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ITZHAK WEISMANN

### ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī

**‘Abd al-Raḥmān** b. Aḥmad **al-Thughūrī** (al-Ṣughūrī) (b. 1207/1792–3, d. 1299/1882) was a *shaykh* of the *jihād*-oriented branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya Ṣūfī brotherhood in Daghestan. The widespread Naqshbandī order was founded in Bukhara by Bahā’ al-Dīn (d. 786/1384); its orthodox Khālidi branch was founded by Mawlānā Khālīd al-Baghdādī (d. 1242/1827), a Kurd trained in India in the Muḡaddidī current initiated by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), known posthumously as the “renewer” (*mujaddid*) of Islam in the second millennium. From Iraq, the Khālidiyya quickly spread in the Ottoman provinces, the Caucasus, and the Volga basin, as well as to Southeast Asia, from Mecca.

Al-Thughūrī was born in the Avar village of Sogratl’ in the village confederacy of Andalal, in central Daghestan; his father was reportedly a merchant. He first studied under local *mullās* and then entered the Ṣūfī path under the guidance of Shaykh Muḡammad al-Yarāghī (d. 1254/1838) (from the Lezgi village of Yaraglar), who was initiated by Khāṣṣ Muḡammad al-Shirwānī (d. 1247/1831–2) and then

became a *khalīfa* (spiritual “deputy”) of the latter’s *shaykh*, Ismā’īl al-Kūrdamīrī (d. 1277/1860–1), who was from Kurdamir, in the Alazan valley (in present-day northern Azerbaijan); al-Kūrdamīrī himself was a *khalīfa* of Mawlānā Khālīd al-Baghdādī. Al-Thughūrī was probably initiated in the mid-1820s (al-Yarāghī, 153–4). Al-Thughūrī is generally considered a *khalīfa* of al-Yarāghī’s deputy, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī (d. 1283/1866 in Istanbul), from the Lak village of Kumukh; some sources claim that he received an *ijāza* (“permission” to teach) from al-Yarāghī as well. While performing his *hajj* to Mecca in 1832, al-Thughūrī met another Khālidiyya *shaykh*, Sayyid Ṭāhā al-Khālidi al-Baghdādī, who later issued him an *ijāza* (Abdullaev, 281).

During the North Caucasian Imāmate (c. 1830–59), al-Thughūrī reportedly worked as *muḡtasib*. In early Islam, the *muḡtasib* acted as a controller of the market, as part of the broader duty, basically religious, of maintaining the proper ordering of Islamic social life; the institution existed throughout most of the Muslim world, until the reforms of the modern period. In this period, al-Thughūrī’s function was to control local governors (*nā’ibs*) and mediate conflicts between them and Imām Shāmīl (Shamwīl) (1797–1871), an Avar political and religious leader of the Muslim communities of the northern Caucasus, the third *imām* of Daghestan and Chechnya (1834–59), and a leader of anti-Russian resistance in the Caucasian War (Gaidarbekov, 70; this has not yet been corroborated by Shāmīl’s extant correspondence). Shāmīl held him in esteem, and when al-Thughūrī was captured by the Russians and brought to Tiflis in 1843, Shāmīl exchanged Russian captives for him (al-Qarākhī, 103–4). Al-Thughūrī’s

eldest son, Hājjī Muḥammad (d. 1870), was for a time *nāʾib* of Sograt’ under Shāmil (Gaidarbekov, 76).

After the fall of the imāmate in 1859 and al-Ghāzīghumūqī’s exile to Istanbul, al-Thughūrī emerged as the most important *shaykh* of the Khālidiyya in Daghestan. When another Daghestani and Chechen uprising broke out in 1877, al-Thughūrī, after some hesitation, gave his blessing to the election of his second son, Muḥammad Hājjī, as *imām*. Although Muḥammad Hājjī was not his father’s *khalīfa* and seemingly had no Ṣūfī affiliation, it must be assumed that al-Thughūrī played an important role in the propaganda of *jihād*. After the suppression of this *jihād* by the Russian army and the execution of Muḥammad Hājjī in 1878, al-Thughūrī was first sentenced to exile and then placed under house arrest in the Kumyk town of Nizhnee Kazanishche, where he died in Rabʿ II 1299/February 1882. His tomb in that town is still venerated.

Among his foremost *khalīfas* were Ilyās al-Tsudaqārī (d. 1908), from the Dargi village of Tsudaqār, who was exiled to the lower Volga region; Muḥammad al-ʿUbūdī, from Oboda (d. 1313/1895–6 in Mecca); ʿAbdallāh al-Gimrāwī from Gimra; and Mūsā al-Kiqunī (d. 1338/1920–1) and Muḥammad al-Kiqunī (d. 1332/1913–4) from the village of Kikuni. Al-Thughūrī’s *khalīfa*, Ūzūn-Hājjī al-Saltī, from the Avar village of Salta (c. 1833–1920), was to become *imām* of the short-lived North Caucasian Emirate in 1919. It appears that Najm al-Dīn al-Hutsī (Gotsinskii), who functioned as *muftī* and *imām* in 1917–21 and led the anti-Soviet resistance in Daghestan until he was captured and executed in 1925, was also related to the Khālidiyya line of al-Thughūrī.

