing the wicked Christians.

From the Muslims of his own time Korte had positive impressions:

> Among them are certainly honest citizens, or law-fearing people who cannot be blamed for anything. They are famous for their stoic holiness, for giving alms and [doing] other good works, and they do justice to others.[74]

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73 "Es ist merckwürdig, in den vorigen Zeiten haben die meist selbst dumme Pfaffen, den Mahometh zu den allerdummsten Kopf gemacht, der die fallende Sucht gehabt, durch welche Kranckheit der Teufel in ihm gewürcket, und ein böser Geist besessen, daß er alle seine Thaten als ein Zauberer und Hexenmeister ausgerichtet, und durch diese Hülfe seine Religion gestiftet, und darauf seine Monarchie gebauet, und also werde sie noch erhalten. Zu dieser unserer Zeit aber machen die, so sich starcke Geister zu seyn dünken, diesen Mahomseth zu den allerklügsten, fähigsten und durchtriebensten Kopf, der alle die grossen Thaten durch seine grosse List und erstaunliche Beredsamkeit, dadurch er sich alles unterwerfen können, verrichtet habe. Dabey findet man GOttes auf beyden Seiten nicht gedacht, daß er sich mit Mahomeths Sache was zu thun gemacht, oder sich darum bekümmert habe, ohne, daß er es etwa als ein müßiger Zuschauer zugelassen habe. Davon aber, als von Mahomeths Sache, wie auch von dem beständigen und unveränderlichen Regiment GOttes auf dieser Erden, wäre noch viel zu sagen, und ich gestehe, daß ich gern hievon etwas gründliches von einem so Weltweisen, und zugleich Gottesgelehrten, lesen möchte" (Korte, *Reise*, Supplement, 210–11).

74 "Es giebt wol viel natürlich ehrliche und honette Bürger unter ihnen, oder auch nach dem Gesetz gerechte Leute, welchen man nichts vorzuwerfen hat, die den Ruhm einer

The Turkish way of life was in some respects closer to God's will ("gottgefälliger") than the European one. For instance, they only drank water and were thus spared from maladies that afflict Europe, in particular the consumption of beer, wine, and tea, which are "God's punishment upon us".[75]

Often it was said that the Turks were idle. Korte comments on this:

> Most of the travel authors whose descriptions of these lands I read complain about the Turkish idleness, that they do not eagerly cultivate the land, and that they prefer to destroy the cities over maintaining them. I do not want to exempt the Turks from this critique, but I say that this is not the reason for the devastation. Nowadays these countries, one more than the other, are afflicted by the curse, and they are still smoking, to use an expression of the prophets, from burned sulfur and salt.[76]

The Turks were not the major factor for the decline, Korte underlines in a passage about his journey in Egypt, from Alexandria to Rosetta:

> The journey takes one day through plain-land that lies in total waste, so that the wind plays with the sand, and no trace nor path is visible. At first, one travels around for six hours along the shore of the sea, and after leaving it, some four hours remain to Rosetta. From this point to the city [the traveler finds] elevated stone posts that stand in one row, leading [him on] the right way. Undoubtedly, this plain was completely fertile when it flourished, because it is so flat that the Nile could be channeled everywhere to fertilize all parts in the same manner that other lands are being fertilized today.
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> But I cannot agree with those who mention all kinds of rational causes: That the Turks purposely prevented these lands from cultivation, so as to stop them from becoming overly populated that could lead to a rebellion that might cast off Turkish rule … [Such an opinion] I heard from rather

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Stoischen Heiligkeit erlanget mit Allmosen geben und andern guten Wercken, und damit vor Menschen noch viel Gerechtigkeit übrig haben" (Korte, *Reise*, 661).

75 Korte, *Reise*, 580.

76 "Die meisten Reisebeschreiber, so ich von diesen Ländern gelesen, klagen nur über die Faulheit der Türcken, daß sie die Länder nicht fleißig anbauen, und von Städten mehr verwüsten als aufrichten; worin ich sie auch eben nicht entschuldigen will: sage aber dieses dabey, daß hiemit der Greuel der Verwüstung und die Ursache dazu nicht entdecket sey. Es liegen aber diese Länder ietzo überhaupt, doch eines mehr als das andere, unter dem Fluch, davon sie, nach Redensart der Propheten, von Schwefel und Salz verbrannt, annoch rauchen" (Korte, *Reise*, 625).

> erudite people. But how would the Turks impede the growth of the population? They do not throw away children in the way Pharaoh did.
>
> Rather, I believe that the Lord, together with the lighter of the pure Gospel, took away also the bodily blessings, of which the fertility of the body is one of the greatest. One root cause may be the pestilence that God sent to these lands as a calamity. It takes away a lot of people in their mid-years, and thus renders the land devoid of inhabitants. And if a land lacks inhabitants, who shall cultivate it?[77]

Later in the text, Korte highlights the weakness of Palestine's economy. During a visit to Jaffa harbor, he witnessed that only one kind of commodity is shipped, soap:

> O you poor Jerusalem! O your miserable goods! O you poor Jerusalem, how much have you deteriorated![78]

Korte's description of Ottoman politics is ambivalent. He does not hold the ruling dynasty truly responsible for the miserable condition of the Near East, but would not deny its responsibility either. The "avaricious Turks" used the

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77 "Es ist eine gute Tagreise dahin, durch gantz eben Land, so aber gäntzlich wüste ist, so daß der Wind mit dem Sande spielet, daß keine Spur noch Weg zu sehen ist. Man reiset vorerst bey sechs Stunden langst der See=Küste; wo man aber diese verlaßt, da sind ohngefehr noch vier Stunden bis nach Rosetto, und von dar an bis an die Stadt stehen hohe steinerne aufgemauerte Pfeiler in einer Linie, nach welchen man die Reise einrichtet. Es ist aber ohnstreitig, daß diese grosse Ebene zur Zeit ihres Flors ganz fruchtbar gewesen, weil sie gantz eben ist, so daß der Nilus überall hat können hingeleitet werden, dadurch sie folglich auch konte eben so fruchtbar gemacht werden, als die andern fruchtbaren Theile noch ietzo sind. Ich kan aber der Meinung derjenigen deswegen doch nicht beystimmen, die lauter vernünftige Ursachen anfuhren, wodurch die Türcken die Anbauung dieser Lander mit Fleiß verhinderten, als diese, daß sie fürchteten, wo sie allzu volckreich würden, möchten sie rebelliren und ihr Joch abschütteln … welche ich von recht gelehrten Leuten gehöret; aber wie verhindern sie denn die Vermehrung des Volcks? sie werfen ja keine Kinder weg, wie Pharao thät. Ich glaube, es ist vielmehr der Herr, der mit dem Leuchter des lautern Evangelii auch den leiblichen Segen, darunter die Fruchtbarkeit des Leibes als eine der grösten ist, von dem Lande weggenomen hat. Da man denn für eine Haupt-Ursach die Pest angeben könte, welche GOTT diesen Ländern überhaupt zur Plage gegeben, die bald da, bald dort eine Menge Menschen in der Helfte ihrer Jahre hinreistet, und dadurch das Land von Einwohnern entblösset; wo aber die Einwohner in einem Lande fehlen, wer soll es denn anbauen?" (Korte, *Reise*, 25–26).

78 "O du armes Jerusalem! O deiner elenden Waare! O du armes Jerusalem, wie sehr bist du degradiert und herunter kommen!" (Korte, *Reise*, 290).

Church of the Holy Sepulcher as a kind of "customs office".[79] Christians were only permitted to build or renew churches and monasteries after paying a "horrible tribute" ("entsetzlichen Tribut").[80]

Yet the Turks' tolerance allowed all religious communities in the Empire to worship in their own manner.[81] In Nazareth, Korte witnessed that Greeks, Romans, and Turks coexisted peacefully.[82] Yet there were weak points: in Egypt, Korte compares the unruly behavior of the Janissary army units with the strict discipline of European soldiers.[83] Repeatedly, he mentions the threat that the "Arabs"—here meaning robbing nomads—pose to the traveler. "Turkish laziness", though not a root cause of the decline, certainly existed, according to Korte. He explains the bad condition of a caravanserai on the road by arguing that:

> The industriousness among the Turks seems to have declined. Probably it was stronger among their fathers. Obviously, they cannot maintain their foundations (*Stiftungen*) [in the sense of *waqf* endowments] like their fathers did.[84]

It is important to note that this Turkish laziness is itself a consequence of the curse, which means it is God's affliction on disobedient people. But, also, industriousness comes from God's blessing. Because

> where the Lord sends his spiritual blessing to a people or an empire, there the bodily blessing follows immediately.[85]

Blessing is not found in the East but only in Europe, because industriousness there

> belongs to the blessing that pious inhabitants attract to a land. The work of these people's hands is blessed by the Lord, who supports their striving.

79 Korte, *Reise*, 58.

80 Ibid., 302.

81 Ibid., 135.

82 Ibid., 298.

83 Ibid., 8.

84 "Es scheinet, dass die Liebthätigkeit bey den Türcken auch sehr abnimmt gegenüber dem, was noch ihre ersten Väter mögen gehabt haben. Denn es scheinet, sie können die Stiftungen nicht mehr unterhalten, die ihre Väter noch gemacht haben" (Ibid., 536).

85 "… wo der HErr mit seinem geistlichen Segen sich zu einem Volck oder Reiche gewendet, da ist der leibliche Segen auf dem Fuß nachgefolget" (Ibid., 379).

> The wineries of Meißen, at the Neckar, the Rhine and many other places in Germany, which are cultivated by art and eagerness, testify to how a rocky mountain becomes fertile through investment and labor. The mountains of Jerusalem certainly resembled these in former days.[86]

Europe is blessed because:

> the sun of grace shines on the sky of our European church, because you still hear voices of repentance, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker; voices that move whole countries and cities, voices that set them in motion, and that confidently shout at the old sleeping sectarians or those who are just falling sleep: Awake, you sleeper.[87]

In Europe, states Korte, is the "true church, the cleansing of the heart in the blood and justice of Christ" (die "wahre Kirche die Reinigung des Hertzens in Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit"), because:

> in this part of the world the Lord still has his fire and oven and his little flock. While wickedness has arisen among us, and continues to rise, also the light, wisdom, and the grace of the Gospel are on the ascent. I confess that the Mahomethan religion could not have been made better by human ratio and power [i.e., that Islam was quite well organized from the point of view of human rationality, and in the light of the resources available at the time], and that these people surpass other pagans, especially because they adore just one God, and because they are true enemies of polytheism, shameful images, and idols. But they reach, like all others in the world, only a state in which the cups and bowls are kept clean from the outside, while the heart is not cleansed from the poison of the old snake, from avarice, envy, and self-loving stubbornness. And their main

86 "… gehöret denn auch zu dem Segen, welchen fromme Einwohner über ein Land ziehen und bringen. Solcher Leute Hände Arbeit segnet der HErr, und benedeyet ihr Vornehmen. Die durch Kunst und Fleiß angebauten Meißnischen Wein-Gebürge: Item am Neckar, am Rhein, und viel andern Orten in Teutschland, können Zeugniß geben, wie ein gantz steinigtes Gebürge durch Kosten und Arbeit kan fruchtbar gemacht werden. Also werden die Gebürge um Jerusalem her zu der Zeit wol auch ausgesehen haben" (Korte, *Reise*, 379).

87 (Weil) "die Gnaden=Sonne über unseren Europäischen Kirchen=Himmel scheinet, weil man da noch Buß=Stimmen von großer und kleiner Kraft erschallen höret, Stimmen, die gantze Länder und Städte bewegen und in Unruhe setzen, und die alte eingeschlafene oder einschlafen=wollende Sectierer getrost anschreyen: Wache auf, der du schläfest" (Korte, *Reise*, 481).

> sins, of which they have more than others, are arrogance, avarice, and voluptuousness.[88]

To Europe was given the "blessing of Reformation",[89] although the small number of the true, "born-again" Christians are "everybody's prey",[90] as they are often attacked by their opponents.[91]

In order to deepen the understanding of the curse and its meaning for Orient and Occident, Korte calls for unbiased Orientalist research:

> Consider that in all times, those who bear the name of a new doctrine, and who live in the middle of us as our neighbors face dreadful lies and become objects of false gossip. Who bears this in mind may easily understand that many untrue things are being said and written about the extremely declined Christianity, about Mahometh and his successors. And this does much harm to the adverse party [that is attacked in this manner], enlarges the gap, hardens the minds and makes it more difficult to convince them of their errors.[92]

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88 "… in diesem Theil der Welt der HErr sein Feuer und Heerd oder seine kleine Heerde noch hat. Denn obschon die Bosheit bey uns fast sehr gestiegen, auch noch immer höher steigt; so ist es doch mit dem Licht, Erkäntniß und der Gnade des Evangelii eben also. Ich bekenne auch, daß die Mahomethanische Religion von menschlicher Vernunft noch Kraft nicht besser hätte können gemacht werden, und daß sie andere Heyden übertreffen, sonderlich darin, daß sie einen einigen GOtt ehren, und rechte Feinde von Vielgötterey und des schändlichen Bilder= und Götzen=Wesens sind. Dennoch mögen sie, wie auch alle Welt, in ihrem eigenen Gewircke nicht weiter kommen, als daß sie die Becher und Schüsseln auswendig rein halten, das Hertz aber bleibet ungereiniget von dem Gift der alten Schlange, von Geitz, Neid und Eigenwillen: wie denn ihre Haupt=Sünden, darin sie vor andern excelliren, vornemlich Hochmuth, Geitz und Fleisches=Wollust sind" (Korte, *Reise*, 684ff).

89 Korte, *Reise*, 627.

90 Ibid., 406.

91 Ibid., 402.

92 "Nachdem ich An. 1715. und 1716 zum erstenmal eine Reise in diese Länder getan hatte, habe nach der Zeit oft gedacht, auch zu anderen gesagt, dass ich mich nicht genung verwundern könne, daß sich von solchen Leuten, die mit Namen der Pietisten, Separatisten, u.d.g. beleget werden, (darunter viele für andern einer grossen Unparteylichkeit, Vertrauens auf Gott, Providentz, Verleugnung … sich rühmen, welches man auch vielen nicht absprechen will,) keiner bishero in diese Länder begeben hätte, oder noch ietzo begeben wollte, unter diesem Volcke zu wohnen, die arabische Sprache aus dem Fundament zu lernen, um dadurch im Stande zu seyn, auch ihre Religion und Historie gründlich zu untersuchen, dadurch der Christenheit allerdings viel gedienet werden könte.… Denn

But there was hope for "better times", as Korte explains in one chapter.[93] In an optimistic tone, he predicts that "the hindrances will be pushed aside, and conversion and new birth will not be as difficult to achieve as they are in these days".[94]

With these words, Korte encourages the born-again Christians among his readers to remain steadfast and not to fall prey to atheist delusions. For the future, Korte advocates interventions by born-again travelers more competent than himself:

> After my first journey to these countries in 1715 and 1716, I often thought, and also told others, that I am amazed by the fact that none of the Pietists, separatists and the like (many of whom boast of being impartial, of trusting in God and Providence, and of practicing self-denial, which is indeed true for many of them) ever traveled, or has the intention of travelling, to these countries, to live among these people and to learn the Arabic language, in order to thoroughly inspect the religion [of the Orientals] and its history. For this would be a great service to Christianity.[95]

Certainly, while advocating impartial research, Korte does not call for religious neutrality. The Bible and the "awakened gaze" must be the foundation of all Orientalist activities.

After his return from the Orient, Jonas Korte visited his hometown of Laaß several times. In 1740 he donated a church clock to the community of Laaß, and presented a copy of his travelogue to every household. It is not clear whether

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wenn man nur bedenckt, was man zu allen Zeiten für greuliche Lügen und Lästerungen denen auf den Hals gelogen, welche den Namen einer neuen Lehre bekommen, und die doch wol mitten unter uns in einer Stadt wohnen, und unsere Nachbarn sind, wer dieses, sage ich, wohl bedenckt und erwäget, der wird auch leicht begreiffen können daß viel ungegründete Sachen von den schon mehr als zu weit verfallenen Christen, dem Mahometh und seinen Nachfolgern nachgesagt, und von ihnen geschrieben worden, welches gewiß bey einer Gegenpartey grossen Schaden thut, und die Trennung immer grösser, die Gemüther erbitterter, und die Ueberzeugung von dem Irrthum des Gegentheils schwerer macht" (Korte, *Reise*, 617–18).

93 Korte, *Reise*, 401–9.

94 "Alsdann werden die Hinderungen beyseit geräumet seyn, daß es mit der Bekehrung und neuen Geburt nicht mehr so schwer hergehen wird, als zu dieser Zeit" (Korte, *Reise*, 405). Korte here follows Philipp Jakob Spener: Pia desideria oder hertzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren evangelischen Kirchen, 1675.

95 Korte, *Reise*, 617–18.

he did this in order to raise his prestige or because of his missionary impulse; probably both were factors that motivated him.

There is no doubt that his Orientalism was not just an intellectual operation; rather, he wanted to change German society. His social ideal can be described as a society of pious men with a strong religious commitment. Trust in God was essential, but also a work ethic "in this world", in contrast to Turkish "laziness", and he found manifestations of this combination in several regions of Germany.

Certainly, Korte's ideas were appreciated by many of his contemporaries, and today's Christian and born-again circles might also find him a very sympathetic author, if they knew about him. Yet the academic Orientalist will continue to consider him a naive ideologist, and rightly so. But academic Orientalism is only one aspect of the broader phenomenon of Orientalism, and from the perspective of a general cultural history it might not even be the most influential one.

CHAPTER 10

Ömer Pasha Latas and the Ottoman Reform Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1850–1851)

Markus Koller

Introductory Remarks

When, during the 18th century, Ottoman statesmen realized the need for reform, the debates initially focused on military structures. These drew attention to the military reforms in neighboring empires, in particular in Russia. Previously, Ibrahim Müteferrika (c. 1674–1745), in his reform treatise of 1732, argued that the Russian military reforms should be seen as a model for the Ottomans.[1] The genesis of Müteferrika's *Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem* probably dates back to 1725; in that year, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, I.I. Nepliuev, reported that a convert who was originally from Hungary had submitted a memorandum on reform approaches to the *kahya* of the Grand Vizier. Nepliuev's statement indicates that Müteferrika's text of 1732 was in fact an updated version of this older memorandum.[2] Even in the late 18th century, when the reformers, led by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) started the modernization efforts that would become known as the *Tanzimat*,[3] the Russian military reforms of Peter I (1682–1721) continued to be an important point of reference.[4] Next to Ibrahim Müteferrika there were other converts to Islam who emerged as proponents of reform policy. One of these was Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (1675–1747), known in the Ottoman Empire as Humbaracı Ahmet

1 Gábor Ágoston, "Military Transformation in the Ottoman Empire and Russia. 1500–1800", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12.2 (2011), 281–319, p. 318.

2 Orlin Sabev, *Ibrahim Müteferrika ya da Ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni* (*1726–1746*) (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yaynevi, 2006), 205.

3 Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III*. (*1780–1807*) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Tuncay Zorlu, *Innovation and Empire in Turkey. Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Navy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008). For more on the concept of modernization with regard to the policy of the *Tanzimat*, see Maurus Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung über die osmanische Reformpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 25–29.

4 Virginia Aksan, "Locating the Ottomans among Early Modern Empires", *Journal for Early Modern History* 3 (1999), 103–34, p. 134.

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Pasha, who attempted to improve the Ottoman artillery, albeit with limited success.[5]

In the course of the 19th century, when the ideas of the Ottoman reformers were to be implemented in the Empire's provinces, converts began to position themselves as representatives of Ottoman power to the local population. Recent research has shown that efforts to implement the reform plans in various parts of the Empire led to very contentious negotiation processes between the different actors. The Ottomans' reform policy clearly differed from that in the empires of the Habsburgs and Romanovs insofar as they had to constantly consider the interests of other powers; the *Tanzimat* negotiation processes were a particularly delicate matter because regional or local resistance to central measures could very quickly be internationalized by appealing to representatives of the European powers. Maurus Reinkowski, in his study on the Mount Lebanon range and northern Albania in the mid-19th century, described how Ottoman officials and officers were supposed to convey and enforce the policy of the central imperial government against the interests of the major European powers, but also against the interests of the local elites.[6] No wonder then that the Ottoman government tended to employ converts for these tasks: most of them had begun their careers beyond the Ottoman borders, and were thus familiar with European diplomatic and military practice, and some of them continued to move between the empires. Equally important, the converts were deemed to be independent from local holders of power in the Ottoman peripheries. In a recent study of the early modern society of Venice, E. Nathalie Rothman counted converts among the *trans-imperial subjects*, who overcame linguistic, religious, but also ethnic boundaries between and within Ottoman and Venetian domains. She identifies the action strategies and mechanisms that enabled them to blend in politically and, in the broadest sense, culturally in different contexts in order to pursue their own objectives. Rothman's category of "in-betweenness"[7] is of central importance for the question of self-identity of the actors and also for evaluating the scope their agency.

Identities can of course conflict and interact, and be activated for limited purposes. Amartya Sen pointed to this "play of identities":

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5 Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 40.

6 Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung*.

7 E. Nathalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 2012), 13.

> In each social context there would be a number of potentially viable and relevant identities which one could assess in terms of their acceptability and their relative importance [...] such as nationality, language, ethnicity, politics, or profession. The person may have to decide on the relative significance of the different affiliations, which could vary depending on the context.[8]

As for the *Tanzimat*, we can add religious and spatial concepts of identity, which are often anchored in "self" and "foreign" attributions. This essay will focus on several converts who acted as representatives of the Ottoman central power and whose life trajectories began outside the Ottoman Empire. I argue that their self-positioning with regard to identity influenced the local process of implementing *Tanzimat* in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their options for action were, however, restricted by the expectations of their respective environment. The particular problem for the converts was that they were often expected to make a clear commitment as to their identity, and to provide evidence of their loyalty. Their multiple identities—that is, the very quality for which they were chosen for the particular tasks at hands—were framed as problematic, and they were constantly pressured into assuming one clear religious or national political identity.

The Rise of Ömer Pasha Latas

The implementation of the *Tanzimat* in Bosnia and Herzegovina is closely associated with Ömer Pasha Latas, who in 1850–51, as commander of the Ottoman troops in the Rumelian part of the empire, broke the resistance to reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina with military force. His life has not yet been studied in detail.[9] The meagre biographical information that we have about him comes from Josef Koetschet, one of Latas' closest friends who himself had come from Switzerland to the territory of the sultan.[10] In his biography of Latas, Koetschet writes that Ömer Pasha Latas was born as Mihajlo Latas in Janja Gora, a village

8 Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York: Allen Lane, 2006), 29.

9 Christoph Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft und Modernisierung im Irak. Die Provinz Bagdad 1817–1917* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2013), 114.

10 Josef Koetschet, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Serdar Ekrem Ömer Pascha* (*Michael Lattas*) (Sarajevo, 1885); for Josef Koetschet, see Markus Koller, "Zeuge einer Zeitenwende—der Schweizer Arzt Josef Koetschet (1830–1898) in Bosnien und der Herzegowina", *Südost-Forschungen* 65/66 (2006/7), 292–312.

in the Lika region (located in present-day Croatia), in 1806.[11] Little is known about his life on the Habsburg military frontier. He was a soldier in the Ogulin Border Regiment, where at the end of his short career he probably held the rank of sergeant. In 1827, he left his unit and crossed the border to the other side. The reasons prompting him to take this step are unclear. Perhaps he had significant debts. After arriving in Ottoman territory, he first went to a *konak* (hostel, quarters) in Glamoč (now in Bosnia-Herzegovina), which belonged to the Filipović family. There, he supposedly changed his first name Mihajlo to Mićo (a pet name for Mihajlo), again for unclear reasons. After staying there for an unknown length of time, he went to Banja Luka, where he entered the service of an estate owner named Hacı Ibrahim, the father of Hacı Alija Bojić.[12] Both belonged to the milieu of the Bosnian notables (*ayan*s, *kapudan*s), into which Latas successfully blended. Their later disappointment was all the more comprehensible when, in 1850–51 and 1854, he broke their power using military force. From the years after 1851 the following statement was made by one of the disempowered notables: "It is a peculiar *kismet* that just this son of our ancient enemies, after we had offered him our hospitality and made him one of ours, was destined to ravage our homeland and to break our old power forever".[13] In wanting to make him "one of ours", it is likely that their motivation was a self-image, self-identity of the Bosnian notable milieu, the components of which can only partially be reconstructed. Certainly, belonging to Islam represented a central element, and therefore the chronicler Muvekkit wrote that Alija Bojić recognised in Mićo's behaviour that he was inclined toward Islam. He accepted the new religion without harboring any doubts, and testified to his embrace of Islam before an Ottoman judge. He was then given the name Ömer-Efendi.[14] This move has to be seen against the backdrop of tensions in Bosnia, and in particular the Bosnian notables' resistance to the introduction of any Western elements. For instance, the notables opposed the introduction of new Ottoman uniforms that were designed along French models; opponents of the reforms saw them as a symbol of Christian influence on Ottoman reform policies.[15] The concepts of identity of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian notables also included spatial-geographical references, mirrored in their demand

11 The Bosnian chronicler Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit (1825–88), a contemporary of Omer Latas, wrote that he was born in 1211 (1796/97); on this, cf. Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), vol. 2, 1053.

12 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1053.

13 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 8.

14 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1053.

15 Noel Malcolm, *Geschichte Bosniens* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer Verlag, 1996), 145.

for a territorial expansion of the entire Ottoman province of Bosnia (*eyalet-i bosna*),[16] the sub-region of Herzegovina, or the areas under the power of the individual notables. These concepts, which have hardly been investigated with regard to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian notables,[17] could overlap or be used according to the situation. Later they posed a major obstacle for Ömer Pasha Latas' implementation of the reform policy.

Latas' Entry into the Circle of the Ottoman Military Reformers

Ömer Latas probably left Banja Luka in 1829,[18] and certainly before the dissatisfaction of the notables that resulted in an uprising in 1831, something which may have significantly influenced his future career. He set out for Vidin, where a friend of Alija Bojić awaited him and gave him access to Şenikli Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the fortress there.[19] Latas taught his sons, probably as a teacher of drawing, and there, at least according to Koetschet, the Pasha noticed the drawings and fortress plans of the former Habsburg sergeant. Ibrahim Pasha recognized the military potential of the convert and recommended him to the Grand Vizier Reşit Mehmet Pasha (1829–33). Both may have known each other from the time when Ibrahim Pasha was still one of the leading military leaders of the Ottoman Empire, before he fell into disfavor after defeats that he had suffered in Greece due to the actions of the Egyptian troops there. Ibrahim Pasha's subsequent appointment as commander of Vidin has, in fact, to be regarded as a demotion.[20] This idea, by the Bosnian chronicler Muvekkit, is much more credible than the report of the Swiss biographer, according to which Latas was recommended to the Grand Vizier Hüsrev Pasha,[21] whose term of

16 Esad Zgodić, *Bošnjački istkustvo politike. Osmansko doba* (Sarajevo: Euromedia, 1998).

17 Spatial concepts and the associated identity patterns have until now been studied primarily with regard to religious actors; see, e.g., Markus Koller, "Eine lebendige Vergangenheit—die Erinnerungskultur des Patriarchats von Peć (1557–1766)", *History as a Foreign Country. Historical Imagery in South-Eastern Europe/ Geschichte als ein fremdes Land. Historische Bilder in Süd-Ost Europa*, ed. by Zrinka Blažević, Ivana Brković, Davor Dukić (Bonn: Bouvier, 2015), 65–82; and, with regard to the Bosnian Franciscans, Srečko M. Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegowina. Voremanzipatorische Phase 1463–1804* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1984), 195–218.

18 Galib Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850–1852* (Sarajevo: Svijetlost, 1977), 61.

19 However, there is speculation that he might have initially gone to Belgrade before he came to Vidin; for this, see ibid., 62.

20 Ibid., 62.

21 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 9.

office in reality only started in 1839 (and ended in 1841). The developments in Bosnia seem to confirm the report by Muvekkit; at the very least, the convert must have been very well informed about them, perhaps even involved in the matter. When Ömer Latas belonged to Ibrahim Pasha's inner circle—starting, at the latest, in 1831—Ibrahim Pasha was deeply involved in the military conflicts within the Ottoman provinces. He saw himself threatened by the troops of those local notables who, in the first third of the 19th century, had developed into a significant threat to the claim to power and authority of the Ottomans in some regions of south-eastern Europe. These included Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Shkodra (present-day Albania) (1811–31). He was from the Bushattliu family, which, in the course of the second half of the 18th century, had brought large areas of northern Albania under its control. In Ibrahim Pasha's estimation, the new *Asakir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye* troops established after the dissolution of the Janissaries[22] were not yet sufficient to confront Mustafa Pasha. For that reason, in 1828, Ibrahim Pasha requested additional troops from Anatolia.[23] In that year, the governor of Shkodra was supposed to fight on the side of the sultan against the Russians, who were successful on several fronts and even took Edirne. The Russians offered Mustafa Pasha recognition as an independent ruler if he remained neutral in the war. Mustafa Pasha therefore deliberately slowed down the march of his contingents to the battlefield in Bulgaria, where he indeed arrived only after the Russians had already defeated the Ottomans. When, after the peace treaty of Edirne (1829), the Russian promise proved to be false, Mustafa Pasha was confronted by Ottoman troops, who attempted to eliminate him as a power factor.[24] In 1831 he appeared as an ally of Husejn Kapetan Gradaščević (1802–34), who in that year led an uprising of the Bosnian notables. The discontent was directed primarily against the planned reform measures: changes in the tax system, the command structures, and the recruitment process, as well as the new uniforms. The *ayan*s and *kapudan*s saw these innovations as a threat to their power, which was based to a significant extent on the tax lease system and estate ownership as well as on the command of regionally-recruited troops.[25] The Grand Vizier Reşit Mehmet

22 For more information about these troops, see Veli Şirin, *Asâkir-i Mansûre Ordusu ve Seraskerlik* (Istanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfi, 2007).

23 Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (Hoboken: Pearson Longman, 2014), 359.

24 Peter Bartl, *Albanien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1995), 81.

25 The most detailed overview of this uprising is provided by the study by Ahmed S. Aličić, *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1996). The ideological bias of this study, however, limits its informative value.

Pasha, who moved against Mustafa Pasha and Husejn Kapetan Gradaščević, first suffered a defeat by the Bosnian Kapetan on the Amselfeld on July 16, 1831. Gradaščević, however, retreated to Bosnia, which he had to leave a year later after being defeated by Ottoman units. In the meantime, in October 1831, Mustafa Pasha Bushattliu had capitulated. The Grand Vizier subsequently sojourned in Kosovo until at least autumn 1832.[26]

It cannot be reconstructed in detail exactly when Ömer Latas was presented to the Grand Vizier upon the recommendation of the commander of the fortress of Vidin. The chronicler Muvekkit reported that Ibrahim Pasha sent Latas to the court to Istanbul, where he was presented to the Grand Vizier. The latter integrated him into his military staff at the rank of *ağa*, and appointed him as a teacher at the military school.[27] This would have been before the campaign of Reşit Mehmet Pasha that began in 1831. But it is equally conceivable that Ömer Latas and the Grand Vizier became acquainted during the campaigns in the Balkans, and that the convert was accepted into the officers' corps there. This version would also support the information that Ömer Latas first came to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1834.[28]

We must assume, however, that Latas was in Istanbul before 1834, since he became acquainted there with the Russian envoy Aleksei Fedorovich Orlov (1786–1861). Orlov had represented the Tsarist Empire in the peace negotiations of Edirne (1829) and of Hünkar Iskelesi (1833).[29] Upon his recommendation, Latas was elevated to the rank of an Ottoman battalion commander and was attached as interpreter to the staff of the Russian general Nikolai Murav'ev-Karskii (1794–1866), who in 1833 commanded the Russian troops that appeared at the Bosphorus that year.[30] They were there to protect the capital of the Ottoman Empire against the Egyptian army led by Ibrahim Pasha.

A Career in Tension Between Self-identity and Foreignness

Whatever the exact circumstances may have been at this stage of his career, with his sojourn in Vidin began Latas' integration into the inner circle of the Ottoman military reformers, whose patterns of self-identity and logic of political action were opposed to those of the Bosnian notables. In Istanbul, he

26 Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 182–83.

27 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1054.

28 Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 63.

29 Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853–1863)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 71.

30 Ibid., 62.

seems to have established himself as part of the military reformers, whereby he must have had close contact with individuals from other European countries who were in the service of the Sublime Porte. This close connection to the milieux of the converts and Christian actors close to the reformers remained significant for Ömer Latas.

The converts' mediation must have played quite a substantial role in his acceptance into the household of the future Grand Vizier Koca Hüsrev Mehmet Pasha (1839–41). The Polish general Wojciech Chrzanowski may have been one of these mediators.[31] Presumably Chrzanowski, among other foreign officers, belonged to the first Ottoman general staff (*seraskeriye*), which Koca Hüsrev Mehmet Pasha began to build up after his appointment to *serasker* in 1827. Chrzanowski's acceptance into the household of the future Grand Vizier possibly took place through the mediation of Reşit Mehmet Pasha, who, while still a young man from Georgia, had himself been accepted into the household of Hüsrev Mehmet Pasha, and had then been sent to study at the French military academy in Metz.[32] Koca Hüsrev Mehmet Pasha played a significant leadership role in building up the *Asakir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye* troops, which were modelled along the organization of the French military forces. His influence on the new troop was so great that its soldiers were known as "Hüsrev's men". Their regiment commanders initially came mainly from his own household.[33]

After his post as translator in the staff of the Russian general Murav'ev, Ömer Latas thus became a teacher at the military academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*), a position he must have owed to the support of Koca Hüsrev Mehmet Pasha. At the academy, which was established in 1834, Latas presumably taught technical drawing, the field in which he had apparently impressed the fortress commander of Vidin.[34] Further integration into the closer clientele system of the soon-to-be Grand Vizier was achieved through his marriage to a ward of Hüsrev Pasha. She was probably the daughter of a wealthy member of a Janissary family who had lost his life when the Janissary Corps were destroyed in 1826–27.[35] This marriage certainly facilitated his access to the inner circle of the palace, and eventually he was appointed writing and drawing teacher to Crown Prince Abdulmecid. Josef Koetschet tells that when Ömer Latas was introduced to Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) during one of the sultan's visits to the

31 Ibid., 62.

32 Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft*, 112.

33 Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 330.

34 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 9.

35 His sponsor, Reşit Mehmet, was also married to the daughter of a former high-ranking Jannissary officer; cf. Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft*, 113.

military school, "[Latas'] 'departure' from the Austrian army and his conversion to Islam were mentioned in a very discreet way".[36] From this conversation he came out as trustworthy, and the very next day Ömer Latas was appointed to his new position.[37] After the Prince's accession to the throne in 1839, and with the continued support of Hüsrev Pasha, in subsequent years Latas assumed high positions in the Ottoman administrative and military hierarchy, where he was particularly deployed to suppress uprisings. His career led him to Albania in 1844, Lebanon in 1845,[38] Kurdistan in 1847, Wallachia in 1848, and finally Bosnia in 1850–52.[39]

Josef Koetschet's account of the encounter with Mahmud II in the military school illustrates how Latas' self-identity and his attributes of foreignness contributed to establishing his position in the Ottoman power structure. James Reid has noted the ambivalent relationship toward his self-identity in Ömer Latas' behaviour at that time.[40] As Josef Koetschet reported,

> He worked diligently to become proficient [...], in written and oral Turkish, and he was successful. He also studied the customs and traditions of his new homeland, which he was excellent in acquiring. Although at that time everything had to go according to the command of the sultan and march "a la franca", Ömer Effendi carefully avoided displaying his European ancestry in public, which is why he kept away from Pera and European society. In a word, he became a veritable Ottoman, he socialised quite a lot with the *ulemas*, who were at that time the most powerful caste, and he was an avid visitor to the mosque. Later, at the zenith of his career, he very seldom visited the mosques and then only on official feast days.[41]

In the context of this assertion, James Reid posits that the man presented himself to the society in the capital that was neither Latas nor Ömer,

> he assumed both identities, though showing Ömer to the public and keeping Mico the Croat to himself. In this perception of his place in

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 For this, see the brief overview in Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung*, 63–65.

39 Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft*, 115.

40 James Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse, 1839–1878* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 469.

41 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 11–12.

and movement through society, Ömer revealed the symptoms of a profound and deep alienation.[42]

It is difficult to ascertain whether his decisions resulted from an inner conflict, or whether he simply wanted to prove his affiliation to the Ottoman elite and his loyalty to the ruling house. Latas must have understood the uncertainty of his social position in 1842 and 1843. At that time, Latas himself also experienced a brief career setback. He apparently toyed with the idea of returning to Christianity and to the Habsburg monarchy, and inquired about the legal situation of converts.[43]

What caused him to reflect on his own social position as convert might have been an incident that brought the issue of apostasy onto the domestic and foreign policy agenda. On March 11, 1842, a man named Avakim, an Armenian inhabitant of Istanbul, converted to Islam and then on a subsequent journey to the Syrian region switched back and became a Christian again. Following a trial on August 23, 1843, Avakim was publicly executed. This prompted, first and foremost, the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Sir Stratford Canning, to advocate an abolition of the death penalty in such cases. Under the pressure of a debate that took place within and outside the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman government in 1843 created a commission in which leading representatives of the *ulema* were to confer on this issue. In the following years, the Sublime Porte pursued a strategy in which it insisted on the legality of death penalties, but no longer allowed them to be carried out.[44] Nevertheless, in the following decades apostasy remained a sensitive political issue, which in Bosnia, too, increasingly strained relations between the religious communities, particularly in the second half of the 19th century.[45]

On the Way to Bosnia

These increasing tensions can be seen in the context of the efforts of the Ottoman government to implement the *Tanzimat* in this border province of the Empire. After the suppression of the uprising led by Husejn Kapetan Gradaščević, the former large province (*eyalet*) was administratively split: in

42 Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire*, 469.

43 Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft*, 115.

44 Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 67–75.

45 Malcolm, *Geschichte Bosniens*, 155–57.

1833, Herzegovina became an autonomous administrative unit, coming under the control of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović (1783–1851). The Sublime Porte thereby rewarded Rizvanbegović for his loyalty in fighting—together with other Herzegovinian notables—on the side of the Grand Vizier against the insurgents led by Gradaščević. Soon, it became clear that Istanbul had barely any means to restrain Rizvanbegović's autonomy, which was bolstered by his self-image as a local ruler; accordingly, the *Tanzimat* could initially be implemented in Herzegovina only fragmentarily. It was not only the Herzegovinian elites who resented the reforms, which were meant to introduce a more centralized administration and thus enhance the presence of the state in all spheres of society.[46] Rizvanbegović himself phrased his agenda into the following manner: "From now on [1833] nobody needs to go to the sultan, nor to Istanbul. Here is your Istanbul—Mostar! Here in Mostar is also your sultan!"[47]

Thus in Herzegovina, a semi-autonomous "local ruler" was able to establish a pattern of identity related to this region; in contrast, the Bosnian notables had, after the end of the revolt under Husejn Kapetan Gradaščević, no *primus inter pares* to hold a comparable position. But also, from the perspective of the *ayan*s and *kapudan*s in Bosnia, the imminent changes threatened their social and political status. In 1835, they became a direct target of the reform policy, when the position of the *kapudan*s was abolished and *de facto* replaced by the *mütesellim*s.[48] We know that this new position often fell into the hands of the previous notables, who thereby preserved part of their influence; however, they no longer served as troop commanders and the *mütesellim* position was not hereditary.

