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Colette ROUBET, Slimane HACHI, Farid KHERBOUCHE

R05. RAHMANIA – RAHMANIYYA (confrérie) / SIDI ABDERRAHMANE BOU-QOUBRIN (1715/1728 – 1793/94) [Sidi Eabderrehman]

Fondée vers 1774, la *Rahmaniyya* (orthographe française courante « Rahmania » ou « Rahmaniya » ; en kabyle : *ṭariqa tarehmanit*) est la principale confrérie religieuse implantée en Kabylie ; elle a joué un rôle politique considérable au XIX^e siècle au moment de la conquête française. Elle doit son nom à son fondateur, Sidi Abderrahmane (*Sidi Eabderrehman*) – *Rahmaniyya* est dérivé de (*Eabd-*)*errahman*.

Rahmaniyye

170 558

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN

02 Temmuz 2018

Sidi Abderrahmane est né entre 1715 et 1728 au village des Aït Smaïl (*At Smaeil*), près de Boghni en Kabylie. Il est connu par les biographes et les historiographes de langue arabe sous le nom complet de *Sidi Mhammad ben Eabderrahman ben Ahmad al-Gastûli al-Gargri al-Azhârî*, nom marquant différents aspects de son identité et de son itinéraire religieux (lieu de naissance, appartenance tribale et géographique, séjour à l'université d'Al-Azhâr au Caire...). Le surnom Abderrahmane *bu-qubrin* lui a été conféré par la légende de la bi-localisation de sa dépouille mortelle (= « Sidi Abderrahmane aux deux tombes ») qui veut qu'il ait été enterré à deux endroits différents, aux Aït Smaïl, son village, et au Hamma, quartier d'Alger. Cette légende repose sur un fait avéré : la dispute autour de la dépouille de Sidi Abderrahmane entre les villageois d'Aït Smaïl et les habitants d'Alger sous tutelle turque, pour des raisons politico-religieuses liées au prestige et à la popularité du grand maître de la Rahmaniya. Les uns et les autres voulant s'approprier la sépulture du Cheikh, la légende de la bi-localisation a sans doute permis d'éviter un affrontement sanglant entre les protagonistes.

Personnage religieux d'exception, Sidi Abderrahmane a imprimé à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle en Afrique du Nord, particulièrement en Kabylie, une forme originale à l'Islam et à sa pratique : une sorte de synthèse ambivalente entre la tradition maraboutique locale et le mysticisme soufi d'inspiration orientale (cf. Mammeri 1989).

Avant de fonder la Rahmaniya, Sidi Abderrahmane a séjourné durant une trentaine d'années à l'étranger, surtout en Égypte, mais aussi en Inde, au Soudan et en Turquie.

Le destin de Sidi Abderrahmane : L'homme et le saint

La trajectoire individuelle et sociale de Sidi Abderrahmane a largement déterminé son destin religieux et son élection à la sainteté. Issu d'une famille se déclarant d'extraction maraboutique, le futur fondateur de la Rahmaniya a bénéficié, très tôt, d'une initiation religieuse dans une zawiya de haute Kabylie, celle de cheikh *Seddiq-u-Aerab* des Aït Iraten ; il gagne ensuite Alger d'où, après un court séjour d'études, il se rend en 1739, âgé à peine de vingt ans, en pèlerinage au Hidjaz (Chachoua 2002, p. 53).

Sur le chemin du retour, il s'installe en Égypte, pays qui semble avoir été sa destination finale, attiré sans doute depuis quelque temps déjà par la réputation du Caire et de son université religieuse Al-Azhâr. Il entre donc à Al-Azhâr et se fait taleb non point pour obtenir un diplôme mais plutôt pour y vivre sa passion religieuse :

« Pour Sidi Abderrahmane, la religion en général n'est pas une série de cours théologiques, de paliers scolaires, mais une vocation et un état psychologique. » (Chachoua 2002, p. 53)

Rahmaniyye (190558)

۶۱۲

03 Mart 2013

خلوتیه آشنا شدند، عبدالرحمان باش تارزی قسطنطنیه، مروج طریقت رحمانیه در قسطنطنیه (همان، ص ۱۵۹) و صاحب آناری چون عمده المرید و منظومه الرحمانیه، و احمد تجانی بودند؛ تجانی بعدها به طور مستقل طریقت تجانیه* را بنیاد گذاشت (حفتاوی، قسم ۲، ص ۲۰۵).

