



## Arabic Literature of the North Caucasian Naqshbandiyya in the 19th Century

Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī's Treatise al-Ādāb al-Marḍiyya  
fi l-Ṭarīqa al-Naqshbandiyya and Its Khālidiyya Tendencies

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### Abstract

This article analyses the Sufi treatise *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya fi l-ṭarīqa al-naqshbandiyya* written by the Daghestanian Naqshbandī shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī (d. 1866/67), the Sufi master, companion and father-in-law of Imām Shāmīl (d. 1871). After providing an outline of the life and activities of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn I will examine the concepts, persons, and practices treated in his *Ādāb* which not only provide valuable insights regarding the mystical orientation of the Sufi shaykh, but the North Caucasian Naqshbandiyya during the anti-Russian *jihād* movement in the 19th century. My aim is to illustrate that this document indicates no or in a minor degree references to the Khālidiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya. This leads me to the assumption that in the case of the Daghestanian Naqshbandiyya in the 19th century, we have a premature, i.e. not developed form of the Khālidiyya.

### Keywords

Imām Shāmīl – Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī – *jihād* – Khālidiyya – Muridism – North Caucasian Naqshbandiyya – Sufi concepts and practices – Sufism

### 1 Introduction

Western academics who conduct research on the Caucasus generally assume that the Khālidiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order played an important role in the 19th century Daghestanian—Chechnian resistance war against Russia and characterized its political and intellectual direction. Derived from

the concept of “Muridism”,<sup>1</sup> it is believed that the Naqshbandiyya–Khālidiyya supplied the ideology as well as the social network of the anti-Russian *jihād* movement in 1828/29–1859, led by the three Imāms; Ghāzī Muḥammad (d. 1832), Ḥamzat Bek (d. 1834) and Shāmīl (d. 1871).<sup>2</sup> Contrary to this popular view Michael Kemper has argued that the spiritual and intellectual connection of the Daghestanian Sufis to the Khālidiyya was “not particularly present” and the Naqshbandiyya in Daghestan was just “weakly” linked to its Khālidiyya branch from the Near East in the 19th century.<sup>3</sup>

The inclusion of local Arabic written source material dating back to the 19th century creates a differentiated view of stereotypic conceptions such as “Muridism” and enables a critical investigation regarding the nature of the North Caucasian *jihād* movement.<sup>4</sup> One of the most important Sufi

- 1 This term (Russ.: *muridizm*) implies the ideology of the 19th century North Caucasian struggle for freedom. Its actors were perceived firstly by tsarist Russian historiographers like Prushanovskiy (d. 1843), Khanikov (d. 1847) and Kazem–Bek (d. 1859) as adherents—*murīds*—of the Naqshbandiyya, and were considered as militant, *sharī'a*-oriented, fanatic, and “orthodox”. For this concept and its formation see e.g. Marie Broxup, “Caucasian Mūrīdism in Soviet Historiography,” in *Jemaledīn of Kazikumukh. Al-Adab ul-Marziya. Naqshbandi Treaty. Arabic Text—Russian Translation* (Oxford: Society for Central Asian Studies. Reprint Series No. 10, 1986), 5–17; Alexander Knysh, “Sufism as an Explanatory Paradigm: the Issue of the Motivations of Sufi Resistance Movements in Western and Russian Scholarship,” *Die Welt des Islams* 42 (2002): 139–73; Michael Kemper, *Herrschaft, Recht und Islam in Daghestan. Von den Khanaten und Gemeindefürsten zum gīhād-Staat* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005), 14f; 265f. Several recent publications deal with Soviet and Post-Soviet Oriental studies and historical narratives about the Caucasus, e.g. Moshe Gammer and Vera Kaplan, “Post-Soviet Narratives on the Conquest of the Caucasus,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 61 (2013) H.I.S.: 26–46; Michael Kemper and Stephan Conermann, eds., *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- 2 Western scholarship uncritically adopted the idea of “Muridism”, advanced and identified it with the Khālidiyya branch, e. g. Marie Bennigs Broxup, “The Last Ghazawat The 1920–1921 Uprising,” in *The North Caucasian Barrier. The Russian Advance towards the Muslim World*, ed. Marie Bennigs Broxup (London: Hurst, 1992), 118–21; Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamīl and the Conquest of Chechnia and Dagestan* (London: Frank Cass, 1994), 122. Hamid Algar, “A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order,” in *Naqshbandis: cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musubman*, ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone (Istanbul: Editions Isis 1990), 36; Anna Zelkina, *In Quest for God and Freedom. The Sufi-Response to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus* (London: Hurst 2000), 235–8.
- 3 See Kemper, *Herrschaft*, 225f., 267. For his arguments in detail see idem., “The North Caucasian Khālidiyya and ‘Muridism’: Histographical Problems,” *Journal of the History of Sufism* 5 (2006): 11–26.
- 4 According to Shikhaliyev Sufi Arabic writings from the late imperial Russian and Soviet periods have not been studied at all, although these works are still used for Sufi training in Daghestan today, e.g. *Āthār* by Muḥammad al-Yarāghī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya* by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī, *Mashrab al-naqshbandiyya* by ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Thughūrī (d. 1882). See Shāmīl Shikhaliyev, “Sufi Practices and Muslim Identities in Naqshbandi and Shadhili

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CHAPTER 2

## Naqshband's Lives: Sufi Hagiography between Manuscripts and Genre

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Our ability to discuss the premodern religious history of Muslim Central Asia rests heavily on evaluating Sufi works belonging to many different genres that can be accessed only in manuscript form to this day. Surveying the state of the field, one can find numerous evocations of problems occasioned by this fact, including regrets regarding difficulty of access (particularly during the Soviet period), inadequacies of cataloguing and preservation, lack of proper scholarly care in dealing with works to be found in different versions, and the impropriety of drawing general conclusions when, very likely, much relevant material has yet to be consulted. These are all legitimate issues that must be emphasized for further work in the field. In this essay, I wish to contribute to the discussion regarding sources by examining the intellectual basis on which we are conditioned to think about the relationship between manuscripts and the literary texts they contain in the process of carrying out historiographical reconstruction. While work on texts and contexts continues apace, it is advisable to scrutinize the framework for analyzing the material artifacts that provide us access to the relevant history. Such deliberation enhances the value of our accounts of the Central Asian past by maximizing what we can glean from the sources.

When considering genres such as Sufi hagiography, we must, I suggest, self-consciously parse the form of textuality available to us into elements that have gone into its production. Doing this reveals specific questions for evaluating the texts as repositories of information. To this end, the ensuing discussion offers an interpretive scheme in which I propose distinguishing between four elements, nested within each other, that correlate between surviving manuscripts and hagiography as a prominent literary genre in Central Asia in the approximate period 1300–1700 CE. For purposes of illustration, I concentrate on works on Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389), the eponym of the Naqshbandī chain of Sufi authority who is buried near Bukhara. Naqshband is an especially useful case because of his vast and varied posthumous footprint as a putative progenitor of socioreligious identities in Central Asia and beyond.

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