Resistance against the reformist intrusion led to more revolts in 1836, 1840, and 1849–50.[49] The uprising of 1849–50 took place during the rule of Tahir Pasha, who had become governor of Bosnia in 1847 and tried to implement important reforms there. He abolished the obligation of the peasants to work on the estates of the landowners and sought to standardize the tax system throughout the province. While propagated as a relief for the peasants, the latter now had to deliver a larger share of the harvest to the owner. In a newspaper article dated March 15, 1849, the unnamed author noted that since the beginning of the year the peasants had to render one third of most of their agricultural products (and half of the hay) to the landowner, with the latter

46 Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung*, 287.

47 Cited in Hannes Grandits, *Herrschaft und Loyalität in der spätosmanischen Gesellschaft. Das Beispiel der multikonfessionellen Herzegowina* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 66.

48 For the function of the *mütesellim*s in Herzegovina see ibid., 102–4.

49 Malcolm, *Geschichte Bosniens*, 146–47.

in turn paying one third of the revenues as taxes. While the governor argued that this policy corresponded to the will of the estate holders and the population (*reaya*), the rural population had only demanded a shortening of military service, and not the general introduction of a "thirds" levy. This also explained the resistance of the people to the tax policy.[50] Tahir Pasha found himself confronted with the dissatisfaction of large parts of society with the changes in fiscal policy, and it is therefore not surprising that the reform measures were implemented only partially.[51] In the middle of 1849, violent unrest broke out in parts of Bosnia. Krajina, in the north-west of the province, and Sarajevo proved to be centers of the resistance supported by the local notables, which had not yet been extinguished when Tahir Pasha passed away in 1850.[52]

In addition to the tax reforms, Tahir Pasha also made efforts to implement the military reforms in this border province of the Empire. This applied particularly to the new recruitment law, which in 1846 was available in printed form, and which would remain in place until 1870. This law introduced the drawing of lots for the conscription of recruits, who either had to serve in active units or in the reserve forces (*redife*).[53] In Bosnia, the raising of troops appeared to have been mainly carried out for *redife* troops, which met with considerable resistance and forced the provincial administration to deploy the military.[54] In view of this turbulent situation, the Sublime Porte felt compelled to restore its authority in the province by military means. In May 1850, the troops designated for this purpose were put under the command of Ömer Pasha Latas, who had been commander of the Ottoman army in Rumelia since 1849.[55]

In the following two years, the former Habsburg officer relied on several mechanisms in order to implement the *Tanzimat* in Bosnia. This process demonstrates the variegated attributions of "self" and "foreign". Ömer Pasha Latas surrounded himself with a staff of 35 officers, most of whom had migrated from Poland and Hungary into the Ottoman Empire, and many of whom had

50 Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 23. The article mentioned by Šljivo appeared in the "Serbische Zeitung/Srpske Novine", which was published in Vienna from 1813 and also appeared in Belgrade in a very small edition; for information on this see Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.–21. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 167.

51 Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 148. For the details of the reform, see ibid., 18–24.

52 For a detailed overview of the developments during the tenure of Tahir Pasha, see ibid., 17–51.

53 For the specific provisions of this law see Tobias Heinzelmann, *Heiliger Kampf oder Landesverteidigung? Die Diskussion um die Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht im Osmanischen Reich 1826–1856* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Lang, 2003), 184–205.

54 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1022–23, and Šlijvo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 24–31.

55 Ibid., 64.

converted to Islam. They gathered at the official residence of Latas in Bitola (in present-day Macedonia), where an army of approximately 35,000 soldiers was put together, divided into three corps.[56] Most of the foreign soldiers had fled to the Ottoman Empire after the Russian suppression of the uprisings in Poland (1830) and Hungary (1849).[57] On July 6, 1849, the Hungarian *honvéd* reserve forces under General Bem had crossed the Ottoman border and sought refuge in Vidin. His followers included high-ranking revolutionaries, who then converted to Islam in the Ottoman Empire.[58] The Sublime Porte now found itself under pressure from the Habsburg Monarchy and the Tsarist Empire to extradite the fugitives. The three powers finally agreed that the refugees should be housed far away from the immediate areas of influence of the two major European powers. The Hungarians were transported to Konya and Kütayha, the converts among them to Aleppo, and the Poles were to leave for another country. However, a large group of the Poles remained in Šumen (present-day Bulgaria),[59] and Ömer Pasha Latas, as commander of the Ottoman forces in Rumelia, obviously had contact with them. In 1849, some of them asked him for permission to convert to Islam. The Ottoman government, however, declared this step to be a private decision of the person concerned, to avoid the impression of intervening against the major powers. In August and September 1849 many did indeed embrace Islam, either out of fear of extradition or with the aim of fighting on the Ottoman side against Russia in the future.[60] From the Šumen group, on April 15, 1850, about 200 Hungarian soldiers joined his army, which then marched into Bosnia. The Bosnian Franciscan Jako Baltić (1813–87) emphasized in his chronicle that this unit, under pressure of a possible expulsion, did not convert voluntarily.[61] However, the deteriorating living conditions in Šumen may also have played a role. Many officers had attempted, mostly in vain, to be accepted into the Ottoman army, and the craftsmen and engineers in this group also suffered increasing hardship. In 1850, the Ottoman government apparently provided financial support for the Šumen group, which at

56 Ibid., 64–65.

57 For information on Russian policy, see the overview by Manfred Hildermeier, *Geschichte Russlands. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Oktoberrevolution* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2013), 781–85.

58 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy*, 161–62.

59 Kemal Karpat, "Kossuth in Turkey: The Impact of Hungarian Refugees in the Ottoman Empire, 1849–1851", *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays*, ed. by Kemal Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 169–84, p. 172.

60 Ibid., 178.

61 Jako Baltić, *Godišnjak od dogadjaja i promine vrimena u Bosni 1754–1882* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 159.

this time probably consisted of 750 individuals.[62] It is, therefore, not unlikely that Ömer Pasha Latas personally supported the acceptance of at least 200 soldiers.

Two other officers who had fought on the side of General Bem were to be among the leading commanders under Ömer Pasha Latas in his Bosnian campaign: Konstantin von Jakubowski, who at least before 1850 had apparently not converted to Islam,[63] and Graf Antoni Aleksander Ilinski (1814–57), who in August 1849 crossed the border to the Ottoman Empire and then became a Muslim.[64] It was probably through Ahmet Vefik Efendi (1823–91), who was in charge of transporting the Hungarian refugees from Šumen to Kütahya, that Ilinski came into contact with Ömer Latas.[65] Iskender Bey, as Ilinski was now called, had been involved in the November Uprising in Poland in 1830. He then belonged to the group of Polish exiles around Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in Paris. This group became known as the "Hotel Lambert", after the hotel that the Czartoryski family purchased in Paris in 1842; the circle included representatives of various liberal-conservative factions of Polish exile circles, such as the "Polish-Democratic Society", the "Polish People" group in London, and the "Young Poland" association in Berne.[66] Czartoryski built up an extensive network of contacts with governments and other revolutionary groups, by which he hoped to influence the European Great Powers to move against Russia. Between 1841 and 1848 particularly, the "Hotel Lambert" group increasingly attempted to support those forces in the Ottoman Empire that stood against the increasing Russian influence. This policy was mainly organized by Michał Czajkowski, who, in 1841, began to establish the *Agencja Główna Misji Wschodniej* (Main Agency for Eastern Affairs) in Istanbul, which existed there until 1864. The Polish representatives pursued several objectives. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire was to be strengthened and its assistance gained to reduce the Russian sphere of influence. At the same time, the Polish exile-groups sought to limit the Tsarist empire's influence on the national movements in the south-eastern European provinces of the Sublime Porte and

62 Karpat, "Kossuth in Turkey", 180–81.

63 Baltić, *Godišnjak*, 159. After his conversion, he called himself Jakub Aga; see Ljubomir Jakšić-Durković, "Učestvovanje Poljaka u Omer Pašinom ratovanju 1850–1851", *Istorijski Časopis* 221 (1974), 269–77, p. 271.

64 *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1863), vol. 10, 191.

65 Michał Czajkowski, *Dziwne zycie Polakov i Polak* (Leipzig, 1865), 159. My thanks go to Theresa Kowalska-Butterwegge for her translation.

66 Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 2: *1795 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211.

to gain influence there themselves. In addition to Bulgaria and the Danube principalities, the focus was particularly on the autonomous principality of Serbia: in 1842, the Polish teacher Ludwik Zierkowski (1803–60), under the pseudonym Lenoir, was sent to Belgrade with this political mission.[67] From 1843, when he was replaced in Belgrade by František Zach, Zierkowski came into contact with the Bosnian Franciscans in Bosnia and in Istanbul; in the Ottoman capital he also became personally acquainted with the chronicler Jako Baltić.[68] The connections to the members of the order cannot be illuminated in more detail in this paper, but they certainly contributed to the flow of information through which the "Hotel Lambert" group gained intelligence about the developments in Bosnia. Iskender Bey must, therefore, have been very well informed about events in Bosnia when he joined the staff of Ömer Pasha Latas in 1849 or, at the latest, in 1850.

Ömer Pasha Latas in Bosnia

As commander-in-chief of the Rumelian troops, Latas reached the city of Sarajevo with his units on July 23, 1850. The Franciscan Baltić stressed in his chronicle that he brought many Hungarian, Polish, and Italian refugees to Bosnia, including many doctors. Entire battalions consisted of Hungarian soldiers, most of whom were converts.[69] Nor was it only Catholic dignitaries who addressed this issue: the Muslim chronicler Muvekkit was equally interested in this "colorful gang". Muvekkit had been educated in a *mekteb* and had a good reputation among the Muslim religious scholars of the city. This is shown by his appointment as first *muvekkit* of the Gazi Husrev *waqf*, and also as its librarian.[70] In his chronicle, Muvekkit devotes a whole section to Ömer Pasha Latas' biography and conversion. He also notes that Iskender Bey was of Hungarian origin.[71]

The two chroniclers, Baltić and Muvekkit, reveal how the original religious affiliation of these two men was perceived. For Baltić, Ömer Pasha Latas was

67 Barbara Jelavich, "The Polish Emigration, 1831–1871: The Challenge to Russia", *L'émigration politique en Europe aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles. Actes du colloque de Rome (3–5 mars 1988)* (Rome: Boccard, 1991), 235–45, pp. 239–41.

68 Baltić, *Godišnjak*, 138, 158.

69 Ibid., 159.

70 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1037.

71 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1043.

considered a "Wallachian",[72] a pejorative epithet for the Orthodox population. The dervish Efendija Buturović (1885–1977), who was born near the Herzegovinian city of Konjic, likewise reported that Iskender Bey was met with great distrust. The residents of Mostar also emphasized his Hungarian origin and thus his Christian roots, raising doubts as to whether he had ever really become a Muslim. This had further fanned the hatred toward the representatives of Ottoman power and their reform policy.[73] Buturović's recollections and the statements of contemporary chroniclers point to the deep gulf that existed between Ömer Pasha Latas and his followers on the one hand, and those parts of the Muslim elites who violently protested against the implementation of the reforms that jeopardized their position on the other. To them, the *Tanzimat* appeared as influenced by Christians, and now, upon orders of the Sublime Porte, they were to be implemented directly or with the aid of converts.

Ömer Pasha Latas left no doubt about his determination to implement the reform plans in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His stay in Sarajevo was a clear symbol of his intention to restore the authority of the Sublime Porte throughout the entire province of Bosnia and in Herzegovina. The explosive nature of the situation was due to the fact that, since 1699, the governors had their seat in Travnik,[74] although there had always been phases in which the *vali*s resided in Sarajevo; the governors were prohibited from staying longer than three days in Sarajevo, in order to not jeopardize their special position and distance. Now, in 1850, the new governor Hafiz Mehmet Pasha moved his official residence to Sarajevo, with the actual power over Bosnia and Herzegovina being in the hands of Ömer Pasha Latas.

As commander of the Ottoman troops in Rumelia (*serasker*), Latas was ordered by the Sublime Porte to carry out the military subjugation of the rebellious province. On August 15, 1850,[75] he ordered high-ranking dignitaries from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Sarajevo. In his speech, he stressed at the outset that he had not come to Sarajevo as a guest but as a representative of the sultan.[76] The ceremony took place at the *Musalla* (Place of Prayer), where public prayers and military parades were held.[77] As Josef Koetschet reported,

72 Baltić, *Godišnjak*, 163.

73 Jusuf Mulić, *Konjic i njegova okolina u vrijeme osmanske vladavine* (Sarajevo, 2001), 349.

74 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1037, however, says it occurred in the year 1686/87.

75 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1038. Other sources have August 4, 1850 as the date; cf. Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 67.

76 Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 67.

77 Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, 1038, and Mary Sparks, *The Development of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, 1878–1918: An Urban History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 61.

> while the military pomp was unfolding and under the thunder of cannons, the imperial *firman* was read to the people assembled on the Musala, stating that the Mushir Ömer Pasha was appointed commander of Bosnia, authorised to announce and carry out the will of the Padishah, i.e. to strictly apply the [reformist] provisions of the Hatt-i Sherif of Gülhane in the entire province. The assembly listened in silence as the *firman* was read out; everyone realized that this time it was serious, but vowed in secret to do everything possible to thwart the imperial will.[78]

In the final sentence, Ömer Pasha Latas' close friend Koetschet expressed very well what Latas' feelings must have been during the ceremony, with the proclamation's effect only ensured by the strong military presence in the surrounding area of the city.[79] The most important part of the ceremony was the solemn reading of the *ferman*[80] that substantiated Ömer Pasha Latas' authority and claim to power.

Latas' splendid appearance, as described by Koetschet, is corroborated in the descriptions by the former's contemporaries. Apparently, Latas followed the traditional custom of Ottoman commanders to cultivate an elaborate style of representation. James Reid, who compiled corresponding descriptions from the time of the Crimean War (1853–56), saw this as Latas' effort to counteract the distrust of many of the Ottoman-born officers.[81] While in the *Tanzimat* period, officers in general began to pursue a "more austere" official style,[82] Ömer Pasha Latas combined a traditionalist outward appearance with emphatic advocacy of the reform policy. A successful implementation of the *Tanzimat* would also strengthen his position and credibility within the Ottoman military and administrative elite. Voices that expressed doubts about his loyalty to the sultan were, however, repeatedly heard.

Ömer Pasha Latas was convinced that the existence of the Empire could only be ensured through the reform policy. Several years after his sojourn in Bosnia and at a new low point in his career, he gave Josef Koetschet another assessment of the political situation, which was marked by great disappointment and pessimism regarding the chances of the reform policy. Even if these words do not offer any insight into his thinking in 1850, they perhaps still give

78 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 20.

79 Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas*, 66.

80 The text is rendered in *Povijest Bosne*, 1038–41.

81 Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire*, 473–74.

82 Grandits, *Herrschaft und Loyalität*, 510–11.

an idea of the desperate vehemence with which he pursued the implementation of the *Tanzimat*:

> These were then the truly lucid moments of Ömer Pasha, who had no delusions about Turkey's decline, which he saw worsening by every year. The nervous, weak sultan being in a perpetual state of *delirium tremens*; the Sublime Porte being a public stock market for corruption and the most impudent fraud; the entire Empire in ongoing political convulsions, and so forth—the Serdar discussed all this [with me], fully conscious of the rotten situation. He even went so far as to assert: Muslim power is dying, the Christian will soon gain predominance, and only a Christian Sultan could save the Ottoman Empire from ruin.[83]

It was not only Ömer Pasha Latas who felt pressured by the expectations that were linked to his status as a convert: Iskender Bey found himself in a similar situation. Throughout his time in Ömer Pasha Latas' staff, he remained in contact with the *Agencja Główna Misji Wschodniej* headed by Michał Czajkowski, and regularly provided the Agency with reports about events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as receiving instructions from there. The Polish "headquarters" on the Bosporus, however, considered Iskender Bey as someone whose commitment to the Polish cause was not beyond doubt.[84] He was regarded as an adventurer,[85] someone interested in personal glory through military exploits. For the group led by Michał Czajkowski, the key concern was the preservation of the Ottoman Empire through a comprehensive reform program. They regarded the empire of the sultan as a military and political bulwark in the struggle against Russia. Herein they agreed with the assessment of Ömer Pasha Latas, who also considered the *Tanzimat* indispensable, because only a militarily and politically strengthened Ottoman Empire would be able to halt the advance of Russia. As he told Josef Koetschet, since the time of Peter the Great, the Tsarist Empire had pursued a plan "to periodically rock the Turkish empire, and with each attack to break off a chunk of it; the edifice, which already rested on weak foundations, was battered so badly that it will hardly withstand the next coup de grâce".[86]

When Ömer Pasha Latas cracked down on the notables in 1850–51 and broke their resistance with harsh military actions, Michał Czajkowski was initially not

83 Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, 128–29.

84 Jakšić-Durković, "Učestvovanje Poljaka", 273.

85 Czajkowski, *Dziwne zycie Polakov i Polak*, 159.

86 Ibid., 34–35.

pleased. Czajkowski hoped that the Ottoman Empire could be strengthened without much hardship for the population. The groups associated with the "Hotel Lambert" sought to position themselves at the forefront of the emerging South-East European national movements, which they did not want to leave to Russia; hence, his warning not to punish the local notables too harshly for their resistance. And when, in 1851, Ömer Pasha Latas decided to exile the defeated notables to Anatolia,[87] Czajkowski instructed Iskender Bey to make Latas repeal this decision.[88] However, Iskender Bey did not follow this instruction, and Ömer Pasha Latas gave him a promotion. After all, he had participated in the operation against the Bosnians. Czajkowski—perhaps jokingly—had posed the question of how Iskender Bey was able to fight against his own relatives; this was a reference to Iskender's marriage to a young girl[89] from one of the most prestigious families in Konjic. Perhaps this marriage served Iskender Bey to strengthen his status in Bosnia because, reportedly, the family of his spouse was related to the local medieval despot Vuk Branković (b. 1345, d. 1397) and even to Genghis Khan. When, in 1851, this lady gave him a son, Iskender named this boy Tamerlane,[90] after the "world conqueror" Timur Lenk (1336–1405), who had elevated his own prestige by marrying into the line of Genghis Khan. It should be noted, though, that, in the last phase of Ömer Pasha Latas' presence in Bosnia, Iskender Bey does not appear to have belonged to the closest personal circle of the *serasker*.[91] He was also no longer involved in the administrative issues that followed the military actions.

Ömer Pasha Latas revoked the status of Herzegovina as an independent administrative unit and made it again an integral part of the province of Bosnia. This he divided into nine districts, each under the command of a *kaymakam*. His attempt at disarming the population generated distrust, especially among the Christians. Such attempts had failed repeatedly in the 18th century, and in this case, too, they had only limited success.

87 Malcolm, *Geschichte Bosniens*, 149.

88 Czajkowski, *Dziwne zycie Polakov i Polak*, 160.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid. 160–61. For Tamerlane, see Tilman Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer und die islamische Welt des späten Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1993).

91 Czajkowski, *Dziwne zycie Polakov i Polak*, 161.

Conclusion

Similarly, in subsequent decades the implementation of Ottoman reform policies was characterized by tensions between local, foreign, and Ottoman players. But without the military and political measures taken by Ömer Pasha Latas and officers like Iskender Bey, the Sublime Porte would have hardly been in the position to start with the reforms in Bosnia at all. Both men were from among the converts who joined the Ottoman *Tanzimat* elite; their lives had begun beyond the Ottoman Empire, but they made successful careers in the Ottoman administrative and military hierarchies. Some of the converts acted as representatives of the central government that, through the *Tanzimat*, attempted to be omnipresent in all spheres of society. The Ottoman reform policy took place at a time when major reforms were also being conducted in the empires of the Romanovs and the Habsburgs. Yet in contrast to the Sublime Porte, in most cases the governments in Vienna and St. Petersburg did not have to coordinate their measures with other major European powers, and therefore did not fear that local or regional resistance to reform would lead to international conflicts. In Ottoman Bosnia, converts became important actors in the implementation of the reform policy because they played a pivotal role between local/regional, foreign and Ottoman interests. People demanded from them a clear commitment to identity and evidence of loyalty. Ömer Pasha Latas had to prove his loyalty to the Sublime Porte, to the officers and dignitaries who were born in the Ottoman Empire and were Muslims from birth. Iskender Bey was closely involved in the structures of the Polish diaspora in Istanbul, whose center was the *Agencja Główna Misji Wschodniej*, led by Michał Czajkowski. Its political objectives also influenced his actions and did not always appear in harmony with his personal ambitions. This is indicated at least by his role in the repression of the rebellion and the deportation of Bosnian and Herzegovinian notables. The events of 1850 and 1851 thereby demonstrate how self-attributions and external perceptions and expectations influenced the behavior of Ottoman reformers.

CHAPTER 11

The Pilgrim's Tale as a Means of Self-Promotion: Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's Journey to the Ḥijāz (1916)

Rainer Brunner

Pilgrims' travelogues are important—and at times entertaining—intellectual testimonies. Occasionally, as is the case with Felix Fabri in late medieval Christendom or Ibn Jubayr in medieval Islam, they become classics in their own right. Even those that remain of secondary literary importance still tell the reader something about the cultural background and historical setting in which they were written. For the individual writer, the timeless religious and spiritual experience may be of primary importance, but as pilgrimages are also political, social, and economic events, the texts will inevitably reveal contemporaneity, too. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935), the famous reformist intellectual and political activist, is no exception to this rule, even if, as we shall shortly see, this was in a somewhat unusual sense. When he decided to embark on the *ḥajj* to Mecca in autumn 1916, in the midst of the First World War, the whole region was deep in turmoil, and it may be argued that the year 1916 was a turning point in modern Middle Eastern history.[1] Only a couple of months earlier, the Meccan Sharīf, Emir Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, started the so-called Arab Revolt and thus took a decisive step towards independence from the Ottoman Empire.[2] And at roughly the same time, the colonial powers of Great Britain

1 For a short but concise overview of the significance of the First World War for subsequent Middle Eastern history, cf. Stefan Reichmuth, "Der Erste Weltkrieg und die muslimischen Republiken der Nachkriegszeit", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40 (2014), 184–213. Rashīd Riḍā hardly needs to be introduced in the present context; as there is no comprehensive biography of him in Western languages, suffice it to refer to the article by Werner Ende in *EI2*, vol. 8, 446–48, and the literature given therein; the preface to the first volume of his reformist journal *al-Manār* has now been translated and commented upon in Stefan Reichmuth, "Rashīd Riḍā: Introduction to the First Annual Volume of *al-Manār* (Egypt, 1909)", *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism. A Sourcebook*, ed. by Björn Bentlage et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 293–304.

2 On the career of Ḥusayn (1853/54–1931), cf. in detail Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia* (London: New York University Press, 2001); a short overview is given by David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 218–28; for a critical

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and France reached a (for the time being secret) agreement on how to carve up the Arab provinces (except the Arabian Peninsula) after the expected downfall and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after the war.[3] Given the extraordinary intellectual and political stance of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, one may reasonably expect these developments with regard to the Arabian Peninsula to be reflected in his travelogue. To a certain degree, this is indeed the case, but they are by no means the focus of his attention. Instead, his text—which appeared in serialized form in his journal *al-Manār* over a period of nearly two years[4]—is a highly telling combination of various literary genres: it is a glimpse of autobiography, a collection of poetry, a devotional tract, a practical pilgrimage and travel guide, a political pamphlet, and, last but not least, an avowal of Islamic reform.

At the same time, the travelogue provides a kind of personality profile of its author. In what follows, I will attempt to give a summary of Rashīd Riḍā's account that renders the author's style as faithfully as possible. What is of primary concern here is less an analysis of Rashīd Riḍā's political or reformist testimony, but rather an elucidation of the underlying motivation that made the author wield the pen. These intentions may aptly be summarized in one sentence: it is Rashīd Riḍā himself who is the focal point of his own travelogue, and the events he chooses to describe are important only to the extent that the author plays a more or less outstanding role in them.

As the text is too long to be translated verbatim, I will concentrate on several passages that are central to the understanding of Rashīd Ridā's self-depiction. These passages I offer in paraphrase (given here in indented print), without

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assessment cf. Efraim and Inari Karsh, "Myth in the Desert, or Not the Great Arab Revolt", *Middle Eastern Studies* 33 (1997), 267–312; an important contemporary account is Christiaan Snouck-Hurgronje: *The Revolt in Arabia* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

3 On the Sykes-Picot agreement, cf. James Barr, *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 31ff. and index, s.v.; Elie Kedourie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon–Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations, 1914–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 159–84; on the situation further east, in Iraq, cf. now also Fabrice Monnier, *1916 en Mésopotamie. Moyen-Orient: naissance du chaos* (Paris: CNRS, 2016).

4 Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, "Riḥlat al-Ḥijāz", *al-Manār* 19.5 (Oct. 1916), 307–10; 19.8 (Jan. 1917), 466–72; 19.9 (Feb. 1917), 563–74; 20.2 (Aug. 1917), 108–26; 20.3 (Oct. 1917), 150–59; 20.4 (Nov. 1917), 192–98; 20.5 (Jan. 1918), 236–45; 20.6 (Feb. 1918), 276–88; 20.7 (Apr. 1918), 316–28; 20.8 (May 1918), 352–63; these instalments were assembled and edited (not always reliably) by Yūsuf Ībish in the volume *Riḥalāt al-imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā* (Beirut, 1971), 92–210. For the sake of convenience, the present article follows the pagination in the latter volume (henceforth quoted as Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*).

embellishing or distorting the account, and with much detail; it is Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā who is speaking here.

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā was an utterly prolific writer who left a number of personal memoirs and autobiographical passages.[5] Many of these pieces are a sort of PR on his own behalf, meant to stylize him as an unusually gifted and principled thinker who from childhood knew his destiny, i.e. to reform the deplorable state of the Muslim world.[6] While private moments or family life are, as a rule, absent from these texts, his pilgrimage travelogue offers a rare exception, for he starts by lamenting the great wrench that befell him upon his departure from Cairo. The pain was far greater than in the past, even greater than at the moment of his emigration from his native Lebanon to Egypt in 1897, because for the first time he felt it in his capacity of being a husband and a father. Accordingly, he is overcome by emotion when his two children Nuʿmā and Muḥammad Shafīʿ see him off at the station—whereas his wife is completely ignored.[7] This brief glance at his private and emotional life is not an end in itself, but offers Rashīd Riḍā the opportunity for two literary devices that he cherishes throughout his travelogue: poetic embellishment and the art of digression. He thus inserts a lengthy passage entitled "Poetico-philosophical section on farewell and in what way it refines the character", in which he elaborates on the different degrees of pain of parting from the beloved and on the blessing of having children, even though they are a source of constant concern over their health and well-being. To this is added a poem by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāfiʿī in which he expressed his anxiety because of his departure for Istanbul by order of Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī.[8]

5 The main autobiographical source for his early years is his book *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar* (Cairo, 1934), 129–200; cf. Elizabeth Sirriyeh, "Rashīd Riḍā's Autobiography of the Syrian Years", *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 3 (2000), 179–94. Also, his travelogues (Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*) contain a number of autobiographical passages.

6 Cf., for example, his account of his school years: *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 137–45.

7 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 98–101. According to Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāḥib al-Manār* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʿrīf bi-l-Islām, 1970), 221, he married (for the third time, but the first two marriages remain unclear) in March 1913; on his children (in the end, there would be five altogether), cf. ibid., 224–27. Another supposedly private piece of information is the fact that his mother and sister (both of whom, however, are mentioned only in passing throughout the text) accompanied him on the pilgrimage.

8 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 98–102 (*nubdha falsafiyya shiʿriyya fī l-wadāʿ wa-mā fihi tahdhīb al-ṭibāʿ*); on al-Rāfiʿī (1859–1932), cf. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām. Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn* (Beirut, 1986), vol. 3, 257; on Ṣayyādī (d. 1909), cf. Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī. Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung*

Language and literature in general as well as poetry in particular had always been something Rashīd Riḍā had a penchant for, and in his autobiography he makes a point of reminding the reader in great detail that he was a naturally-gifted and popular poet from an early age. A scholar to whom he once recited his first verses commented instantly that he began where others finished.[9] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in his Mecca travelogue, there are a number of instances where he readily quotes classical Arabic poetry, which temporarily gives his account the character of a small literary anthology. The most extensive one is a passage over several pages containing a kind of *minnesang* about flirting with women (!) in the Meccan *ḥaram* and in Minā during the ceremony of the symbolic stoning—which the author immediately takes as a starting point for some priggish comments and the protestation that, his incessant ardent desire for the Ḥijāz and the nights at ʿArafāt, Muzdalifa, and Minā notwithstanding, he himself did not flirt with any woman there and—*li-llāhi l-ḥamd*—neither saw nor heard anything like it.[10] Apart from these poetical insertions, Rashīd Riḍā cultivates also his own linguistic ambitions: en route, he sought conversations about literature,[11] and he never tires of giving detailed linguistic explanations of place-names or other unclear expressions.[12]

Not all digressions, however, are of a linguistic nature and refer only to what he saw around him; sometimes, Rashīd Riḍā simply gets carried away by his own account and becomes bogged down in remembrances and associations. One of the most characteristic examples in this regard is certainly the story of his thermos flask that stretches over two full pages: departing from the perfectly rational remark—in the context of a pilgrimage in the desert before the technical era—about the vital importance of a continuous supply of

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sufischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätosmanischen Reich (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2003).

9 Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 180–88 (quotation on p. 181); on his attitude towards language and nationalism, cf. Rainer Brunner, "*lātinīya lā-dīnīya*—Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍa über Arabisch und Türkisch im Zeitalter des Nationalismus", *Osmanische Welten. Quellen und Fallstudien. Festschrift Michael Ursinus*, ed. by Johannes Zimmermann, Christoph Herzog, Raoul Motika (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2016), 73–114.

10 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 188–97 (quotation on p. 197); the poets quoted therein are al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, al-Tanūkhī, al-Iṣfahānī, al-Numayrī, and (of all poets!) Abū Nuwās, "the profligate poet" (*fāsiq al-shuʿarāʾ*). Other passages with poems are on pp. 107, 126, 133, 147, 148, 151, 156.

11 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 106, 125.

12 Ibid., 125–26 (on various words for "stone", "rock", etc.), 152ff. (on the name ʿArafa / ʿArafāt), 172 (on the word *jamra* in the context of the stoning ceremony called *jamrat al-ʿAqaba*; cf. also *EI2*, vol. 2, 438).

fresh water during the journey (which he considers to be more important than food), he goes on to tell the story of his metal jug:

> Rashīd Riḍā owns a container of the European style called a *tirmūs*, a very sophisticated model in which the ice would not melt for several days, as he had experienced once on a journey from Tripoli (*Ṭarābulus al-Shām*) to Cairo, when he stayed for two days in Beirut and for another two days at sea, where, however, he did not have to use it, as his first-class cabin was situated directly next to the ship's ice machine. When he arrived in Alexandria on the fifth day and opened the flask, he noticed that hardly any ice had melted. It had been a gift of the former Sultan of Muscat, the late Sayyid Fayṣal, whom he had visited in April 1913.[13] When the latter noticed that Rashīd Riḍā used to ask merely for iced water, he ordered the ice machine that was usually switched off in winter to be put into operation. Upon his departure from Muscat, Rashīd Riḍā found such a thermos flask in his luggage, and it served him well on the way from Baṣra to Baghdad, when they ran out of ice on the steamer, and from Baghdad to Aleppo, as there was ice only available in Dayr al-Zūr, which is situated between Iraq and Syria. Each of the 18 nights of the journey, they had to prepare water by filtering it in earthen pots and cooling it by means of the dry and cold nightly air in small Baghdadian jugs and a metal jug wrapped in moistened cloth which would be cooled by the air and which would in turn then cool the water inside. This metal container had been given to Rashīd Riḍā by the knowledgeable physician Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Walī in Lucknow in India.[14] Before departure at the end of the night, he would then fill the water into said thermos flask and into another one, of a more widespread type that had been given to him by Yūsuf al-Zawāwī, the greatest leader—after the sultan—of Muscat. Rashīd Riḍā would then drink from this second flask during the morning and save the other one for the afternoon, knowing that it would keep the coldness of the water better. The Zawāwī jug was broken in Ḥamā, but Rashīd Riḍā was not too sorry about it, since there were so many of them around (except that it was a souvenir of a good friend), but the Sultan's thermos flask was later on broken in Cairo, which saddened him a lot, since it was such a useful gadget and a memory of the sultan of Muscat, may God irrigate his grave. But the Sultan's righteous and reliable son, Rashīd Riḍā's friend Sayyid

13 On this journey, cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 87–89. Sultan Fayṣal reigned from 1888 until his death in 1913; cf. *EI*, vol. 5, 391–93 (which includes a genealogy).

14 On Rashīd Riḍā's journey to India in 1912, cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 77–86.

> Nādir, the commander-in-chief of the army of Muscat, gave him another such flask by way of compensation, and this is the one he brought along for his pilgrimage and in which he carried enough ice from Jeddah to Mecca; only the water in the leather skin went bad, because the skin had not been used for quite a while. The reason why the thermos flask keeps the temperature of its content so well is because it is composed of two containers, the outer one made of metal, the second one of glass, the inside of which looks like a mirror. The outer one is covered with a material of slow heat conductivity, while the inner glass container is detached from the outer, the joint being an upper orifice made of cork, on top of it a piece of white metal, and above it the metal cover joint to it. Whenever the orifice is lifted a little, it is possible to pour water from a spout.[15]

It is in the eye of the beholder to speculate about Rashīd Riḍā's motives for including such longwinded and wordy digressions. One purpose is without doubt his habit—generally to be felt in many of his writings—to put on his best pose as a seasoned traveler, well-connected throughout the Islamic world, who is not only writing about the Muslim world and the need for reform, but experiencing it with every fiber of his heart. Not without good reason does he terminate his thermos flask excursus by reminding the reader that foul water is the cause of many illnesses, that the traveler who cares about his health between Jeddah and Mecca does well to carry enough water, as the water available in the inns and coffeehouses on the way is generally bad and the sources are polluted—and that the Prophet himself, who used to eat everything and never found fault with food, did not drink every kind of water, but preferred the water from a well at a distance of a day's travel away from Medina.[16] It is this combination of personal experience and lesson for the reader (including passages that read like a travel guide),[17] occasionally grounded in the normative example of the Prophet, which can be found in other passages of his travelogue as well.

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15 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 120–21; this would, however, not save him from the awkward situation on the way back from Mecca to Jeddah, when they (i.e. Rashīd Riḍā, his mother, sister, and some travel companions) run out of water and have to suffer terrible thirst, as the water his guard provides is bad and expensive: ibid., 209–10; Rashīd Riḍā makes a point of stressing that he sacked the guard on the spot, as this was not the first time he was dissatisfied with his service.

16 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 121–22.

17 Ibid., 122 (the coffeehouses on the way from Jeddah to Mecca), 123 (Baḥra), 146ff. (the way from Mecca to ʿArafāt and from Minā to Muzdalifa), 151ff. (ʿArafāt itself).

By far the most important part of every pilgrimage account to Mecca is certainly the description of the various rites, and many authors take the opportunity to reflect upon their emotions and the spiritual experience they are going through. So does Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. Once he managed to overcome the physical hardship of pre-modern travel—he covered the way from Jeddah to Mecca on a mule's back—and arrived in the *ḥaram*, he immediately performed the first circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Kaʿba and the first sevenfold run (*saʿy*) between Ṣafā and Marwa. The *ḥajj*, he goes on to explain, is a spiritual, physical, and social exercise that strengthens all three components of human life. As for the physical aspect, the sevenfold *ṭawāf* (on an average of 100 meters for each round) and the *saʿy* of approximately three kilometers are like track-and-field disciplines that are recommended by physicians. The social factor is obvious from the great number of people from all parts of the world who are assembled, who get to know each other and interact in a harmonious way. But most important of all is the spiritual experience that constitutes the actual purpose of the pilgrimage.[18] Although he complains several times about the physical strain, the heat, and the loss of appetite that made him feel weak most of the time and considerably reduced the number of circumambulations he was able to perform,[19] the continuous state of spiritual rapture more than makes up for it. Seeing and circumambulating the Kaʿba upon his arrival and having the opportunity to enter it shortly before his departure threw him into a permanent emotional state of exception,[20] as did the standing (*wuqūf*) in the plain of ʿArafāt. Particularly this latter occasion, an integral part of the *ḥajj* ceremonies, is depicted as the unconditional highlight of his pilgrimage, and the incessant recitation of the *talbiya* (the formula *labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka* with which every pilgrim presents himself to God upon entering the sacred space) as well as the *takbīr* (the call *Allāhu akbar*) fulfil perfectly the purpose of putting the believer into a trance: there is a huge crowd, but no-one sees or cares about the other, for it is as if everyone is alone and completely focused on the Lord.[21] And yet, there was one drop of wormwood: big as the crowd may

18 Ibid., 129–31; cf. "Saʿy", *EI2*, vol. 11, 97; "Circumambulation", *EI3*.

19 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 129, 130, 131–32, 140, 144. Apparently, the climate of the Ḥijāz was not very salubrious for Rashīd Riḍā: during his second journey to Mecca in 1926 (see below) he also suffered from a severe fever attack; cf. *al-Manār* 32.2 (Feb. 1932), 116.

20 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 132–34, 200–1.

21 Ibid., 163–65; on the *talbiya*, cf. *EI2*, vol. 10, 160–61 and the literature given there; on ʿArafāt (or ʿArafa) cf. *EI2*, vol. 1, 604 (ʿArafa) and vol. 11, 220–21 (*wuqūf*), as well as the article "ʿArafāt" in *EI3*. A useful and concise summary of all *ḥajj* ceremonies is G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (London: Schuman, 1951), 15–49.

be, it was not as big as it ought to be, let alone as it used to be in the past. Since the number of pilgrims in 1916 was rather small (a fact that Rashīd Riḍā repeatedly emphasizes),[22] the experience of the masses was not as impressive to him as he had possibly hoped for, and it becomes clear that he feels he had missed something: the grand view of the plain and the small mountain there (the *Jabal al-raḥma*) covered with people from all over the world. Instead, he has to make do in his travelogue with quotations from previous pilgrims: Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī described the area just a couple of years earlier as so crowded "that it is hardly possible to see a place where there is no one standing or sitting, and their camels and donkeys are tied up next to them"; and the inexhaustible Ibn Jubayr knew that nothing resembles this crowd except the day of the resurrection (*al-ḥashr*), as the pious residents in Mecca (*mujāwirūn*) had confirmed to him that never since the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd had such a crowd be seen as in that year of 1184 [CE].[23]

In all this, the Prophet is never far away. His usefulness in recommending the care for fresh water has already been mentioned;[24] in Mecca, Muḥammad becomes the absolutely indispensable guide at each and every stage of the pilgrimage, and Rashīd Riḍā tried hard to come as close as possible to his normative example: he entered the city through the same gate as the Prophet had done, he pitched his tent in ʿArafāt near the spot where the Prophet's tent had been (by chance, as he protests), and upon entering the Kaʿba at the end of his stay, he visualized the situation on the day of the Prophet's conquest of Mecca and located the exact spot where Muḥammad had been standing.[25] Furthermore, the Prophet is, of course, the conclusive guide as far as the exact

22 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 100, 122, 145, 160–61; see also below, n. 30.