محمدبن عبدالرحمان در ۱۲۰۸، علی بن عیسی مغربی را رهبر رحمانیه معرفی کرد و همه کتابها، زمینها و اوقاف زاویه خود را به او بخشید و در همان سال درگذشت (سعدالله قماری، ج ۱، ص ۵۰۹؛ کلنسی - اسمیت، ص ۲۰۵). محمدبن عبدالرحمان را در زاویه اش، در آیت اسماعیل، دفن کردند، اما امرای ترک الجزایر، برای زیر نظر گرفتن زائران مقبره محمدبن عبدالرحمان، جنازه او را ربودند و به حاتم منتقل کردند. پیروان وی نیز در آیت اسماعیل ادعا کردند که جسد وی به طور معجزه آسایی تکثیر شده و دومین جسد او در آیت اسماعیل باقی مانده است. از این رو، محمدبن عبدالرحمان به ابوقبرین (صاحب دو قبر) ملقب شد (دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۳۸۳؛ ابونصر، ص ۱۶۳).

علی بن عیسی تا ۱۲۵۱ رهبر رحمانیه بود و پس از او انشعابهایی در طریقت رخ داد و برخی زاویه ها اعلام استقلال کردند (تریمینگام، ص ۷۷؛ سعدالله قماری، همانجا). شش شعبه در این طریقت به وجود آمد (برای جزئیات بیشتر ← دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۳۹۶-۴۱۳؛ آندره، ص ۲۶۷) که به تدریج جماعتی سیاسی - مذهبی شدند (دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۴۱۳) و به ویژه در دوران سلطه فرانسویان، بسیاری از زاویه های این طریقت، مقرنضتهای مهدوی شد (لوتزیون، ص ۲۰۷، ص ۱۹).

رحمانیه بسیاری از آداب و مراسم بخلوتیه را رعایت می کنند (آندره، ص ۲۶۹-۲۷۰) و همچنین در مراسم هفتگی، جشنها و زیارتها به ذکر «هفت رؤیا» می پردازند که در آنها پیامبر، محمدبن عبدالرحمان و طریقت وی را تأیید کرده است (کلنسی - اسمیت، همانجا؛ لوتزیون، ص ۲۰۷، ص ۱۸). از دیگر آداب آنان تکرار اذکاری چون استغفار، شهادت و صلوات از عصر جمعه تا عصر پنجشنبه هفته بعد و خواندن نماز مخصوص طریقت شاذلیه است (سعدالله قماری، ج ۱، ص ۵۰۸).

بنابر عقاید رحمانیه، کرامات محمدبن عبدالرحمان منحصر به اعضای طریقت نیست و هر کسی را که به زیارت زاویه وی برود، شامل می شود. همچنین پیروان این طریقت میازند، همزمان، به دیگر طرق صوفیانه پیوندند (کلنسی - اسمیت، ص ۲۰۶).

رحمانیه، از شاخه های طریقت خلوتیه در الجزایر. این طریقت از اواسط قرن دوازدهم شکل گرفت، اما تا قرن سیزدهم از نظر دینی و سیاسی تأثیر بارزی در الجزایر نداشت (سعدالله قماری، ج ۱، ص ۵۰۶) و به نام خلوتیه مشهور بود (لوتزیون، ص ۲۰۷، ص ۱۸). بنیانگذار آن، سی محمدبن عبدالرحمان قشطلی جرجری، معروف به ازهری، در آیت اسماعیل در رشته کوه های جرجره، بین سالهای ۱۱۲۶ تا ۱۱۳۳ به دنیا آمد (دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۳۸۲؛ قس سعدالله قماری، همانجا، که تاریخ تخمینی تولد وی را بین ۱۱۲۷ تا ۱۱۴۲ ذکر کرده است). او بعد از تحصیلات مقدماتی، به قصد حج، الجزایر را ترک کرد و در راه بازگشت، به قاهره رفت و در الازهر به تحصیل پرداخت (عقبی، ص ۱۵۵). در آنجا، به واسطه شیخ حفتاوی، به طریقت خلوتیه* پیوست و به امر او، برای ترویج این طریقت، به سودان و هند و حجاز و عثمانی سفر کرد (دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۳۸۲-۳۸۳). در ۱۱۸۳ که به الجزایر بازگشت، در زهد، کرامات و دانش شهرت یافته بود (همانجا). او به محض بازگشت، در زادگاهش زاویه ای تأسیس کرد و به نشر تعالیم خلوتیه رحمانیه پرداخت (عقبی، ص ۱۵۶). از دلایل گسترش سریع رحمانیه، تعیین برخی مبلغان محلی با عنوان «مقدم» بود که رهبری روحانی بربرها را برای تبلیغ رحمانیه برعهده داشتند (لوتزیون، ص ۲۰۷، ص ۱۵۰).

