

## Reconfirming the Khalidiyya Ties: ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī on his Hajj in 1910

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The article presents the results of research on the Muslim culture of the Volga-Ural culture by a representative of the Slavic-Eurasian research center. The history of the Hajj Abd Alkh al-Maadhi is methodically described as a tool for influencing the nature of relations between the Russian and Ottoman empires.

**Keywords:** *Hajj, Imam, Muslim culture.*

While historians recently shed fresh light on Muslim mobility between the Russian and Ottoman Empires, they are not so much concerned about what travelers brought back home and what their experience meant in the local context, but about the state officials’ and diplomats’ control of citizenship, surveillance of hygiene and loyalty, and instrumental use of the hajj as imperial integration and influence abroad.<sup>1</sup> In her influential book *Russian Hajj*, Eileen Kane contends that “in the colonial era, Islam worldview became more Mecca-centric than ever before in history.”<sup>2</sup> One could wonder, however, whether this novel worldview came into tension with an existing local tradition, or how and to what extent this change was underpinned by a local intellectual environment.<sup>3</sup>

I would like to suggest that prosopographic approaches to the ulamā and their sons and daughters based on both Tatar materials and archival documents are badly needed in studying internal Muslim politics. They can help to distinguish the actors, their generational shifts, and their personal connections across the Volga-Ural region and beyond. Moreover, it is also through specific individuals and particular

localities that one could appraise the depth and limits of modernizing potency of the tsarist state as well as the trans-imperial exchange.<sup>4</sup>

As a case study I examine an intellectual milieu around ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī, imam of the Third Mosque of Orsk, Orenburg Province, and the meaning of his hajj experience in the Volga-Ural context. Trained in Bukhara, this Naqshbandi practitioner was an enthusiast of using the burgeoning Tatar print. He was a constant contributor to the journal *Dīn wa Ma‘āshat*, and the author of an exhaustive Naqshbandi genealogy (*silsila*) that was printed in the same publisher of “Religion and Life” in 1907. Simultaneously, he had his family history (1906) and hajj account (1913) printed by a famous modernist Fātih Karīmī.<sup>5</sup> So far Hamid Algar and Allen Frank have used ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī’s silsila, but ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī and his family have never been a focus.<sup>6</sup> Here I attempt to contextualize ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī’s hajj (which was conducted from October 1910 to February 1911) within his writings and beyond. I examine scholarly connections whereby ‘Abd Allāh was shaped, and the ways in which he responded to modernity and simultaneously he

<sup>1</sup> James H. Meyer, *Turks across Empires: Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands, 1856–1914* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014); A. T. Sibgatullina, *Kontakty tiurok-musul'man Rossiiskoi i Osmanskoi imperii na rubezhe XIX–XX vv.* (Moscow, Institut vostokovedeniia RAN, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj: Empire and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2015), 8.

<sup>3</sup> See my own attempt to study this aspect. “The Hajj Making Geopolitics, Empire, and Local Politics: A View from the Volga-Ural Region at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone, eds., *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz* (Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012), 168–198.

<sup>4</sup> For details on this methodology, see my “Transimperial Muslims, the Modernizing State, and Local Politics in the Late Imperial Volga-Ural Region,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 2 (2017): 417–436.

<sup>5</sup> *al-Qaṭra min biḥār al-ḥaqā'iq fī tarjama aḥwāl mashāyikh al-ṭarā'iq* (Orenburg, 1907); *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'ādhiyya* (Orenburg, 1906); *Rihla Ibn al-Ma'ādh ilā al-Ḥijāz* (Orenburg, 1913).

<sup>6</sup> Hamid Algar, “Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev: The Last Great Naqshbandi Shaykh of the Volga-Urals Region,” in Jo-Ann Gross, ed., *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1992), 112–133; Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige* (Leiden, Brill, 2012).

reconfirm the Volga-Ural intellectual tradition and relived its long-standing connectivity to a broader Islamic civilization.

‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad ‘Ārif b. al-Shaykh Ma‘ādh al-Ūrī was born in Orsk, Orenburg Province in 1872. One of his early teachers was a link in a spiritual chain from Deoband (north of Delhi) to Bukhara.<sup>1</sup> In 1888 ‘Abd Allāh went to Maskara Village, Malmysh District, Viatka Province to follow his father’s teacher, Mukhlis Allāh b. Maqṣūd al-Qārghālī. From 1896 ‘Abd Allāh stayed in Bukhara and came back to Orsk in 1900, where he became a licensed imam of the city’s Third Mosque in 1902.<sup>2</sup> ‘Abd Allāh’s books of his family history and Naqshbandī genealogy reveal that his grandfather, Ma‘ādh Īshān (d. 1831) belonged to a well-respected lineage of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya. Ma‘ādh Īshān was trained in Kargala, near Orenburg, traveled to Bukhara, and became Fayḍ Khān’s associate in Kabul.<sup>3</sup> But ‘Abd Allāh seems to have emphasized his association to the Khalidiyya-Naqshbandiyya.<sup>4</sup> Actually, he was initiated into the Mujaddidiyya when he studied in Bukhara. His master was one Hadith scholar from Medina, Sayyid ‘Alī al-Zāhir (d. 1904).<sup>5</sup> But in his Naqshbandi silsila, ‘Abd Allāh tried to show his close contact with Zayn Allāh Rasūlef, the great Khalidiyya master in Troitsk,

<sup>1</sup> *al-Qaṭra*, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ta’rīkh*, 8, 10. On the significance of the scholarly lineage emanating from Maskara for the regional Muslim authority, see Danielle Ross, *Tatar Empire: Kazan’s Muslims and the Making of Imperial Russia* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2020), chapter 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ta’rīkh*, 2. On the Mujaddidiyya, see Baxtiyor M. Babadžanov, “On the History of Naqshbandīya-Muḡaddidiya in Central Māwarā’annahr in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries,” in Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov, eds. *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 19th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 1 (Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), 385—413; Anke von Kügelgen, “Pastsvet Nakshbandiia-Mudzhaddidiia v Srednei Transoksanii s XVIII — do nachala XIX vv.: Opyt detektivnogo rassledovaniia,” in *Sufizm v Tsentral’noi Azii (zarubezhnye issledovaniia)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), 277—279, 308—314; Michael Kemper, *Sufii i uchenye v Tatarstane i Bashkortostane: islamskii diskurs pod russkim gosподstvom* (Kazan, 2008; orig. Berlin, 1998), 136—151.

<sup>4</sup> On the Khalidiyya, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century,” *Die Welt des Islams* 22, no. 1-4 (1982): 1—36; Michael Kemper, “Khālidiyya Networks in Daghestan and the Question of Jihād,” *Die Welt des Islams* 42, no. 1 (2002): 41—71.

<sup>5</sup> *al-Qaṭra*, 35—37. On al-Zāhir, see also Rizaeddin Fākhreddin, *Asar: Öchenche häm dürtente tomnar* (Kazan, 2010), 284—308.

rather than his and his family’s relationship with the Mujaddidiyya.<sup>6</sup>

How did this connectivity account for ‘Abd Allāh’s description of his hajj? ‘Abd Allāh left Orsk for pilgrimage to Mecca on October 10, 1910. He went to Sevastopol by train, and there he bought a second-class ticket for a steamer bound for Jidda and registered the ticket at the Ottoman Consulate so as not to be deported back by the Ottoman authorities. Having left Sevastopol on October 22, the next day his steamer arrived in Sinop, the other side of the Black Sea, where passengers were subject to quarantine and disinfection; they were even forced to stay another seventeen days due to discovery of death cases out of illness. ‘Abd Allāh reached Jidda on November 16, and three days after, he was in Mecca. He undertook hajj rituals in Arafat and Mina and came back to Mecca on November 25. He stayed in Mecca for 25 days. After that, he moved to Medina and stayed there 19 days. Then, he moved up to Damascus along the Hijaz Railway, which had opened only two years before. After five-day stay in Damascus, he traveled to Beirut, Haifa, Yafa, and Jerusalem. He took a steamer in Yafa (today’s Tel Aviv) to move to Istanbul, where he arrived on February 16, 1911. As his wife’s elder brother was in Istanbul, ‘Abd Allāh stayed with him for five days. ‘Abd Allāh reentered Russia through Odessa and came back to Orsk on March 1, 1911.