23 Ibid., 160–62; al-Batanūnī (d. 1938) accompanied the last Egyptian Khedive, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II, on his pilgrimage in 1909; on his account *al-Riḥla al-ḥijāziyya* (Cairo, 1911), cf. Henri Lammens, "Le pèlerinage du dernier khédive d'Égypte", *Revue du Monde Musulman* 38 (1920), 58–84. On Ibn Jubayr (1175–1217), cf. *EI2*, vol. 3, 755; Ewald Wagner, "Der *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* eines frommen Pilgers. Die Religion in Ibn Ǧubairs Dichtung", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 165 (2015), 93–124; F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 109–14; an abridged German translation of his travelogue was published by Regina Günther, *Ibn Dschubair. Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers* (Stuttgart, 1985) (the passage quoted by Rashīd Riḍā being on pp. 126–27). On the *mujāwirūn* see *EI2*, vol. 7, 293–94. A richly-illustrated book about the pilgrimage at the beginning of the 20th century is Farid Kioumgi and Robert Graham, *A Photographer on the Hajj: The Travels of Muhammad ʿAli Effendi Saʿudi (1904 / 1908)* (Cairo/New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009).

24 See above, n. 16.

25 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 129, 146, 159, 201.

performance of the various rites of the *ḥajj* are concerned, especially for the *saʿy* between Ṣafā and Marwa, the shortening and combination of the afternoon and evening prayers at Muzdalifa, and the symbolic stoning of the devil in Minā, but also for seemingly minor details, such as the "correct" way to wear the *iḥrām* garment.[26] This imagined closeness to the Prophet is anything but unusual for Rashīd Riḍā: on the occasion of his first Syrian journey in 1908, the enthusiastic reception that was given to him in his native village of Qalamūn explicitly reminded him of the welcome that the Prophet experienced in Medina,[27] and in his autobiography, he relates a number of dream narratives according to which other people either saw him sitting next to Muḥammad, or even saw the Prophet in the shape of Rashīd Riḍā, since the latter (as he was repeatedly assured) bore more resemblance to the Prophet than any other human being.[28]

Important though the spiritual experience is for Rashīd Riḍā, he does not limit his description to it, but includes some observations on the social aspects and the mostly dire economic situation in the Ḥijāz as well. The *ḥajj* in 1916 was the first one under the new government, i.e. after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, while in the previous year, the pilgrimage was largely cancelled due to the Anglo-Ottoman hostilities and the naval blockade of the port of Jeddah, the vital gate to the Ḥijāz for pilgrims from abroad.[29] When Jeddah fell to Sharīf Ḥusayn's troops on June 16, immediately after the beginning of the revolt, the

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26 Ibid., 164, 166–67, 168–69, 171, 186, 187; on the *iḥrām* garment, see p. 129: according to Rashīd Riḍā, the Prophet performed the *ṭawāf* and the *saʿy* with a bare right shoulder so that the heathens may see the strength of the Muslims, after he had heard some insulting remarks on their alleged weakness.

27 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 19–20.

28 Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 158–59; until modern times, dreams and their interpretation have kept their important function for securing the charisma either of the scholarly dreamer himself or the scholar who appears in the dreams of others; cf. Rainer Brunner, "Le charisme des songeurs. Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī et la fonction des rêves dans le shiʿisme duodécimain", *Le shiisme imamite quarante ans après. Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, ed. by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Meir M. Bar-Asher, Simon Hopkins (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 95–115.

29 Another short but instructive account of the 1916 pilgrimage is J.S. Kadri, "My Experience of the Hajj of 1916", *Journey to the Holy Land. A Pilgrim's Diary. Translated, and with an Introduction, by Mushirul Hasan, Rakhshanda Jalil*, ed. by Amir Ahmad Alawi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71–78. On the war-time pilgrimages, cf. John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj 1865–1956* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2015), 166–97; Luc Chantre, *Le pèlerinage à La Mecque à l'époque coloniale (v. 1866–1940): France—Grande Bretagne—Italie* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Poitiers, 2012), 311–54; Sylvia Chiffoleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque. Un pèlerinage mondial en terre d'Islam* (Paris: Belin, 2015), 251–68.

roads to Mecca were clear again, and the pilgrimage season, which, in 1916, started in late September, was the first test of the new rulers.[30] Supposedly they did well, and Rashīd Riḍā underlines from the beginning that the small number of pilgrims that had so chagrined him in ʿArafāt when it cut him out of the real rally did have two highly positive side-effects: firstly, the generally poor quality of water supply notwithstanding, there was no outbreak of epidemics. This was anything but a matter of course, despite the obligatory cholera vaccination, if one takes into account that immediately before the First World War, there was a severe cholera epidemic claiming approximately 1,000 lives per day.[31] And secondly, it meant that the roads, especially those between Jeddah and Mecca, were comparatively safe. For most of the journey, armed guards supplied by the Sharīf accompanied Rashīd Riḍā, but they had to intervene on his behalf only once, when there was a night-time shoot-out in their vicinity, whereupon they all fled to a nearby coffeehouse. In general, however, they reassured him, robbers in larger units would never attack individual pilgrims or small groups, but would instead be out for the big caravans, but there were no complaints in this regard either. It was the combination of organized watchfulness—a dense net of watchtowers along the route—and individual precaution—"in this region, it is prudent to think bad (of people)"—that made him feel rather comfortable most of the time.[32]

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30 For statistics of the number of pilgrims, cf. Teitelbaum: *The Rise and Fall*, 200 (1916: 6,800 pilgrims by sea; no number for 1915); Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 187 (1916: 26,000 pilgrims altogether), 190 (1917: 50,000 pilgrims at ʿArafāt), 196 (1918: 44,000 pilgrims at ʿArafāt); *Records of the Hajj: a Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca, Vol. 5: The Hashimite period (1916–1925)*, n.p. (Archive Editions) 1993, 57–59 (official British report on 1916) and 69–76 (on 1917); see also David Long, *The Hajj Today: A Survey of the Contemporary Makkah Pilgrimage* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1979), 127–28 (no numbers for 1915 and 1916). The Sharīf's newspaper *al-Qibla* reported (no. 1.14, September 29, 1916, p. 4) that, according to the Egyptian paper *al-Ahrām*, the number of Egyptian pilgrims was "without doubt" more than 1,000; Kadri, "My Experience", writes that 2,500 pilgrims from India went on *ḥajj* in 1916.

31 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 100, 103, 187; on the pre-war epidemic see "The Mecca Pilgrimage in 1913–14", *The Moslem World* 5 (1915), 82; in general, cf. Peters, *The Hajj*, 301–15; Eric Tagliacozzo, "Hajj in the Times of Cholera. Pilgrim Ships and Contagion from Southeast Asia to the Red Sea", *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, ed. by James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 103–20; Rita Stratkötter, *Von Kairo nach Mekka. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Pilgerfahrt nach den Berichten des Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Bāšā: Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramain* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991), 100–6; Chiffoleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 153–200.

32 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 122–23, 124–25 (quotation on 125). Kadri, "My Experience", p. 74, confirms that "the road was clear of the Bedouins and there was a mounted escort of the Sherif's men accompanying the caravan". This early honeymoon between tribes and the Sharīfian

Rashīd Riḍā is less consistent with regard to the economic well-being of the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz. He cannot completely shut his eyes to reality: the number of camels had dramatically diminished that year, since in the time before the revolt many animals had starved, the sacrificial meat was hardly enough for the poor of the *ḥaram* (whereas in previous years there had been plenty of it for the needs of the inhabitants of the country and its neighbors). Moreover, begging in the holy precinct was pervasive, and Rashīd Riḍā saw many scenes of dreadful misery and hunger. He decided to give alms to every beggar, although active begging is actually forbidden in Islam.[33]

At the same time, he assures the reader that the residents of this faithful country forever enjoy Abraham's intercession, which is mentioned in the Qur'ān ("and provide them with fruits; haply they will be thankful"), as well as Abraham's request that God bless their meat and water, as ascertained in a *ḥadīth* recorded by Bukhārī.[34] In consequence, he explains, there is plenty of good meat and vegetables available, although everything becomes more expensive during the pilgrimage season.[35] He goes even so far as to remind the reader of the well-known traditions about Abraham's building of the Kaʿba and Hagar's desperate run between Ṣafā and Marwa, before God made the Zamzam well bubble up. God made the hearts of all Muslims aspire to this land, and has always made it serviceable to them and provided them with its fruits. Rashīd Riḍā then draws a parallel to the situation in 1916: the rich and powerful nations that dispose of fertile and cultivated lands suffered from heavy losses, hunger and fear, due to the European war, and the pressure caused by the naval blockades had been very strong and nearly made the people of the *ḥaram* starve, but now God again made this land serviceable to them and provided them with food and money by directing the flow of pilgrims towards them.[36]

As has already been indicated above, it goes without saying that Rashīd Riḍā's travelogue cannot do without reference to the political situation in the

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government was, however, short-lived, and relations quickly and permanently deteriorated so that security was much worse in later years; cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 199–205.

33 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 145, 172, 205–7.

34 Q 14:37 (Arberry's translation); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ. Ṭabʿa jadīda kāmila fī mujallad wāḥid mashkūla wa-muraqqamat al-kutub wa-l-abwāb wa-l-aḥādīth*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ḥasan Naṣṣār (Beirut, 1425/2004), 615–16 (no. 3364); French translation by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *El-Bokhâri: Les traditions islamiques* (Paris, 1906), vol. 2, 478–82 (p. 481).

35 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 143–44.

36 Ibid., 136–37; cf. the article "Zamzam" in *EI2*, vol. 11, 440–42; G.R. Hawting, "The Disappearance and Rediscovery of Zamzam and the 'Well of the Kaʿba'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980), 44–54.

Ḥijāz that had changed so dramatically during the previous months—the more so as the Arab revolt did away with the regime of the Young Turks that had been anathema to him in the recent past.[37] Incidentally, this was also the reason why Rashīd Riḍā went on pilgrimage only at the age of 51: first, he had been prevented from carrying out the *ḥajj* by the threat of being persecuted by the Hamidian government, and later on by what he used to call the atheism (*ilḥād*) of the Young Turks. All the more willing was he to accept, apparently at short notice, the invitation by the Egyptian government, based on a safety guarantee by Sharīf Ḥusayn.[38] The two had been in contact with each other since the time Ḥusayn assumed the Sharifate in 1908, and one of the new dignitary's collaborators even delivered the invitation to Rashīd Riḍā—on his return from his Syrian journey in autumn 1908—to become Ḥusayn's secretary.[39] Although subsequent correspondence was apparently prevented by Ottoman censorship, Rashīd Riḍā kept in touch through the Sharīf's second son, ʿAbdallāh, whom he made a member of his *Society of the Arab Association* in 1914.[40]

Therefore, it probably did not come as a surprise to him that in the summer of 1916 there were many rumors to the effect that he, i.e. Rashīd Riḍā, was to be accompanied by a delegation of scholars sent by the Egyptian Sultan, in order to take the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*) to Ḥusayn as the new caliph, or that he would even do so on his own. He dismissed all this as "the gossip of the rabble"

37 On his growing opposition against the Young Turks (whose revolution against Sultan ʿAbdülḥamīd II he originally had supported), cf. Brunner, "*lātinīya lā-dīnīya*", 82–88; Mahmoud Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism in the Colonial Era: Rereading Rashīd Riḍā's Ideas on the Caliphate", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117 (1997), 253–77 (esp. pp. 261–63).

38 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 94, 100; on Rashīd Riḍā's attitude towards the Hamidian rule, cf. Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism", 254–61.

39 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 110; on his Syrian journey, see ibid., 9–53; cf. also Richard van Leeuwen, "Mobility and Islamic Thought. The Syrian Journey of Rashid Rida in 1908", *Centre and Periphery within the Borders of Islam. Proc. of the 23rd Congress of l'UEAI*, ed. by Giuseppe Contu (Leuven, 2012), 33–46.

40 Eliezer Tauber, "The Political Life of Rašīd Riḍā", *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS), Part One, Budapest 1–7 July 1997*, ed. by K. Dévény and T. Iványi (Budapest, 1998), 261–72 (pp. 262–63); there is, however, no trace of such an appointment in ʿAbdallāh's own memoirs: *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan. Edited by Philip P. Graves* (…) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1950), 105–10 (I owe a copy of this book to Prof. Jens Scheiner, Göttingen). On ʿAbdallāh (1882–1951), who after the war was to become *amīr* of Transjordan by the grace of Britain and later on King of independent Jordan, cf. also the article in *EI3* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_0148>.

(*taqawwul li-ghawrā' al-nās*),[41] but he was unmistakably flattered to be treated, throughout his stay, as the guest of honor of the Sharīf.[42] As for the ongoing revolt, he hardly caught any hints of it en route; only once did he see a group of Turkish soldiers, who had been taken captive after the conquest of Ṭā'if.[43]

Nevertheless, politics do play an important role in his travelogue, albeit he makes a point of turning his attention to this topic only after he completely finished all pilgrimage ceremonies. Incidentally, the new Sharifian government was proclaimed on 7 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1334 (October 5, 1916), i.e. right in the midst of the pilgrimage ceremonies,[44] and it is little wonder that this step quickly became the talk of the day. Immediately, rumors about a *bayʿa* during the *ḥajj*—Rashīd Riḍā uses the allusive expression *bayn al-rukn wa-l-maqām*[45]—resumed, although at the Friday sermon, the reigning Ottoman caliph, Meḥmed v Reşad, was invoked. Rashīd Riḍā learned that all members of the new government, as well as the Meccan notables, regarded the oath of allegiance as obligatory, while the Sharīf himself inclined to the opinion that this question should be left to the whole Muslim community abroad.[46] Thereupon, Rashīd Riḍā decided to deliver a speech the next day, on the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifice at Minā, in order "to explain the truth that I knew from research and from personal experience".[47]

This address, in the presence of the Sharīf, is a more or less conventional piece on Arab and Islamic reform with all relevant ingredients in the first part, and a strong plea for support of the cause of the Sharīf and of the political independence of the Ḥijāz in the second part:

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41 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 94; Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāḥib al-Manār*, 153, even mentions rumors that Rashīd Riḍā would accept the position of chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) or *Shaykh al-Islām*, without, however, giving any references; for the general mixing of the pilgrimage with the question of the caliphate, cf. also Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 176.

42 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 109, 125, 139, 175, 203–5.

43 Ibid., 127; Ṭā'if was conquered on September 22; cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 81.

44 For the text of the first two proclamations (one on the formation of the *hay'at al-wukalā'*, the other one on the foundation of the *majlis al-shuyūkh al-aʿlā*), see Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 174–75, quoted from *al-Qibla*, no. 1.17 (Oct. 13, 1916), 2.

45 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 175; lit. "between the south-eastern corner (*al-rukn al-yamānī*) and the station of Abraham" (from which, according to tradition, Abraham overlooked the building he had just erected). In eschatological literature, this denotes the place where the *mahdī* is supposed to emerge, whereupon the Meccan people will pledge allegiance to him; cf. "Mahdī", *EI*2, vol. 5, 1230–38 (on 1232); David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 203.

46 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 176.

47 Ibid., 177.

> Rashīd Riḍā starts by quoting two verses of the Qur'ān in order to remind his listeners that Islam means religion and politics (Q 4:59) and that not only the Holy Book is, but also the rule (*ḥukm*) derived from it should be, an Arab one (Q 13:37). After mourning the loss of Arab unity and the ensuing weakness caused by the invasion of non-Arabs (*aʿājim*), he elaborates on the additional setbacks of the previous century-and-a-half: the conquests of the Egyptian governor, Muḥammad ʿAlī, the ineffective *tanẓīmāt* reforms, and especially the destruction and corruption caused by the Young Turks under whose reign the state lost more territory than ever before. But in what situation is the Empire now, in wartime and in the face of the enmity of the great powers? Many Muslims are loyal to the Ottoman state, few know how big the danger is, and even fewer try to fight this danger. Of all Muslim leaders, only the Meccan Sharīf is resisting the looming breakdown, but to save the entire Ottoman state would exceed his capabilities, so he has to start with what is possible, by saving the Ḥijāz and by creating the conditions for maintaining Islamic independence (*ḥifẓ al-istiqlāl al-islāmī*). The Young Turks have massed their troops in the Ḥijāz, knowing that their enemies, the European allies, do not intend to occupy the Arabian Peninsula. The presence of Ottoman troops forces the European powers to block the ports and to cause famine and epidemics—which again proves that for the Young Turks, maltreatment of the Arabs is more important than fighting their own enemies. For this reason, the Sharīf has declared the independence of the Ḥijāz, for nowhere on earth is there a better place for a successor state of the Ottoman Empire and the preservation of Islamic independence. But even if the Ottoman state could be saved from overthrow, Arab independence in the Ḥijāz would not be an obstacle for an Arabic-Turkish cooperation with equal rights for both parties. If there hadn't been the declaration of independence, the *ḥaramayn* would—in case of the Ottoman fall—become a prey to the European conquerors and could at best be handed over by them to the Muslims as a kind of alms. And Rashīd Riḍā corroborates that he is saying all this not in order to flatter the Sharīf, but because it is the simple truth.[48]

Nowhere, however, does Rashīd Riḍā talk about the question of the caliphate or the pledge of allegiance to the Sharīf, and when, later on, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Khaṭīb, a Meccan notable, complained to him that this speech ought to have

48 The text of the speech is given ibid., 178–82, as a quotation from *al-Qibla*, no. 1.17 (Oct. 13, 1916), 3–4 (including the editor's comments that recorded the listeners' applause).

been the prelude to the *bayʿa* of Ḥusayn, he answered that this was neither his conviction nor would he have been entitled to undertake such a step.[49] This is all the more remarkable as the question had been in the air long since: during his journey to Istanbul in 1910, Rashīd Riḍā reported that Ottoman politicians had, for many years, been afraid of an Arab revolt and the establishment of an Arab state or an Arab caliphate.[50] One thus indeed gets the impression that this was precisely what he had in mind when he delivered his speech at Minā: in a way to have his cake and eat it—to show enthusiastic support for the move of the local Arab warlord, but not to forsake his overriding loyalty as a subject of the Ottoman state. The only way to achieve this aim in the heated atmosphere of the pilgrimage was by giving a fiery speech without consequences, the intention of which was precisely to *prevent* the *bayʿa*. Also, in a pamphlet that he distributed during the pilgrimage (and that was procured by French officials), he announced the establishment of a "Supreme Committee" in order to strengthen Arab unity in the face of the colonial threat, but again passed over the question of the caliphate in silence.[51] One may speculate that it was for this reason that he was willing to endorse the Sharīf's proclamation as king of the Ḥijāz only a few weeks later, as this title did not necessarily interfere with the religious office of the caliphate and was, moreover, geographically restricted to the Arabian Peninsula.[52] His uncompromising enmity towards the Young Turks notwithstanding, Rashīd Riḍā was not yet ready to question the Ottoman caliphate. This would happen only much later, after the First World War, when the new Turkish National Assembly first abolished the sultanate and, in March 1924, the caliphate. But this is another story.[53]

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49 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 183.

50 Ibid., 57; Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 154 notes that as early as 1911 local warlords such as the notorious Iraqi Sayyid Ṭālib al-Naqīb were ready to pay tribute to Sharīf Ḥusayn "publicly when circumstances require it".

51 Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*, 115–16 and 354, n. 16; it seems, however, that at roughly the same time Rashīd Riḍā did promote the idea of an Arab caliphate: in a "General Organic Law of the Arab Empire" that he handed over to the British, he expressly stipulated that the "Caliph will come from the Sharifs of Mecca, (…) [that he] will be in charge of all religious matters, (…) [and that t]he headquarters of the Caliphate shall be in Mecca"; cf. ibid., 116–17 (quotations on p. 117); Tauber, "The Political Life of Rašīd Riḍā", 264–65; Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism", 269 (with a different wording).

52 Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall*, 107–11; see also Elie Podeh, "The *bayʿa*: Modern Political Uses of Islamic Ritual in the Arab World", *Die Welt des Islams* 50 (2010), 117–52 (esp. pp. 127ff). Rashīd Riḍā does not mention the coronation in his travelogue.

53 Cf. in more detail Haddad, "Arab Religious Nationalism", 269–76; Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 153–86.

What is also striking about Rashīd Riḍā's dealing with politics in this context is the fact that the European powers, and above all Great Britain, under whose protection the pilgrimage was *de facto* taking place, are conspicuously absent from his account. Rashīd Riḍā mentions only in passing that the *maḥmal* (a somewhat strange camel palanquin that was sent by foreign Muslim rulers for mostly unclear purposes)[54] was transported on a British warship, but other than that and a friendly remark about the generally polite behavior of British soldiers in Egypt, the colonial powers are left completely out of the picture.[55] So are also the Sharīf's relations with the representatives of the European powers, all of whom had their advisors, consuls or agents in the region. Thus, the former head of the French military mission to the Ḥijāz, Édouard Brémond, reported 15 years later (possibly with not totally unselfish intentions) that Rashīd Riḍā "avait fait à Mina, en présence du Grand Chérif un discours anti-français, dénonçant les ambitions de la France sur la Syrie: l'Emir l'interrompit publiquement, et l'invita à ne pas aborder ces questions".[56]

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54 On the *maḥmal* cf. Peters, *The Hajj*, 165–67; Stratkötter, *Von Kairo nach Mekka*, 63–68; for pictures see Kioumgi and Graham, *A Photographer on the Hajj*, 2–3. Occasionally, it is stated that the *maḥmal* brought the cover (*kiswa*) of the Kaʿba (e.g. Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 186), but this is explicitly denied by others; cf. Jacques Jomier in *EI2* vol. 6, 44–46, p. 45: "Those (legends) according to which the palanquin contained Ḳur'āns or served to transport the hangings (*kiswa*) of the Kaʿba have no firm basis. The *maḥmal* was normally empty". For a general history of the *maḥmal* caravan, see Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, XIII^e–XX^e siècles* (Cairo, 1953); Chiffoleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 26–30, calls it a symbol of political power, by which the Mamlūks (and later the Ottomans) underlined their supremacy over the Ḥijāz and the pilgrimage.

55 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 103, 105; this is all the more remarkable, as the British even had had the final say over allowing Rashīd Riḍā to come to Mecca: Ronald Storrs, the Oriental Secretary of the British Residency in Cairo at the time, remembers in his memoirs that local informants of the British in the Ḥijāz called for taking "strict measures to keep him in Egypt or deport him altogether to Malta", and that the French "expressed some surprise at our having allowed him to go to Mecca at all". Cf. *The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs* (New York: Putnam, 1937), 179 and 190; on Rashīd Riḍā's attitude towards Great Britain in general, cf. Umar Ryad, "Islamic Reformism and Great Britain: Rashid Rida's Image as Reflected in the Journal *Al-Manār* in Cairo", *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 21 (2010), 263–85.

56 Édouard Brémond, *Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Payot, 1931), 53 (English translation in Peters, *The Hajj*, 326–27); another rather amusing but nevertheless telling detail is Brémond's allegation, according to which the Sharīf made his military band play the *Marseillaise* at ʿArafāt (cf. *Le Hedjaz*, 52). Rashīd Riḍā does corroborate that the Sharīf arrived (together with the *maḥmal*) in ʿArafāt with pomp and circumstance, including firing a salute and music, but he turns a blind eye (or rather a deaf ear) to *what* they were playing; Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 165. On the French endeavors to gain a foothold in the Ḥijāz, cf. Chiffoleau, *Le Voyage à La Mecque*, 258–64; on the British role cf. Teitelbaum, *The Rise*

As for Rashīd Riḍā, it goes without saying that he does not insinuate anything of this kind; instead, he emphasizes that the Sharīf himself applauded and agreed on his analysis that the Arab Revolt had fulfilled its purpose: to ensure the end of suppression by the Young Turks.[57] He would fall out with Ḥusayn only a couple of years later, under conditions having to do with the new political order after the end of the war, and with the continuing dependence of the Sharīf on the European powers, whom he now suspected to intend to encroach on the *ḥaramān*.[58] When he went to the Ḥijāz the second time, ten years later, the political situation had thoroughly changed. The Hashimite kingdom no longer existed, and large parts of the Arabian Peninsula had come under the control of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd and his Wahhābī troops.[59]

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā would not have been himself, had he not also included in his Mecca travelogue reformist issues of a more general nature. Religious reform meant for him first and foremost faithfully and diligently sticking to the normative model of the Prophet, while at the same time fighting against unlawful innovations and other aberrations from the "correct" form of religion. One of these forms against which he fought most vehemently throughout his life was that particular kind of Sufism and folk religion that he deemed a veneration of saints or spiritual masters (i.e. a danger to *tawḥīd*, Islamic monotheism). In his autobiography, he takes great pains to justify this stern approach,[60] and his rejection of Sufi "superstitions" is also expressed in his travelogue:

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and Fall, 42–50, 70–73, 112–25, 152–67, and index, s.v.; see also Timothy J. Paris, *Britain, the Hashemites and Arab Rule 1920–1925: The Sherifian Solution* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 6–62.

57 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 184.

58 Cf. Dirk Boberg, *Ägypten, Naǧd und der Ḥiǧāz. Eine Untersuchung zum religiös-politischen Verhältnis zwischen Ägypten und den Wahhabiten, 1923–1936, anhand von in Kairo veröffentlichten pro- und antiwahhabitischen Streitschriften und Presseberichten* (Bern et al.: P. Lang, 1991), 304–9.

59 Rashīd Riḍā did not leave a separate travelogue about this second journey, which he undertook at the invitation of Ibn Saʿūd to the Islamic congress that took place in Mecca in June/July 1926; there are only two short announcements in *al-Manār*, the one from 1932 mentioned above (note 19), and an earlier one: "'Awdatunā min al-Ḥijāz", *al-Manār* 27.5 (Aug. 1926), 400, in which he announced his intention to write a second travelogue, which, however, never materialized; see also Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍā ṣāḥib al-Manār*, 158–59. On the Mecca congress see also Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 106–22.

60 Riḍā, *al-Manār wa-l-Azhar*, 146–59, 171–76; on his attitude towards Sufism in general cf. Albert Hourani, "Rashid Rida and the Sufi Orders. A Footnote to Laoust", *Bulletin d'études*

> On the steamer on the Red Sea he enjoys the company of cultivated fellow-travelers such as ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Jamāl, a scholar from Port Said, and Muḥammad Tawfīq ʿAlī, a captain in the Egyptian army, with whom he discusses poetry and literature, occasionally also religion, science and society. Moreover, a pilgrimage epistle that he had hastily composed in the days before departure is much sought-after, even among illiterates, whereupon he makes it a condition that the literate travelers should read it out to the illiterates. Yet he finds ample reason to complain, because the travelers in the third class, all belonging to the lowest classes of society, have decidedly different interests: they spend the night with amusement and games, music and entertainment, even with *dhikr* events where they are dancing and uttering ecstatic sounds, transforming religion into a pastime and a despicable play, close to God's wrath, far from His approval, as what they call *dhikr* is nothing but refractoriness and sin. As if this were not enough, there is this tramp, wandering all night on deck and invoking the saint, Sayyid al-Badawī, with a dreadful and coarse voice and thus depriving Rashīd Riḍā and his company of their sleep; all attempts to reason with him are bound to fail.[61]

But even the state of *iḥrām* did not save him from trials and tribulations, although of a slightly different kind. It is his close friend and host in Jeddah, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf, of all people, who caused his chagrin by making a remark that was actually meant to be friendly: he was delighted to see Rashīd Riḍā already in his *iḥrām* garment upon setting his foot on Ḥijāzī soil, because recently, he explained to his guest, there were some young people who came to Mecca and strolled around and entered the *ḥaram* not being in the state of *iḥrām*.[62] Rashīd Riḍā was clearly annoyed, for if the bad behavior of these youngsters made his righteous host think that Rashīd Riḍā—whose

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orientales 29 (1977), 231–41; Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and Anti-Sufis: The Defence, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), 98–102.

61 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 106–8; on Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 1276), the alleged progenitor of the Badawiyya, the most important Sufi order in Egypt, cf. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawî. Un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1994).

62 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 112; on the influential Naṣīf family, cf. Teitelbaum *The Rise and Fall*, 27–28; Muḥammad ʿAlī Maghribī, *Aʿlām al-Ḥijāz fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar lil-hijra, 1301–1400H, 1883–1980M* (Jeddah, 1401/1981), vol. 1, 208–15; Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections. Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden Publications, 2016), 118–19; see also the article by Ulrike Freitag in the present volume. On the *iḥrām* cf. *EI2*, vol. 3, 1052–53.

seriousness in everything religious was well known to him—could entertain the idea of arriving in Jeddah without *iḥrām*, what would he possibly think of someone with whose good character he was not familiar or for whom he did not cherish sympathetic feelings? But he concealed his anger and assured his host that he would not disregard the *iḥrām* even if it were only recommended (and not obligatory),

> neither out of indifference nor out of preference for the diffidence, the embellishment or the comfort of normal cloths, since he wants to be the one who knows most about its utility and craves most for putting it into practice, and if he disregarded it, nobody would be able to convince him to put it on, because he would disregard it—if he disregarded it—only on account of a conclusive legal injunction, such as if he believed firmly that it would be harmful to his health which makes obligatory things forbidden, or if, by wearing it, he were sinning against God and not obeying Him. In religious matters, he does not bother about what people might think of him, God knows he is not a hypocrite who plays up to people, who refrains from what he knows is true, or who does what he knows is wrong. Many people are hostile to him because of that, but this character is more important to him than their affection. It is sad, however, that there are so many well-intended people who let themselves be led astray by the clueless. Yet one must beware of self-delusion: nobody likes looking at his own mistakes, only few correct their friends' mistakes, mostly it is the opponents who confront a person with his mistakes, and few are those who are willing to learn from this and who do not react with anger or retaliation. Therefore, he praises God for having endowed him, from an early age, with the maturity to encourage his friends to draw his attention to his shortcomings, and by this he keeps going, even if the other is younger or less learned. This is also why he asks the readers of the *Manār* for their criticism which will be published in the journal—because it is better to have it appear in the *Manār* than elsewhere.
>
> What Muḥammad Naṣīf says about the *iḥrām* reminds Rashīd Riḍā of what Muḥammad Makkī b. ʿAzzūz al-Tūnisī told him in Istanbul in 1910:[63] A Tunisian scholar had turned to him (i.e. Tūnisī) and complained that even many Muslim reformers did not carry out the religious obligations in a correct way; how about Rashīd Riḍā in this regard? To this, Tūnisī

63 On Rashīd Riḍā's journey to Istanbul in 1909/10, cf. Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 55–75; on Tūnisī (1854-Dec. 1915 or Jan. 1916) see Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication entre Tunis et Istanbul 1860–1913. Province et métropole* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 107–8 and index, s.v.

answered that he had never seen a more accomplished and correct form of praying as with Rashīd Riḍā.

Is what Naṣīf and the unnamed Tunisian writer say not a sign of the weakness of the Islamic religion? Of course it is, and there is another story that comes to his mind: one day, at noon during Ramadan, Rashīd Riḍā paid a visit to ʿAlī Yūsuf, the owner of the newspaper *al-Muʾayyad*, and also finds Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī there, smoking, in the process of criticizing the Ottoman import ban on *al-Manār*, which was totally incomprehensible to him in view of the reformist zeal and service to Islam performed by this journal.[64] This was overheard by Ibrāhīm Bek al-Hilbāwī[65] who then wrote an article published in *al-Muʾayyad* in which he mocked the scene he had witnessed by saying that there was someone sitting there, singing the praise of the reformist zeal of *al-Manār* and smoking during Ramadan. This was understood by some readers as if it had been Rashīd Riḍā who was smoking. The latter at first did not bother about it, but then realized that the story spread further and further, until one day, he received a telegram from Bombay, the famous Indian harbor, from Muḥammad Bāshā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was travelling to Suez on his way to the pilgrimage, so Rashīd Riḍā went out to meet him, although he did not know him or anything about him, and found him in the company of a number of Arabs and Indian Muslims whom he had invited for the pilgrimage. They offered Rashīd Riḍā cigarettes and a *shīsha*, which he refused by declaring that he had loathed smoking since his childhood, whereupon the Bāshā turned to his company and finally cleared the misunderstanding caused by Hilbāwī's wording, because as a matter of course Rashīd Riḍā would never break the fast during Ramadan. On top of it, the question was about breaking the fast in public, which anyway is more detestable than breaking it secretly.

What he wants to tell the reader after this long excursus is the fact that not only do many young people, whose belief was spoilt in Turkish or foreign schools, not put on the *iḥrām* when entering the holy places or

64 On ʿAlī Yūsuf (1863–1913), see Abbas Kelidar, "Shaykh Ali Yusuf: Egyptian Journalist and Islamic Nationalist", *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890–1939*, ed. by Marwan R. Buheiry (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), 10–20; on Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī, see Roger Allen, "The Works of Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī (1844–1906)", *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13 (2010), 131–39; on him and his son Muḥammad see also Werner Ende, *Europabild und kulturelles Selbstbewusstsein bei den Muslimen am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an den Schriften der beiden ägyptischen Schriftsteller Ibrahim und Muhammad Al-Muwailihi* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg University, 1965).

65 1858–1940; see Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 78.

> neglect the *ṭawāf*, the prayer and the fast, but that one of them protests publicly against the Qur'ān, another slanders the Prophet's companions, or strays from the right path in other forms—which is why some inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula start thinking bad of the younger generation, or take their bad behavior as an argument against those visitors whose righteousness is obvious. As far as the nature of the people of the Peninsula is concerned, they do not have much patience with atheism. In many Arab lands, there are now those who want to imitate the Young Turks, their policy, fanaticism (*ʿaṣabiyya*), and atheism, but they cannot hope to bring a state like the Ottoman under their control; rather, their intentions and their evil influence will become apparent.[66]

Having made this clear once and for all, Rashīd Riḍā can afford to keep the hints about his activities for the sake of Islamic reform comparatively brief and discreet during this journey,[67] especially as his religious reformism is clearly overshadowed by his political agenda mentioned above. But anyway, his interlocutors knew with whom they had dealings: in Jeddah, he was welcomed by both Muḥammad Naṣīf, who delivered the Sharīf's regards, and by visitors and well-wishers who paid their respects in droves so that Rashīd Riḍā did not have enough time to return their visits.[68] And as far as Mecca is concerned, there were not only far more visits by notables and scholars than he could return, but also nearly a conflict between the Shāfiʿī Muftī, ʿAbdallāh al-Zawāwī, and Emir Ḥusayn, in person, about who would be his host—and Rashīd Riḍā immediately informs the reader that this was not the first time that he experienced such a situation, as during his journey to Oman, the local notables had also fought over accommodating him.[69] Before departing for Cairo after the pilgrimage, he paid a farewell visit to the Sharīf, who honored him with such friendly words that Rashīd Riḍā nearly dissolved into embarrassment (which does not prevent him from quoting them in detail), and he replied in all due modesty that he considered himself to be merely a simple soldier who is at all time ready to serve his religion and his community in sincere devotion, and that neither any personal benefit nor the family nor his children could ever dissuade him from doing so.[70] This, then, reminds the reader of many other passages in his

66 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 112–17; the passage is entitled *ʿIbra lil-muʿtabirīn wa-jināyat al-mufsidīn ʿalā l-muṣliḥīn*.

67 Ibid., 97 and 107 (on the pilgrimage epistle mentioned above); 111 and 119 (working indefatigably on his Qur'ānic commentary *Tafsīr al-Manār*, even during the journey).

68 Riḍā, *Riḥalāt*, 108–9, 110–11.

69 Ibid., 127–28, 139–41; see also above, note 13.

70 Ibid., 202–3.

previous and subsequent travel accounts, where he makes a point of emphasizing that wherever he appeared in public, he was greeted by an unprecedented crowd of believers who sometimes had been going on hours of pilgrimage in order to see him and who cheerfully hung on his every word, as well as by the local notables who vied with one another in showing their hospitality, be it in Tripoli, Qalamūn, Damascus, Homs, Istanbul, Lucknow, Aligarh, Deoband, Muscat, Kuwait[71]—or, for that matter, in Jeddah and Mecca. Upon reading his pilgrimage travelogue, it thus becomes once again clear that Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's accounts of the necessity and the conditions of Islamic reform are inevitably and to not small a degree accounts of the outstanding merits and virtues of the great Muslim reformer Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā.[72]

71 Ibid., 13, 19–20, 23, 29, 43, 62, 80, 83–85, 87, 90, 223–24; see also above, n. 27.

72 It was only after completing the present article that my attention was drawn to the study by Mehdi Sajid, "Rashīd Riḍā in Europe. A Monomythic Reading of His Travel Narrative", *Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections of Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. by Bekim Agai et al. (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2013), 179–202. In this highly instructive article, the author describes Rashīd Riḍā's European journey in 1922 (cf. Riḍā: *Riḥalāt*, 311–84) in his capacity as a member of the Syrian delegation to a Syro-Palestinian congress organized by the League of Nations in Geneva. Drawing on the concept of "hero's journey" as laid out by Joseph Campbell (*The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, new edition 2004), he interprets Rashīd Riḍā's travelogue as an archetypal "monomyth" (a word coined by James Joyce) with the author playing the leading role, and with "a particular purpose: staging the author as a hero who had the courage to face his worst 'enemy' (European imperialism) in a totally unknown geographical and cultural context" (Sajid, 200). The hero sets out to battle, passes manifold trials and tribulations, and returns as a "transformed" hero, disposing of the experience and authority to lead his followers against this common enemy: "As any other hero's story, his travel narrative can be seen as an invitation to the Muslim reader to identify with him and to take part in all the transformations he underwent during his journey in Europe. At the end, the reader should also have gotten the impression that he—like the hero or the traveller—has grown and changed and his restored self-confidence empowers him to face the imperialist powers at home" (ibid.). Several details of the "hero's journey" can also be found in Rashīd Riḍā's pilgrimage travelogue (leaving the ordinary world, meeting with God as the mentor, crossing thresholds in the form of a dangerous and cumbersome journey to Mecca, finding allies, fighting enemies, undergoing ordeals and being rewarded, returning as a honoured and authoritative transformed hero), and Sajid's conclusion, as quoted in the above passage, most certainly also applies to his Ḥijāz adventure in 1916. Another relevant article that most unfortunately came to my attention only at the stage of proof-reading is Richard van Leeuwen, "Islamic Reform and Pilgrimage. The Hajj of Rashid Rida in 1916", *Hajj. Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, ed. by Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 83–93, whose findings (a number of which correlate with mine) could, therefore, not be incorporated in this article.