افزایش پیروان و فعالیت های محمدبن عبدالرحمان حسادت مبلغان طریقتهای دیگر و علمای الجزایر را برانگیخت (کلنسی - اسمیت، ص ۲۰۴؛ عقبی، همانجا) که موجب شد او به حاتم، در نزدیکی الجزیره، مهاجرت کند (عقبی، همانجا)؛ اما این امر مانع انتشار تعالیم وی نشد (← دویون و کوپولانی، همانجا؛ آندره، ص ۲۶۵-۲۶۶). از مهم ترین مناطقی که طریقت رحمانیه در آنها گسترش چشمگیر داشته، مرکز و مشرق و جنوب الجزایر، تونس (← عقبی، ص ۱۵۷)، قسطنطنیه / قسطنطنیه (کلنسی - اسمیت، همانجا؛ لوتزیون، ص ۲۰۷، همانجا)، طرابلس غرب، قاهره، برخی شهرهای عربستان (جده و مدینه)، و لیبی بوده است (دویون و کوپولانی، ص ۳۹۰، ۳۹۵، ۴۰۰).

بیشتر پیروان این طریقت از کارگران، کشاورزان، تاجران خرد و قشر آسیب پذیر جامعه بوده اند که در مقاومت ملی الجزایر برضد استعمار فرانسه سهمی بسزا داشته اند (عقبی، همانجا).

از کسانی که به واسطه محمدبن عبدالرحمان با تعالیم

02 NISAN 1992

170558

MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-GUSHTULI. Un diplôme de mok'eddem de la confrérie religieuse Rahmania, (délivré à Sid el Abed ben El Ala par Sid el hadj Mohanmed ben Abd-er-Rahman, fondateur de la confrérie religieuse qui porte son nom); traduit par A. Delpech. *Revue africaine* 18 (1874), 418-429.

RAHMĀNIYYĀ ✕

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CNRPAH 2009

Rahmaniyye (170558)

51-68

LA RAHMANIYA : UNE SPIRITUALITÉ

ENTRE LE GLOBAL ET LE LOCAL

26 AÛUSTOS 2015

Mohammed Brahim Salhi
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La Rahmaniya dans son cheminement historique et dans son enracinement social réalise une articulation entre une spiritualité globale inspirée de ses racines soufis et les cultures des terroirs qui constituent son sol empirique. Les modalités de cette articulation sont lisibles autant dans son déploiement que dans les usages sociaux de ses enseignements qu'exaltent les pratiques de ses adeptes et les représentations sociales par le biais de la poésie religieuse. Nous développerons ces aspects sur le cas de la Kabylie. Nous nous contentons de rappeler dans cette introduction le nom du fondateur : Sidi Mohammed Ben Abderahmane EL DJERJERI El Guechtouli, El Djarairi, El Azhari. Local, national et global qualifient l'appartenance à la fois culturelle et spirituelle du fondateur de la Rahmaniya qui se traduiront dans les destinées de sa tariqa. En effet, cette forte personnalité représente un profil qui tient ensemble une solide connaissance de la société locale, celle dans laquelle il naît, grandit, y fait son premier apprentissage religieux, et qui plus tard sera le berceau de sa tariqa et une volonté de s'articuler avec une culture universelle qu'il va acquérir très loin. Enfin lorsque la vocation advient c'est au cœur du « grand pays » qu'il entreprend de développer son enseignement. Alger est sa première conquête contrariée qui le reconduit vers son village natal chez les Iguetoulènes.