Al-Thughūrī composed poems in Arabic and Avar, among them an Arabic

*qasīda* (eulogy) celebrating Shāmil’s victory over the Russian army under Mikhail Vorontsov in 1845 and eulogising the martyrs who fell in that action (edited in al-Qarākhī, 147–8). His Arabic prose includes a scholarly gloss on rhetoric (*Hāshiya ʿalā adab al-baḥth*, “Glosse on the art of disputation”), Makhachkala, Institute for History, Archaeology, and Ethnography [IIAE], MS) and a treatise on the necessity to emigrate from the Russian-occupied *dār al-kufr* (territory of paganism) to *dār al-Islām* (territory of Islam) (*al-Qawl fi wujūb al-hijra*, “Argument for the necessity of emigration”, Princeton University Library, MS 2867, probably written after the end of Shāmil’s *jihād*). He also wrote a booklet on Naqshbandiyya ethics and practices for beginners titled *al-Mashrab al-Naqshbandī* (“The Naqshbandī way”, Temir Khan Shura 1906; Russian trans. by A. Navruzov in Abdullaev, 200–68) which reveals that al-Thughūrī practised the “loud” as well as the “silent” remembrance of God (*dhikr jahr* and *dhikr qalbī*), with the latter seemingly reserved for the more advanced *murīds* (disciples). This division is also reflected in the teaching of his *khalīfa*, Muḥammad al-ʿUbūdī, who initiated into the brotherhood only those *murīds* who had already succeeded in purging their hearts and living in accordance with all requirements of *sharʿa*. These few initiated *murīds* were called *ittibāʿiyya* (the “[true] followers” of the *ṭarīqa* or “way”), and they alone were allowed to conduct the *dhikr qalbī*. By contrast, adherents who were not yet purified and were not able to leave all worldly life behind were denied admission into the brotherhood; they practised only the *dhikr jahr*, and their rank was called *sharʿiyya* (students of Islamic law) (al-Qahī, 33–43). As the *jahr* served also as war hymns during *jihād*, it can be argued that this division served the purpose of

attracting a huge following of potential soldiers, while keeping the number of initiated Ṣūfis small and controllable. Because there is little local documentation, however, there is still no consensus as to the extent to which Ṣūfī groups were involved in actual warfare and in the political organisation of the *jihād* state under Shāmīl (cf. divergent evaluations by Gammer, Zelkina, and Kemper). From the second half of the nineteenth century al-Thughūrī’s Khālidiyya branch was in competition with the Khālidiyya-Maḥmūdiyya branch of Maḥmūd al-Almālī (d. 1877), whose *shaykhs* kept clear of *jihād*. These *shaykhs* claimed that in 1834 al-Thughūrī wanted to become *imām* in place of Shāmīl and that this prompted his *shaykh*, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzīghumūqī, to “cut” his *silsila* (spiritual “chain”) to al-Thughūrī, an action that presumably deprived al-Thughūrī of his Ṣūfī legitimacy (al-Bāginī, 377–9).

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#### ‘Abdallāh Bihbihānī

Sayyid ‘**Abdallāh Bihbihānī** (b. 1260/1844 or 1845, d. 1328/1910), was one of two *mujtahids* (high-ranking member of the *‘ulamā’*) of Iran’s consitutional revolution during the reign of the Qājār Shah Muẓaffār al-Dīn (r. 1896–1907). The other was Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā’ī (1584–1918), who led the popular Iranian movement that brought about the request for an *‘adālatkhāna* (“house of justice”) in December 1905–January 1906 and the establishment of the first *majlis* (“assembly”) in August 1906. By contrast with Ṭabāṭabā’ī, who was a dedicated reformist, Bihbihānī was a consummate politician and the pivotal figure of several political and social networks. His most powerful collaborator was the *ṣadr-i a’zam* (prime minister), ‘Alī Aṣḥar Amīn al-Sulṭān (1858–1907), who gave him overall responsibility for the government business in the *shar’* courts (religious law courts). He also had close connections with the *bāzārīs* (bazaar merchants) of Tehran, was linked to a popular crowd-raiser named Maḥdī Gavkush, and had a close association with the British, whose business also he dealt with in the *shar’* courts.

In the autumn of 1903 Amīn al-Sulṭān fell from power, and his successor, ‘Abd al-Majīd Mirzā ‘Ayn al-Dawla (1845–