CHAPTER 12

Scholarly Exchange and Trade: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf and His Letters to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

Ulrike Freitag

The impressive collection of books, manuscripts, letters, and photographs assembled by the famous Dutch Orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) and housed in Leiden University Library contains a small collection of eight letters by a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf. In these letters, the young Naṣīf (1881–1971) expresses his high esteem for the older Dutch scholar. They date from 1920 to 1933 and are an interesting reflection of an apparently vivid exchange between and/or trade in books between the two learned men. Snouck Hurgronje is famous among Western scholars as a towering figure in Dutch Orientalism who linked Islamic learning and anthropology, in addition to writing about both the Middle East and South-East Asia. In contrast, Naṣīf was well known among contemporary Muslim scholars and is today remembered as a great collector and benefactor, but he has not drawn the attention of Western scholars. In this contribution, I will analyze their exchange of letters, which were apparently sometimes accompanied by books, as another piece in the puzzle of joint scholarly interests and cooperation across regional, religious, and generational divides, divides which are often foregrounded in historical analysis.

Who, then, were the two men and what can the letters tell us about their shared interests and relationship? Do the letters contribute to a deeper understanding of Orientalism, which is so often regarded primarily in the context of its rootedness in its Western cultural, religious, and of course political context? Can they tell us anything about an early Saudi Arabian notable known locally for his Salafī leanings and who, in the general order of things, might not necessarily be suspected of holding particular sympathies for Orientalists? To what extent do such classifications as "Orientalist", "Salafī", "Western" or "Arabian" obscure more inclusive practices of knowledge circulation and production? This modest contribution does not lay claim to answer such questions in any definite sense, but it does intend to at least complicate obvious answers that could be assumed if the aforementioned categories of origin, religion etc. were

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applied. At the same time, the article introduces a relatively rare group of documents. Thus, it is quite interesting that the most comprehensive extant biography of Muḥammad Naṣīf, by Aḥmad and ʿAlawī, contains many letters to and from Muḥammad Naṣīf, none of them written by Westerners.[1] At the moment, I have no way of telling whether Naṣīf's letters to Snouck Hurgronje constitute an exception or whether he might have also corresponded with other Orientalists. However, the letters clearly indicated close relations with members of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, and it would hence be quite probable that Naṣīf also corresponded with other Westerners.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: Arabist, Anthropologist and Colonial Adviser (Feb. 8, 1857–June 26, 1936)

The son of a reformed pastor, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was born in 1857 in the Dutch village of Oosterhout. After graduating in theology from Leiden University in 1878, he took up the study of Arabic and Islam. In 1879, he passed his doctoral examination and wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the *ḥajj*.[2] He then took up a post at the institute in Leiden that trained officials who were designated to

1 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad and Abdūh b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf. Ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh* (Beirut/Damascus/Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1994). It is unclear whether Naṣīf's papers, at least parts of which are held by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Libary in Jeddah, do contain any writings by Westerners. I am grateful to my Leiden colleagues Léon Buskens and Jan Just Witkam for informing me about these letters, and to Arnoud Vrolijk for referring me to electronic copies of many of them. I thank him for commenting thoroughly on an early draft of this article and for providing me with much needed bibliographical advice. On behalf of Leiden University Library, he also gave permission to reproduce the image. I am also grateful to the editors of this volume for their comments, and to my colleagues Nora Lafi and Feras Krimsti for their help with the translation.

2 While a number of works on Snouck Hurgronje are currently being written, the best presently available biographical accounts, on which the following is based are Jean-Jacques Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'occident. Comment quelques orientalistes occidentaux se sont penchés sur l'Islam et se sont formé une image de cette religion; I. Goldziher, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C.H. Becker, D.B. MacDonald, Louis Massignon.* 3rd ed. (Paris: Mouton, 1962), 18–27; Georges-Henri Bousquet, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)", *Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), XI–XXI; P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artiekelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); Richard van Leeuwen and A. Vrolijk, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, tr. A. Hamilton (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 117–50.

work in the Dutch East Indies (*Indische Inrichting*).[3] While working on Islamic law, he continued to be fascinated by the Ḥijāz and the pilgrimage, and sought the means to make a journey to Arabia. At that time, the Dutch authorities were alarmed by the high numbers of pilgrims to Mecca from the Dutch East Indies, and all over Europe observers were concerned about pan-Islamic and potentially anti-colonial activities emanating from the Muslim holy land. Against this background, Snouck Hurgronje received support for his plan and was sponsored by the Dutch government to travel to Arabia.

From August 1884 to February 1885, Snouck Hurgronje resided in Jeddah. After converting to Islam, he moved to Mecca until early August 1885. Quite unusual for the time, his sojourn in Mecca meant complete immersion into local society or, rather, into the South-East Asian community living and teaching in Mecca, as this was Snouck Hurgronje's natural entry point through the contacts established via the Dutch consulate.[4] His work there is not only documented in his famous two-volume *Mekka* and the two accompanying pictorial atlases but also in numerous smaller and longer articles (later re-published in his *Verspreide Geschriften*). These works reflect his observations, encounters, and material collected in the city.[5]

When Snouck Hurgronje's presence became publicized in the Egyptian press, the Ottoman authorities ordered him to leave the Ḥijāz instantly as they feared that even the presence of a converted European might become an embarrassment. Consequently, Snouck Hurgronje returned to his post as teacher at the *Indische Inrichtung* and published his Meccan findings. These works are ample evidence of his classical training as well as his (at the time, for many of his colleagues) rather unusual engagement with contemporary issues. They also demonstrate his talents as an anthropologist observing religion and daily life.[6] In March 1887, Leiden University appointed him to teach "Institutions of Islam". He also continued to teach at the *Indische Inrichting*.

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3 Enno Littmann, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1857–1936", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 (vol. 15 of new series) (1936), 445–58, p. 447, Van Leeuwen and Vrolijk, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, 119.

4 The debate on the quality of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion seems irrelevant here, as well as impossible to judge from the outside.

5 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka. Aus dem heutigen Leben*, 2 vols (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888–89); Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka. Mit kurzem erläuterndem Texte* (Leiden: Brill, 1889); Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, "Geschriften betreffende Arabie en Turkije", *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 3 (Bonn-Leipzig: Schroeder 1924).

6 Bousquet, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)".

Only two years later, Snouck Hurgronje left Leiden to join the Dutch colonial administration in the Dutch East Indies. He served as Adviser in Religious Matters, partly in Batavia, partly in Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje's access to local Muslim circles was facilitated by the contacts with pilgrims and teachers from the region that he had made in the Ḥijāz, as well as by his conversion and marriage into local society. In 1906, he finally returned to Leiden as professor, a post he retained up to 1927. Until his death on June 26, 1936, he remained in contact with Dutch officials in the Ḥijāz as well as with officials and scholars in the Dutch East Indies. While his papers, books, photographs, and recordings laid the basis for the important Leiden collection on the Ḥijāz and beyond, his role in colonial policies has possibly made him the most controversial Dutch Orientalist.[7]

Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf, "Man of Letters" and "Lord of Books" (June 15, 1885–July 30, 1971)[8]

The above attributes of an ideal scholar were ascribed to Muḥammad Naṣīf by the Arab-American writer Amīn al-Rīḥānī after the two men had met during Rīḥānī's visit to the Ḥijāz. Naṣīf was born the grandson of the Jeddah notable ʿUmar Naṣīf (1822–1908) shortly before Snouck Hurgronje was asked to leave the Ḥijāz.[9] Orphaned in early life, he was raised by his grandfather. ʿUmar Naṣīf was not just one of the two leading notables of Jeddah in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century but also a major owner of land inside and outside the walled town and a merchant engaged in inland trade. In addition, he acted as representative of the Sharīf of Mecca and, at times, of the Ottoman governor of the Ḥijāz. Both used his house as part-time government offices when they stayed in Jeddah.

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7 Van Leeuwen and Vrolijk, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, 117.

8 Amīn al-Rīḥānī, *Mulūk al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Maṭābiʿ Ṣādir Rīḥānī, 1951), vol. 1, 47.

9 Unless otherwise indicated, this and the following is based on Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*. This biography not only gathers the many letters to and from Muḥammad Naṣīf, but also much of what has been written. I have checked the original texts by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Maghribī, *Aʿlām al-Ḥijāz* (Jeddah: Maṭābiʿ Dār al-Bilād, vol. 1 [second ed. 1985]; vol. 3 [second ed. 1994]; vol. 4 [first ed. 1414/ 1993–4]); vol. 1, 232–39; and Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām. Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 15th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 2002), vol. 6, 107–8. The dates for ʿUmar Naṣīf come from W. Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840–1908* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press 1984), 109.

Muḥammad Naṣīf inherited these relations, as well as (parts of) his grandfather's wealth. This enabled him to provide hospitality to high-ranking scholars and politicians. He housed, among others, the last Ottoman sultan, Meḥmed VI, when he was forced to leave Istanbul in 1922. Ironically, he did so at the request of King Ḥusayn, who had led the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans but now may have been attempting to widen his international reputation by hosting his former adversary. Naṣīf also welcomed the sultan of Najd, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl al-Saʿūd after its last Sharifian ruler, ʿAlī b. Ḥussayn, had left for exile.

Naṣīf's house, the largest and most lavish in Jeddah at the time, was open not only to royalty, but to scholars and other dignitaries from across the Muslim world. Given that Jeddah was considered to be the *dihlīz* (or "reception hall") of Mecca for those arriving by boat, it is not surprising that many famous scholars from different parts of the Muslim world passed through, many of whom were invited to Naṣīf's home. Among them was the famous Syrian reformer Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935), with whom Naṣīf remained in touch through regular letters.[10] Naṣīf also seems to have been in fairly close contact with the Moroccan writer and politician ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (1910–74), as well as with the Imāms of Yemen and Indian intellectuals, and with learned men from Shinqīṭ in present-day Mauretania, from Timbuktu (now Mali), Tindūf (now Algeria), and from Eastern Europe.[11] However, as a host for pilgrims, his grandson is quoted as remembering how the family also accommodated poor pilgrims who did not have a place to stay, or those who had failed to meet their assigned guides.[12] Indeed, a number of the biographical accounts compiled in Aḥmad and ʿAlawī report that Naṣīf at times hosted so many people that, in order to cover the expenses, he had to sell some of his property. When, in the 1930s, property prices fell, the governor of Jeddah approached King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with the request to extend a stipend to Muḥammad Naṣīf in order to enable him to maintain his customary hospitality. The king obliged.

The contacts resulting from such hospitality developed into a veritable network of men of letters as a result of Naṣīf's own scholarly interests and pursuits. Initially, it seems that he was only taught the Qurʾān by his grandfather, and did not receive much more education, either in the local Qurʾānic schools

10 Yūsuf Ībish (ed.), *Riḥlat al-Imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā*, ed. Yūsuf Ībish (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿarabiyya lil-dirāsāt wa-l-nashr, 1971), 86–87; for a vivid description of this hospitality, see Muḥammad Saʿūd al-ʿŪrī, *al-Riḥla al-saʿūdiyya al-ḥijāziyya al-majdiyya* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-salafiyya, 1349/1930–31), 47–50. I owe the information about Naṣīf's correspondence with Riḍā to Umar Ryad.

11 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 273–90. On al-Fāsī, see al-Ziriklī, vol. 4, 236–37.

12 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 397.

or in the emerging Ottoman system.[13] An oft-reported anecdote relates how the young Naṣīf had been sent to the slave market with an attendant in order to purchase a female slave in 1901–2. Ownership of female slaves, *jawārī*, was quite common and possibly his grandfather considered Muḥammad as too young to marry. Naṣīf, appalled to see the treatment of slaves in the market, decided against this. He asked his companion to hand him the gold coins with which he was meant to buy the slave, and sent him home. Then Naṣīf proceeded to buy a library from the estate of a scholar on his way back. His grandfather was delighted and thereafter took it upon himself to further Muḥammad's education by introducing him to various local shaykhs, with whom he studied *tawḥīd, fiqh, tafsīr, maqāṣid al-sharīʿa*, and grammar. Among these teachers were the Salafī *ʿulamāʾ* Aḥmad Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā and the Najdī scholar Abū Bakr Khuqayr, both of whom seem to have exerted a major influence on Naṣīf.[14] According to his grandson, Naṣīf's Salafī leanings were tied to a rejection of traditions linked to the visits to and celebrations surrounding the seven tombs of saints in Jeddah.[15] As will be discussed below with regard to Naṣīf's first letter to Snouck Hurgronje, it seems that the early teachings were quite clearly oriented towards a very strict interpretation of Islam.

According to the well-known historian of the Arabian Peninsula Muḥammad al-Jāsir, Naṣīf corresponded with the Egyptian reformist journal *al-Manār*, which was edited by Rashīd Riḍā from 1907. In his letters, he asked about different aspects of *ḥadīth* and their transmission, as well as matters of Islamic doctrine. In the 1920s, he tried to convince other readers to support the journal by publicly announcing his own payments.[16] His Salafī leanings at times seem to have manifested themselves in a not so gentlemanly fashion: Sometime during the rule of the Hashemites (1916 and 1925), members of Naṣīf's circle of friends (*majlis*), including himself, reportedly attacked passing processions of loudly singing Sufis by throwing stones at them.[17] Unfortunately, the anecdote does not specify whether it was the general practice of singing or particularly

13 For a survey of education in the late Ottoman Empire in Jeddah, see Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmikh, *al-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna ākhir al-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī*, 2nd ed. (Riyadh, 1402/1982), 81–91.

14 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 140. For Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā (1837–1911), see al-Ziriklī, vol. 1, 89.

15 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 399.

16 Ibid., 20–22 and 24–27.

17 Maghribī 1985, vol. 1, 237, basing his claim on oral information from Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Ṣabbān, a member of Naṣīf's circle. On Sufi practices in the mid-19th century, including the use of singing and instruments, see Charles Didier, *Séjour chez le grand-chérif de la Mekke* (Paris: L. Hachette et C.ie, 1857), 136.

offensive lyrics that sparked the reaction. At any rate, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that Muḥammad Naṣīf was at times accused of Wahhābī leanings. As a member of the National Party (*al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*), he took part in the activities that eventually forced King Ḥusayn from power and convinced his son and successor King ʿAlī to abdicate. In this context, he was accused by Hashemite loyalists of early contact with Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the Najd, and thus as a traitor to the Hashemite cause. Interestingly, his grandson points out that nowadays, in Saudi Arabia, Naṣīf would no longer be called a Salafī. For example, he did not hesitate to host in his *majlis* people of Sufi leanings (presumably of the less noisy type), and, in general, showed much flexibility (*murūna*).[18] Here we see a major difference between a Ḥijāzī Salafī like Naṣīf, who maintained a basic openness towards different interpretations of Islam in spite of apparently holding strong opinions (and being accused of Wahhābī tendencies by his compatriots)—and the Najdī Wahhābiyya, nowadays often termed *salafiyya*, which, until very recently, had very little tolerance of other interpretations and practices of Islam.[19]

Naṣīf's main passion was books, which he bought, collected, traded in, had printed and distributed. In his house in Jeddah, he eventually assembled a library with over 6,000 printed books and 400 manuscripts covering, besides different branches of religious learning, a variety of other fields of knowledge, as well as literature. Thus, his library contained many cultural and literary works, as well as historical books printed in Egypt in the 19th and early 20th century.[20] Shaykh ʿAlī Ṭanṭāwī, who stayed with Naṣīf during his pilgrimage in 1934, reportedly said that Naṣīf's library surpassed those of the perhaps better-known Arab intellectuals and collectors Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī in Damascus, Asʿaf al-Nashāshībī in Jerusalem, Aḥmad Taymūr in Cairo, and the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Lucknow.[21] Although the veracity of this statement raises certain doubts,

18 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, 399.

19 In spite of Sedgwick's argument regarding a kind of "reformed" Wahhābism emerging in the generation before ʿAbd al-Aziz b. Saʾūd and the first Saudi king's undisputed pragmatism when it came to weighing religious doctrine against national integration, Sufism was hardly acknowledged as a legitimate practice until King ʿAbdallāh (d. 2015) instituted the National Dialogue in 2003. Mark J.R. Sedgwick, "Saudi Sufis: Compromise in the Hijaz, 1925–40", *Die Welt des Islams* 37 (1997), 349–68; Frauke Drewes, "Das nationale Dialogforum: Ausdruck politischer Reformen oder Stagnation", in *Saudi-Arabien. Ein Königreich im Wandel?*, ed. by Ulrike Freitag (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2010), 29–60.

20 Observation made during a visit to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz library in 2010. As the Naṣīf library is housed in the men's library and not easily identifiable in the catalogue, I only had a short time in the half day during which women are allowed access to that part of the library.

21 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī (as fn.18), 147; his stay with Naṣīf is mentioned by Aḥmad Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Riḥlāt al-ḥajj* 3 vols (Jeddah: al-Maṭbaʿa al-maḥmūdiyya, 1430/2009), vol. 2, 176.

given that Taymūr Pasha's library is said to have contained around 17,000 volumes, half of them manuscripts, it certainly expresses Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī's amazement at Naṣīf's collection.[22] There exist long lists of manuscripts that Naṣīf reportedly had printed at his own expense or to which he contributed the costs of printing. Among them, a few stand out as clear testimonies to his intellectual leanings: *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* and *Mukhtaṣar zād al-muʿād fī hady khayr al-iʿbād* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Radd al-wāfir fī man zaʿam anna shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya kāfir* by Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *al-Qaṣīda al-nūniyya al-musammā "bi-l-kāfiyya al-shāfiyya"* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, plus an explanation (*sharḥ*) of that poem by Shaykh Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās and four others. Among the twelve co-sponsored works listed in the biography are more texts by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim, as well as by one of the leading scholars of Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUthaymīn[23] and the well-known Arabist and Salafī author, journalist, and activist Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (1886–1969). The latter he might well have known personally from al-Khaṭīb's time as editor of the semi-official Hashemite newspaper *al-Qibla* (1916–18). Subsequently, al-Khaṭīb edited a number of Egyptian journals and founded the famous publishing house al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya.[24] Naṣīf had books printed in Egypt, Bombay, Beirut, and possibly other places as well. A letter from the Kuwaiti Ministry of *Awqāf* and Islamic Affairs from 1965, asking Naṣīf for support in the choice and editing of the most important works in the Islamic tradition, testifies to the wide recognition of his expertise.[25]

Local sources tell us that an Indian who, like Naṣīf, traded books, sent his daughter on pilgrimage. Naṣīf duly hosted her in Jeddah and was so impressed by her high degree of learning that he arranged for her to marry his son ʿUmar.[26] After Naṣīf's death, King Fayṣal suggested building a modern library for his

22 On Aḥmad Taymūr's library, see Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb's obituary in Taymūr's *al-Yazīdiyya wa-mansha' niḥlatihim* (Cairo 1352/1933), 4–21, p. 18. I thank Arnoud Vrolijk for this reference.

23 Muḥammad b. ʿUthaymīn was a prominent member of the Hay'at Kibār al-ʿUlamā': Muhammad al-Atawneh, *Wahhabi Islam Facing the Challenges of Modernity. Dar al-Ifta in the Modern Saudi State* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), xx and n. 4.

24 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 204–5 and 216–17; on al-Khaṭīb, see al-Ziriklī, vol. 5, 282. There seems to have existed a Meccan precursor to the Cairene Maṭbaʿa Salafiyya in which a relative of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf was involved. It is unclear, though, whether or not al-Khaṭīb was involved in the Meccan enterprise or whether either of the Naṣīfs had a share in the Cairene publishing house. On Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf, see al-Maghribī vol. 1, 2nd ed., 276–86.

25 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 153.

26 Muḥammad Yūsuf Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṭrābulsī, *Jidda. Ḥikāyat madīna*, 2nd ed. (Riyadh, 1429/2008; 1st ed. 2006), 441, and interview with Ṭrābulsī, March 13, 2010.

collection. Since this has not been realized, the bulk of the library was transferred to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University Library in Jeddah, where it is housed to this day. As Naṣīf's grandsons also hold considerable libraries, a part of which was housed in the old city of Jeddah and was destroyed by fire in 2010, it is difficult to say without further investigation how complete the university holdings are.[27]

Muḥammad Naṣīf was not only a bibliophile, but also an avid reader who summarized books for his own use. He also commented on new publications when he felt that these contained mistakes or lacked certain information.[28] Once he read an article in the journal of the Damascus Academy (*Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī*) that claimed that, until recently, the books by Ibn Taymiyya had been unavailable to scholars and that it was only the Saudi state that had made them available. Naṣīf wrote to Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb pointing out that Ḥanbalī scholars had used these writings regularly, and that they were available in libraries in Najd, Syria, Palestine, as well as in Istanbul, India, the Ḥijāz, and Egypt.[29]

The Netherlands are only mentioned twice in the Arabic biography by Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī: Among the excerpts that Naṣīf took are some on the origin of the Ḥarb tribe, from whom his family hailed. These were taken from Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, printed in Leiden in 1937, and again in Cairo in 1961.[30] It is not entirely clear to which edition Naṣīf's (reprinted) comments refer, and the excerpt in Aḥmad and Alawī does not contain the name of any author. One of Naṣīf's contemporaries further reports that Naṣīf bought a copy of *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-ḥadīth al-nabawī* from the Netherlands for the impressive sum of 4000 *riyal*s. This is most likely a reference to the first volume of A.J. Wensinck's *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (published in Leiden in 1936).[31] As both snippets of information are undated, it is not possible to establish a clear link to the correspondence between Snouck Hurgronje

27 Observations and conversations in Jedda, 2008–15.

28 Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 172–91, 539–41.

29 Ibid., 174.

30 Ibid., 190–91. These are the dates given in Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 191. It is possible that there is a mistake by either Naṣīf or the authors, as there are editions of the aforementioned work by de Goeje published by Brill in Leiden in 1870, and again in 1927 as vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (but not 1937). I have not been able to trace the Cairo edition, but there is a Tehran edition from 1961. There is also an edition by M. Qazwini, but it is of ʿAṭā-Malik Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i jahān-gushā* (Leiden/London, 1912–37), to which Ralf Elger alerted me.

31 Aḥmad and ʿAlawī, 149.

and Naṣīf discussed below, but it is not unlikely that Naṣīf used either Snouck Hurgronje or one of the members of the Dutch consulate in order to obtain these copies.

The Correspondence between Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and Muḥammad Naṣīf

As mentioned above, the Leiden letters provide only one side of the correspondence between the two learned men. Furthermore, we do not know about those aspects in Snouck Hurgronje's letters to which Naṣīf might not refer in his own writings, nor can we be certain that the letters preserved in Leiden are the only ones that Naṣīf wrote to Snouck Hurgronje.

The oldest of Naṣīf's the letters dates from April 8, 1920, and is a reply to a letter by Snouck Hurgronje. If this is indeed the first letter that Naṣīf sent to the Dutch scholar, we can conclude that the correspondence was initiated by Snouck Hurgronje.[32] Snouck seems to have sent Muḥammad Naṣīf a photograph that he had taken of Naṣīf's father via the-then Dutch consul in Jeddah, Emile Gobée.[33] Had Snouck Hurgronje been aware of the fact that Naṣīf had been searching for such a photograph, contacting friends of his father in India and Istanbul? Perhaps Naṣīf had been in touch with the Dutch consulate about this matter, given that Snouck Hurgronje must have been known locally among the literati as a collector of all sorts of written, photographic, and indeed registered information on the Ḥijāz since the mid-1880s. Naṣīf wrote to *ḥaḍrat muḥtaram al-ʿallāma al-faḍḍāl al-ustādh al-sayyid al-misyū ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Hūrghrūnja*, "the respected and eminent scholar professor mister monsieur ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Hurgronje", combining the Muslim and Christian names in an interesting manner and embellishing the address in a quite extraordinary manner. In the letter, Naṣīf expressed his warmest thanks for the picture and then seems to imply that, as a young man, he had destroyed another image of his father due to a misunderstanding regarding the teachings of Islam (see translation below). Now, he continues, he understood why the Prophet had initially forbidden images, basing his arguments on the teachings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the modern quest for science. He concludes his letter by asking whether Snouck Hurgronje was in need of anything from the Ḥijāz.

32 University Library Leiden, OR 8952 A:743, Naṣīf, M. April 8, 1920. After the first mention, the letters are referred to by their classmark and date only.

33 On Gobée's life, see http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn5/gobee (accessed July 21, 2015).

Interestingly, the arguments put forward by Naṣīf about photography confirm his grandson's above-quoted position about the distinction between a Salafī in the earlier Ḥijāzī context and the later use of the term by the Saudi state. In spite of Ibn Saʿūd's use of photographs from ca. 1910, most *ʿulamā'* were not convinced of this technology until much later. Indeed, it would seem from the first letter that Naṣīf himself had, in his youth and under the influence of his Salafī (or possibly Wahhābī) teachers, taken a rather radical stance. Daniel van der Meulen, arriving in Jeddah shortly after Ibn Saʿūd's takeover, describes how "no pictures of human beings were permitted".[34] Indeed, about forty years later and shortly after Ibn Saʿūd's death in 1953, the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh published a *fatwā* arguing extensively why photography was forbidden in Islam.[35] Hence, a "good" Salafī according to Wahhābī standards would presumably have rejected photography.

The next letter, where the omission of the word *muḥtaram* in the address might indicate a certain familiarity, again consists of a round of thanks for papers sent through the good services of Emile Gobée.[36] It remains somewhat unclear whether this refers to a second, additional set of papers or is merely a somewhat more prosaic repetition of the thanks extended eleven months earlier. It is certainly possible that Naṣīf feared that his letter had been lost, or that perhaps Snouck Hurgronje, as a famous and busy professor, had not felt an urge to reply. In November 1921, Muḥammad Naṣīf was once again in contact with the Dutch consul, correcting for him some verses that Gobée seems to have collected for Snouck Hurgronje.[37] Curiously, this must have occurred just after the end of Gobée's term at the consulate (November 1, 1921), and possibly after his departure from Jeddah.

Did the two men remain in contact? The next letter we have from Naṣīf dates from April 29, 1925. In it, he thanks Snouck Hurgronje for a letter from August 22, 1924.[38] Apparently, an American journal by the title of *al-Hudā* had

34 D. van der Meulen, *Don't You Hear the Thunder? A Dutchman's Life Story* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 82.

35 Guido Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabien. Die wahhabitischen Gelehrten 1902–1953* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), 385.

36 University Library Leiden, OR 8952 A:743, Naṣīf, M. March 6, 1921.

37 University Library Leiden, OR 8952 D:108, Naṣīf, MUH to Gharbī, Emile, November 4, 1921. Although I have not been able to verify the name after discovering the earlier contact with Gobée (this letter not being available online), it is highly likely that it was to him, and not an obscure Mr. Gharbī, that the letter was sent.

38 University Library Leiden, OR 8952, A:743, Naṣīf, M. April 29, 1925.

written derogatorily about Snouck Hurgronje, and Naṣīf emphasized that this was unjustified in the light of Snouck Hurgronje's high moral standing.[39] Naṣīf reports that the-then Dutch consul van der Plas, his "eminent friend" (*sadīqī al-fāḍil*) had informed him that two copies of "the photograph" had been sent to Java—although the context remains unclear. He suggests that Snouck Hurgronje might already have heard of a newly-published Egyptian Ph.D. thesis by a certain Zakī Mubārak, entitled *al-Akhlāq ʿind al-Ghazālī.* This book had been criticized because it highlighted a number of mistakes by al-Ghazālī. Naṣīf had been positively impressed by this critique and had ordered a copy for Snouck Hurgronje, as he was aware of Snouck's acquaintance with al-Ghazālī's work. Had Snouck Hurgronje perhaps sent Naṣīf his book *De Islam*, published in Dutch in 1912 and republished in German in 1924, or his earlier articles in which he discusses al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*?[40] Did they perhaps correspond about al-Ghazālī, or had Naṣīf been told about Snouck Hurgronje's studies by his former students, the later Dutch consuls with whom Naṣīf was in touch?

We do not know of Snouck Hurgronje's reaction to this letter, or indeed the book. Half a year later, Naṣīf wrote again, not indicating that he had received any letter from Snouck Hurgronje. He announced that he had ordered a copy of the first volume of *ʿIlāl al-ḥadīth* by (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Muḥammad) Ibn (Abī) Ḥāṭim al-Rāzī, which he had printed with some friends at the Cairene Maṭbaʿa Salafiyya.[41]

Another five years lapsed without a further trace of contact. However, on November 25, 1930, the last set of letters starts. Snouck Hurgronje had sent a picture of Naṣīf as a child. In exchange, the esteemed "Shaykh of the Orientalists in the Netherlands and elsewhere" (*shaykh al-mustashriqīn al-hūlandiyyīn wa-ghayrihim*) was informed about another parcel of books that was en route to Leiden through the good services of the new Dutch consul, Daniel van

39 I have been unable to identify the periodical, or, indeed, the article mentioned in the article.

40 Snouck Hurgronje, *De Islam* (Baarn, 1912), *Der Islam* (Tübingen, 1924). While these works were not available to me at the time of writing, articles with the same title, published in the journal *De Gids* in 1866 by Snouck Hurgronje, also bear testimony to his reading of al-Ghazālī; see *Verspreide Geschriften* 1 (Bonn/Leipzig, 1923), 276–79.

41 Cairo, al-Maṭbaʿa al-salafiyya 1343–44/1924–26. University Library Leiden, OR 8952, A:743, Naṣīf, M. October 9, 1925. al-Rāzī's work is not mentioned in the lists of books that he had printed and which is provided in Aḥmad and al-ʿAlawī, *Muḥammad Naṣīf*, 204–5 and 216–7.

der Meulen.[42] These were a book by a young Meccan scholar, Shaykh Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mashshāṭ, entitled *Rafᶜ al-sitār fī uṣūl ʿilm al-ḥadīth*,[43] two volumes of *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣawāʿiq* (*al-mursala ʿalā l-Jahmiyya wa-l-Muʿaṭṭila*) by (Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (al-Ḥanbalī, as the letter adds),[44] *ʿUnwān al-majd fī taʾrīkh Najd* by (ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh) Ibn Bishr al-Najdī, and finally *al-Durūs al-tawḥīdiyya wa-l-fiqhiyya* by Ibn Muṭlaq, a Najdī scholar who had graduated from scholars in the Ḥijāz, as Naṣīf added.[45]

Favors were to be reciprocated. In early February 1931, Muḥammad Naṣīf asked the "most magnificent leader of the Orientalists" (*raʾīs al-mustashriqīn al-afkham*) to buy for him some rare books in Holland or elsewhere.[46] As rare books, they might well be somewhat more expensive, he added. Would Snouck please send them via the Dutch consulate or else via other Dutch merchant establishments in Jeddah? The titles were *Kitāb al-jibāl wa-l-amkina wa-l-miyā* by Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-mushtarik* by Yāqūt, *Kitāb jughrāfiyyat al-Idrīsī ḥaqqat jazīrat al-ʿarab wa-l-andalus wa-l-sūdān wa-l-gharb*, *Kitāb al-aḍdād* by Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb muʿjam mā istaʿjam* by al-Bakrī, and al-Dhahabī's *Kitāb al-mushtabih fī ahl rijāl al-ḥadīth*.[47] In a postscript, Naṣīf adds that he had also asked A.J. Wensinck for these books, possibly when the latter was visiting Saudi Arabia. He added that the two Dutchmen should coordinate so that the books

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42 University Library Leiden, OR 8952, A:743, Naṣīf, M. November 25, 1930. Van der Meulen served as Dutch consul in Jedda in the periods 1926–31 and 1941–45.

43 This seems to be Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mashshāṭ, *Rafᶜ al-astār ʿan muḥayyā mukhaddarāt ṭalʿat al-anwār* (Mecca 1348/1929).

44 Printed in Mecca, al-Maṭbaʿa al-salafiyya 1329/1911.

45 Printed in Mecca and Cairo 1930, it seems that Naṣīf sent both editions. None of these are listed among the books that Naṣīf had printed, but this does not necessarily mean that he was not involved.

46 University Library Leiden, OR 8952, A:744, Naṣīf, M. February 5, 1931.

47 According to Arnoud Vrolijk (email communication August 12, 2015), the requested editions might be the following: T.G.J. Juynboll and M. Salverda de Grave (eds), *Specimen e literis orientalibus exhibens az-Zamaksari Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est Kitâb al-jibâl wa-l-amkina wa-l-miyâh* (Leiden: Brill, 1856); F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Yāqūt b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb al-Dīn, Kitāb al-mushtarik waḍʿan waʿl-muftariq suqʿan* (Göttingen, 1846); R.P.A. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje (eds), *ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espangne* (Leiden: Brill, 1866); M. Th. Houtsma (ed.) *Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim Ibn al-Anbârî, Kitâbo-'l-Adhdâd sive Liber de vocabulis Arabicis quae plures habent significationes inter se oppositas …* (Leiden: Brill, 1881); F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Das geographische Wörterbuch des Abu ʿObeid ʿAbdallah ben ʿAbd el-ʿAziz el-Bekri …* 2 vols (Göttingen/Paris, 1876–77); Pieter de Jong (ed.), *al-Moschtabih auctore Schamso'd-din Abu Abdallah Mohammad Ibn Ahmad al-Dhahabi*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1864–81).

were not sent twice.[48] In exchange, Naṣīf promised to send a Meccan-printed copy of *Sharḥ ʿaqīdat al-imām al-Ṭaḥāwī* (*al-Ḥanafī*).

The last letter of March 14, 1931 does not indicate that Snouck Hurgronje had responded to these requests.[49] Naṣīf writes that he had sent Ibn Ḥanbal's *Kitāb al-sunna* (Mecca 1349/1930) as well as the book promised in the last letter, *Matn ʿaqīdat al-Taḥāwī wa-sharḥihā.* The copy in Leiden library contains a handwritten dedication from Naṣīf to Snouck Hurgronje.[50] But did Snouck ever send an answer to Naṣīf's letter to thank him for the books, and, if so, did Naṣīf ever receive it? Until a closer investigation of Naṣīf's library in Jeddah, as well as of his unpublished personal papers, is carried out, these questions will have to remain unanswered.

Concluding Observations

It is difficult to draw conclusions on the relationship between the Dutch Orientalist Snouck-Hurgronje and the Jeddah notable and man of letters Muḥammad Naṣīf from just eight letters to which we do not have the answers. However, they allow a number of insights regarding Naṣīf's relation with Snouck Hurgronje, as well as that with other Dutch scholars and consuls. They also cast some light on the intellectual universe of a Ḥijāzī scholar with Salafī leanings.

First of all, we can note that the contact, while hampered by distance, was one of scholarly exchange. Snouck Hurgronje had no qualms regarding his own immersion into Muslim societies, and Naṣīf does not seem to have had reservations about maintaining friendly relations with foreigners, whether Muslims or not. That these were, without exception, Arabists (and had studied with Snouck Hurgronje), was probably helpful. However, it is noteworthy that neither the religious divide (lacking in Snouck Hurgronje's case, but not in that of the other consuls) nor the Dutch colonial enterprise in the Dutch East Indies proved to be a problem for Naṣīf's relation with Snouck Hurgronje. Given that the Ḥijāz had often been seen as a hotbed of pan-Islamism, seen as

48 This information is based on the description of Wensinck's travelogue in Leiden University Library (OR 25.686). I have not yet had the chance to consult it for any traces of an encounter with Muḥammad Naṣīf in early 1930.

49 University Library Leiden, OR 8952, A:744, Naṣīf, M. March 14, 1931.

50 I would like to thank Arnoud Vrolijk for this information, as well as for the full title of al-Tahāwī's book, *al-Sharḥ al-Taḥāwiyya fī l-ʿaqīda al-salafiyya* (Mecca, 1349/1930).

a code-word for anti-colonialism, in the late 19th and early 20th century, this seems at least noteworthy.[51]

As far as Snouck Hurgronje is concerned, Naṣīf's way of addressing him seems to go beyond the normal honorifics found in other letters by Naṣīf and other Ḥijāzīs from the time. It is certainly imaginable that this was in recognition of Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly achievements. After all, his works on Mecca constituted an important scholarly achievement which might well have been recognized by local men of letters even if anthropology and photography were not widely-accepted scholarly pursuits at the time even in Europe. In the Ḥijāz, they were hardly known: When Snouck Hurgronje collected the material for his photographic documentation of the region, he was still among the pioneers of photography, and the later Wahhābī rejection of the practice has already been discussed.[52]

Secondly, the apparently cordial relations of this leading notable with the other consuls, mentioned in the letters, might also have been quite typical of a more general Ḥijāzī openness towards strangers, as long as these were not considered to be pursuing antagonistic aims. While Western visitors and consuls varied greatly in their evaluation of religious tolerance or fanaticism in the Ḥijāz, Naṣīf's letters show clearly that a leading notable of Jeddah, even if he held Salafī convictions, was at ease communicating and cooperating with friendly foreigners, Muslims or otherwise.[53] This clearly would have distinguished him from the majority of Najdī (Wahhābī) scholars at the time.

Finally, and linked to the above point, the letters and an investigation of Naṣīf's biography show clearly how the reading of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya as well as other Ḥanbalī authors did not necessarily conflict with openness towards others, as is nowadays sometimes assumed in anti-Salafī (anti-Wahhābī) polemics. In the case of Naṣīf's contact with Snouck Hurgronje and some of the Dutch consuls, this seems to have gone beyond mere tolerance and have consisted of a real friendship and/or admiration.

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51 William Roff, "Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj", *Arabian Studies* 6 (1982), 143–60.

52 For the history of photography in the region, see Gillian Grant, "A Century of Images in a Century of Change", *Saudi Arabia by the First Photographers*, ed. by William Facey (with Gillian Grant), (London 1996, repr. 2002), 18–23.

53 I have made the argument of Ḥijāzī cosmopolitanism, linked to both the pilgrimage and international commerce, more extensively elsewhere; see Ulrike Freitag, "The City and the Stranger: Jeddah in the 19th Century", *The City in the Ottoman Empire. Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi, Florian Riedler (London: Routledge, 2011), 218–27.

Hence, I would conclude that this correspondence is another case in which academic curiosity and cooperation transcended boundaries of religion and culture, and created important links in a world divided by sectarian and political strife. This, I would argue, has connected cosmopolitan scholars in different periods and from widely differing backgrounds, and continues to do so.