I. SIDI MOHAMMED BEN ABDERAHAMNE : PROFIL D'UN FONDATEUR DE TARIQA :

Au 18^{ème} siècle, alors que le champ religieux algérien est déjà encadré par plusieurs tariqas, émerge d'abord une personnalité porteuse des enseignements d'une nouvelle voie puis les contours de la tariqa elle-même.

diklerinden (*Kur'an*, IX, 34), *aḥbâr* ve râhiblerini ve al-Masîḥ b. Maryam (*Kur'an*, IX, 31)'i hıristiyanların Allahın dışında sâhip (*rabb*) olarak tanıdıklarından bahsedilir; diğer taraftan hıristiyanlar mü'minlere olan dostluklarından dolayı övülür ve bu husûs aralarında *kissis* ve râhiblerin bulunması ile izah edilir (*Kur'an*, V, 87). *Ḥadîs*'te ve *ķışaş al-anbiyâ*' tarındaki küçük hikâyelerde râhibe sık-sık rastlanır (bk. Buhârî, *Anbiyâ*, bâb 54; Muslim, *Zuḥd*, hadîs 73; *Tauba*, hadîs 46, 47; Tirmizî, *Tafsîr*, sûre 85, hadîs 2; *Manâķib*, hadîs 3; Nasâ'î, *Masâcid*, hadîs 11; İbn Mâce, *Fitan*, hadîs 20, 23; Dârimî, *Fazâ'il al-Kur'ân*, hadîs 16; Ahmed b. Ḥanbal, I, 461; II, 434; III, 337, 347; V, 4; VI, 17 mükerrer).

İlk hierî asrın islâm edebiyâtında muhtelif dindar kişilere *râhib* lakabının verilmesinden, bu tâbirin o zamanlar fenâ bir mânaya gelmediği neticesi çıkarılabilir. Bk. bir de mad. RAHBÂNİYA.

Bibliyografya: Bk. mad. RAHBÂNİYA, *bibliyografya*. (A. J. WENSINCK.)

RÂHİL. RÂHİL, Kitâb-ı mukaddesteki Rachel, Ya'kûb peygamberin karısı, Yûsuf ve Bünyâmin'in annesi olup, *Kur'an*'da zikredilmemiştir. Bununla berâber *Kur'an*, IV, 23'te „aynı zamanda iki kız kardeş ile evlenmek sizin için harâmdır; ancak önce böyle bir şey olmuş ise, Allah gafûr ve rahîmdir“ şeklinde, Ya'kûb'un Liyâ ve Râhîl ile evlenmesinde bir telmih olduğu bâzı müfessirler tarafından ileri sürülmüştür. Mûsâ'ya *Teurat* vahyedilmeden önce, böyle bir evlenme meşrû olabilir. Tabarî (*Tarih*, I, 356, 359 v.d.)'nin verdiği izah şekli budur. İbn al-Ağîr (I, 90) bunu tekrarlar. Tabarî, *Tafsîr*, IV, 210'da âyeti doğru tefsir etmiştir. *Kur'an*'da aynı zamanda iki kız kardeş ile evlenmek ilerisi için men'edilmiş, fakat bu yasaktan önce bu şekilde vukua gelmiş evlenmeler feshedilmemiştir. Umûmiyetle islâmî an'ane, Ya'kûb'un, Liyâ'nın ölümünden sonra, Râhîl ile evlendiğini kabûl eder; daha Tabarî (I, 355), Zamahşarî, Bayzâvî, İbn al-Ağîr v.b.'da bile bu kanaât vardır. al-Kisâ'î de Ya'kûb'un Liyâ ve iki müstefreşesinin ölümünden sonra evlendiği fikrindedir. İslâmî enbiyâ kıssaları Kitâb-ı mukaddes'ten şu noktada ayrılır: enbiyâ kıssalarına göre, Ya'kûb Râhîl ile 14 yıllık hizmetten sonra evlenmiştir; Kitâb-ı mukaddes'e göre, yedi yıl hizmet ettikten sonra Liyâ ile evlenir ve düşünlerenden bir hafta sonra da, Râhîl ile evlenir ve 7 yıl daha hizmet eder. — İslâmî enbiyâ kıssaları, Ya'kûb'un evlenme talebini ve Lâban'ın Râhîl yerine Liyâ'yı verme kurnazlığı ve „lamba ve mum ışığından mahrûm“ zıfâ odasını çok câzip bir şekilde anlatır.