Translation of the First Letter from the Leiden Collection, OR. 8952 A 743_1

Muḥammad Naṣīf, Jeddah (Ḥijāz)

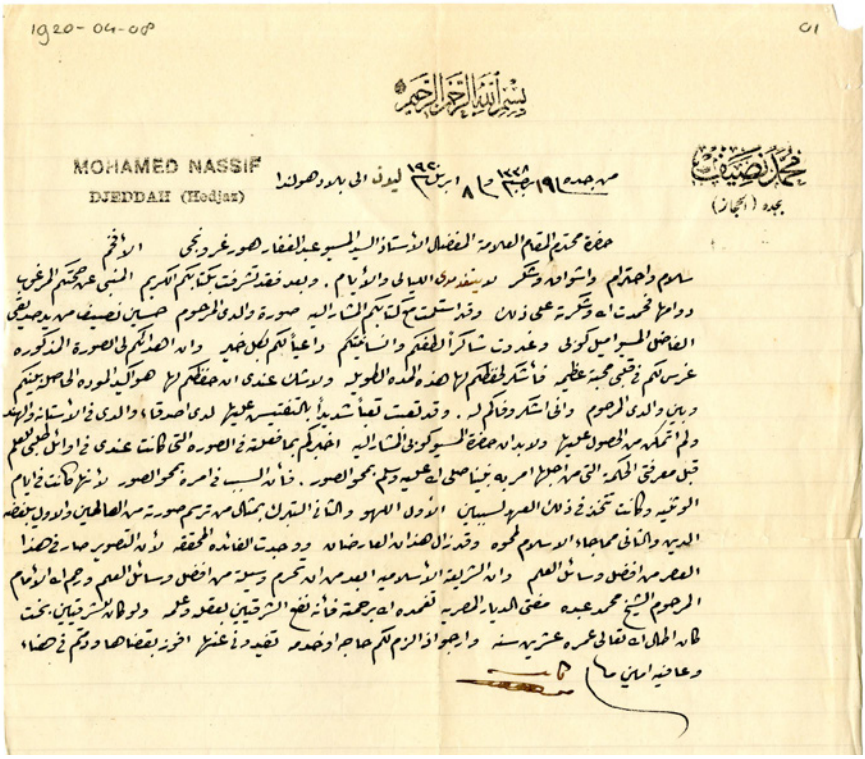
From Jeddah, 19 Rajab 1338/April 8, 1920 to Leiden, the country of Holland

The respected and eminent scholar professor mister monsieur ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Hurgronje, the eminent,

greetings, and respect, and longing and thanks, may the nights and days last.

And now: I was honored by your generous letter that told of your health which will hopefully last, and I praised God and thanked [him] for it. I received with your aforementioned letter a picture of my deceased father Ḥusayn Naṣīf by way of my eminent friend Monsieur Emile Gobée. I was grateful for your kindness and your messenger, and wished you all the best. That you sent me the aforementioned picture implanted in my heart a deep attachment to you and I thank you for its preservation for such a long time. I do not doubt that you kept it [i.e. the picture, U.F.] because of affection for the bond between you and the deceased father, and I am grateful for your fidelity to him. I wore myself out searching for it [the photograph] among the friends of my father in Istanbul and India, and I had been unable to obtain it. The aforementioned Monsieur Gobée must have alerted you to what I did to the photograph which was with me when I first started to study science before understanding the underlying reason for which the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) ordered the destruction of pictures. Because the reason for his order to destroy pictures relates to the days of paganism. At that time, there were two reasons, the first entertainment and the second the request of blessings from statues created from the pictures of the rightly-guided. The first to protect the religion and the second was among the issues that Islam wanted to eradicate. And these two objections disappeared. The real benefit was found because photography became in this age one of the best tools of science. The Islamic *sharīʿa* stepped back from outlawing one of the most useful tools

of science. May God have mercy on the deceased Imām Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *mufti* of all of Egypt. He served the Easterners with his [rational] mind and knowledge. Had the Easterners been lucky, God would have extended his life by twenty years.[54] I hope that in case you need something you will let me know. I will try to settle it. Stay in good health, Amen.



54 It seems that Naṣīf first is speaking about Easterners in general, but *de facto* talks of himself, who only benefited from Riḍā's knowledge when he was older than twenty.

CHAPTER 13

Rescuing the Tatar Muslim Heritage in the Soviet Union: The Expedition Diaries of Mirkasym A. Usmanov

Diliara Usmanova

In the fall of 2013, Kazan University experienced a jubilee that it barely noticed: Half a century before, in 1963, faculty members started the Archaeographical Expedition of the Scientific Library of Kazan University, which conducted seasonal fieldwork to collect Oriental manuscripts and old prints from the populations of Tatar settlements in Russia.[1] Research was halted twice during this period: in 1967, when its leader Mirkasym A. Usmanov was preparing the defense of his Ph.D. dissertation, and in 1991, when the dissolution of the USSR and financial problems made it impossible to go into the field. However, in 1992, the two leading libraries of the Republic of Tatarstan—the University Library and the National Library—joined forces to get the search for Oriental manuscripts back on track.

For about half of those 50 years the expedition was directed by my father, Mirkasym Abdulakhatovich Usmanov (Tatar pen-name: Mirkasïym Gosmanov, 1934–2010). Together with his mentor, Shamil' Mukhamed'iarov (1923–2005), Usmanov was the initiator of the field program, and for over 25 years he was the major organizer and propagator of the Expedition. Usmanov led the yearly trips, and he was the first to study the items that were brought to the Sector for Rare Books and Manuscripts of Lobachevskii Library at Kazan State University (KGU). From the early 1990s to 2010, the Expedition continued under the direction of Usmanov's disciple Zavdat Minnullin.

The Expedition was a central element in Usmanov's program for recovering the Tatar past, and it was through his studies of Oriental manuscripts that Usmanov made a name for himself in the West. In the early 1990s, he established close links with Stefan Reichmuth at the Institute of Oriental and

1 The present contribution is based on Diliara M. Usmanova, "Ekspeditsionnye dnevniki M.A. Usmanova (1963–1988) kak istochnik po istorii vostochnoi arkheografii", *Tiurko-musul'manskii mir: identichnost', nasledie i perspektivy izucheniia* (*k 80-letiiu professora M.A. Usmanova*). *Sbornik statei*, ed. D.M. Usmanova, D.A. Mustafina, M. Kemper (Kazan: Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 2015), 28–42.

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Islamic Studies of Bochum University, where the history of Russia's Muslims became a research focus at that time, and it is no coincidence that one of his very first publications in the West was a historical overview of Tatar manuscript culture.[2] Usmanov was also the key player in the establishment of scholarly co-operation between KGU and IRCICA in Turkey, and here, too, the recovery and study of the manuscript heritage was central.[3] The materials retrieved by the Expedition led to a significant expansion of the University's Oriental manuscript collection and provided more urgency to Usmanov's demand for the re-establishment of the discipline of Oriental Studies at Kazan State University.[4]

Today, the active part of the Expedition is history. While many facets of it were published in Usmanov's regular reports, the time has come to draw conclusions from what the Expedition achieved and to reflect upon how it worked and its priorities. A major source for this new enterprise are the diaries Usmanov kept of his research trips from 1963 to 1988.[5] It is through the lens of these field-diaries that I want to place the manuscript expedition into the context of its time, although my contribution will also reveal the limitations of field diaries as a historical source.

Oriental Archaeography at Kazan University

The collection of old books at Kazan University started with the establishment of the so-called Oriental Section (*Vostochnyi razriad*) in 1804. In the first fifty

2 Mirkasïm A. Usmanov, "Zur Geschichte der tatarischen Handschriften", *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries* [vol. 1], ed. by Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1996), 49–68. See also Usmanov's studies on Tatar-language sources from what is today Kazakhstan: *Materials for the Islamic History of Semipalatinsk: Two Manuscripts by Ahmad-Walī al-Qazānī and Qurbān-ʿAlī Khālidī*, edited by Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Berlin: ANOR No. 11, 2001); *Qurbān-ʿAlī Khālidī. An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe: 1770–1912*, ed. by Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

3 M. Usmanov, "Written Heritage and Documentation Culture of the Tatars", *Tatar History and Civilisation*, ed. by Halit Eren, M.A. Usmanov, R.S. Khakimov, Damir Ishaqov (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2010), 491–502.

4 Mirkasym A. Usmanov, "The Struggle for the Re-establishment of Oriental Studies in Twentieth-Century Kazan", *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies*, ed. by Michael Kemper and Stephan Conermann (London/New York: Routledge, 2011), 169–202.

5 D.M. Usmanova, "Missiia arkheograficheskikh ekspeditsii v sokhranenii i razvitii traditsii vostokovedeniia i islamovedeniia v Kazanskom gosudarstvennom universitete", *Islam v mul'tikul'turnom mire: Musul'manskie dvizheniia i mekhanizmy vozproizvodstva ideologii islama v sovremennom informatsionnom prostranstve. Sbornik stetei*, chief ed. Denis V. Brilev (Kazan, 2014), 465–81.

years, the University obtained Oriental rarities, primarily through ethnographic expeditions and individual donations. Important contributions to the collection and publication of Oriental manuscripts were made by scholars such as Ibrahim Khal'fin (1778–1829, a teacher of Tatar at the young university), Karl Fuchs (1776–1846, a German medical doctor and enthusiastic explorer of local Tatar culture), Mirza Aleksandr Kazem-Bek (1802–70, the famous Orientalist who later continued his career in St. Petersburg) and Il'ia N. Berezin (1818–96). However, when, in 1854–56, the whole personnel of the Oriental section was transferred to St. Petersburg University, almost all the manuscripts were moved to the capital as well. The collection of Arabic and Arabic-script manuscripts had to restart, almost from nothing. This new collecting process was largely the achievement of Iosif Gotval'd (Josef Gottwaldt, 1813–97), who for nearly fifty years (1850–97) served as director of the scientific library of Kazan University. In the last years of his life, in 1895, Gotval'd donated 111 Arabic-script manuscripts from his own collection to the university, and in 1897 his daughter added the remaining part, among which were 157 Oriental manuscripts. Thus, at the turn of the 20th century, the University's library had around 300 Arabic-script manuscripts, most of which came from the Gotval'd collection.

After the 1917 February Revolution, private collections were donated, either by their owners or by their heirs, to the University, or to other public libraries that were then fused with the University's library. For example, in 1920, the Museum of the Tatar Republic obtained 947 manuscripts from the collection of Galimdzhan Barudi (ʿĀlimjān Bārūdī, 1857–1921), a prominent Tatar reformist scholar who, in 1917, became the first elected mufti of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, Russia's central Islamic administration; Barudi gathered these works during his study period in Central Asia, as well as on his frequent travels to Central Asia and the Near East.

In the first half of the 20th century, it was Said Vakhidov (Vakhīdī, 1887–1938) who made the most far-reaching contribution to the field of Oriental archaeography. Vakhidov was the first Tatar to conduct systematic expeditions to collect manuscripts and old printed books. He went into the field during his years studying at a madrasa, and then when he was a school teacher shortly before the 1917 Revolution. His most important find was the famous 1523 *yarlïq* (ferman) of the Kazan Khan Ṣāḥibgirāy, which he analyzed in the years 1919–20.[6]

6 Said Vakhidov, *Issledovanie iarlyka Sakhib-Girei khana* (Kazan, 1925). For a detailed analysis and the text see Shamil' Mukhamed"iarov, "Tarkhannyi iarlyk Kazanskogo khana Sakhib-Gireia 1523 g.", *Novoe o proshlom nashei strany: Pamiati akademika M.N. Tikhomirova* (Moscow, 1967), 104–8. Cf. also Il"ias Mustakimov, "Eshche raz o kazanskom iarlyke Sakhib-Gireia", *Srednevekovye turko-tatarskie gosudarstva. Sbornik statei* (Kazan: Institut istorii AN RT, 2013), 13–46.

The best-known expeditions in which Vakhidov took part went into the Spassk rayon (1928, independently) and into the north-eastern parts of the Tatar Republic (1934, in the framework of the USSR Academy of Sciences). The story of this second expedition reveals how a local scholar managed to mobilize the central institution of Soviet Orientology. In late 1933, Said Vakhidov suggested that parts of his private collection be transferred to the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Studies (IVAN), part of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The Institute's director, Aleksandr Samoilovich (1880–1938), sent his doctoral student and IVAN co-worker Vali Zabirov (1897–1937) to Kazan to help with the packing of the manuscripts. During his stay in Kazan in May 1934, Zabirov acquainted himself with the manuscript collections of Kazan's scientific institutions, and in his ensuing report he not only evaluated Vakhidov's collection but also gave an overview of some private libraries of Tatar Muslim scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries. At least one of these, from the village of Tiuntiar, had a history reaching back 300 years. After this first survey, the Academy decided to conduct an official expedition to collect manuscripts in the north-eastern parts of Tatarstan, under the direction of Vali Zabirov. In August and September of that year the expedition found 1,203 manuscripts, 1,859 old prints, and more than a thousand documents of various contents.[7]

As well as these collective expeditions, Said Vakhidov continued to conduct field-trips on his own. We do not know the exact number of manuscripts, books, and documents that he recovered, but it is estimated that he enriched the various book deposits of the country by some 3,000 items. A large part was transferred to the IVAN in Leningrad, while other materials went to the Tatar State Museum (today the National Museum of Tatarstan Republic) and the Oriental collection of KGU's Scientific Library.

Around 1928, Vakhidov produced an "Instruction for the Collection of Historical Monuments and Sources" that reflects his long experience of fieldwork among the Muslim population of the region. Vakhidov did not manage to get this 18-page text published, and we do not know whether the major expeditions of the 1930s employed it since we have no full record of their achievements or of the staff that took part in them. But we can safely say that Vakhidov

7 Vali Zabirov, "Predvaritel'noe soobshchenie o rabote Arkheograficheskoi Ekspeditsii Akademii nauk", *Istoricheskii sbornik* 4 (1935), 269–82; Z.G. Minnullin, "Ob arkheograficheskoi ekspeditsii Akademii nauk SSSR 1934 goda v Tatarskuiu ASSR", *Tiurkoiazychnaia kniga: nasledie vekov. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi istorii tiurkoiazychnoi knigi* (*Kazan' 17–18 oktiabria 2012*) (Kazan, 2012), 220–28. Many of the 1934 findings are included in the manuscript catalogues of the Leningrad Branch of the Oriental Institute.

laid the groundwork for the work of the Kazan archaeographers of the second half of the 20th century.

As Stalinist totalitarianism unfolded, the study and preservation of the "bourgeois" national heritage became a dangerous occupation. Vakhidov was arrested in 1937 and accused of taking part in counter-revolutionary activities; more so, he was charged with planning to erect a Tatar state with the help of China and Japan. His execution followed on January 5, 1938. Vali Zabirov had already been executed on November 4, 1937, and Samoilovich followed on February 13, 1938. All of them faced standard accusations, especially of "propagandizing Pan-Turkist ideas".[8]

Books were also destroyed. When, in the 1960s and 1970s, the expeditions for manuscripts resumed, in many places its participants were told that during the enforced collectivization of the peasantry and the elimination of Islam and its elites in the 1930s, old books and manuscripts were destroyed by the hundreds, and the owners of libraries were persecuted or driven from their homes.

Still, in 1934, Kazan State University's Scientific Library also established a special collection (Section) for Rare Books and Manuscripts. In the following two decades, the Section was directed by Abdulkhak Khabibullin (1884–1956), Abukaram Shakirov (1885–1942), S.K. Kamalov (1885–1954), G.M. Ishmukhametov (1891–1971), and Mustafa Nugmanov (1912–76).[9] Most of the first directors enjoyed the standard Muslim education of the late Tsarist and early Soviet eras, with some of them studying in the Middle East, and they had excellent knowledge of Oriental languages.

According to official documents, by January 1937 the Section hosted 5,174 manuscripts and 250 printed books in Oriental languages.[10] But the political situation increasingly interrupted the expansion of the library's holdings, and its director Abukaram Shakirov was arrested and died in prison. Between 1940 and 1946 the whole Oriental Section was closed due to the lack of a qualified specialist to take care of its collection. The University Library reports from these years also deplore the awful conditions in which the items were stored.[11]

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8 F. Ashnin and V. Alpatov, "Arkhivnye dokumenty o gibeli akademika A.N. Samoilovicha", *Vostok* 5 (1996), 153–62.

9 *Nauchnaia biblioteka Kazanskogo universiteta v litsakh, chast' 1: Sotrudniki biblioteki, 1806–2007 gg.* (Kazan, 2011).

10 "Otchet ORRK za 1936–37", in folder *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*, Section of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Lobachevskii Library of Kazan Federal University, 7–8.

11 *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*

With Khrushchev's "Thaw" a period of political relaxation began, and this was also felt in the study of Tatar culture. Al'bert Fatkhiev (1937–92), appointed as the new section head in 1959, opened a fresh page in the history of Oriental archaeography at KGU.[12] The young and energetic Fatkhiev had just graduated from the University and would devote his whole life to the study of manuscripts. Fatkhiev brought order to the existing collection by registering the Oriental materials and improving their storage conditions. He also produced the first descriptions of selected manuscripts (mostly Tatar literary and religious works) and managed to get some fascicles of his descriptions printed at KGU.[13] Fatkhiev resumed the expansion of the collection and also popularized the Tatar literary heritage in the press.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the collection expanded through donations. Manuscripts also came in through research expeditions conducted by linguists and ethnographers. Noteworthy among the gifts were around 70 manuscripts that KGU philologist Dzhavad Almazov donated in 1959.[14] In 1961, Mirkasym Usmanov, then still a history student at KGU, made a gift of some twenty manuscripts that he had collected while taking part in a dialectological expedition among the Tatar population in the region of Novosibirsk; these volumes contained historical works as well as Tatar and other Turkic literature.[15]

One of the largest donations came in 1964, when around 590 manuscripts were found in the Mardzhani mosque in the Old Tatar neighborhood of Kazan; this transfer was made possible by Luiza Shaidulina, a teacher at KGU's History Faculty. This treasure comprised works such as *Naṣīḥat al-ṣālihīn*—an anonymous Tatar compilation of short religious-didactic narratives, presumably of the 16th or 17th century—as well as copies of the famous *Tavārīkh-i bulghāriyya* (from the tradition of shrine veneration connected to the ancient site of Bulghar), and the *Daftar-i Chinghīz-nāme*.[16] In his first monograph (of

12 Al'bert Fätxi, *Mäqalälär häm istäleklär* (Kazan, 2007); M.A. Usmanov, "Al'bert Fätxi turïnda istäleklär (özek)", *Kazan utlarï* 7 (2007), 149–50.

13 See, for example, Al'bert Fätxiev, *Qulyazmalarïnïng tasvirlamasï: Tatar ädepläre häm galimnäreneng qulyazmalarï*, second and third parts (Kazan: Lobachevskii Library, 1962 and 1968, respectively).

14 "Otchet ORRK za 1959 g.", *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*, 25. Dzhavad Almazov was a scholar of Tatar literature and its medieval history, and also an archaeographer. From 1947 to 1955 he worked in teaching institutes in Uzbekistan, and then, from 1955 to 1961, at KGU. Later he lived in Tashkent.

15 "Otchet ORRK za 1962 g.", *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*, 44 (the Usmanov manuscripts were registered with the inventory numbers 1919t to 1938t).

16 "Otchet ORRK za 1964 g.", *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*, 98. The *Daftar-i Chingīz-nāme* is an anonymous work from the late 17th century, composed on the basis

1972), Usmanov would study these important historical narratives and analyze how they shaped the Tatar historical consciousness in the 18th and early 19th centuries.[17]

However, the Oriental collection only began to expand in a systematic manner with the establishment of the Archaeographical Expedition of KGU in 1963.

The Archaeographical Expedition, 1963–89: Goals and Achievements

KGU's Oriental Archaeographical Expedition was comprised of yearly field-trips by staff at the University, together with students, under the direction of Mirkasym A. Usmanov and, officially from 1992, Zavdat S. Minnullin. In addition to the team expeditions, scholars also went on individual field-trips. From 1963 to 1989, there were no less than 33 expeditions in which Usmanov took part. In general, they lasted four weeks or longer. Sometimes, an expedition's goal was to become familiar with a given region, while at other times the study of epigraphical monuments was central. The target areas were both within and beyond Tatarstan.

As well as the official expeditions, between 1969 and 1978 Al'bert Fatkhiev also conducted individual field-trips. These expeditions—we know of at least eight or nine of them—were centered on Fatkhiev's home region, the Aktanysh rayon of the Republic of Tatarstan. Additionally, some of Usmanov's followers conducted their own archaeographic expeditions: assistant professor at the Chair of Soviet History at KGU Rafael' Shaikhiev (in 1978, 1981, 1983, 1987), the Ph.D. candidate and then assistant to that Chair, Zavdat Minnullin (1981, 1982, 1983, 1987), as well as Iskander Giliazov (1988), who would later become Usmanov's successor as Professor of Tatar History. All followed the same methodological plan. Altogether, the number of field-trips by the Archaeographical Expedition in the first 25 years of its existence amounted to 53, most of them

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of historical and folklore works from the period of the Golden Horde and the Kazan Khanate. It contains chapters on Chingiz Khan and Timur Lenk, among others; its final chapter is also called the "Tatar Chronicle". See Maria Ivanic and M. Usmanov, *Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende* (*Daftar-i Cingiz-name*), vol. 1 (Vorwort, Einführung, Transkription, Wörterbuch, Faksimiles) (Szeged: Department of Altaic Studies, 2002). On the *Tavārīkh-i bulghāriyya* see Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and "Bulghar" Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

17 M.A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII–XVIII vv.: 'Sbornik letopisei', 'Daftar-i Chingiz-name', 'Tavarikh-i Bulgariia', Tatarskie shadzhara* (Kazan, 1972).

directly organized by Usmanov. Also, Marsel' Akhmetzianov of the Institute of Language and Literature conducted regular expeditions to collect manuscripts and epigraphical sources, and many of his findings—especially Tatar genealogies—Akhmetzianov analyzed in a series of monographs.[18]

The expeditions that Usmanov organized were closely coordinated with the Scientific Library of KGU, especially in the early 1960s. They usually comprised two to four people, including co-workers at the library and volunteers. In the second half of the 1960s, Usmanov—by then a young teacher in the Chair of the History of the USSR—began recruiting students from the history-philology faculty for the expeditions. Since the early 1970s, these field-trips were registered as educational practice; this allowed him to form solid teams of 7 to 9 people per expedition. When entering a village, the group would usually split into two or three, going from door to door asking inhabitants about ancient books. This was a very effective method. There was a lot of paperwork beforehand. The research plan needed to be approved each time by the Chair of Soviet History and then by the Council of KGU's history-philology faculty. The university directorate also needed to provide a letter. Most importantly, some months in advance, Usmanov had to request special permission from the Main Archive Administration at the Council of Ministers of the Russian government (the RSFSR) in Moscow. Yet these documents helped them avoid problems with the local police and administration; the latter would even help identify Tatar villages in their respective region, which was crucial, since detailed local maps were generally regarded as "secret" and therefore unavailable. Finally, the official status of the Expedition as an educational practice for students also meant that financial support from the University was available.

If we take into consideration the time-span up to 2013, then, over the course of 50 years, the AE had researched no less than 900 Tatar villages and settlements in more than 20 regions of the Russian Federation: from the western and central regions (Riazan') to Siberia (Tuva, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk), and from Perm' in the north to Astrakhan in the south. The only exceptions were Tatar settlements in the Republic of Bashkortostan; these were explored by colleagues from Ufa.

18 See, for instance, Marsel' Akhmetzianov, *Tatarskie shedzhere* (*issledovanie tatarskikh shedzhere v istochnikovedcheskom i lingvisticheskom aspektakh po spiskam XIX–XX vv.*) (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1991); Marsel' Äxmätjanov, *Tatar shäjäräläre*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näshriyati, 2012). See also his guide to the Institute's collections: Marsel' Äxmätjanov, *Mirasxanä: fond häm kollektsiyalär kürsätkeche* (Kazan: Tatarstan Respublikasï fännär akademiyase, 2005).

Over the course of these fifty years, around 10,000 manuscripts, documents, and old prints found a new home in the Lobachevksii Library of KGU and, since 1992, in the National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan. The increase was particularly impressive in terms of Oriental manuscripts. According to the yearly reports, in January 1963, before the Expedition started, the Manuscript and Old Books Section held 5,701 Oriental manuscripts (in addition to 668 books, journals, and newspapers). By January 1989, the number of registered manuscripts had risen to 11,630, and by early 1991 the KGU collection amounted to 12,372 Oriental manuscripts. In other words, within 25 years, the expedition more than doubled the number of available manuscripts.

But these figures are still incomplete, as many manuscripts had to wait years before they were registered and entered into the inventories. By the mid-2000s, according to Zavdat Minnullin's report, more than 3,000 manuscripts were still not catalogued, and thus beyond the reach of scholars who might find them useful. This backlog has yet to be overcome, largely because of a lack of funds and trained experts.

Additionally, manuscripts continued to arrive through philanthropy, from individual donors. Particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars like Abrar Karimullin (1925–2000), Mirkasym Usmanov, and Al'bert Fathkhiev, through public lectures and their work as publicists, did much to bring the collection into the spotlight, thereby mobilizing people to contribute to its holdings. Some items were also purchased in old book stores, often from staff's own pockets.

In the field, Usmanov encountered enthusiastic supporters who continued to work in the same spirit after the expedition had left: "To these 'non-staff' archaeographers and activists belong Karim Kaneev and Sabira Kasimovna Alimova from Astrakhan, Burgan Nizamov and Taufik Vakhitov from Tatarstan's Buinsk region and many others. Attracting the local population to our archaeographical work is very productive and promises good results".[19] Usmanov's exchange of letters with these "correspondents" on the ground is kept in the personal archive of the scholar.

In a sense, the expedition benefitted from the fact that, in the second half of the 1960s and in the 1970s, the Tatar population went through a natural shift in generations. Gradually vanishing were the persons who had enjoyed a pre-revolutionary religious education, and who could still read Tatar in Arabic script. The Soviet state had enforced the elimination of the Arabic alphabet from the public sphere, first in the late 1920s by changing to a modified Roman alphabet, and then, in the late 1930s, by another change to Cyrillic. Thirty years later,

19 "Otchet ORRK za 1969 g.", *Otchety ORRK NBL KFU za 1936–1994 gg.*, 220.

the old generation was interested in the maintenance of what was left from their manuscript heritage, and they understood that their offspring would not attach the same value to the old books. Younger people who had no access to the Arabic-script Tatar were often happy to liberate themselves of the "old waste-paper" that had been stored in wooden boxes or in the coffers of their deceased parents. Of course, a major motivation was that the old books would now be part of the University Library, where they were safe from destruction; it has to be kept in mind that in the rural areas where Tatars live, houses are made of wood, and whole settlements were regularly devastated by fires. Also, the humid climate of most areas with Tatar populations takes its toll.

Most of the incoming manuscripts were in the Turkic (Tatar) language. The predominance of Tatar books can be explained by the fact that they were very popular among the population, but another factor was that the expedition teams were specifically interested in Tatar works. These are subjective factors, and the lack of a specialist for Arabic manuscripts in the Section for Manuscripts and Rare Books also slowed down the cataloguing work on non-Turkic materials. Only systematic work on all the manuscripts could indicate the percentage of Arabic and Persian works in former private and mosque libraries. Yet, while recent years have seen a rising interest in Arabic and in Arabic religious literature, there is still an acute lack of well-trained textologists who could, and would be inclined to, work with these Arabic manuscripts and their complex genres.[20] The result is that the massive manuscript collection, including the works of theology, Islamic law, and Sufism, has so far been largely ignored by the new Tatar Islamology at the university and other research institutions; specialists in Islamic studies are largely preoccupied with issues of political Islam, not with the Islamic heritage of the region.

Mirkasym Usmanov's Field Diaries, 1963–89

Usmanov took part in 35 expeditions; in some years, several expeditions were conducted, sometimes in small groups of two or three people. For all of them, Usmanov kept field diaries; his personal archive, now in my possession, contains 24 diaries in the form of small notebooks of various formats. Next

20 There are as yet no printed catalogues of the Section's Oriental manuscript holdings, except for Fatkhiev's small fascicles of selected items and a recent catalogue of Persian works: Alsu Arslanova, *Opisanie rukopisei na persidskom iazyke Nauchnoi bibliotheki imeni N. I. Lobachevskogo Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Vyp. I.* (Moscow/ Kazan, 2005).

to defining the goals of the individual expeditions, Usmanov also described the team's composition, the itinerary, and the specific settlements and places where inquiries were conducted. In addition, there are notes to indicate which places still needed to be visited. Of course, he also gave an account of the number of manuscripts that the team encountered and provided short descriptions of the most important findings.

Diaries form a special genre of historical ego-documents, in some ways similar to memoirs, correspondences, and autobiographies. All of these genres are related to each other, and the boundaries can be blurry; a given author can write his memoirs on the basis of his own diaries.[21] Such documents are often of particular value because they contain information that otherwise gets lost over time. In the case of Usmanov, we have to bear in mind that he was not only a scholar using the traditional genres of scholarship—scientific monographs, research articles, work reports—but also one of Tatarstan's major historical publicists; one of his popular books, "Following the Traces of the Feather: Notes of an Archaeographer" (in the Tatar language) was directly related to his expedition work.[22]

The expedition diaries of Mirkasym Usmanov do not belong to the classical genre of diaries in the sense that they do not contain long texts and personal reflections; for this, the setting of an expedition did not provide the time (Usmanov made his entries during the fieldwork periods, usually in the evenings after work, or in short spells of rest between the investigations). What is equally lacking is the temporal distance that characterizes diary entries—notes were taken down immediately after the events, that is, under the direct impact of what had just been discovered. Usmanov's diaries thus concentrate on the ongoing work process and the immediate results, and thus remain "note-books", even if the time horizon of the subject matter—Tatar manuscripts, including their authors—covers several centuries, and thus requires historical contextualization of the sources. What, then, is the difference between a diary and a note-book? As one scholar wrote, "note-books reflect the external events in the life of their authors in a more encompassing manner, while a diary allows its reader to go into the depths of his internal world".[23]

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21 M.Iu. Mikheev, *Dnevnik kak ego-dokument* (*Rossiia XIX–XX vv.*) (Moscow: Vodolei, 2007), 99.

22 Mirkasïym Gosmanov, *Qaurïy qaläm ezennän. Arxeograf yazmalarï* (Kazan [1984], sec. enlarged ed. 1994), 288. The publication of the expedition diaries is still in its first stage; see Mirkasïym Gosmanov, "Arxeografik köndälek", *Bezneng miras* 5 (2014), 20–28; 6 (2014), 41–43 (text edition, facsimile, and introduction by D.M. Usmanova).

23 Quoted from Mikheev, *Dnevnik kak ego-dokument*, 15.

Usmanov's note-books are a sort of symbiosis between the mere documentation of field observations and elements of self-reflection and analysis. If we look at all his handwritten booklets from 25 years of work, we discern a certain evolution away from the somehow chaotic and unsystematic notes of the first years to the emergence of a veritable "field-diary" that became an important part of the expedition life itself.

Even while working on-site—in private homes, the village square, or the tent-camp—the manuscripts were subjected to a first investigation and described. Accordingly, the field-diaries contain a large number of colophons—the final notes in a manuscript that usually provide the name of the person who copied it from a mother copy, plus remarks on when and where the manuscript was produced. Also noted down were any other parts of the text that provide historical information on the volume in question, as, for example, remarks in the margins written by previous owners. For these notes, Usmanov used his native Tatar language, in Cyrillic script, but he also inserted original names and phrases in Arabic script, especially names and epigraphic inscriptions. These would later be analysed and transcribed for the purposes of cataloguing the manuscripts.

What is the value of Usmanov's expedition notes as a historical source? At the present stage of their investigation several observations can be made.

First, the diaries clearly reflect Usmanov's training as a historian and philologist. He paid much attention to literary and folklore sources. In his mind, the presence of such works in the manuscript tradition of a given region or settlement marked the local population's degree of education, of its level of "enlightenment" (in Russian: *prosveshchenie*, in the sense of German *Bildung*). One does note a certain lack of interest in religious works of the Muslim theological and legal schools; these were collected and studied if they happened to be in very good physical condition, written in an appealing calligraphic style, or if they had colophons or other notes that were of historical interest; otherwise, the expedition decided to leave them with their owners. Usmanov was more excited about manuscripts of popular and high literature; this interest reflects the major research tradition of Tatarstan scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, when Tatar philology was actively involved in "Mirasism", that is, in the re-discovery of a Tatar written heritage (Tatar, *miras*) that would demonstrate the high level of Tatar intellectual creativity in the past, and the Tatar autochthonous *Bildung* that developed independently from the Russian tradition of *prosveshchenie*.[24] One clear example of this thrust in Usmanov's manuscript-hunting was his

24 Cf. A.K. Bustanov and M. Kemper, "From Mirasism to Euro-Islam: The Translation of Islamic Legal Debates into Tatar Secular Cultural Heritage", *Islamic Authority and the*

search for the poetry of Gabdeljäbbar Qandaliy (ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Qandālī, 1797–1860) and Gabderrakhim Utïz-Imäni (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Bulghārī, b. 1752 or 1754, d. 1834 or 1836); the copies detected by the expeditions would later serve as the basis for the Tatar text editions of these poets, which were produced by Tatar scholars of literature and Usmanov himself.[25] To take Qandaliy as an example, the 1960 edition of his poetry was comprised of 2,500 verse lines (R., *strochki*), whereas the 1988 edition, under Usmanov's supervision, had no less than 8,500 lines. Usmanov's diaries give us an opportunity to trace the scholar's systematic search for these literary monuments, and they document some instances when and where the most impressive findings occurred.

Secondly, and unsurprisingly, the historian Usmanov had a sharp eye for historical documents, including *waqf* endowments, as well as the *metricheskie knigi*, the books that mosque imāms were obliged to keep, from the late 18th century, in order to document the births, marriages, and divorce cases in their respective community.[26] As such documents were largely absent from the official state archives, it was these materials that Usmanov regarded as the most important base for the development of Tatar historical studies. For Usmanov, the local Arabic-script Tatar documents reflecting inheritance and sale cases, as well as contractual agreements, were, in addition to letters and other genres, an important counterweight to the mainstream historiography of the Tatar nation that continued to be based on Russian sources, that is, from the perspective of the State.

Later, Usmanov offered his students and disciples historical research topics directly connected to the materials detected in the course of the field work. In his report of the 1979 expedition (to Sverdlovsk region), he wrote:

> The documents (*aktovye dokumenty*) [that we discovered] can be counted among the most important findings. Especially worthy of attention are the documents detected in the village of Shakurovo; these can be

Russian Language: Studies on Texts from European Russia, the North Caucasus and West Siberia, ed. by A.K. Bustanov and M. Kemper (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2012), 29–54.

25 *Gäbderäxim Utïz Imäni äl-Bolgari, Shigïrlär, poemalar*, text ed. by Änvär Shäripov, introd. M. Gosmanov (Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näshriyatï, 1986); *Gabdeljabbar Qandalïy, Shigïrlär häm poemalar*, edition of text, annotations, and introduction by M.A. Usmanov (Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näshriyatï, 1988); Mirkasïym Gosmanov, "Gäbderäxim Utïz Imäni äl-Bolgari: chor, ijat häm miras", in Mirkasïym Gosmanov, *Ütkännän-kilächekkä* (Kazan, 1990), 199–263.

26 Cf. Diliara Usmanova, "Musul'manskie metricheskie knigi v Rossiiskoi imperii: mezhdu zakonom, gosudarstvom i obshchinoi (vtoraia polovina XIX—pervaia chetvert' XX vv.)", *Ab Imperio* 2 (2015), 106–53.

> regarded as the most valuable findings. These and other documents can be given to Zavdat Minnullin, [to use them] for his diploma work [that is, for the final research piece of his study program]; perhaps they will become his "visa" into a [scholarly] future.[27]

In his diaries, Usmanov's thorough interest in source studies is also reflected in the huge amount of colophon copies, many of which he later used in his publications.[28] The colophons were, to him, a gold-mine of information on the historical communication within the broader Muslim world, a gateway for tracing the geography of scholarly exchange.[29]

With special enthusiasm, Usmanov studied the *shakird däftärläre*, the notebooks of madrasa students. In the second (1994) edition of his book "Following the Traces of the Feather", Usmanov devoted a whole chapter to this genre.[30] The repertoire of these student notes was extremely varied: students copied passages from classical literature as well as works of authors about whom we know nothing. In these *däftär*s, we find extracts from classical Oriental poetry next to the students' own attempts at rhyming; lists of the works that were used in this or that madrasa or maktab; prayers for various occasions; aphorisms, short stories, longer narratives, and fairy-tales; and also models for writing letters, such as to your loved one or to friends. Each of these *däftär*s reflects the personality of its owner, forming a sympathetic counterpoint to the copies of the standard Ḥanafī or *kalām* literature that abound in rural madrasa collections. Most importantly, these student compilations give us a window onto how a young life was formed, offering a glimpse into their inner world; they also demonstrate how students travelled from one school to another. While Usmanov put much effort into analysing these materials, the genre of the *shākird* notebooks has, so far, not been exhausted.

Another thread that unites Usmanov's field-diaries over the 25 years is the awareness that the book culture of the Tatars was already dying out. He felt a special duty to speed up the collecting work: old books were often carelessly

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27 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1979 (in Tatar). All diaries referred to here and below are kept in the archive of the author.

28 M.A. Usmanov, "Knigi-puteshestvenniki", *Dagestan i musul'manskii vostok. Sbornik statei, posviashchennyi A.R. Shikhsaidovu*, ed. by A.K. Alikberov and V.O. Bobrovnikov (Moscow, 2010), 273–79.

29 M.A. Usmanov, "O 'priamoi' i 'kosvennoi' informatsii arkheograficheskikh rukopisei (istochnikovedcheskie aspekty izucheniia starotatarskikh rukopisei)", *U istochnika. Sbornik statei v chest' chlena-korrespondenta RAN S.M. Kashtanova*, part 1 (Moscow, 1997), 418–28.

30 Gosmanov, *Qaurïy kaläm ezennän* (ed. 1994), 95–165.

kept and suffered from the forces of nature. Furthermore, the expedition team heard stories about manuscripts that had been buried together with their former owners, according to the latters' last will. It is no wonder, then, that Usmanov's field-diaries convey a strong sense of urgency. And indeed, there were cases where manuscripts were saved from imminent destruction:

> On our way [in Riazanskaia oblast'] we made a short stop with Karim Tukhvatullin, and very unexpectedly we found ten or eleven manuscripts [at his place]: these manuscripts, as well as several [printed] books, were already prepared for burial. This way we saved the manuscripts from an inevitable death.[31]

However, more often Usmanov's diaries tell of the destruction of manuscripts in earlier decades:

> The same story here [in one of Tatarstan's regions, D.U.]—a huge amount of manuscripts were destroyed by burning. (...) I met an old man who, in those difficult years [of state terror], threw the whole library of Mulla Qasim into the fire.[32]

And in the region of Astrakhan, in Russia's south:

> In the evening I went to the house of the daughter of the late Valit Aliev, and asked where the books and documents of her father might be now. The answer was brief: 'But who would need these papers, I believe we burnt them, you see'.[33]

And in the Perm' region:

> There is nothing left. From one talkative old woman I learnt that, while they worked in the scrap collection point (*zagkontor*) in Chernushka, they burnt books by the hundreds.[34]

31 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1964, part I.

32 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1968, part I.

33 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1969.

34 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1974.

Sometimes the locals, who had gone through the era of repression, tried to save their treasures from the unknown guests, as documented here from one place in Tatarstan:

> While we slept a rumor started circulating in the village, namely that people had arrived who collect and burn the books. So in the morning, the old men and women hid their books and manuscripts from us, up to the last *shama'il*.[35]

Reconstructing Private Libraries: The Limitations of the Field-Diaries

Perhaps the most interesting pages of the expedition diaries are those where the team discovered huge private libraries, or at least traces of such big manuscript collections; the latter was, unfortunately, more often the case than not. We can only make assumptions about the pre-revolutionary repertoire of such private libraries and how they used to be established and enlarged. Little is known about the circulation of the books and what ordinary people used to read.

When studying a private archive or library, not only are the individual items and what they tell us about events of the past important, but, taken together, the items can also reveal much about their former owners. A completely preserved library even allows us to reconstruct, to a certain degree, the mental map of its owner.

In the rural Tatar communities, the biggest owners of books were the mosques, and the imāms who served them. In Usmanov's diaries we find remarks such as the following:

> On our way [in Tatarstan] we stopped at the village of Kül Cherkene, and from Rabiga Mingazova we obtained 25 books. She got them from her father, Mulla Gabdulkhakim. Okay, some books might have been included later. But it seems that these books are just a small remnant of what had once been a big library. Dina, the daughter of the lady who hosted us, had herself burnt many books, including complete sets of the [pre-revolutionary Tatar] newspapers *Ang* [Consciousness] and *Yoldïz* [Star]. Yes,

35 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1968, part I. *Shamā'il* are popular prints with Islamic motifs and texts, or prayers, in Arabic script.

> these are now of the past. And we are just happy to obtain these pitiful remains of the big library.[36]

And similarly:

> After lunch, we visited the settlement of Oly Bakyrgan [in Tatarstan] (…). At the house of a certain Askhat Bilialov we went through a huge amount of books in Arabic and Persian, which he inherited from his father. He also had dozens of manuscripts. This must have once been a magnificent library. Askhat Bilialov not only donated the manuscripts to us, he also turned out to be a wonderful host.[37]

And from Riazan' region:

> After arriving in the settlement of Nizhnee we met Arifulla-Abzyi and talked to him. In the old days, this village had a madrasa. The *shakird*s [who graduated from this local school] went on to study in Kasimov, and some even in Bukhara. According to the old Arifulla, the manuscripts that came into our hands were only a small fragment of what had once been a big library. A large amount had already been taken away by other people. Today, the village has no old people who can read [books in the Arabic script], and none of the villagers has a book collection. On the whole, he [Arifulla] is a well-informed and intelligent old man.[38]

Such notes we find in almost all of the field diaries. They allow us to conclude that individual villages had sizeable libraries, but their outlook and how it reflected the character of the particular owner remain obscure. Let me discuss in some detail two examples of diary notes that give a little more information on the fate of particular book collections and of their former owners.

The first episode is from the autumn expedition of 1964.[39] In the village of Sabachai[40] (in the region of Nizhnii Novgorod, then still Gorkii), the team discovered part of the big library of a local imām from the Khabibullin family.

36 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1968.

37 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1970.

38 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1976.

39 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1968, part II.

40 The village of Sabachai (or Sobachii ostrov, "Dog Island") has existed since the mid-fifteenth century (1451). In Tatar it is called Safajay, and in Russian, since 1940, it is Krasnaia gorka. In 1964 it had at least 700 inhabitants.

The founder of this family, Mullā Ḥabīballāh (1830–96), belonged to the most educated and pious Sufi masters (*ishān*s) in the region of Nizhnii Novgorod. According to the testimonies of contemporaries, he had profound knowledge of Islamic law (*fiqh*) and particularly inheritance law. Yet Mullā Ḥabīballāh also excelled in Arabic morphology and syntax, and was well-versed in calligraphy. We know that he studied in Kazan with scholars like Bāymurād b. Muḥarram al-Mangārī (d. 1848) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marjānī (d. 1889). With the consent of the latter he went to Bukhara, where he spent thirteen years (from 1851 to 1864) studying.

In Central Asia, Mullā Ḥabīballāh studied with Ishān Tāj al-Dīn b. Aḥmar, who gave him an *ijāza* (that is, a written license that made him a Sufi master in his own right).[41] With this *ijāza* he returned to his native village, married, opened a school, and served as the village imām. Mullā Ḥabīballāh also kept close relations with the well-known Tatar enlightener Ḥusayn Faizkhanov (Fayḍkhānī, 1828–66).[42] He had no less than six children: Muḥsin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Tājirizā, Muḥammad-Najīb, ʿAbd al-Malik, and ʿAbd al-Bārī.[43] Altogether, the Khabibullin family produced some 42 teachers.[44]

Most probably, Ḥabīballāh's library was inherited by his son Muḥsin-hazret (1871–1937), and after the latter was killed by the State[45] the books went to Muḥṣin's sons. Usmanov noted that he met Muḥsin's brother Gabdulbari (ʿAbd al-Bārī), as well as one of Muḥsin's sons,[46] Gabdulkhai (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy) Khabibullin. It was from them that the expedition received part of the book collection and of the archive of Muḥsin-hazret:

> From the dispersed library of Mukhlisin-hazrat [sic] Khabibullin just six or seven manuscripts survived. Some were copies made in the native area, others were imported from Central Asia. While there was nothing precious among them, we still decided to accept them [to be stored in the

41 On Tatar *ijāza*s see the contribution by Shamil Shikhaliev and Michael Kemper in this volume.

42 M.A. Usmanov, *Zavetnaia mechta Khusaina Faizkhanova. Povest' o zhizni i deiatel'nosti* (Kazan, 1980), 26.

43 For a biographical entry on Habibullah b. Muhammad see Rizaeddin Fäxreddin, *Asar*, vols 3–4 in one, chief ed. M.A. Usmanov (Kazan: Ruxiyat, 2010), 237–39.

44 S.B. Seniutkin, U.Iu. Idrisov, O.N. Seniutkina, Iu.N. Guseeva, *Istoriia islamskikh obshchin Nizhegorodskoi oblasti: monografiia* (Nizhnii Novgorod, 1998), 194.

45 Imām Muḥṣin Khabibullin was arrested on November 23, 1937, and accused of having conspired to establish a counter-revolutionary Tatar organization. He was shot 18 days later.

46 According to Usmanov's notes, two sons of Muḥṣin-hazrat were alive in 1964.

> Library]. Perhaps in the future we will come across [other manuscripts] that [without having recourse to the present manuscripts] we will not be able to identify [as belonging to the same library]. …[We found] many documents, various individual notes, and papers. We took five or six manuscripts and some of the papers. Among them was a letter written by the enlightener Khusain Faizkhanov! The manuscript of Mukhlisin is also very important.[47]

The Central Asian provenance of some of these manuscripts makes it probable that this group of items once belonged to Ḥabīballāh's collection. It is also assumed that many of the copies were made by Ḥabīballāh himself. As Rizaeddin Fakhreddinov (Riḍā' al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, 1859–1936) mentioned in his famous bio-bibliographical dictionary of Tatar scholars, *Āthār*, Ḥabīballāh was very poor in his student years, which makes it probable that he copied all the books that he needed himself.

The aforementioned Husayn Faizkhanov (1828–66), with whom Ḥabīballāh remained in contact, became the hero of Usmanov's historical novel of 1980;[48] Faizkhanov's letters that the Expedition detected went into this book. With his archaeographic and popularising work, Usmanov brought into circulation a number of documents from Faizkhanov's pen, especially his project for the reformation of the Tatar madrasas (*Islāḥ-i madāris* and *Risāla*).[49]

Another important library was discovered in July 1984,[50] when the Expedition conducted work in the village of Mazarbashy (Russian name: Nizhniaia Alashaika) in the Paran'ga rayon of the Mari Republic (Mari-El, Volga region).[51] At the house of Manfusa Gainetdinova, they discovered a huge library and an archive that Manfusa had obtained from her father, Taki (Taqī) Gaffarov

47 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1964, part II.

48 Usmanov, *Zavetnaia mechta Khusaina Faizkhanova*.

49 On how the originals of these documents were detected, see M.A. Usmanov, "Avtografy Mardzhani na poliakh podlinnika proekta Kh. Faizkhanova o shkol'noi reforme", as well as his "Üze ezläp kilgän tabïsh", both in *Xösäen Fäezxanov: Tarixi-dokumental' jïyentïq* (Kazan, 2006), 593–605 and 606–13, respectively.

50 Diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1985.

51 Nizhniaia Alashaika (Mazarbashy) is located 10 km from the rayon's center Paran'ga. The village history goes back to the second half of the 17th century. Local lore has it that it was founded primarily by Tatars from the village of Sulabash (today Republic of Tatarstan). In 1905, the village had 350 households and 1905 inhabitants, two mosques, and one school for around one hundred pupils, including girls.

(1883/84–1954), who had been the imām of that village.[52] Also, Gaffarov's ancestors had served as official imāms, that is, they were invested with an official license (R. *ukaz*) from the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, the imperial Muftiate for European Russia and Siberia. Taki Gaffarov's father, Ḥāfiẓ b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAbd al-Sattār, had been born in the settlement of Peshengar (today in the Arsk rayon of the Tatarstan Republic); he passed away in 1917.

Taki Gaffarov spent 13 years studying in the well-known madrasa in the village of Tiuntiar (Tat., Tüntär) and then worked for many years as an imām in Nizhniaia Alashaika, where, together with his wife, he also opened a school for boys and girls.

In his field-diary, Usmanov gave a rather detailed description of the books, manuscripts, and documents that the expedition encountered. Around 100 of them were selected and transferred to the University Library. In the various items, Usmanov detected a strong influence of the well-known conservative Tatar scholar Ishmi-Ishan (Īsh-Muḥammad b. Dīn-Muḥammad al-Tūntārī, 1849–1919), imām and *mudarris* of the village of Tiuntiar,[53] since the collection had an overwhelmingly traditional character. This conservative direction made Usmanov spend little time on this collection. Yet behind the standard titles there were also interesting moments: thus, the colophon of one *Risāla-i ʿazīza* (probably by Tāj al-Dīn b. Yālchighūl, d. 1837/38) revealed that the copy was made by a woman, in April 1838.

Usmanov was particularly captivated by the archival documents preserved in the collection; among these, 50 items were letters as well as documents concerning the division of inheritances, papers on marriages and divorce cases, plus various documents on legal proceedings and punishments; these issues were probably regulated by the communities via the mediation of the local imāms. In addition, the collection included parts of Fakhreddinov's *Āthār* and sets of the journals *Maglumat* and *Ang*. Of interest were papers about a dispute between the imāms of the villages of Tiuntiar and Menger. And finally, there were several note-books with folklore material and songs; these remained with the woman who kept the archive, but Usmanov was allowed to take photographs.

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52 Imam Taki Gaffarov and his son Zaki Takievich Gaffarov (b. 1910) were arrested in 1930; the father received three years in prison, and seemingly survived and returned home. His son was shot in 1930. See *Tragediia naroda. Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Respubliki Mari-El* (Ioshkar-Ola, 1996), vol. 1, 126. The Friday mosque was closed in 1934; it was first used for other purposes, then left to dilapidate, and finally demolished.

53 Ishmi-Ishan wrote a number of theological works and was known as a representative of Tatar Qadimism. See Fäxreddin, *Asar*, vols 3–4, 348ff.

In the heap of papers Usmanov also found a list of printed and manuscript books—most probably works that the *shakird*s of the local madrasa used as study materials.[54] Such inventories allow us to reconstruct not only the contents of a rural library but also the curriculum of the local madrasa.

Conclusion

The two success stories, from 1964 and 1984, also reveal the limitations inherent in the genre of field-diaries. Field-notes are taken quickly, and are therefore short and laconic in style, leaving the interpretative work for later; the diaries must therefore be studied in relation to the ensuing publications in which some of the objects were analysed in more detail, and in their broader historical contexts. Yet we have to bear in mind that, for most of the material, Usmanov's field-notes were the most detailed study that they would ever obtain; back home in Kazan, in the Section of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library, most of the manuscripts and documents received little more attention than giving them catalogue numbers (and some items are still awaiting registration). Also, the field-diaries are valuable sources for identifying which villages might still yield important findings in the future; but for this purpose they have to be studied as a whole, to mark the regions that have already been investigated, and to renew attention to those villages that promise to provide some missing elements.

Yet equally important, Usmanov's field diaries remain a formidable source in their own right for understanding how the expeditions were organized and for what the team thought was central and what marginal. They also give us direct and unmediated access to Usmanov's own perception of Tatar literature and history; in that sense, they constitute Usmanov's personal laboratory for developing ideas and concepts

Translated from the Russian by Micha Kemper

54 Note of July 21, 1984, diary of the Archaeographic Expedition, 1984.

CHAPTER 14

Islamic Theological Studies in Germany: A Discipline in the Making

Bekim Agai and Armina Omerika

Science, as a cultural and social practice, inevitably takes shape and is performed within contexts,[1] and reflecting upon its own circumstances, conditionality, and not least its functionality, forms a necessary part of any self-conscious academic discipline, complementing, accompanying, and affecting the scholarly endeavor to which it is committed. Any inquiry into the establishment of Islamic Theological Studies[2] in Germany thus has to acknowledge the fact that the presence of Islam has become a demographic and social reality in that country. It is estimated that around 4 million Muslims currently live in Germany, not including the vast number of Muslim refugees who arrived over the course of 2015 and 2016. These numbers are mostly, although by no means exclusively, the result of processes that began with labor migration to Germany in the 1950s. Muslims in Germany practice their religion in different ways and on various levels, in the family, privately at home, in mosques, or in other forms of religious organizations.[3] Their average age is 30.1 years, which is younger

1 For debates on scientific knowledge production as a social practice and a cultural phenomenon see *Wissenschaft als Kontext—Kontexte der Wissenschaft*, ed. by Wolfgang Bonß, Rainer Hohlfeld, Regine Kollek (Hamburg: Institut für Sozialforschung, 1993).

2 In their German version, the recommendations of the German Council of Science and Humanities (*Wissenschaftsrat*), which were instrumental in providing the scientific-political rationale for establishing the new discipline of Islamic Theology, use the designation *Islamische Studien*, as opposed to the older, "secular" discipline of *Islamwissenschaft*. However, since the latter is equivalent, and likewise translated, to "Islamic Studies" in other Western Countries, we use the terms *Islamic Theological Studies* and *Islamic Studies* to clearly differentiate between the two disciplines.

3 Bundesministerium des Inneren/Deutsche Islam Konferenz, "Zusammenfassung Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland", *Bundesministerium des Inneren*, https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Verfassung/DIK/MLD-Zusammenfassung.pdf?__blob=publicationFile. All electronic references mentioned in this contribution were last accessed July 23, 2016.

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than the average age of German society as a whole.[4] In the federal region of North-Rhine Westphalia, which has the highest number of Muslim inhabitants, one in eight school students comes from a family with a Muslim background.[5]

By granting religious freedom, the German constitution guarantees individual and collective rights for Muslims. In order to ensure free practice of their religion, Muslims founded Islamic religious communities, at first on the local level, and then, from the 1980s, in umbrella organizations representing the interests of the different Muslim religious communities more broadly.[6] To become a part of German society, Islamic religious organizations had to frame their religious, social, and political demands within the specifically German setting of secularism. Any form of public engagement had to be conducted in accordance with the established forms of interreligious dialogue and according to modes of interaction between State and religion that have been shaped by particular German historical experiences. As such, Islamic associations have to operate within established linguistic and epistemological paradigms in the fields of religion, education, and politics. Today, these organizations that were initially created in order to conserve a religious cult brought from abroad increasingly claim public recognition and demand a legal status equal with Christian denominations.[7]

The recent establishment of Islamic Theological Studies and the expectations underlying this process cannot, however, be explained simply as a logical consequence of the Muslim presence in Germany. Various other factors have impacted this process, most of them closely connected to the nature of

4 "Zahlen, Daten, Fakten aus der Studie 'Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland'", *Deutsche Islam Konferenz*, http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/DIK/DE/Magazin/Lebenswelten/ZahlMLD/daten-und-fakten1-hidden-node.html.

5 "Jeder achte Schüler muslimisch", *Migazin*, January 9, 2013, http://www.migazin.de/2013/01/09/jeder-achte-schuler-muslimisch/

6 For an empirical study of this process on a meso-level, and a general overview, see Raida Chbib, *Der organisierte Islam in Deutschland. Diversität, Dynamiken und Strukturen* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ruhr University Bochum, 2016). For an overview of the organization processes, see Kerstin Rosenow-Williams, *Organizing Muslims and Integrating Islam in Germany: New Developments in the 21st Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

7 These were, among others, the German branch of the Turkish Ministry of Religion DİTİB (Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V.—Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği), founded in 1984; the ZMD (Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland e.V.—Central Council of Muslims in Germany), established in 1994; the German branch of the IGMG (Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş—Islam Toplumu Millî Görüş), set up in 1995; and the VIKZ (Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren e.V.), founded in 1973.

political discourse and practices that have been generated in the areas of integration and identity politics over the past two decades.[8]

In 1999, the German Law on Citizenship, originally based on the concept of *jus sanguinis* (citizenship through the descent from a German citizen), was supplemented by the principle of *jus soli* (citizenship through birth and residence in Germany). Under certain provisions, this change offered the prospect of citizenship for the majority of Muslims living in Germany.[9] However, the removal of one line of differentiation was accompanied by the drawing of another:[10] the new Germans were now classified as "Germans with a migration background" (*Migrationshintergrund*), a category that was introduced by the German statistics agency for the sample census of 2005.[11] On the premise that people from Turkey, the Balkans, North Africa and the Middle East have one unifying element in common (Islam), the public discourse presented them as a distinct group, having equal collective demands and, moreover, sharing certain societal values and political views. Since then, "Muslims" have been considered a subgroup of "Germans with a migration background". Such a framing disregards a variety of other factors that may explain individual or collective choices and values, such as country of origin, social status, age, gender, or duration of residence in Germany, and takes an assumed Islamic identity as the point of departure for demands for integration. A new form of *Islampolitik* prominently featured the construction of a "Muslim subject"[12] and new forms of engagement with Muslims on the representative level. The new citizens were now to be integrated "as Muslims", regardless of their actual commitment and affiliation to the religion. Conversely, the discourse produced a

8 For preliminary thoughts on the social and political expectations faced by Islamic Theological Studies, see Bekim Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities: Secular Expectations and Epistemic Rearrangements", *Toronto Journal of Theology* 31.2 (2015), 181–95.

9 Hartwig Pautz, "The Politics of Identity in Germany: The Leitkultur Debate", *Race & Class* 46 (April 2005), 39–52.

10 Zygmunt Bauman, *Verworfenes Leben. Die Ausgegrenzten der Moderne* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2005), 33–46.

11 "Personen mit Migrationshintergrund", *Destatis. Statistisches Bundesamt*, https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Methoden/PersonenMitMigrationshintergrund.html. For an overview of critical perspectives on this category, see Ferda Ataman, "Muss der 'Migrationshintergrund' neu definiert werden?", *Mediendienst Integration*, May 3, 2016, http://mediendienst-integration.de/artikel/wie-wird-der-migrationshintergrund-im-mikrozensus-erfasst.html.

12 See Levent Tezcan, *Das muslimische Subjekt. Verfangen im Dialog der Deutschen Islam Konferenz* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2013).

stronger identification with a "Muslim" category of collective belonging among Muslims themselves, regardless of their actual belief or how they imagined the Muslim community.[13]

From the very beginning, this concept produced ambiguous results. On the one hand, it created a discursive space for promoting the notion of Muslims as German citizens who have the same religious rights as members of other religious communities. On the other, the underlying assumption that Muslims, regardless of whether or how they believe, are by default to be subjected to special integration policies, and that citizens of the Islamic faith have to be integrated first and foremost as Muslims, resulted in an entanglement of various social and religious aspects of integration, a process that has been critically described as the "Islamicization of the integration debate".[14] General issues of integration were discussed in forums like the Integration Summit (*Integrationsgipfel*), convened for the first time in 2006 by Chancellor Angela Merkel, and in the same year a special platform for issues surrounding the integration of Muslims was established, the German Islam Conference (*Deutsche Islam Konferenz*, DIK), a permanent body that meets regularly to maintain the dialogue between the State and Muslims in Germany.[15]

The emergence of the DIK has to be seen in the light of post-9/11 developments, growing security concerns, and the general public and political atmosphere of fear of Islam because of the latter's perceived role as the main driving force behind processes of radicalization.[16] One political assumption behind its formation was that "Islam imported from abroad", taking shape in highly unstable regions and societies with ideals and political systems very different from those in Germany, should be controlled, integrated, and "tamed" through close interaction with the State. This policy emphasized the need to develop an interpretation of Islam that is compatible with Germany's free democratic constitutional order, to be taught in Germany and in the German language. The structural and epistemic integration into the German context was presented in utilitarian terms, as a quest for an Islam that is aware of its social responsibility

13 See Riem Spielhaus, *"Wer ist hier Muslim?" Die Entwicklung eines islamischen Bewusstseins in Deutschland zwischen Selbstidentifikation und Fremdzuschreibung* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2011).

14 Katharina Hierl, *Die Islamisierung der deutschen Integrationsdebatte: Zur Konstruktion kultureller Identitäten, Differenzen und Grenzziehungen im postkolonialen Diskurs* (Berlin et al.: LIT Verlag, 2012).

15 See Deutsche Islam Konferenz, *Drei Jahre Deutsche Islam Konferenz (DIK) (2006–2009). Muslime in Deutschland—Deutsche Muslime* (Berlin, 2009).

16 Dirk Halm, *Der Islam im Diskursfeld. Bilder des Islams in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008), 9.

for the common good of German society. This dimension is most prominent in the current, third, mandate of the DIK, in which the development of Islamic social welfare activities is central.[17] Upon their recognition as German citizens, Muslims were thus faced with manifold expectations to assume different types of responsibilities and, what is even more important, to embrace these responsibilities within the framework of a discourse on religion.

In the German Islam Conference, issues from different policy areas, ranging from security issues and the prevention of extremism to the training of religious personnel (imams) and Islamic religious instruction in public schools, were all fused into one and the same political agenda. Some of the DIK's Muslim members, including both representatives of religious communities and independent members, occasionally criticized this blending.[18]

More recently, these public debates on the problematic implications of State policies towards Islam has led to a shift in the basic assumptions of the political discourse. Islam is now considered to be a problem and a solution at the same time. On the one hand, problems of social integration are still linked to religion, despite occasional acknowledgments that the deficiencies of the "Muslim subject" in this area might originate in other, non-religious causes. On the other hand, Islam is no longer represented as eternally and ontologically linked to foreign countries and cultures, but rather is seen as part of German social reality that needs to be integrated functionally, politically and epistemologically. It is noteworthy that this development was initiated under a government led by the center-right CDU (Christlich-Demokratische Union), which had hitherto conceptualized immigrants and their religions as something alien to Germany.[19]

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17 This integration aspect has been identified as the main political reason for the establishment of Islamic Theology by a number of Islamicists. See Rüdiger Lohlker, "Islamwissenschaften—Bewegungen und Deterritorialisierungen", *Das Verhältnis zwischen Islamwissenschaft und Islamischer Theologie. Beiträge der Konferenz Münster, 1.–2. Juli 2011*, ed. by Mouhanad Khorchide and Marco Schöller (Münster: Agenda Verlag, 2012), 117; Rainer Brunner, "(Islamische) Theologie an der Universität—warum eigentlich?", in ibid., 101–5.

18 Two Muslim umbrella organizations, the Islamrat (Islam Council) and the ZMD, left the German Islam Conference at the beginning of its second term, but eventually returned to the table: Dorothea Jung, "Zwischen Dialog und Ausschluss", *Deutschlandfunk* [website], March 23, 2014, http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/islamkonferenz-zwischen-dialog-und-ausschluss.724.de.html?dram:article_id=280895.

19 Katharina Hierl, *Die Islamisierung der deutschen Integrationsdebatte: Zur Konstruktion kultureller Identitäten, Differenzen und Grenzziehungen im postkolonialen Diskurs* (Berlin et al.: LIT Verlag, 2012), 70; Hannah Fülling, "Religion in der deutschen Islampolitik—

The new question that has emerged is how to include Islam as a religion of Germany into the established forms of religious organization and representation that, for their part, have been strongly shaped by the models and experiences of the Christian Churches. The expectations were formulated along assumed parallels: imams were conceptualized as having the same guiding roles for their communities that priests fulfil in their parishes. The religion of Islam was to be publicly expressed in forms of social ethics, in the fields of pastoral, social and medical care and in prisons, and thus actually beyond mere religious practice.[20] Additionally, the field of knowledge production was conceived of from this functionalist perspective: in May 2013, the German Islam Conference referred to the emergence of university centers for Islamic Theological Studies under the heading "Advancement of Institutional Cooperation and Projects Related to Integration" ("Institutionalisierte Kooperation und integrationsbezogene Projektarbeit fördern").[21]

Epistemic Community and Recommendations of the Council of Science and Humanities

The institutionalization of Islamic Theological Studies as an academic discipline in German public universities started in 2010–11.[22] This process has

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erörtert am Beispiel der Deutschen Islam Konferenz", *Religionspolitik und Politik der Religionen in Deutschland: Fallstudien und Vergleiche*, ed. by Antonius Liedhegener and Gert Pickel (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 255–76.

20 Michael Kiefer, "Zielsetzungen einer Imamausbildung in Deutschland—Vom einfachen Vorbeter zum multifunktionalen Akteur", *Imamausbildung in Deutschland. Islamische Theologie im europäischen Kontext*, ed. by Bülent Ucar (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010), 185–93.

21 "Schwerpunkt Religionsrechtliche Integration", *Deutsche Islam Konferenz* [website], May 3, 2013, http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/DIK/DE/DIK/ArbeitDIK/ArbeitDIK2009-2013/SchwerpReligionsrechtlIntegration/schwerpreligionsrechtlintegration-node.html (accessed July 11, 2016).

22 Experiments to introduce Islamic theologies at public universities have been conducted in several non-Muslim European countries, such as the Netherlands or Switzerland, where a center for Islam and Society was established in 2015 in Fribourg. In Austria, a center for Islamic Theology is currently planned at the University of Vienna. For these, see Birgitte Schepelern Johansen, *Islam at the European Universities* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2006); Mohammed Ghaly, "Training Imams in Europe: The Challenges of Developing a Unified Program—Leiden University as a Study Case", *HIKMA* (2010), 57–70; Ednan Aslan, *Islamic Textbooks and Curricula in Europe* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2011); Ednan Aslan (ed.), *Islamische Theologie in Österreich: Institutionalisierung der*

undoubtedly been burdened by the political expectations addressed above,[23] and was characterized by a strong top-down approach. Yet while the establishment of Islamic Theological Studies resulted from the State's *Islampolitik*, Muslim communities have helped this process by providing input and recommendations. Long before the State took the initiative, Muslim communities commenced a number projects to establish some sort of Islamic theological knowledge production in the German language, albeit with epistemological frameworks that rarely took into account the contributions of contemporary secular disciplines.[24] Individual Muslim religious organizations in Germany

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Ausbildung von Imamen, Seelsorgerinnen und Theologinnen (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2013).

23 Scholars of Islamic Theological Studies at the University of Frankfurt have published a joint statement on the plethora of expectations on their field: Bekim Agai et al., "Islamische Theologie in Deutschland. Herausforderungen im Spannungsfeld divergierender Erwartungen", *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Islamisch-Theologische Studien* 1 (2014), 7–28.

24 See Muhammad S. Abdullah, *Was will der Islam in Deutschland?* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1993); Gerdien Jonker, "A Laboratory of Modernity—The Ahmadiyya Mission in Interwar Europe", *The Journal of Muslims in Europe* 3 (2014), 1–25; Ina Wunn (ed.), *Muslimische Gruppierungen in Deutschland. Ein Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007); Marfa Heimbach, *Die Entwicklung der Islamischen Gemeinschaft in Deutschland seit 1961* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2001), 31–34. The "Zentralinstitut Islam-Archiv-Deutschland" collects documents on Islam in Germany, participated in the development of the curricula for Islamic religious education in North Rhine-Westphalia, and engaged in further education on Islam and interreligious dialogue (Abdullah, *Was will der Islam in Deutschland?*, 72–74). Muslim organizations also produced religious knowledge: Millî Görüş established its own *fiqh* council, and DİTİB maintains its own programs for imam training and Islamic theological studies. Several private Islamic institutions are also focused on Muslim knowledge production, such as the Islamic Centers in Aachen, Hamburg, and Munich. The tendency of these activities is to edit classical Islamic knowledge from the perspective of their own tradition, without including research results from Islamic Studies. One of the few exceptions has been the "Islamic Academy for the Study of Interrelations with Occidental Intellectual History and Culture" (*Islamische Akademie zur Erforschung der Wechselbeziehungen zur Abendländischen Geistesgeschichte und Kultur*), which was founded in 1978 by Prof. Abdoljavad Falaturi (d. 1996) in Cologne. Trained in Islamic theology in Iran, Falaturi earned his Ph.D. at Bonn University and worked in Islamic Studies as well as in the field of Islamic theological knowledge production, publishing works for teachers of Islamic religious education; he was one of the founders of the ZMD. See Judith Pfeiffer, "Falāṭūrī, 'Abd-al-Jawād", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, vol. 9, fasc. 2 (2012), 170–71, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/falaturi; and Udo Tworuschka (ed.), *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident. Festschrift für Abdoldjavad Falaturi zum 65. Geburtstag* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1991).

expressed the need for Islamic theology to be taught at German universities as early as 2002,[25] and a year later the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*) endowed a guest professorship for "Islamic Religion" at the University of Frankfurt.[26]

Alongside the political and religious actors, the last decade has also seen the emergence of a scholarly community at German universities that has propelled academic self-reflection on Islam. A recent study at Frankfurt University conceptualizes this group as a Muslim "epistemic community".[27] It consists of single initiatives, networks, groups, and the individual engagement of Muslim scholars from Islam-related disciplines in Germany. Scholars from this community have asked questions about the relevance of Islamic traditions in European contexts and in the current life-worlds of Muslims. These questions arose from their scientific engagement with questions related to Islam and Muslims. By testing the possibilities of assessing Islamic knowledge through applying the methodologies of disciplines taught at secular Western universities, these scholars were particularly interested in the consequences that exchanges with other academic theologies might have for Islamic knowledge. While many of them have a background in Islamic Studies (*Islamwissenschaft*) or educational sciences, these scholars have been crossing the boundaries of their disciplines, and by addressing topics relevant for the core disciplines of theology they have investigated the consequences that academic theology

25 In 2002, the ZMD demanded German-language religious instruction at schools, as well as the establishment of academic professorships for the university education of teachers of Islam and imams (Central Council of Muslims in Germany, "Islamic Charta", *ZMD-Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland e.V.*, February 20, 2002, http://zentralrat.de/3037.php.

26 "Pressemitteilung vom 8. Mai 2003. Mittler zwischen Islam und Christentum", *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*, May 8, 2003, http://www.uni-frankfurt.de/40697854/islam_pm_2.pdf; Monika Mölders, "Stiftungsprofessur 'Islamische Religion' für die Universität Frankfurt", *Informationsdienst Wissenschaft*, March 8, 2005, https://idw-online.de/de/news103614.

27 Jan Felix Engelhardt, *Islamische Theologie im deutschen Wissenschaftssystem. Ausdifferenzierung und Selbstkonzeption einer neu etablierten Wissenschaftsdisziplin* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2017). On the basis of the works of Burkart Holzner and Peter M. Haas, Engelhardt defines an epistemic community as "a network of scholars within the scientific community who share a joint epistemic and normative framework, span various academic disciplines, and refer to a common social topic about which they share convictions and claims to truth and on which they steadily increase communication"; Jan Felix Engelhardt, "On Insiderism and Muslim Epistemic Communities in the German and US Study of Islam", *Muslim World* 106.4 (2016), 740–758, here: p. 744.

in Germany might have for Muslims.[28] While most of them lack formal training in theology, through their trans-disciplinary "commuting" they were nonetheless actively engaged in the production of Islamic theological knowledge. Muslim actors of this "epistemic community" acted as Muslim partners in theological discussions and interreligious dialogue, and have been sought after for public debates, within universities, and as experts for political decision-makers. Although these scholars do not represent Islamic theology as a discipline, they represent this field of expertise through practical engagement.[29] The nucleus of an Islamic academic theology has thus been generated from practice and through transdisciplinary work. Yet while Engelhardt has defined this epistemic community as Muslim by confession, these Muslim academics also cooperated, often in an institutionalized way, with non-Muslim scholars of Islamic Studies. One prominent protagonist from the latter field who has consistently argued for such cooperation is Stefan Reichmuth, whose contributions to public debates have focused on how knowledge of Islam can be taught in public schools.[30]

The specific history of the German university system facilitated such initiatives. Christian theologies had been a pillar of German universities for centuries, and even today Catholic and Protestant Theologies are mostly incorporated in the institutional framework of the public university. From the nineteenth century, Jews in Germany discussed whether their religious tradition should be represented at German universities, and whether the concept of theology can be applied to the Jewish context.[31] As described above, by 2010, German policy-makers were ready for a comparable Muslim initiative.

The decisive breakthrough was achieved in January 2010, when the German Council of Science and Humanities (*Wissenschaftsrat*, WR) published the recommendations of a working group that analyzed the current state of theologies and other disciplines involved in the study of religion at German universities.[32]

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28 Engelhardt, "On Insiderism and Muslim Epistemic Communities", 746–8.

29 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 183.

30 See *Staatlicher Islamunterricht in Deutschland. Die Modelle in NRW und Niedersachsen im Vergleich*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Mark Bodenstein, Michael Kiefer (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006).

31 See Giuseppe Veltri, "Abraham Geiger's Conception of a Jewish Theology as Institution", *Toronto Journal of Theology* 31.2 (2015), 203–8. For a critical reflection on the current state of Jewish Studies and Jewish Theology, see Hanna Liss, "Verhinderung und Aufbruch: Jüdische Studien und Jüdische Theologie in Deutschland", *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Islamisch-Theologische Studien* 2 (2015), 173–85.

32 Wissenschaftsrat, "Recommendations on the Advancement of Theologies and Sciences Concerned with Religions at German Universities", *Wissenschaftsrat*, Berlin, January 29,

The WR is the most influential advisory board for science and higher education policies in Germany, and its recommendations "involve considerations concerning quantitative and financial effects and the implementation of such considerations [on national and international competitiveness of German science and humanities], always taking into account the demands of societal, cultural and economic life".[33] As such, WR recommendations express a political and scientific will at the highest level and form the basis for political decisions taken by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*, BMBF), which in turn acts in cooperation with Germany's federal states (*Bundesländer*), that are generally responsible for educational policies. As such, the WR is an important link between the political and the academic fields, having as its members representatives of both. With regard to the study of Islam, the recommendations analyzed the existing demand, expectations, fears, and prejudices in Germany and tried, among other things, to define the commonalities and differences between Islamic Studies (*Islamwissenschaft*) and Islamic Theological Studies.

The general recommendations on university theologies, including Islamic theology, argue that "modern, constitutional democracies have a vital interest in utilizing religious orientations of their citizens towards the stability and development of the community".[34] According to the WR's recommendations, "The higher education portfolio in Islamic [Theological] Studies or Islamic religious education, respectively, aims to (1) prepare future teachers of religious education for their role in religious instruction, (2) meet the demand for Islamic religious scholars at mosque communities, (3) train qualified Islamic social workers, (4) and produce Islamic theologians for university-level teaching and research".[35]

The first three goals are clearly motivated by practical considerations. The first point addresses the demand for teachers of Islamic religious instruction in public schools, which in the German context is a strong argument in support of the new discipline: religious education in public schools is constitutionally

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2010, http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de/download/archiv/9678-10_engl.pdf, which in what follows is referred to as "recommendations". For a more specific and detailed discussion of the recommendations see Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 184–86.

33 "Function", *Wissenschaftsrat*, 2014, http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de/en/about/function.html. All quotes are taken from the English version published by the WR.

34 Wissenschaftsrat, "Recommendations", 54.

35 Ibid., 78.

guaranteed,[36] and it is provided and paid for by the State while being conducted with the consent of the respective religious community. The teaching personnel is educated at public universities. The government is thus authorized to determine the educational background of its school teachers (unlike that of an imam). In order to become a teacher of (Islamic) religious education in a regular school in Germany, a person has to complete a study of (Islamic) theology at university. This requires the development of Islamic Theological Studies as a discipline "to ensure that the religious education training of future Islamic RE [religious education] teachers will be based on the methodical reflection of religious texts, claims of interpretation and normativity, and practices meeting scholarly standards. At the same time, this allows the training of young academics for future recruitment into the disciplines Islamic religious education studies [*Islamische Religionspädagogik*] and Islamic [Theological] Studies proper".[37]

The second point of the recommendations takes up the social expectations reflected in the entanglement of the debates on migration, integration, and Islam, and formulates the need for mosque personnel who have been trained at German universities as one of the strongest arguments for the establishment of Islamic Theological Studies. The problem with this argument arises from the fact that the State is legally not entitled to prescribe the educational requirements for religious personnel; university education for an imam cannot be compulsory. Christian Churches in Germany educate candidates for priesthood or ministry in their own seminaries, with the study of university theology being a necessary, but not sufficient, precondition for that training. This arrangement, however, is a practice stipulated and defined by the Churches themselves. While the State has the option to limit the access of foreign imams to Germany through legislation, it cannot prescribe the educational requirements of religious staff employed by Islamic religious communities. The awareness of this situation, and the fact that Germany's Islamic communities lack the financial, human and other resources to establish additional seminaries for

36 According to Article 7, § 3 of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany: "[R]eligious instruction shall form part of the regular curriculum in state schools [...] Without prejudice to the state's right of supervision, religious instruction shall be given in accordance with the tenets of the religious community concerned. Teachers may not be obliged against their will to give religious instruction" ("Basic Law for the Federal republic of Germany", *juris.de*, [website], http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/basic_law_for_the_federal_republic_of_germany.pdf, [accessed July 22, 2016]).

37 Wissenschaftsrat, "Recommendations", 71–72, additions by B.A./A.O.

the training of imams,[38] has softened the initial enthusiasm about the "education of Imams at German universities" that the publication of the recommendations aroused.[39]

Yet the recommendations go further; they also demand that the new discipline be not just a transmitter of traditional knowledge and argue that a critical and scholarly reflection on the tradition is only possible within the reflexive setting of the university. This reasoning reflects the socio-political expectations described above; it is based on the idea that an integration of Islam into the patterns of knowledge production at German universities will result in the integration of Islam and Muslims into the German context in ways similar to those of Christian Churches.