Râhîl'in Yûsuf kıssasında da çok mühim bir rolü vardır. Yûsuf güzelliğini Râhîl'e borçludur. Bunlar bütün dünyâ güzelliğinin yarısına, başkalarına göre, üçte birine ve yahut da Aggada (*Ķidduşin*, 49b)'nin cedveline göre, onda dokuzuna sâhip idiler (*Sa'labî*, s. 69). Ya'kûb Lâban'den ayrılınca, seyâhat için gerekli paradan mahrûm kalır. Râhîl'in teşviki ile Yûsuf Lâban'ın putlarını çalar. — Kardeşleri tarafından satılmış olan Yûsuf, Râhîl'in mezarı yanından geçerken, kendini deveden aşağı atar ve ağlayıp-sızlayarak, — „Ey anne, oğluna bak! beni soydular, kuyuya attılar, taşladılar ve sonra esir olarak satıldım“ — der. O sırada: — „Allaha güven!“ — diye bir ses gelir. Eski Aggada'da, bu müheyyic sahne yoktur. Bununla berâber, orta çağın sonlarında yazılan *Sefer Hayaşar* (nşr. Goldschmidt, s. 150) enbiyâ kıssalarına dâir kitaplarda bu hâdis geçmektedir. Yahudi-iranlı şâir Şahîn (XIV. asır) bu motifi, Firdavsi'ye isnât edilen *Yûsuf u Zulayhâ* kitabından alıp, kendi Tekvin kitabına idhâl etmiştir.

Bibliyografya: Tabarî (nşr. de Goeje), I, 355—360, 371; ayn. mll., *Tafsîr*, IV, 210; Sa'labî, *Ķışaş al-anbiyâ* (Kahire, 1325), s. 69, 74; İbn al-Ağîr (nşr. Tornberg), I, 90; al-Kisâ'î, *Ķışaş al-anbiyâ* (nşr. Eisenberg), s. 155 v. d., 160; Neumann Ede, *A muhammedân József monda* (Budapest, 1881), s. 12, 39 v. d.; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach und Sagenkunde* (nşr. F. Perles), Berlin, 1901, s. 523, 534—538, 548; W. Bacher, *Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrâni* (Budapest, 1907), s. 119; bk. bir de madd. YA'KÛB, ve YÛSUF. (B. HELLER.)

RÂHİL. [Bk. RÂHİL.]

RAHİM. [Bk. ALLAH, b. 3.]

RAHİM. [Bk. HUSREV FİRÖZ.]

RAHMA. [Bk. RAHMET.]

RAHMÂN. [Bk. ALLAH, b. 3.]

RAHMÂNİYA. [Bk. RAHMÂNİYE.]

RAHMÂNİYE. RAHMÂNİYA, Cezâyir'de bir tarikat olup, adını 1208 (1793/1794)'de ölmüş olan Muḥammed b. Abd al-Rahmân al-Guṣtulî al-Curcurî al-Azhari Abû Ḳabrayn'den almıştır. Bu tarikat halvetiyenin bir koldur ve rivâyete göre, buna bir zaman için, Muṣtafâ al-Bakrî al-Şamî'ye nisbetle, Bakriya da denilmiştir. Tunus'ta Nefta'da, Muṣtafâ b. Muḥammed b. 'Azzûz'un adına izâfeten, buna 'Azzûziya denilir.

Tarikat kurucusunun hayâtı. Ailesi Curcura Kâbiliyesi'nde Gaṣtula birliğinin bir uzvu olan Ayt Smâ'il koluna mensûp idi; önce evinde ve sonra Cezâyir'de tahsil gör-

—Rahmaniyya

Djubbā'ī, for his part, goes further; for him, the true sense of *rahma* is that which makes it an equivalent of *ni'ma*; if a man of sensitive heart is described as *rahīm*, it is in fact because such a man is beneficent ('Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xx/b, 207, 6-8). The same point of view is expressed by Ibn Bābawayh (*al-Tawḥīd*, Nadjaf 1387/1968, 203-4).