After discussing the social and scientific contexts of Islamic Theological Studies, the recommendations turn to the link between Islamic Theological Studies and Muslim communities. In the absence of organizational structures comparable to the Catholic Magisterium or the bodies of the Protestant Churches that define the official teachings of their respective religious communities, the WR recommends the establishment of "advisory boards for Islamic [Theological] Studies at those universities that intend to create an institute for Islamic [Theological] Studies".[40] These advisory boards (*Beiräte für Islamische Studien*) are to consist of Muslim representatives and "to cover the establishment, modification and discontinuation of theological study courses, and the appointment of academic staff".[41] In other words, the secular State and its institutions can strongly influence the organizational frame, but they cannot define the contents of Islamic knowledge. The Muslim epistemic community could define that content—for example by designing curricula that

38 A notable exception might be DİTİB, which still relies upon an influx of imams educated at Turkish theological departments; in Germany, they can only be employed for a restricted period of time, after which they are obliged to return to Turkey.

39 See Dpa: "Tübingen bildet als erste deutsche Uni Imame aus", *Zeit Online*, October 5, 2010, http://www.zeit.de/studium/hochschule/2010-10/imamausbildung-tuebingen; "Uni Münster wird Zentrum für Imam-Ausbildung", *WAZ* October 14, 2010, http://www.derwesten.de/politik/campus-karriere/uni-muenster-wird-zentrum-fuer-imam-ausbildung-id3830359.html; "Zuspruch für Imam-Ausbildung an Unis—mehrere Interessenten", *Bildungsklick*, February 8, 2010. The Islamic theological staff at the University of Frankfurt expressed reservations towards the training of imams at universities; see Ilknur Kücük, "Interview mit Ömer Özsoy. Imamausbildung kein Auftrag der deutschen Universitäten", trans. by Ulvi Karagedik, *IslamicQ*, November 19, 2013, http://www.islamiq.de/2013/11/19/oemer-oezsoy-im-gespraech/

40 Wissenschaftsrat, "Recommendations", 75.

41 Ibid.

transfer the classical and modern contents of Islamic knowledge to German contexts—but nonetheless there must be a religious body to authorize the new curricula. This requirement is particularly important at universities where teachers of Islamic religious instruction at schools are trained.

The Council's recommendations are quite vague regarding the tasks and composition of the advisory boards, with the result that these boards are implemented differently from place to place. As the Council recommended, the boards should not become involved with

> assessing the academic quality of any candidate. The selection of candidates is the sole responsibility of the university and must not be subject to consultation with its advisory board for Islamic [Theological] Studies. Rather, the latter should decide in a subsequent, transparent process if there are any objections on religious grounds against the appointment of the preferred candidate.[42]

However, raising an objection on religious grounds remains problematic because Islam lacks a central authority to decide upon the dogmatic legitimacy of a given argument. Furthermore, the establishment of the advisory boards proved to be a complicated process, leading, in some places, to conflict. The boards were envisaged as provisional solutions until the federal State in which the respective universities are situated decides to which Islamic organization it wants to give official recognition as "Islamic Religious Communities" (*Religionsgemeinschaften*), and thus as legal partners in the organization of public Islamic Religious Education. So far, only the State of Hessen has officially recognized two Islamic communities (DİTİB-Regional Association Hessen, and Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat), a step that made the provisional advisory boards obsolete in that region. These two communities cooperate with the Universities of Frankfurt and Giessen in the appointment of professors for Islamic Religious Education Studies (*Religionspädagogik*). All other centers of Islamic Theological Studies established advisory boards at a relatively early stage,[43] and these approve or disapprove of the decision of the university in the ways currently regulated by the respective federal state. However, Muslim associations in the respective regions have criticized the fact that these boards

42 Ibid. The wording does not specify whether this provision should apply only to professors or to candidates at other levels as well.

43 A latecomer was the University of Münster, where the advisory board was set up only in May 2016; see "Islam-Beirat hat sich konstituiert", *Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, May 6, 2016, https://www.uni-muenster.de/news/view.php?cmdid=8299.

do not always include sufficient numbers of representatives from the Muslim communities.[44] The question at stake is who exactly is entitled to represent Islam to the university and hence act as a legitimate Islamic partner of the State.

Another point raised in the recommendations of the WR concerns the relationship to other academic disciplines. The critical reflexivity of the new discipline is to be safeguarded by embedding Islamic Theological Studies in an interdisciplinary setting and by submitting religious knowledge production to the scholarly standards and scientific rationalities of German universities. Accordingly, Islamic Theological Studies are to work in intense cooperation with other theologies, as well as with Islamic Studies, cultural studies, the humanities in general, and social sciences. The quality management required to ensure high academic standards in the discipline is the task of the universities,[45] which provide the criteria and requirements for the accreditation of the courses of study, the exams, the doctoral examination procedures, and the appointment of teaching personnel. The recommendations demand close contact with the scientific rationalities and epistemic logics of the university. The unstated premise behind this reasoning is that the new discipline requires special guidance and supervision. It appears that the recommendations took the public image of Islam into consideration, and that they anticipated resistance to the project. Here it must also be kept in mind that not only has Islam become the subject of heated public debates, but the general legitimacy of theology as a science, and as part of a modern university, has also been repeatedly called into question. The firm embedding of Islamic Theological Studies within the clusters of a multidisciplinary university setting responds to objections that an obscure, uncritical tradition should not be taught within German universities and be paid for by taxpayers' money.[46]

Dynamics of the Discipline

The establishment of Islamic Theological Studies was strongly preconfigured by the WR's recommendations, but the discipline has since developed its own

44 For the views of Muslim religious communities, see Engin Karahan, "Islamische Theologie an deutschen Universitäten. Die Problematik der fehlenden Vertretung der muslimischen Gemeinschaften", *Academia.edu*, February 25, 2013, https://www.academia.edu/4861163/Islamische_Theologie_an_deutschen_Universitaten_-_Die_Problematik_der_fehlenden_Vertretung_der_muslimischen_Gemeinschaften.

45 Wissenschaftsrat, "Recommendations", 73.

46 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 186.

dynamics. Published in January 2010, the recommendations of the WR were promptly implemented by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), which in the summer of that year issued the first call for applications for the initial funding of Islamic Theological Studies. By spring 2011, the BMBF awarded state funding to four centers for Islamic Theological Studies, grouped together at six university centers: Erlangen-Nürnberg, Frankfurt/Giessen, Münster/Osnabrück, and Tübingen. At first, 18 million Euros were provided for a five-year start-up period, on the condition of equal matching by the respective federal states; the latter would afterwards make the new institutes permanent. This initial funding was supposed to be followed by a second funding period upon successful evaluation in 2016, which has recently been completed.[47] Other universities followed by establishing institutes of Islamic Theological Studies without being included in the federal project funded by the BMBF.[48] The federal money was provided on the condition that a strong research focus be developed, particularly at the post-doctoral level, which is considered to be the backbone of the future academic profile of the discipline.

Within a short period of time, the four centers supported by the BMBF have attracted about 1,800 students.[49] This quick start for the discipline is also due in part to the fact that in almost all cases (Tübingen being an exception) individual professorships, either in the field of Islamic Religious Education Studies (Erlangen, Münster, Osnabrück) or academic Islamic theology (Frankfurt), had already been established. As such, the centers for Islamic Theological Studies did not appear overnight but developed on the basis of pre-existing institutional profiles.

The individual Muslim scholars involved in the establishment of the discipline had a strong influence on its overall development, as did the organizational and scientific cultures of the individual universities. These took the WR's recommendations seriously, particularly the prospective staff's ability to fit into an interdisciplinary environment. Professors were appointed via the usual procedures: corresponding faculties and related disciplines were involved in search committees to assess the scholarly credentials of the respective candidates. The number of professorships at the centers funded by the BMBF is currently 21, with several additional calls for applications still under way.

47 "Islamische Theologie", *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*, https://www.bmbf.de/de/islamische-theologie-367.html.

48 These are the universities in Hamburg, Paderborn, and the Universities of Applied Education Sciences (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*) in Karlsruhe, Ludwigsburg, and Weingarten.

49 "Islamische Theologie", *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*.

Although the WR had conceded that the first generation of professors might have to come from other countries,[50] not a single university hired a lecturer for Islamic Theological Studies with no previous experience with Western Islamic Studies, or scholars trained exclusively in a traditional way.[51] This shows that, despite political expectations and federal funding, universities can and do operate independently once financial resources have been provided.

Administering Tradition vs. Critical Reflection: Tensions in the Modes of Knowledge Production

Although the larger Muslim organizations acknowledged the need for Islam to be taught at schools and universities,[52] the process of establishing Islamic Theological Studies was accompanied by conflicts rooted in different views on the modes of religious knowledge production. The Muslim organizations were occasionally anxious about a "German State Islam" project,[53] fearing state interference in the interpretative frameworks of the Islamic religion. The role of the religious communities has traditionally been the preservation and administration of traditions and what they consider to be religious truth. Theological reflection at a university goes far beyond that—truth is pursued in multiple ways, stimulating criticism and a reflexive approach towards traditions. German public universities and schools deal with religion, including Islam, in a context in which theory formation takes place in a constant movement, in

50 Ibid., 80.

51 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 188.

52 Margrete Søvik, "Islamic Instruction in German Public Schools: The Case of North Rhine-Westphalia", *Islam and Muslims in Germany*, ed. by Ala Al-Hamarneh and Jörn Thielmann (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 241–66; Abdullah, *Was will der Islam in Deutschland?*, 30.

53 Mustafa Yoldaş, "Fachkompetenz für muslimische Theologen: Eine Stellungnahme der Schura zur Errichtung einer Professur in islamischer Theologie", *Islamische Theologie: Internationale Beiträge zur Hamburger Debatte*, ed. by Ursula Neumann (Hamburg: Edition Körber-Stiftung, 2002), 145–52; Mustafa Yoldaş, "Islam in Deutschland—Herausforderungen zur Etablierung einer islamischen Theologie", *Tagungsmappe. Konferenz zur Woche der islamischen Einheit: Islam in Deutschland—Herausforderungen zur Etablierung einer islamischen Theologie*, ed. by Schura Hamburg (Hamburg, 2014), 5–8; Firouz Vladi, "Grußwort der Schura Niedersachsen", *Religionen in der Schule und die Bedeutung des islamischen Religionsunterrichts*, ed. by Bülent Ucar, Martina Blasberg-Kuhnke, Arnulf von Scheliha (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010), 23–61; Suleiman Wilms, "Vom Spektakel der politischen Theologie", *Islamische Zeitung*, November 28, 2012, http://www.islamische-zeitung.de/?id=16309.

concert with ongoing scholarly debates. This process differs from the way religious knowledge is generated, transmitted and conserved in the religious communities, as the latter follow their respective schools of thought and their own lines of religious authority; Muslim religious communities transmit their interpretations as "the authentic tradition". But it is impossible to think of just *one* "authentic tradition" within the scholarly context of the university. It is even more difficult to sustain one single form of religious authenticity within the pluralist setting of a school classroom, where Muslim students from various theological traditions and with different cultural articulations of Islam come together. The accommodation of this pluralism of Muslims in Germany is a challenge for university theologies and religious communities alike, and must be made transparent to believers at the grassroots level.[54]

At present, the only structural link between university theologies and religious communities are the advisory boards (and in Hessen, the two state-recognized Muslim associations), which have the right to raise "objections on religious grounds" against an applicant for a position at the university. The precise definition of such an objection remains problematic in the context of Islam, since it is not really clear which teaching contents are subject to the approval of religious communities, or which community doctrine, intellectual tradition, or line of argumentation is to be taken as the yardstick.

Can a professor of Islamic Religious Education Studies be charged with holding an "un-Islamic" position if he argues, as Mouhanad Khorchide at Münster did, that hell-fire has to be seen as a metaphor, on the assumption that today's Sunnī mainstream holds a different view? What if someone is rejected with "objections on religious grounds" for holding a position that some Muslim scholars of the past did defend?[55] What if someone makes a scientific claim

54 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 188.

55 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 189–90. Similar questions were raised in the debate that evolved around Khorchide's book *Islam Is Mercy: Essential Features of a Modern Religion* (Freiburg: Herder, 2014), which puts God's mercy at the center of the interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Islamic tradition. The main Islamic associations in Germany, and a part of Muslim public, criticized Khorchide's work as a departure from Islamic tradition, for using historical-critical methods, and for being too close to Islamic Studies. Yet Khorchide received a strong backing from his university, from some politicians, from liberal segments of Germany's Muslim public and not the least from the media. Despite calls for his dismissal, he remained professor of Islamic Religious Education Studies in Münster. For a subsequent academic discussion of his approach, see Mouhanad Khorchide, Milad Karimi, Klaus von Stosch (eds), *Theologie der Barmherzigkeit? Zeitgemäße Fragen und Antworten des Kalām* (Münster: Waxmann, 2014). The criticism is expressed in the report of the Coordinative Council of Muslims in

about the authenticity of a tradition and the transmitted accounts about the Prophet, rejecting assumptions commonly held in the Muslim community—is this a question of academic quality or of adequacy "on religious grounds"?[56] Such questions were at the center of public debate when representatives of the new academic discipline came under fire from major Muslim umbrella associations.

The concept of the advisory boards and the definitions of their tasks ("to cover the establishment, modification and discontinuation of theological study courses, and the appointment of academic staff") as proposed by the recommendations of the WR, is, so far, the only paradigm that meets the provisions of German legislation in the area of academic theologies. Still, it reflects the Christian experience; after all, the German legislative provisions on religions and their positions at public universities were the result of long negotiations, including many conflicts, between the Christian Churches and the German State.[57] Parts of the Islamic theological scholarly community raised

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Germany, which comprises the largest Muslim umbrella organizations. See Mohammad Khallouk et al., "Gutachten des Koordinationsrates der Muslime (KRM) zu theologischen Thesen von Mouhanad Khorchide in seinem Buch 'Islam ist Barmherzigkeit'", *KRM—Koordinationsrat der Muslime*, December 17, 2013, http://koordinationsrat.de/media/File/gutachten_krm_17122013.pdf.

56 One of the first professors of an Islamic theological discipline in Germany, Sven (Muhammed) Kalisch, was heavily attacked by Muslim associations for holding such positions. Kalisch, who had converted to Islam in his teens, held the chair for "Religion of Islam" at the University of Münster from 2004 to 2010. The chair was established with the goal of training teachers of Islamic religious instruction at schools. When, in 2008, he voiced skepticism about early Islamic history and the biography of the Prophet, the Coordinative Council of Muslims in Germany (KRM) officially distanced itself from Kalisch and stopped recommending the subject to Muslim students. In 2010, Kalisch declared that he had abandoned his Islamic belief, which resulted in his dismissal from the theological chair. His professorship was renamed and transferred to the Department of Philology. The leadership of the University of Münster explained this decision as "an analogy to regulations of the Concordats with Christian churches", since "in the past, there have been similar cases in Christian theologies, for example, after leaving the church." "Neues Aufgabenfeld für Sven Kalisch", *Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, July 13, 2010, http://www.uni-muenster.de/news/view.php?&cmdid=5797.

57 For the historical development of the relationship between the State and the Churches see Reinhold Zippelius, *Staat und Kirche. Eine Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd edition (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). For debates about German legislation on religion and religious communities see *Staatskirchenrecht oder Religionsverfassungsrecht? Ein begriffspolitischer Grundsatzstreit*, ed. by Hans Michael Heinig and Christian Walter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). On the concept of "denominational bond"

reservations towards the concept of advisory boards themselves, arguing that there is no general agreement as to which authority can represent Islam in the ways that the Churches represent Christian denominations.[58] In light of the involvement of religious communities in monitoring theological knowledge production at universities, some scholars have warned of a clericalization or "churchification" of an Islamic scholarly heritage that has traditionally been characterized by pluralist notions of knowledge and science.[59]

On what grounds would regional organizations, whose core work is the administration and dissemination of very specific forms of religious practice and traditions shaped in particular cultural contexts, be allowed to decide on the adequacy of individual professors and on the contents and modes of Islamic knowledge production at German universities? Scholars at the Frankfurt Center for Islamic Theological Studies have warned of the danger of reducing the historical pluralism and transnational character of Islamic knowledge by making it dependent on decisions of single communities whose orientations have mostly been local or regional.[60] It is thus, paradoxically, the representatives of the new discipline of Islamic theology, grounded in the liberal

(*Bekenntnisbindung*) for Christian theologies see Michael Moxter, "Theologie als bekenntnisgebundene Glaubenswissenschaft? Ein Kommentar", *Organisationsrechtliche Fragen der Theologie im Kontext moderner Religionsforschung*, ed. by Hans Michael Heinig, Hendrik Munsonius, Viola Vogel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 23–33.

58 Professors of Islamic Theological Studies particularly fear possible limitation of their academic freedom as well as reductionist approaches to the traditionally broad Islamic tradition; see Engelhardt, *Islamische Theologie im deutschen Wissenschaftssystem*.

59 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies", 189. In an interview about the general development of Islamic Theological Studies, the professor of Qur'ānic exegesis at the University of Frankfurt, Ömer Özsoy, stated that religious authority in the history of Islam had for the most part been generated through debate and discourses of the community of religious scholars, and not through institutionalized hierarchies. According to Özsoy, establishing such hierarchies would result in a process of "churchification", which in turn "would mean a deviation from the inner structure of Islam as well as a departure from the internal Islamic pluralism" (Kücük, "Interview mit Ömer Özsoy", Engl. transl. B.A./A.O.).

60 "Islamic Theology is a discipline that represents Islam as a global religion in its full scope and heterogeneity, and that understands the term 'Muslim religious community' in a far broader sense than the definitions and possibilities of institutionalization in the context of German Law on Associations and legislation on religion provide for. (…) A compulsive linkage of our work to an Islamic association whose scope of influence and activities are limited to a single German federal state, and which by necessity can represent only a part of the Muslim population and of Islam's plurality, would result in a reduction of the understanding of Islam to a local and a provincial level, something that we consider not justifiable" (Agai et al., "Islamische Theologie in Deutschland", 20, Engl. transl. B.A./A.O.).

and secular environment of universities, who caution against the reduction of the Islamic intellectual heritage to parochialist forms of authority formation and interpretation. Yet this criticism is not shared by all scholars of Islamic Theology in Germany. Some argue that the involvement of religious associations, for example through participation in the appointment of theology professors, guarantees "a certain authenticity" of religious knowledge production at universities, and "an acceptance among Muslim believers and their children", a consideration that also takes into account the prospective employment possibilities for students of Islamic Theological Studies.[61]

Disputes between Muslim associations and representatives of the academic theological community have received much public attention. They seem a natural result of an extremely accelerated process of negotiation between an academic theology and traditional communities; similar processes within Christian traditions evolved over decades. Muslim communities have to sharpen their understanding of the place of theology at the university—an institution that, since the 19th century, has been defined by critique of knowledge rather than by its sole transmission and affirmation. At the same time, the new discipline of Islamic Theological Studies has to find ways to meet the demands of the Muslim communities in the production of scholarly knowledge. The practical ways of achieving these goals through mutual rapprochement are still being explored. It seems that the workload required to adapt Islamic traditions to the social and epistemic contexts of Germany through the academic discipline of theology has long been underestimated. In any case, the idea that a religious tradition is inherited, and stable, and that it can be simply translated and taught at the universities, has proved to be unrealistic.[62]

61 "'IZ-Begegnung' mit Prof. Bülent Ucar, dem Inhaber des neuen Lehrstuhls für Islamische Religionspädagogik an der Universität Osnabrück", *Islamische Zeitung*, July 28, 2008, http://www.islamische-zeitung.de/iz-begegnung-mit-prof-buelent-ucar-dem-inhaber-des-neuen-lehrstuhl-fuer-islamische-religionspaedagogik-an-der-universitaet-osnabrueck/.

62 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities", 189. Several members of Muslim associations implicitly admitted to the changing nature of religion by underlining the need to alter the traditional mode of Islamic knowledge production once it takes place in the university context. See Taner Yüksel, "Herausforderungen für die Etablierung Islamischer Theologie", *Theologie(n) an der Universität: Akademische Herausforderung im säkularen Umfeld*, ed. by Walter Homolka and Hans-Gert Pöttering (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 47–52; Yoldaş: "Islam in Deutschland".

Islamic Theological Studies and Islamic Studies: Assessment of a Relationship

It was not only actors from Muslim religious communities who were skeptical and had reservations about the establishment of Islamic Theological Studies; the WR recommendations also prompted discussions within the established disciplines of Oriental and Islamic Studies (*Orientalistik*, *Islamwissenschaft*). In a joint statement, 185 scholars from these disciplines (and, interestingly enough, one representative of an Islamic umbrella association) voiced general approval of the theological study of Islam. However, they criticized the name suggested by the WR (*Islamische Studien*, "Islamic Studies") and demanded a clear demarcation between the new subject and their own discipline, both in name and in terms of institutional affiliation at the universities. Furthermore, they were concerned that religious communities might interfere with the autonomy of universities and demanded a higher degree of transparency in how the Federal Ministry of Education and Research selected the universities that receive funding from its special program.[63] Others called into question the general need for an Islamic theological discipline at universities.[64] Scholars of the newly-founded Islamic Theological Studies responded by trying to explain the similarities and differences between Islamic Studies and their new discipline.[65]

One core assumption made by protagonists of both camps, however, was the existence of a fundamental difference between the "insider" perspective of Islamic Theological Studies and the "outsider" point of view that supposedly characterizes Islamic Studies.[66] In our view, the lines between the two

63 Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft: "Stellungnahme von Fachvertreterinnen und -vertretern der Islamwissenschaft und benachbarter akademischer Disziplinen zur Einrichtung des Faches 'Islamische Studien' an deutschen Universitäten", *DMG—Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 2010, http://www.dmg-web.de/pdf/Stellungnahme_Islamstudien.pdf.

64 Rainer Brunner, "An Islamicist's View of the Recommendations of the Council of Science and Humanities on the Establishment of 'Islamische Studien' as an Academic Discipline at German Universities", *Wissenschaftsrat*, July 13, 2010, http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de/download/archiv/Brunner_engl.pdf; Rainer Brunner, "(Islamische) Theologie an der Universität".

65 See the conference papers published in *Das Verhältnis zwischen Islamwissenschaft und islamischer Theologie*.

66 For paradigmatic examples, see the descriptions of the (theological) Institute for Islamic-Religious Studies of the University of Erlangen, claiming to study Islam from the "internal" perspective (*Binnenperspektive*), in addition to interdisciplinary approaches (http://www.dirs.phil.uni-erlangen.de/ma_islamisch-reli_dirs.pdf; accessed July 11, 2016). The

disciplines, both in terms of practical research and theoretical considerations, are not completely blurred but much more fluid, complex and delicate than is commonly acknowledged. Due to the practical dimensions of scholarly research, it would be an illusion to postulate a general difference based on "insider" and "outsider" perspectives.[67]

The notion of positionality, implied in the assumed binary "external vs. internal perspective" on Islam, has, however, become the most popular line of demarcation between theological and non-theological approaches to Islam. The processes of differentiation take place in a context that has been, at least in terms of theories of knowledge and study of religion, characterized by discussions on the general legitimacy of theologies at secular universities in Germany and on the relationship between the "secular" and the "religious" study of religion.[68] This is even more true for Islamic Theologies Studies, which, lacking historical roots in the German university tradition, have to justify their status as *Wissenschaft*, and which are shaped by these ongoing debates in terms of their methodological, theoretical and epistemological foundations. These debates touch upon the very *raison d'être* of Islamic Theology as a distinct academic discipline.

However, it is difficult to sustain that a scholar's religious identity—his "insider" perspective—by definition makes his or her work different from that of professional "outsiders". Positionality theory assumes that "people have multiple overlapping identities" and "make meanings from various aspects of their

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Chair of Islamic Studies at the University Bayreuth stated that their discipline is not "religiously-bound" (http://www.islamwissenschaft.uni-bayreuth.de/de/Studium/Das_Fach_Islamwissenschaft/index.html, accessed July 11, 2016).

67 Reinhard Schulze, "Der Islam als Objekt und Subjekt der Wissenschaft", *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Islamisch-Theologische Studien* 2 (2015), 103–4.

68 For different positions in this debate see Hans Albert, "Das Problem der Begründung", *Traktat über kritische Vernunft*, ed. by Hans Albert, 5th, improved and extended edition (Tübingen, 1991), 9–34; Hans Albert, "Das wissenschaftliche Weltbild und die religiöse Weltauffassung", *Das naturwissenschaftliche Weltbild am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts* ed. by Bernulf Kanitscheider and Reinhard Neck (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 67–90; Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Wissenschaftstheorie und Theologie* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1973); Helmut Peukert, *Wissenschaftstheorie, Handlungstheorie, Fundamentale Theologie* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 2009). Recent contributions to the methodological and theoretical debate between Theologies and Religious Studies are provided in the 2012 issue of the *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 29 (2012), with one contribution specifically addressing Islamic Theology (Stefan Schreiner, "Islamische Theologie—eine theologische Islamwissenschaft? Zur konzeptionellen Differenz und institutionellen Abgrenzung zwischen islamischer Theologie und Islamwissenschaft", *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 29 [2012], 32–46).

identity";[69] researchers are naturally situated in multiple contexts of perspective, power relations, and subjectivities.[70] Thus, scholarly positions are never devoid of subjectivity and cognitive prefiguration, which in turn depend on a variety of factors and cannot be reduced merely to religion. Of course, different forms of social and cultural capital—e.g. native language skills, early familiarity with classical religious texts, belonging to networks or groups that allow practical insights into religious practice—can give Muslim scholars privileged access to Islamic systems of knowledge and meaning as compared to scholars who lack these attributes.[71] But there are also many Muslim scholars active in the field of secular Islamic Studies, and a "socio-cultural insiderism"[72] cannot be the demarcation line between the theological and secular study of Islam.

The prominent place of positionality in this debate on the relationship between Islamic Studies and Islamic Theological Studies does not come as a surprise, given that these very notions, framed as the necessity of a "Muslim" academic perspective on Islam, were inscribed into the decision-making process on the establishment of the new discipline. Such a rationale may be valid, as described above, within the context of political considerations on the social integration of Muslims in Germany; providing the space for the academic self-interpretation of Islam by Muslims is doubtless an important step towards the public acceptance of demographic changes of Germany, and was as such recognized by Muslim communities, the major German political parties, and the Christian Churches.

Furthermore, many students and researchers in the field of secular Islamic Studies are Muslims. As we can assume that their motivation has been to learn more about their "own" religion and history, the study of Islam became, at least in part, a quest for Islamic religious identity in the West. In many cases, this longing was not satisfied by the paradigms of distance scholarship in Islamic Studies. This, in turn, produced a blind spot in knowledge production on Islam: questions about Islamic normativity were not sufficiently answered within Islamic Studies, where research questions relevant to a decidedly religious perspective were not in the focus. Abbas Poya describes the dilemma with the following words: "Students with an Islamic background see their 'own' history and culture taught as something 'alien' by […] professors alien to Islam and the

69 Adrianna Kezar, "Reconstructing Static Images of Leadership: An Application of Positionality Theory", *Journal of Leadership Studies* 8.3 (2002), 96.

70 Kim V.L. England, "Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research", *The Professional Geographer* 46.1 (1994), 80–89.

71 Ibid.

72 Engelhardt, "On Insiderism and Muslim Epistemic Communities", 741.

Orient. This seems even more grotesque and almost schizophrenic when the teachers are of Muslim or Oriental origin themselves. Then both teachers and students discuss their 'own' as something 'alien'".[73]

From this perspective, Islamic Theological Studies close a gap in the educational system. However, these basically socio-political rationales cannot be easily transferred into the sphere of academic rationality. At the level of academic discourse, the requirement of an "internal" perspective alone is not sufficient to justify the existence of an academic discipline, as Reinhard Schulze rightly pointed out, as every discipline must prove and justify—and even define—itself in exchange and confrontation with others if it wants to be accepted in the academic community.[74] This acceptance is crucial for the interdisciplinary transfer of research results produced by Islamic Theological Studies, and is guided by an "Islamic intention"—which is to "further shape the world of meanings that are summarized in the term Islam, to critically update the current meanings or even to produce new ones".[75] Whether this "Islamic intention" will be recognized as a legitimate reason for scholarly work by other, established academic disciplines remains to be seen.

Understandings that translate the "insider/outsider" opposition into the generalized dichotomy of "objective" and "norm-free" (outsider) vs. "biased" and "normative" (insider) have been rightly criticized by scholars from the theological community.[76] Such distinctions not only ignore the fact that *every* research is subject to axiomatic assumptions,[77] but also that any theoretical model of explanation contributes to an interpretation of the research object. In this sense, the production of knowledge about religions also involves an interpretative framework and has consequences for the understanding of those religions. In today's social studies and humanities, it is taken for granted that

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73 Abbas Poya, "Ist das Tor des 'Iǧtihād' in der Islamwissenschaft geschlossen?", *Das Unbehagen in der Islamwissenschaft: Ein klassisches Fach im Scheinwerferlicht der Politik und der Medien*, ed. by Abbas Poya and Maurus Reinkowski (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), 256 (transl. by B.A./A.O.).

74 Schulze, "Der Islam als Objekt und Subjekt", 104.

75 Schulze, "Der Islam als Objekt und Subjekt", 103.

76 Harry Harun Behr, "Islamisch, theologisch, wissenschaftlich", *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Islamisch-Theologische Studien* 1 (2014), 113–21.

77 Perry Schmidt-Leukel therefore makes a case for a "methodological agnosticism" that is free from *apodictic* judgments, as opposed to a lack of *any* judgment that would make it impossible for any study of religion to provide explanations of the religion under scrutiny. See Perry Schmidt-Leukel, "Der methodische Agnostizismus und das Verhältnis der Religionswissenschaft zur wissenschaftlichen Theologie", *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 29 (2012), 48–72.

an absolute distance from the research subject in terms of objectivity is never possible,[78] and that the results of scholarly inquiries are never absolutely free of normative implications. Conversely, a complete lack of distance to the research object is also a practical impossibility. This holds true for the study of religions as well: an academic pursuit of theological studies requires a distinction between a "religion" as systems of symbols, values, norms, practices, and assumptions of continuity on the one hand, and, on the other, a "theology" as the process through which an objectification of these systems and assumptions is reached.[79]

The study of Islam and Muslims has never been detached from the contexts in which this knowledge was produced, and studies of Islam, both religious and secular, have had an impact on the way Islam was understood.[80] Since the 19th century, Orientalist research has impacted on Muslim self-perceptions. Silvestre de Sacy, Ignaz Goldziher, Theodor Noeldecke and Snouck Hurgronje were translated and discussed in the Muslim world, and their works—regardless of whether they were adopted, further elaborated upon, or entirely rejected—had a significant impact on Islamic theological debates.[81] Furthermore, Qur'ān translations by German scholars of Islamic Studies such as Rudi Paret or Hartmut Bobzin gave many non-Arabic-speaking Muslims in Germany access to the central text of Islam. Although the study of Islam has a long tradition in Germany, *Islamwissenschaft* as a discipline dates back only to the

78 For a comparison and criticism of different paradigms guiding qualitative research, see Egon G. Guba and Yvonne S. Lincoln, "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research", *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (London: Sage, 1994), 105–17.

79 Reinhard Schulze argues precisely along these lines when he postulates a "fundamental difference" between religion and theology in a context in which science (*Wissenschaft*) and religion are separated: Schulze, "Der Islam als Objekt und Subjekt", 110–11.

80 During the First International Congress of Islamic Theology in Frankfurt in September 2014, it was interesting to observe how many students of Islamic Theological studies, as well as theologians from Muslim countries, wanted to have their books signed by famous Orientalists and scholars of Islamic Studies who attended the Congress. For these students and scholars, a book on theological thought in early Islam was a theological book, regardless of the intentions of the authors.

81 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities", 189; Mehdi Sajid, *Muslime im Zwischenkriegseuropa und die Dekonstruktion der Faszination vom Westen. Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Šakīb Arslāns Artikeln in der ägyptischen Zeitschrift al-Fatḥ (1926–1935)* (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2015), 307–28. For convergences between the disciplines see also Dietrich Jung, *Orientalists, Islamists and the Global Public Sphere: A Genealogy of the Modern Essentialist Image of Islam* (Sheffield: Equinox Publications, 2011).

early 20th century. It was gradually developed as a response to society's increased demands for contemporary knowledge about Islam.[82] The discipline was occasionally criticized as being situated in the proverbial scholarly "ivory tower", but many scholars of German Islamic Studies were fully engaged with practical issues through advising colonial officers and politicians, the German economy and, in extreme cases, by providing scholarly expertise for the training of imams whose task was to encourage Muslims to join the German side in the two world wars.[83] In more recent times, professors of Islamic Studies such as Tilman Nagel and Mathias Rohe have aided the secular State as experts in determining the "Muslim normative standpoint", including prayer obligations for school students.[84] Other non-Muslim professors of Islamic Studies were involved in creating the first school textbooks and curricula for the school subject "Islamic Education in the German language" (*Islamkundeunterricht in deutscher Sprache*), an experimental model that was developed in some German federal states.[85] Last but not least, Islamic Studies is the core academic background of almost the entire staff of Islamic Theological Studies at German universities today.[86]

Both these disciplines produce research results with possibly relevant normative implications for the discursive communities involved, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Hence, the question here is not about the general absence or presence of normativity in either discipline, but rather about the precise nature of the normativity involved. Scholars working on topics such as the literary composition of the Qur'ān or discourses of peace and human dignity in the Islamic tradition, can conduct research in either discipline, even using

82 Schulze, "Der Islam als Objekt und Subjekt", 113–20.

83 Tilman Lüdke, *Jihad Made in Germany: Ottoman and German Propaganda and Intelligence Operations in the First World War* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005); Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London: Routledge, 2009), 185–209.

84 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities", 190; Regina Mönch, "Berliner Gebetsurteil: Wie viel religiösen Eifer verträgt eine Schule?", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 29, 2010.

85 The subject was conceptualized not as explicitly religious instruction in the denominational sense, but rather as "neutral" information on Islam. However, one stipulation was that it was to be taught by Muslim teachers, possibly with a background in Islamic Studies, to Muslim students. See "Islamkunde (Islamische Unterweisung)", *bp Bildungsportal des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* [website], 2013–2015, https://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Unterricht/Lernbereiche-und-Faecher/Herkunftssprachlicher-Unterricht/Islamkunde/index.html (accessed July 23, 2016).

86 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities", 190.

the same methods. Academic theological approaches, however, are characterized by the conscious and intentional production of knowledge that is relevant for religious orientations of Muslim believers. Islamic theologians in Germany ask, for example, about the application of Qur'ānic anthropological concepts for the practical orientation of Muslims in their life-worlds or deduce the normative implications of peace discourses in the Islamic tradition for use in religious instruction in schools.[87]

In an academically accountable Islamic theology, such offers of religious orientation for Muslims have to be developed on the basis of research that refrains from producing self-referential narratives and that puts their own traditions and premises under critical scrutiny. Therefore, the methodological approaches of Islamic Theological Studies do not differ from those of secular Islamic Studies: the frameworks used in both disciplines are informed by a wide range of academic fields. Depending on the particular research questions, both draw from methods and instruments developed in the humanities or social studies. In a university environment, with its criteria for the verification and evaluation of research results, differences in basic assumptions—about, for example, the divine origin of the Qur'ān—cannot translate into differences in the methodological approaches to the same material, or into different criteria for the determination of its linguistic, historical, or geographical nature.[88]

At the level of teaching, the various institutes of Islamic Theological Studies in Germany have similar curricula, with differences resulting from their individual prioritization of the core disciplines and from the practical expectations of their immediate social environments. While the actual designations differ from university to university, the curricula of all newly-established centers include the study of Arabic, Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), dialectic theology (*kalām*), Islamic philosophy (*falsafa*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), ethics, Islamic history (including *sīra*, biographical literature about the Prophet Muḥammad), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), practical theology, and (religious) education studies.[89] In addition, all curricula include, albeit to varying degrees, interdisciplinary modules that introduce students to the study of Islam in other disciplines—religion studies, social studies and humanities—as well as to the basics of Christian and Jewish theologies. The teaching materials in classes are mostly from Islamic Studies publications in German and English, as well as primary sources in Arabic and other languages relevant to the individual subjects.

87 Engelhard, "On Insiderism and Muslim Epistemic Communities".

88 Ibid, 99–100.

89 Agai, "Introducing Islamic Theological Studies at German Universities", 188.

Such a curriculum that primarily focuses on the Islamic religious sciences does not leave much space for the wide range of topics and interests that have characterized the German *Islamwissenschaft* in its diverse variants and at various stages of its development.[90] At the same time, these traditions of religious knowledge have to be reflected upon and interpreted in the light of the current international state of research. In such a context, the traditional canons of disciplines and the curricula of educational institutions in the Islamic world cannot be taken as exemplary models for the Islamic Theological Studies either. Islamic theology in Germany has to find new modes of arranging Islamic religious disciplines within its own institutionalized framework, an endeavour that has been very time- and energy-consuming, and which is still an open-ended process. At the same time, a new arrangement of these disciplines would also offer a unique chance for the Islamic theology to uncover and re-evaluate intellectual traditions that have been historically marginalized or excluded from the canonized knowledge, either in particular Muslim cultural traditions or in the process of the establishment of religious orthodoxies. Research on these traditions produced in Islamic Studies and other disciplines are crucial for such reflections. The same holds true for such works from Islamic Studies that are dealing with social, historical, and cultural developments of Muslim communities and societies, fields which are beyond the scope of mere theological research. Islamic Theological Studies should take up these multiple approaches to Islam, including non-theological studies of the Islamic religion, and reflect on the way they affect their own production of meanings of "Islam" in the German context.

90 Over recent decades, German Islamic and Oriental Studies have dealt with their own history and methodological developments in a number of works; see Stefan Reichmuth, "Discourses of Orientalism? The Topicality of Islamic and Oriental Studies in Present-Day Germany", *Penser l'Orient. Traditions et actualité des orientalismes français et allemande*, ed. by Youssef Courbage and Manfred Kropp (Beirut, 2004), 129–45; Baber Johansen: "Islamic Studies. The Intellectual and Political Conditions of a Discipline", *Penser l'Orient*, 65–93; Stephan Conermann and Syrinx von Hees (eds), *Islamwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft. I. Historische Anthropologie—Ansätze und Möglichkeiten* (Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2007); Schöller, *Methode und Wahrheit in der Islamwissenschaft. Prolegomena.*

CHAPTER 15

Stefan Reichmuth's Wanderings in Arabicized and Islamized Yorubaland

Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre

It is a great pleasure to be given the opportunity to write an academic paper for a colleague, a friend who is like a blood brother and an intellectual running mate. We toured a good part of Germany together, from Bayreuth to Berlin, before the collapse of the Berlin Wall. We have traversed Ilorin then we moved to Tsaragi, Lafiagi and Pategi to the north of Ilorin and Iwo, Ibadan, Ikare and Lagos to the south. We drove in his Volkswagen car while in Germany, and in my Peugeot 504 saloon car while in Nigeria. It is our common research interests that have sustained our friendship for over three decades. Our mothers knew about our close ties and were pleased about this development when they were alive. He met my father but I was not as fortunate to meet his, Dr Reichmuth, a medical practitioner and an alumnus of the DAAD Award; he passed away long before Stefan and I met. I visited his house in Berlin where I met Stefan's mother, a very kind, reserved, generous and respectable lady.

To our siblings, we were like their brothers. For instance, I see his eldest brother David as my own older brother, while his immediate elder brother is about my age and always embraced me along with his family. Our spouses value each other, and they always gladly incorporated our itineraries and mutual visits into their own schedules.

Similarly, our children cultivated friendships at their own level. Johannes, Stefan's second son, was a friend of Alim, my third son, while Philipp, Stefan's eldest son, connected with Mumin, my first son. Franziska was close to Adenike, at a time when both of them were still very young. And when Johannes went to Accra (Ghana) about fifteen years ago on a German exchange program, he found it unthinkable not to visit us in Nigeria and see Alim again. Johannes had come to Nigeria with his parents when he was younger but this time he was able to find his way to Lagos by himself, where I picked him up and took him to Ilorin, to my family.

We also acquainted each other with our respective research networks. Through Stefan Reichmuth I became close to his Bayreuth colleagues Prof. Jamil Abu Nasr (who had taught Maghrib history at the University of Ibadan

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during my undergraduate days) and Prof. Jonathan Owens, as well as with Magdi Fouad who, like Stefan, then transferred to the Department of Oriental and Islamic Studies at Bochum University. On the other hand, Stefan became acquainted with my intellectual mentors Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory and Prof. Ismail Balogun, both of blessed memory.

Academic Friendship

I met Dr Stefan Reichmuth for the first time in 1984; by that time, I had presided over the Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (1974–75) and finished my doctoral training (1977–80) at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), with Professor Harry T. Norris as my main supervisor, Professor Jack Carnochan as a collaborative tutor, and the eminent critic and Africanist Prof. J.D. Peel (1941–2015)—at that time still based at the University of Liverpool—as external thesis advisor. Stefan had written his Ph.D. thesis on Arabic dialects in Sudan (where he had spent quite some time), and afterwards wanted to do his postdoctoral habilitation on Islam in Yorubaland. In 1984, he came to Ilorin, the city of scholars and saints, in the company of Professor Jamil Abu Nasr. This was how, by divine design, the two of us, two young Ph.D.s in Arabic and Islamic Studies, began our friendship. Stefan was collecting data for his habilitation, while I was enlarging the scope of my research to move on to the level of Senior Lecturer in Arabic, which I attained later that year. Through this academic cooperation between the Universities of Ilorin and Bayreuth I managed to get my manuscript, *Linguistic and Non-linguistic Aspects of Qur'an Translating to Yoruba,* published by Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim) in 1986; this book helped me gain promotion to the position of Reader in 1986. Stefan supported me immensely with this work by proof-reading it and reviewing the monograph for the publisher.

Prof. Jamil Abu Nasr generously supported the cooperation between Stefan and myself by recommending me for a three-month DAAD fellowship. During my time in Bayreuth (May–July 1987), Stefan was very busy improving his skills in the Yoruba language, and we developed more areas of joint research. At that time, I also completed my book on Arabic rhetoric.[1] Stefan, Gisela, their children and family were wonderful hosts, and saved me from homesickness.

1 Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, *Bayan in Arabic Rhetoric: An Analysis of the Components of the Core of Balaghah* (Ibadan: Intec, 1989).

And when Stefan came to Ilorin we spent a good time discussing my Ph.D. thesis, "The Contribution of the Yoruba to Arabic Literature".[2]

Stefan learned Yoruba using Rowland's *Teach Yourself Yoruba*, and as Yoruba is a tone language we spent some time polishing his intonation. For data collection, we travelled together far and wide in Yorubaland, and I assigned two of my students to him as research assistants. The first, the late Mallam Abdul Rashid Ayoade Bello (1949–2014), was my childhood friend and my student for Arabic at the undergraduate level, while the second Mallam, Badmas Lanre Yusuf (now a professor and Dean of Postgraduate School, University of Ilorin), was my student for Arabic and Islamic studies at undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

Stefan worked himself through the hierarchy of the Ilorin emirate, and established a friendship with the late emir of Ilorin and Chairman of the Kwara State Traditional Council, Alhaji Sulu Gambari, father of the present emir. The trust and confidence Stefan received was crucial for the success of his research in this country; the emir enjoys the complete loyalty of his Baloguns (the ward heads), the Magajis (lineal heads), the Imams (Imam Fulani, Imam Imale and Imam Gambari, the three recognized prayer-leaders in Ilorin city) and the scholars—together, these are the most important people in the Ilorin cosmos. When Stefan returned to Nigeria in 2012 for a conference, he was received by the present emir of Ilorin, His Royal Majesty Alhaji Ibrahim Sulu Gambari CFR, in my company; it was my friend, the-then Kwara State Grand Khadi of the Shari'a Court of Appeal, Hon. Justice Idris Abdullah Haroon, who facilitated this royal reception. The Emir saw in Stefan a friend of his late father, someone with whom he gladly wants to remain associated.

Stefan and I had our first joint publications in volume II of *Arabic Literature of Africa*, which was edited by the doyen of Arabic literature in West Africa, John O. Hunwick (1936–2015).[3] Along with three other colleagues from around the world, we served as his assistants in this publication. Two of our articles can be found in that volume. Our first contribution, "Ilorin and Nupe in the

2 Razaq 'D. Abubakre, *The Contribution of the Yoruba to Arabic Literature* (unpublished Ph.D.dissertation, 2 vols, University of London, 1980). A substantial part of this thesis formed the nucleus to which more information was added in Razaq 'D. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South Western Nigeria* (Iwo, Nigeria: Darul-ilm, 2004).

3 Stefan Reichmuth and Razaq 'D. Abubakre, "Ìlorin and Nupe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in J.O. Hunwick (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. ii, *The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 439–92; Reichmuth and Abubakre, "Ibadan Lagos and Other Areas of Southern Nigeria", in Hunwick (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. ii, 493–549.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", is a comprehensive anthology of Arabic Literature, with biographical and philological annotations as well as references on the whereabouts of the relevant manuscripts. The second contribution was on "Ibadan, Lagos and Other Areas of Southern Nigeria". In this, we argued that the bulk of this area's literary production came from the coast and the Yoruba hinterland. The special place of Lagos was due to the city's previous status as the capital of Nigeria, which housed various Arab embassies. This phenomenon stimulated Arabic scholarship: through the links between the Arab embassies and Arabic schools, Yorubaland became a center of Islamic learning through the activities of the multi-talented and prolific writer, teacher, and preacher Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory (1917–92), who established his famous educational institution, the Arabic and Islamic Training Centre ("Markaz") in Abeokuta in 1952, from where he moved it to Agege, Lagos, in 1954.[4] In our joint work, Stefan Reichmuth relied on the manuscripts he had collected during his work between 1984 and 1995, while I used what I had brought together in my Ph.D. research, with additions from expeditions across the length and breadth of Yorubaland between 1980–95.

Our third joint research project was the product of my 1996 sojourn with Stefan at the Institute for Oriental and Arabic Studies (and Indology, back then) at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, again thanks to a three-month DAAD fellowship. By that time, Stefan had taken the Chair of Islamic Studies, and, while the scope of his teaching and research widened significantly (including into Eastern Europe), we continued writing together on Arabic literature from Yorubaland.[5] At that time, I worked on Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory and his interreligious dialogue.[6] Our joint work during this study-visit was "Arabic Writing between Global and Local Cultures: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland".

In 2012, Stefan Reichmuth was invited to give a keynote address at the International Conference on the Life and Works of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory, which took place at the University of Ilorin in August that year. His paper "Shaykh Adam as I Came to Know Him: Memories of an Islamologist"

4 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamische Bildung und Emanzipation der Muslime -- Šaiḫ Adam al-Iluri, Nigeria, und seine Schriften", *Die Welt des Islams*30 (1990), 201–10.

5 Razaq ʿD. Abubakre and Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Writing between Global and Local Culture: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland (Southwestern Nigeria)", *Research in African Literatures* 28.3 (1997), 183–209.

6 Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, "Inter-Religious Dialogue as Preached by a Nigerian Scholar: The Activities of Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Iluri", *Centrepoint*: *The University of Ilorin's Journal of Intellectual and Scientific Research* 7.2 (1997), 189–221.

was extremely well delivered, and the bilingual audience demanded that he present it both in Arabic and English.[7]

Specific Studies

In my research published in 1983, I argued that, despite the function of Hausa as a trade language for a great part of West Africa and its early contact with Islam, not all Arabic loan words could have come into Yoruba via Hausa. Instead, I drew attention to the fact that the Mandé and Songhay languages also played a role in transmitting Arabic words to Yoruba. Their trade and cultural contacts with Yoruba antedated British colonial rule in West Africa. One piece of evidence for this influence is the fact that, in Yoruba, Islam is known as Imale, attributing their religion to the people of Mali. Furthermore, two other Nigerian languages are also capable of transmitting Arabic loan words into Yoruba: these are Nupe (spoken by the Yoruba's Islamized neighbors) and Kanuri (which is the major Borno language).[8] One factor speaking for the Kanuri influence on Islamic terms in the Yoruba language is that, prior to the 19th-century *jihād* of the Fodio family, itinerant Kanuri teachers and preachers contributed to the efflorescence of Islamic learning in Yorubaland. This scenario contributed to the Islamic hegemony in Ilorin, with the Kanuri leader Alfa Solagberu of Okesuna ("Quarter of tradition of Prophet Muḥammad") at its heart. Indeed, many lineages in Yorubaland have their origins going back to the Kanuri land. The first of the three most important personalities in the Islamic history of Ilorin has Kanuri roots: Solagberu (d. 1825); Shaykh Alim b. Junta (popularly known as Alfa Alimi, 1745–1823, of Fulani origin), and the third is the latter's friend and host Afonja (d. 1824, who was of Yoruba background), the Are-Ona Kankafo Supreme Commander (Generalissimo) of the Oyo Empire at the beginning of the 19th century.

Another piece of evidence for this influence is the existence of some Arabic loan-words in Yoruba that do not exist in Hausa; there are still others that are more corrupted in Hausa speech than they are in Yoruba. Stefan's 1988

7 Stefan Reichmuth, "Shaykh Adam as I came to Know Him—Memories of an Islamologist", in Razaq ʿD. Abubakre (ed.), *Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality* (University of Ilorin Library: Nigerian Centre for Arabic Research in Riyadh, 2012), vol. 2, 9–18.

8 Razaq ʿD. Abubakre, "Aspects of the Diffusion of Arabic to Yoruba", *NATAIS: Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 2.4 (1983), 5–18, p. 12.

study on Songhay loanwords in Yoruba[9] widened research into the diffusion of Arabic words and other Islamic terms into Yoruba, and the identification of cases of convergence and borrowing among many language groups in West Africa. Table 1 (below) shows convergences due to historical factors, as well as instances of borrowing among a dozen West African languages, with regards to terms from religion, commerce, personal status, and military and social registers. All the examples were taken from Stefan's study; I have just added the English translations and the Arabic sources that Stefan did not include in his German-language paper.

Professor Reichmuth's 1998 *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800* has arguably been the most incisive piece of research on Islam in Ilorin,[10] at least before October 2015 when a compendium of Arabic scholarship in Ilorin was put together by the Kwara State University, Malete, Nigeria.[11]

Stefan submitted his thesis in 1992 after traversing every corner and alley of the city. The length, breadth, and depth of his research is manifested in Table 2 (below), in which I list all the quarters, wards, and divisions that Stefan mentioned in his monograph; it took me some time to compile this list, and I consulted a number of academic colleagues and politicians to identify the locations in relation to the different ward heads and lineal heads.

I have added some place names (marked with an asterisk); these toponyms do not surface in Stefan's book directly, although they were definitely covered in his fieldwork. One cultural hotbed for scholarship and learning in Ilorin is Ile-Isale Koto. This place housed Alfa Prince Abubakar Aremo of Ikirun Kingdom (Osun State, Nigeria) who had left his parents, the Akirun of Ikirun, as an infant, with the goal of studying Islam; he attached himself to an itinerant Fulani preacher from whom he learned the Fulfulde language, and returned to Ilorin to teach the princes and succeeding Imam Fulanis in Ilorin, as well as bureaucrats and clerics within the new Islamic socio-political hegemony. Ile-Isale Koto was also the location of the Arabic Daru'l-'Ulum, established in the early

9 Stefan Reichmuth, "Songhay-Lehnwörter in Yoruba und ihr historischer Kontext", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 9 (1988), 269–99.

10 Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin* (*Nigeria*) *seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT, 1998).

11 M.M. Jimba and I.S. Otukoko, *Ulama' Al-Imarah* (*Scholars of the Emirate*) (Malete: Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, 2015). This work was reviewed by the present writer on October 3, 2015, when it was presented to the public at the Kwara State Banquet Hall, Ilorin, Nigeria.

TABLE 1 *The channels of diffusion of Arabic in West African languages*

Ar.	Engl.	Yoruba	Timbuktu	Songhay	Dendi	Zarma
al-faqih	cleric	alùfáà			alfa	alfa
qaraʾa	read	kéwú	cew	kew	kew	caw
khatta	writing	hàntú			hantum	hantum
lawh	slate	wàláà			walaham	
kitab	book	tírà			tiira	
qalam	pen	gègé			kalam	
sawm	fasting	ààwẹ̀	awe			
sadaqa	charity	sàráà	sara		a sara	
zakat	alms	sàká	aldyakka			dyukka
waʿz	preaching	ìwàásù		wa:zu	wa:zu	wa:zu
darih	tomb	sàréè	sarey			
muslim	muslim	ìmàle	male	maale		
sabr	patience	sùúrù	subur			
hanun	kindness	àánú			alahaana	alhane
laʿana	curse /rebuke	láálí		laala	analaali	lala
al-aql	intelligence	làákàyè/ làákàré		lakkal	la:kali	la:kal-lakkal
	girl	wúndíá	hondia	hondiya	honniya	wendiya
	ranch	gàá	ga			
				bari	bali	bari
ar-rikab	religious gown	àlùkímbà		alcebu	alco:mu-akemmu	alcabu
al-mal	wealth	àlùmọ́nʾnì		alma	alnani	alman
adh-dhahab	gold	wúrà			ura	ura
mirʾat	mirror	dígí	didyi		diji	diji
hoshish	tobacco	aʾsáà	sira			

Banbara	Goundam	Gao	Kanuri	Nupe	Hausa	Fulfulde
		alfa				
		cew				
	hantum			elo		
walaha	wallaha	walha	allo		allo	alluha
		tira		alikalami		
	kalam	kalam	alkalam		alkalami	
	hawey	hawey	asham	sadaka	azumi	suma
	sara	sarga	sadaqa	zanka	sadaka	sadaka
jaka	jakka	azuka	zakka	wazun	zakka	jakka
waaju		wazu		kosia	waʿazi	waju
	sarey	sara	kavar		kabari	habrire
mori	male			hankuri	malle	
sabali		suru		yeguntosayi	hakuri	munyal
hine		alahanan			jinkai	hinna
	lali	lali	lanna	hankali	la ʿana	lana
hakili		lakal	angal		la ʿakari	hakili
		hondiaw		ruga		
ga	ga	ga			ruga	
	bari	bari				
		alkyebo				
		alma	l'man			
		ura/wura				
	digi/diji	diji		tabaruku		
		sira			taba	taba

TABLE 2 *Names of quarters, wards, and divisions visited by Stefan in Ilorin*

Balogun Ajikobi (Ward Head)	**Balogun Alanamu (Ward Head)**	**Balogun Gambari (Ward Head)**	**Balogun Fulani (Ward Head)**	**The Magajis (Lineal Heads)**
Ile Alaaya, 160	Ile Omomeji, 106, 155	Ile Baruba, 26, 60	Ile Dongari, 169	Magaji Agbadamu, 25, 27
Ile Alase, 25	Ile Ajongolo, 166	Ile Gbagba, 109ff., 128, 164, 282, 357, 359ff., 362, 366	Ile Asunnara*	Magaji Are, 29ff., 48, 60, 75ff., 91, 186, 336
Ile Bature, 105, 109 163	Ile Mekabara, 105	Ile Pataki, 105	Ile Baboko*	Magaji Kobiowu, 185
Ile Ila, 201	Ile Oni Nahwu, 105	Ile Soro, 115ff.	Ile Belgore*	Magaji Kuntu, 31, 55, 63, 160
Ile Iwo, 119, 127, 161f., 356, 359	Ile Tejidini, 154	Ile Zabura, 111, 156	Ile Erubu*	Magaji Oju Ekun, 51f., 54, 60f.
Ile Baba Sare, 164	Ile Oloyin, 109, 128, 161ff.	Ile Alabidun*	Ile Galadiman Geri*	Magaji Okaka, 29, 63, 154
Ile Solagberu, 105	Ile Asileke, 156	IIe Ayunre*	Ile Isale Koto*	Magaji Oke Ogun, 104
Ile Saura, 164f., 166	Ile Afa Adamo*	Ile Bube*	Ile Sakamo*	Magaji Oyalu, 185
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Ile Banni*				
Ile Koro*				
Ile Omoleyin*				

1960s by Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory in cooperation with the Committee of Islamic Scholars in Ilorin, under the direction of Emir Sulu Gambari.

Next to his book, Stefan shed light on important aspects of Nigerian Islam in a number of articles. For instance, in his 1996 "Education and Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims: The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria",[12] he analyzed the activities of Muslims in the establishment of schools since colonial times; this he did without neglecting the pristine precision of Islam, the promotion of learning in Occidental and Oriental traditions, and the restoration of justice in the inception of schools based on firm principles of justice where pupils would not be brow-beaten to repudiate their Islamic faith. Remarkably, for this piece, Stefan studied research essays and first degree projects produced at the Universities of Ibadan and of Ilorin, among many other research sources. His paper traces the steady growth of the young Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, in which Muslims returning from Sierra-Leone (Saro)[13] and Brazil (Aguda) played a major role, as well as the story behind the magnificent mosque that a Saro Merchant, Muḥammad ("William") Shitta Bey, completed in Lagos in 1894. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Yoruba Muslims were attracted to everything European in general, and British in particular; the country was ruled by foreigners, with some Muslims, at that time, returning to the region from abroad. Thus, when Muḥammad Shitta completed the construction of the above-mentioned mosque in 1894, he invited the Ottoman Sultan Abdülḥamīd II to the opening ceremony. In response, the Sultan conferred the Ottoman title of Bey on him, and sent a Muslim lawyer from Liverpool, Abdullah Quilliam, to represent him at the event. The euphoria of having a British Muslim lawyer coming to represent the Ottoman Sultan made many Muslims interested in Western education. After the opening of the Shitta Bey Mosque, a society of young men was established, called *Egbe Kila*; this name probably goes back to that prominent Muslim visitor, Abdullah Quilliam. This society became very popular in Lagos and other towns, and it was from this Lagos Central Mosque that the Ansar-Ud-Deen emerged in the third decade of the twentieth century.

12 Stefan Reichmuth, "Education and the Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims—the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26 (1996), 365–405.

13 Saro denotes the whole of Sierra Leone in Yoruba; thus, the freed people who came to Lagos were referenced by where they were coming from. Aguda, in Yoruba, means a Catholic (i.e. a white man, a missionary, who is differentiated from the British colonial officer or merchant who is referred to in Yoruba as Geesi).

In his article, Professor Reichmuth also focused on some of the most prominent members of the Ansar-Ud-Deen; with remarkable dexterity, he discussed Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola, the presumed winner of the presidential election in Nigeria of June 12, 1993, who was robbed of his victory by the military rulers under General Ibrahim Babangida. Among the many other Nigerian personalities who were Ansar-Ud-Deen members, Stefan referred to Lateef Okunnu (Federal Commissioner for Works under Yakubu Gowon), his wife Lateefat Okunnu (who became Deputy Governor of Lagos State) and Lateef Jakande (a disciple of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who, in 1979, was elected Governor of Lagos State under the banner of the Unity Party of Nigeria UPN). Stefan also mentioned that Alhaji Lateef Okunnu was the Vice-Legal Adviser of the National Party of Nigeria, a rival party to the UPN in the 1970s. Individuals belonging to one religious organization could thus have different political leanings.

From Our Academic Correspondence

Stefan's positive personal attitude to people and his total commitment to academic endeavors are clear from all our correspondence. Stefan sent me a letter of celebration when he learnt that I was visiting Rome for the 1990 conference of the International Association for the History of Religions,[14] where I was elected to represent Africa both on the executive side of the organization and as a member of the editorial board for its journal *NVMEN, International Review for the History of Religions*. Two matters arose from this episode—one demonstrating Stefan's kindness, generosity, and empathy, and the other purely academic, being a nice illustration of our collaboration. What follows is from his letter to me on October 5, 1990:

> Jimoh Saka, the watchman who caught the boy who had burgled my room, asked for some assistance for his marriage which he was about to conduct. Is it possible for you to take about N1000 naira from my account with you and give it to him? He works in the Security Division, Mini Campus, and I think you have met him. He also gave me information about prayers and recipes connected with surat Yasin, and has a strong

14 The proceedings of which were published in U. Bianchi et al. (eds), *The Notion of "Religion" in Comparative Research. Selected Proceedings of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 3rd–8th September 1990* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994).

> background of traditional Islamic education. He also asked me whether I could help him to get a scholarship or a job for a brother of his who finished his degree in Economics at Unilorin and also holds a Diploma in Public Relation. Unfortunately he was not able to get accepted for a Master's Degree. Perhaps you could ask and see whether there is anything which we can do. I hope I do not bother you too much with these things, but I still feel obliged to Jimoh and I found him a very upright man. I will wait for your answer before I write him.

Another letter from Stefan, which is representative of many others, suffices to make an allusion to the level of our academic interaction:

> Thank you, too, for answering my question concerning *adab* and *iwa* [character]. It confirmed my impression about the close relationship between the two. For Taju l-Adab [Muḥammad Jum'a Alabi, 1885–1923], both literary and ethical aspects were obviously linked. As I was informed, he chose that name for himself. I think that this linkage is part of a more general cultural change among Yoruba Muslims during the colonial period, and I am now trying to put all aspects of this change together. Scholars like Omo Ikokoro [Ahmad b. Abibakr, 1870–1936] and Wazir Bida [Muḥammad Aturkumami, 1883–1945] were particularly important for it, as well as the preachers who used Arabic stories for their sermons; to some extent also the Sufi Brotherhoods. Thus Arabic was accepted both as an ethical and an aesthetical form, even before the new Arabic schools were founded.
>
> This brings me to some *Kò, kéwú, kò bèèrè*'s Wákà songs [a famous itinerant Ilorin preacher in Yorubaland who was recognized by this clause taken from his *waka* meaning "how can one who neither learns Arabic to read Islam, nor asks questions about Islam, obtain salvation"?] which we recorded together from his nephew, the old Àlùfáà [a generation of the *Kò kéwú kò bèèrè* who passed on towards the end of the twentieth century].[18] I have a question about the meaning of the verb *là* which he seems to have used quite frequently. I have the following two poems in mind; first his standard one from which he got his nickname:
>
> *Kò kéwú kò bèèrè* [One who does not study (Islam) nor asks questions about it][15]
>
> *Báwo* (*ni yóò*) *ti se là* [How can he obtain salvation?]

15 Translations added by R.D. Abubakre.

And also this one with which he used to address a pagan audience:

Olórun jẹ́ (k)ẹ́ le gbà [May God let you accept (the message)]

Olórun jẹ́ (k)ẹ́ le bàá là (<*la,ola*) [May God let you do so in order for you to get salvation.]

Now it is not clear to me whether he meant "salvation, security, healing" or "wealth". Somebody in Ibadan from whom I asked about it (also Yoruba Muslim) tended more to the side of this-worldly reward, saying that there was (and still is) a connection of well-being/wealth and Islam in popular opinion. Could it be that both aspects of *là* are intended and in general cannot be separated in the Yoruba setting? I get that impression from reading what Peel has to say about *Aláàdúrà* Christians and their attitude to prayer.[16] There are also descriptions of popular Muslim preachers during the colonial period, well dressed and eloquent, some of them distributing small gifts to their audience. This confirms the impression further.

I also want to ask whether my transcription and translation of the next waka are correct:

Ká fi ìgbẹ́ sọsẹ

Ká fi ìtọ somi

Ká láa fọsọ

Bee ni sakaa a-gbe-le eda (<*eni+ti+n+gba+ele*)

As if we use faeces as soap,

as if we use urine as water,

as if we wash our clothes in it (What is the meaning of *là* in this context?),

such is a (payment of) Zakat for somebody who takes interest/usury.

Is the pronunciation (s) instead of (ṣ) typical for Ilorin, or is it a free variant?

The quotation from his letter adequately reflects his deep involvement in his research, his enquiring mind, and what a powerful debater he is. My response was as follows:

16 [See for instance J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba* (Oxford University Press, 1968); J.D.Y. Peel, "Syncretism and Religious Change", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10.2 (1968), 121–141; and J.D.Y. Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 37.3 (1967), 292–306.].

I am always with you in your working through the hills of Ilorin past and present and wish that I could be anything nearer to you for our usual discussions as your writing progresses. But God Almighty is always there to inspire you and to lead your mind and hand to a resounding success. I was delighted to learn about Gisela's breakthrough in her allergy investigations and resolution. I was particularly glad that she has been getting a good hearing from her colleagues at conferences on her successes in the area of therapeutic medicine. My love goes to all the children, Philipp who I am sure is doing well at his secondary school, Johannes who I am pleased is doing well and also the fascinating Francisca. I hope that you hear from your brothers and sister from Berlin and especially from mum. We rejoice with you on the amalgamation of the West and East Germany. It will go a long way to ease tension and reunite families.

My trip to Rome was particularly thrilling and an eye opener. I visited the Vatican City and adored the structure of the St Peter's Basilica as well as the devotion of the pilgrims to the place. My paper was well received at the conference; I also served on the African Sub-committee for making the association to get a firm footing in Africa. I am saddled with the responsibility of organizing West and North Africa. I also get elected into the executive of the association for the next five years.

Yes, I invited Jimoh Saka concerning his request of you to establish a good knowledge of him before I get back to you. He has convinced me that he was the same man who assisted in the recovery of your money while you were here. I have also let him know that you would like to assist him with the sum of one thousand Naira. He gave me an impression that he would need the money partly for his wedding and for some material. He wanted that the sum of N500 could be given to him in the third week of November and the rest in December. If your plan remains unchanged, i.e. if I do not hear the contrary, I shall give him N500 on 23rd of November and he will have the other N500 in the third week of December.

Concerning your question on the use of *là* as a verb intransitive in the *waka* of *Kò,-kéwú,- kò-bèèrè*. I am afraid the word in the Yoruba Islamic setting means salvation. Considering the thinking of the purveyor of the word and his target audience as well as the subject matter, there is no doubt that the intended meaning is salvation. The sense of the term as employed in the two examples of

Kò, kéwú, kò bèèrè
báwo ni ó ti sè là

and

Olórun jẹ́ (k)ẹ́ le gbà
Olórun jẹ́ (k)ẹ́ le bàálà
are both intended to mean salvation from punishment in hell fire.

However, a person who is not a devout Muslim may miss the intended meaning in view of clash of notions between this and the Yoruba word, *ọlà*, *ọlá* may be a compliment to *ọlà,* which means wealth while *ọlá* means honour. A sentence as the following can be generated:

Okùnrin naà ti là, ó ní ọlá àti ọlà

The man is already rich, he has honour and wealth.

This clash of notions is understandable since the idea of *jahannam* is not emphasized in the Yoruba cosmos. With the coming of Islam and Christianity the word *là*[17] when employed has shifted its meaning especially in the preaching milieu. But when it is used in prayers for worldly things, it can be as follows:

Olórun là wá (May God save us)
Olórun jẹ́ kí á là ní ayé (May God make us prosper in this world)
Olórun jé kí ẹ gbó kí e le bàá là (May God make you listen (to preaching) so that you may be safe from hell fire)

Please find the transcription of the *wákà* text you asked as below:

Ká fi ìgb"ẹ ṣ(e) ose
Ká fi ìtọ̀ ṣ(e) omi
Ká láà fọ (a)sọ
Bee ni Sakaa agbele eda

Your translation was correct.

The meaning of *láà* in that context is "say". It is from *ní a foso* "to say we wash a cloth".

Since nasal vowel goes with n and oral vowel goes with *l*, in Yoruba the *ní* becomes *lá* owing to vowel harmony of *i* in *ní* with the pronominal vowel *à* that follows it.

To some Yoruba speakers, especially the Oyo and Ilorin as well as Offa, the sounds (s) and (ṣ) are free variants, but in actual orthography and sound system they are distinct sounds.

17 [*là* is an intransitive verb from which the noun *ọlà* was generated, both of which, as discussed in the text, could mean either salvation or wealth depending on context.].

A Final Glimpse at Our Work: How to Investigate Yoruba Poetry Composed Along Arabic Rules

One significant impact of Arabic beyond its speaking communities in the world is how vernaculars were adapted to the Arabic script. The general term for the Arabic script used for other languages is *ʿajami*. In the early days of Islam this term referred to the "barbarian" languages, and especially to Persian; but soon it came to subsume all other (Muslim) languages written in Arabic script. This shift in meaning was facilitated by Prophet Muḥammad, who decreed that there is no preference for an Arab over a non-Arab, except by excellence through deeds of righteousness.

The literature of Yorubaland includes many prose works, especially in the form of *ʿajami* Yoruba glosses related to difficult terms in Arabic manuscripts. These developed into full-length Yoruba narratives in *ʿajami* script. The culmination of this development came with Badamasi (d. c. 1891), an Ilorin Muslim scholar from Ile Saura, Agbaji, Balogun Ajikobi Ward, who was one of the first people to produce Yoruba poetry in Arabic script; moreover, Badamasi even tried to conform to the prosodic rules of Arabic to enhance the mnemonic power of his verse. Because of the lack of uniform rules and the absence of consensus on Yoruba orthography among the users of the *ʿajami* script, it is difficult even for a trained scholar to read such passages. According to a Yoruba cliché, "it is the author of an *ʿajami* text who can understand it best".

In order to reveal the full meaning of Badamasi's texts, Stefan Reichmuth and myself listened to the recital of his poetry from the mouth of Shaykh Abu Bakr al-Siddiq b. Salah al-Din, who was born in 1914 at Alore, in Balogun Ajikobi Ward, and is known as Imam Agbarigidomo:[18]

Badamaṣi

Yoruba text:

1. Bísímí láhì ràmánì ràhímì * l'a ó fi ṣe wákà yìí kó lè bá lálùbáríkà kó lè dára #
2. Kó si leè ní bayani kó lè yéwa * ẹni táwa n perí náà kó má yée wa dára #
3. Àsàlátù wa salamu lọ́dọ̀ Ọlọ́run * kó pọ̀ ti yóò máa ba aṣáájú ẹrú Rẹ #
4. Mo ronu wákà yìí nítorí orí mi * Kí n dupe oore òpọ̀ t'Ó ṣe fún mi tó pọ̀ tá ò le kà (tán) nítorí ẹrú Rẹ #

18 Reichmuth and Abubakre, "Ìlorin and Nupe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", 461.

5. Ati torí ìmàle okùnrin obìnrin * àwa ti gbộ́kàn le sayidi liwára #
6. Ó ṣe mí ní Ìmale o ní Ìmàle ó bí mi * wọn sì bí mi sọ́na aṣaju ẹrú Rẹ #
7. Ó se ì jẹ, ó ṣe ìmu fémi fáwa * tí o já lẹ́ẹ́kán nítorí ẹruú Rẹ #
8. (K)ò fi mí sínú irú ẹlòmîì * kò sì j'ójú ó tìmí ò ṣe mi dára #
9. Mo tọrọ lọ́dọ̀ Rẹ (k)Ó forí jì mí * àti ìyá àti bàbá bó da lahíra #
10. Ó bùn mí ni mímọ̀ à mọ́ ìmọ̀ kò ló pin * ó kù hikima too bùn mí nítorí ẹrú Rẹ #
11. la ilaha illa llahu afi símí lẹ́nu * emí wí musèrí to ba dà àlahira #
12. Ó yọ mí níbi ọna ṣaitániya * Ó sì ní wá rìnna sayidi lìwára #
13. Olórí ojú ọna sọ́dọ Olórun * ẹni tó bá riín tée kú iṣẹ́ ẹ̀ dára #
14. Ẹni tó bá kọ tí ò rin ín tí kú fi wá ba * inú náà ni ó gbìtẹ́ sayidi lìwáa
15. A sọna ni ó wa bíwọn aní ibo ẹ tí wá * tó mú yín máa rù tojú ẹyin o dára #
16. Won a ní bẹ́ẹ̀ni ookú Maliki * iwa wá ló fawá débi ti ó dára #

Translation:

1. In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, shall we compose this poem for it to be blessed and excellent,
2. For it also to be explicit and clear to us, the One in Whose name we began should make our life successful.
3. May the Peace and Blessings from God in abundance be with the leader of His servants [Prophet Muḥammad].
4. I considered composition of this poem for the advantage of my soul, as a token for the appreciation of many blessings He bestowed on me, which are ever unending and uncountable because of His servant [Prophet Muḥammad].
5. I also composed it for the benefit of Muslims, male and female, we all depend on the leader of mankind [Prophet Muḥammad].
6. He (God) made me a Muslim, and He decreed that my parents should be Muslims. So I was born onto the path of the Leader of His servants.
7. He (God) made provision for what to eat and what to drink for me, which are unceasing once at any time, because of His Servant.
8. He did not make me to be among some other people; He never led me to shame, He made my life cute.
9. I beseech Him to forgive me [my sins], and [the sins of] my mother as well as of my father on the Last Day [of Judgment].
10. He endowed me with knowledge, but there is no limit for knowledge; it remains wisdom You will give me in consideration of Your Servant [Prophet Muḥammad].
11. "There is no god but God" is what has been put on my tongue so that I will employ it as a testimony on the Last Day.

12. He rescued me from the path of Satan, He gifted me to follow the path of the leader of mankind.
13. The major road to reach God, whoever followed it until death will have his work accepted as excellent.
14. [But] whoever refused to toe it until death catches up with him, he will end up in hell fire, [so says] the Leader of mankind.
15. The hell warden will ask them: where are you from? That you are so lean and you are not good looking.
16. They will say: Yes O Malik [Hell keeper]! It was our deeds that led us to this unpleasant place.

It is striking that the poet Badamasi employed the term *Olorun* when referring to God, which literally means "Sky God".[19] The Yoruba *'ulama'* have come to a consensus that this term is not appropriate, as it denotes an anthropomorphic notion of God, as if other realms besides the sky could belong to any other being other than the one and only God. The Muslim World League, in its Yoruba translation of the *Meanings of the Glorious Qur'an*, decided to change this primordial term *Olorun* to *Olohun*.[20]

This extract from Badamasi, with its clear ethical and Islamic theological storyline, attracted Stefan's interest as if he were contemporary with the original audience for which it was composed. Stefan would bother me with it wherever we were together in Ilorin or Bayreuth. My own interest was in how the composers of Arabic poetry in this literary enclave complied (or failed to comply) with the prosodic rules of Arabic, rather than by the attempt of Badamasi to domesticate the Arabic prosodic rules in his Yoruba poetry. Stefan's deep interest in Badamasi's Arabic-script Yoruba poems and their prosody is another testimony to his total commitment to Yoruba Islam.[21]

19 Razaq 'D. Abubakre, *Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Aspects of Qur'an Translating to Yoruba* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1986).

20 Olohun means that God has the right of repercussion over human beings, that He is the One Who controls the consequences of human actions in relation to His laws. It also sounds like a rendering of Allah in Yoruba, but in view of the phonemic nasal syllable in the word this is not the case.

21 For his commitment to Ilorin Arabic and Islamic scholarship, see also S. Reichmuth, "A Sacred Community: Scholars, Saints and Emirs in a Prayer Text from Ilorin", *Sudanic Africa: A Journal of Historical Sources* 6 (1995), 35–54.

Conclusions

Let me finish this perusal of Stefan's work by pointing to a very different stream in his oeuvre. In 2009, he published his masterpiece on the famous Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91).[22] In this monograph, entitled *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī: Life, Networks and Writings*, Stefan expounds the academic and literary standing of this hybrid scholar, an Indian by birth, a Yemeni by education as well as *nisba*, and a Cairene by choice, for it was in Egypt that he enjoyed a successful and enviable career. Stefan devoted much time and space to the excellence of this author in the field of lexicography, which he rated as outstanding not only during his time in Egypt, but also as second to none in its coverage of Arabic dictions. In 2012, Stefan continued this line of investigation in a chapter on "Humanism in Islam between Mysticism and Literature", published in a conference volume that he also co-edited.[23] In this chapter of 2012, Stefan focused on al-Zabīdī's investigation of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, a work on ethics and Islamic mysticism.

Here, Stefan provided an insight into his mind, and expressed his conviction as a scholar. The topic of the conference and of the volume that ensued was whether or not Islam and human rights are reconcilable. In the Islamic discourse, this question is related to the issue of whether in the Islamic cosmology, non-Muslims can enter Paradise. To Stefan, any attempt along the direction of those polemics will be futile. He says:

> The main objection to such attempts arises from the difficulty to prescribe respect for human dignity by legal or political means. To a large extent such respect remains bound to the credibility and reliability of human relations and more to their mutuality. He who denies this dignity to others, for dogmatic or ideological reasons or out of a feeling of personal or collective superiority, only endangers his own position in a globalizing world. The task remains for all to enhance this culture of mutual respect and to give it some institutional grounding. The humanist potentials, which were developed and brought to considerable flowering

22 Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91). Life, Networks, and Writings* (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009).

23 Stefan Reichmuth, "Humanism in Islam between Mysticism and Literature", *Humanism and Muslim Culture. Historical Heritage and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Jörn Rüsen, Aladdin Sarhan (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012), 115–26.

> by Muslim societies in the course of their history should not, however, be underestimated in the political and social tensions and conflicts of today.[24]

As we all know, the ideal of contemporary scholarship at universities across the globe is collaborative and interdisciplinary research. This roadmap was designed for Stefan and myself by sheer providence, and we have maintained our collaboration over three decades, without interruption, boredom, or counterproductivity. Instead, it blossoms with time, it is rejuvenated through commonality of interest and matures like old wine. I hope that my account has been a true mirror of Stefan Reichmuth, a reflection that only a true friend can present: two scholars from different continents and different religious backgrounds can remain faithful to each other in spite of their obvious differences in race, language and color. Reading our joint publications will reveal this; in each of them it is difficult to discern the contribution of one author from the other. As a token of recognition for this intimate academic relationship between the two of us, my colleagues at the Department of Arabic at the University of Ilorin, Nigeria, adopted Professor Stefan Reichmuth as one of the editorial board members of the *Alimi: Journal of Arabic Studies*, the first edition of which came out as this paper was being concluded, on September 7, 2015. Stefan deserves all the honors for being a hard worker, a humane, well-rounded and unassuming scholar. Stefan of Ilorin, Nigeria; Stefan of Germany; nay, Stefan of Islamology.

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24 Ibid., 125.

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