The question of the origin and meaning of the divine name *al-Rahmān*, as well as of the formula *al-Rahmān al-Rahīm*, has already been discussed [see BASMALA and AL-ḲUR'ĀN. 4.c]. For almost all the ancient commentators—the single exception being Tha'lab—there is no doubt that *rahmān* and *rahīm* are quite simply two parallel qualificatives, both derived from the root *r-ḥ-m*, one in the *fa'lān* form, the other in *fa'īl*, both attesting that the person thus described practises the virtue of *rahma*. Some, including the grammarian Abū 'Ubayda, even saw the words as pure doublets, analogous, they declared, to the pair of *nadmān* and *nadīm*, the only difference being that *rahmān* could be applied only to God (thus, in particular, al-Ash'arī, according to Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad*, Beirut 1987, 47, 21-3; al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, Cairo 1950, 145, 4-6). However, later authorities—these being the majority—attribute to *rahmān* a stronger quality, precisely because the word is applied only to God, and because, according to a frequent exegesis, *rahmān* is reckoned to have a broader "extension" than *rahīm*. It is said that God is *rahmān* for all men, believers or non-believers, while He is *rahīm* only for believers (in conformity with Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 43, *wa-kāna bi 'l-mu'minīna rahīm*^m). For al-Ḥalīmī, for example, God is *rahmān* in that He gives to all men the means of finding their salvation, so that they have no excuse not to worship Him; He is *rahīm* for the believers in that He rewards them without stinting (al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Asmā'*, 49, 20-1). Some writers (for example, Ibn Bābawayh, *al-Tawḥīd*, 203, 13-14) furthermore assert that, if God alone is described as *rahmān*, while *rahīm* can be applied to anyone who has compassion for the suffering of others, this is because God alone has, in addition, the power of removing this suffering (on this area of speculation, see Gimaret, *Noms divins*, 379-82).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. GIMARET)

RAḤMA B. **DJĀBIR** [see ḲUR'ĀN. iii].

RAḤMĀN [see BASMALA; ḲUR'ĀN].

RAḤMĀNIYYA, Algerian Sūfī order (*tarīqa*) called after Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Gaṣhtulī al-Djurdjūrī al-Azharī Abū Ḳabrayn, who died in 1208/1793-4. It is a branch of the *Ḳhalwatiyya* [*q.v.*] and is said to have at one time been called Bakriyya after Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Shāmī. At Naṣṭa [*q.v.*], in Tunisia, and some other places it is called 'Azzūziyya after Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. 'Azzūz.

Life of the founder. His family belonged to the tribe Ayt Smā'īl, part of the Gaṣhtula confederation in the *Kābiliyya Djurdjura*; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152/1740, and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hafnawī (d. 1181/1767-8: *Silk al-duwar*, iv, 50) initiated him into the *Ḳhalwatī* order, and ordered him to propagate it in India and the Sūdān; after an absence of thirty years he returned to Algeria, and commenced preaching in his native village, where he founded a *zāwiya*; he seems to have introduced some modifications into *Ḳhalwatī* practice, and in his Seven Visions of the Prophet Muḥammad made some important claims for his person and his system; immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his

order, love for himself or it, a visit to himself, stopping before his tomb or hearing his *dhikr* recited. His success in winning adherents provoked the envy of the local *murābiṭs*, in consequence of which he migrated to Ḥamma in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here, too, his activities met with opposition from the religious leaders, who summoned him to appear before a *maḍjlīs* under the presidency of the Mālikī *muftī* 'Alī b. Amīn; through the influence of the Turkish authorities, who were impressed by the following which he had acquired, he was acquitted of the charge of unorthodoxy, but he thought it prudent to return to his native village, where shortly afterwards he died, leaving as his successor 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribī. His corpse is said to have been stolen by the Turks and buried with great pomp at Ḥamma with a *ḳubba* and a mosque over it. The Ayt Smā'īl, however, maintained that it had not left its original grave, whence it was supposed to have been miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abū Ḳabrayn* "owner of two graves" was given to him.

History and propagation of the order. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribī was undisputed head from 1208/1793-4 to 1251/1835; his successor died shortly after, and from the following year, though the order continued to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ayt Smā'īl to the succession of al-Ḥādīdj Bashīr, another Maghribī; in spite of the support of the *amīr* 'Abd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of 'Alī b. 'Isā, who, however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the *zāwiya*, had ultimately to summon Bashīr back. Meanwhile, the founders of other *zāwiyas* were assuming independence. After the death of Bashīr in 1259/1843, the widow's son-in-law al-Ḥādīdj 'Ammār succeeded to the headship of the order. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organised by Bū Baghla, in *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 1272/August 1836 he called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was, however, compelled to surrender in the following year, together with his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred *ḳhwān* shortly afterwards. 'Ammār retired to Tunis, where he endeavoured to continue the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognised as head of the order, and his place among the Ayt Smā'īl was taken by Muḥammad Amezzyan b. al-Haddād of Ṣaddūḳ, who at the age of 80 on 8 April 1871 proclaimed *djihād* against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on 13 July Ibn al-Haddād surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original *zāwiya* was closed as a precautionary measure.

His son 'Azīz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djudda, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various *muḳaddams* who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of *zāwiyas*, asserted their independence. Lists have been given by Depont and Coppolani of these persons and their spheres of influence, which extended into Tunisia and the Sahara. In their work, the numbers of the adherents to the order were reckoned at 156,214 (1897). In 1954, L. Massignon revised this number to 156,000 adherents, with 177 *zāwiyas*, whilst in 1961 Fauque estimated them at 230,000. It should be said that the Raḥmāniyya constitute the most important Sūfī order in Algeria, with more than one-half of the *ḳhwān* of the land. It predominates in the towns of the Constan-

Between Cairo and the Algerian Kabylia: the *Rahmaniyya tariqa*, 1715–1800

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Introduction

The organised Sufism of the Islamic religious orders *turuq* (singular: *tariqa*) often had its origins in the travels of individuals driven by an intensely personal desire to acquire knowledge and to fulfil religious duties. The emergence of the Algerian *Rahmaniyya* order in the last quarter of the eighteenth century illustrates how the perigrinations of one man, in this case Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, contributed to the restructuring of socio-religious bonds in a particular Muslim community as well as the reaffirmation of ties between that community and the wider Islamic *ecumene*. Thus, a study of the activities of such an individual joins three strands in historiography: biography; world history; and the sociological and social historical study of mass movements aiming at religious renewal and reform. Together, these approaches can isolate the types of social transformations that constitute sea changes in any society, Muslim or otherwise.

At some time in the 1760s or 1770s, the kinds of popular expressions of piety that frequently signal the rise of a new saint or mystic began to occur in the Kabylia of north-eastern Algeria. Crowds gathered, miracles were proclaimed, and religious savants from other areas travelled to the Jurjura mountains to hear the preaching of a *hajji* and *'alim* (Muslim scholar) who had recently returned from the eastern Arab world. By 1777 Sufi *zawiyas* (religious lodges) had been created in the region, pilgrimages were organised, and local religious notables or disciples were authorised to assume certain functions within the *tariqa* (Sa'adallah 1981: 1, 514–16; al-Hifnawi 1982: 457–60). At the same time, a cult of saints had already coalesced around the figure of Sidi 'Abd al-Rahman, whose intercession was sought by the faithful because of his *baraka* (supernatural blessing) and ability to work miracles (Rinn 1884). Several features of this cult and the emerging Sufi network were

viewed with alarm by political and religious authorities in the capital of the Turkish regency of Algiers, in particular the institution of the *ziyara* or pilgrimage. Even the saint's death did not necessarily remove the perceived threat. Sidi 'Abd al-Rahman's burial and the popular ceremonials tied to his *qubba* (shrine) triggered more struggles to control the privileged places (and remains) associated with extraordinary beings.

The emerging cult in honour of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman and the elaboration of a new *tariqa* (brotherhood) were interrelated. Both of these were the product of earlier phases in Sidi 'Abd al-Rahman's life, before he became a saint or the founder of a new Maghribi Sufi order, and thus a menace to entrenched elites in his own country. Before examining the political nature of the *ziyara* in Turkish Algeria, a brief summary of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman's life demonstrates one dimension of movement in Islamic societies – the connection between travel for pious purposes and socio-religious mobility. This in turn will help to explain how popular cults develop and why a conflict erupted over Sidi 'Abd al-Rahman's earthly remains in AD 1793–4.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman's career was divided between the urbane, erudite world of the Cairene *'ulama'*, extensive missionary activity in *dar al-Islam*, and the Berber Kabylia with its tribal social structure. Through his efforts at *tajdid* (religious reform and renewal), and those of other like-minded Sufi scholars, the purified and the popular were recombined to produce what some scholars have called a neo-Sufi revival – “Sufism reformed on orthodox lines and interpreted in an activist sense” (Rahman 1979: 206; Voll 1982: 37–8). The Berber saint is thus representative of a whole class of energetic, itinerant Sufis and scholars whose activities in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more closely linked distant parts of the Muslim world. This created the conditions of “critical mass” which led to populist movements of reform and renewal in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (Voll 1980, 1982; Martin 1976).

Nothing in Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman's family background predisposed him to a career that brought him within the inner circle of leading Egyptian *'ulama'* and Sufis. In fact, the inhabitants of the Kabylia were not generally among those Maghribi groups that lingered for years in established communities in the Mashriq (Raymond 1959). Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman's missionary activities, his attainment of spiritual perfection, and his advanced education (acquired in Cairo) transformed a local *talib* (religious student or scholar) into a member of the Muslim elite. Thus, the matrix of the saint cult and Sufi order associated with Sidi 'Abd

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Grace Martin Smith, Ed. Carl W. Ernst, Ass. Ed.

Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam, 1983 1st
DIA Ktp-27832, 3-147-170

297.7 / MANUS

THE MAN WITH TWO TOMBS: MUHAMMAD IBN
'ABD AL-RAHMAN, FOUNDER OF THE
ALGERIAN RAHMANIYYA, CA. 1715-1798

Julia Clancy-Smith

27 AGUSTOS 1991

INTRODUCTION

On the eve of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, death came to Sidi Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Gushtuli (or Qushtuli) al-Azhari in his *zāwiya* (Sufi convent) in the Jurjura mountains of northeastern Algeria. Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman, whose life and work were divided between the urbane, erudite world of the Cairene '*ulamā*' and the harsh environment of the Berber Kabylia with its tribal social structure, was one of the foremost Sufi-saintly figures in modern North African history. Revered by his disciples as a saint, a Sufi, and an '*ālim* (scholar), Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman created the nucleus of a flourishing *ṭarīqa* (Sufi order) — the Rahmaniyya. In the decades following his death, the Rahmaniyya expanded from its primary cult centers in the Kabylia to encompass all of eastern Algeria, part of the Sahara, and neighboring Tunisia. By approximately 1850, twenty years after the French invasion of Algeria, the colonial regime regarded the Rahmaniyya as among the most "dangerous" of the North African Sufi orders. This was largely because of its geographical placement along the strategic Algerian-Tunisian borders, its social recruitment among the unruly Kabyles and Saharan peoples, and its mass followings in both city and countryside. Moreover, the involvement of some Rahmaniyya leaders in various types of collective protest during the nineteenth century confirmed colonial fears of the order's inherently political mission.¹

¹Recent works by Algerians which deal in part with the Rahmaniyya are: Abū al-Qāsim Sa'dallah, *Ta'rikh al-Jazā'ir al-thaqāfi*, 1 (Algiers: Société Nationale d'Édition et de la Diffusion, 1981), 514-516; Muḥammad A. Dabbuz, *Nahḍat al-Jazā'ir al-haditha wa thawratuhā al-mubāraka* (Algiers: Imprimerie Cooperative, 1965); Ahmed Nadir, "Les Ordres religieux et la conquête française (1830-1851)," *Revue Algérienne des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques, et Politiques*, 9 (1972), 819-872, and his "La Fortune d'un ordre religieux algérien vers la fin du XIXe siècle," *Le Mouvement Social*, 89 (1974), 59-84; Mohamed Salhi, "Étude d'une confrérie religieuse algérienne: la Rahmaniya à la fin du XIXe siècle et dans la première moitié du XXe siècle," Ph. D. dissertation (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1979); and articles by Fanny Colonna, notably, "Saints furieux et saints studieux ou, dans l'Aurès, comment la religion vient