What were the highlights of his hajj experience? We can find his three focuses in a small article that he sent to the journal *Dīn wa Ma’īshat* right after his return from the hajj.<sup>7</sup> First of all, ‘Abd Allāh is proud to have seen the Ottoman Sultan’s Friday Prayer (*Salāmlīq*) in Beşiktaş, Istanbul, on February 18: he was moved to tears by the sight of this ceremony accompanied by the Sultan’s magnificent army and people’s cries of “Long Live the Sovereign” that he thought signified prominence of Islam.<sup>8</sup> Second, ‘Abd Allāh is proud to have met disciples of Ahmed Ziyā’uddīn el-Gümüşhānevī at the Fāṭima Sulṭān Khānqāsi in Istanbul.<sup>9</sup> Curiously enough, when he

<sup>6</sup> *al-Qaṭra*, 48—51, 67. The author describes Zayn Allāh Rasūlef’s daily routine including his reception of guests, disciples, and the impoverished people as well as prayers (featuring a ten-day ascetic service at the end of the Ramadan), lessons, and reading.

<sup>7</sup> *Dīn wa Ma’īshat* 11 (1911): 174—175.

<sup>8</sup> *Rihla*, 47. *Salāmlīq* enhanced its ceremonial significance during the era of Abdülhamid II. Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London, I.B. Tauris, 1998), chapter 1.

<sup>9</sup> On el-Gümüşhānevī, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, “Shaykh Ahmed Ziyā’uddīn el-Gümüşhānevī and the Ziyā’i-Khālidi Suborder,” in Frederick de Jong, ed. *Shī’a Islam, Sects*

tells about Medina in his hajj account, ‘Abd Allāh does not mention his former master, Sayyid ‘Alī al-Zāhir of Medina. Instead, ‘Abd Allāh highlights his visit in Damascus to the mausoleum of Khālid al-Baghdadi, the founder of the Khalidiyya sub-order of the Naqshbandiyya.<sup>1</sup> Here ‘Abd Allāh clearly demonstrates that his close relationship with Zayn Allāh Rasūlef made possible his spiritual association with Khalid al-Baghdadi, el-Gümüşhānevī, and his disciples, which was the well-respected line of the Khalidiyya in the Volga-Ural region.<sup>2</sup> Third, ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī suggests elevating the Mawlid an-nabi, the Prophet’s Birthday, to the same level of the two major ones—the festival after Ramadan (Uraza Bayram) and that of the month of the Pilgrimage (Korban Bayram). As elsewhere, in the Volga-Ural region, too, the modern hajj traffic made it possible for many people to directly trace Prophet Muhammad’s life path in Mecca and Medina. ‘Abd Allāh also asked Muhammad to intercede on the Day of Judgement at the Prophet’s mausoleum in Medina.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, ‘Abd Allāh’s emphasis on the Mawlid also indicates his attachment to Zayn Allāh Rasūlef. Actually, Zayn Allāh Rasūlef’s attempt to popularize the Mawlid even in the Kazakh steppe once ended up with his exile.<sup>4</sup> In short, ‘Abd Allāh adjusted his Bukhara-oriented background to modernity emerging in the Ottoman lands. His association with the Khalidiyya itself reflected the changing intellectual environment in the Volga-Ural region. And he contributed to making the Mawlid a sort of an “invented tradition” facilitated by the increasingly thronged hajj traffic.

Furthermore, ‘Abd Allāh tried to act as an authority of the hajj with the help of print. He often tried to organize debates concerning the hajj with local

and Sufism (Utrecht: M.Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), 105–117.

<sup>1</sup> 34 *Rihla*,.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Abd Allāh met Ismā‘īl Şafrānbūlī, a disciple of Ḥasan Ḥilmī, whose master was Ahmed Ziyā‘uddīn el-Gümüşhānevī; he was sad to know that Ḥasan Ḥilmī had died on 11 February, that is, five days before his arrival in Istanbul. ‘Abd Allāh visited tombs of el-Gümüşhānevī and Ḥilmī. He found that one Fawzī Efendi, who wrote about “virtues (*manāqib*)” of el-Gümüşhānevī, would soon publish a similar work on Ḥasan Ḥilmī. *Rihla*, 46, 51. Later ‘Abd Allāh announced the publication of the book on Ḥasan Ḥilmī in *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 32 (1912): 508.

<sup>3</sup> *Rihla*, 19–20.

<sup>4</sup> Riḍā’ al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, *Shaykh Zayn Allāh Ḥaḍratining Tarjama-i Ḥālī* (Orenburg, 1917), 20–21. On the novelty of the Mawlid in the Volga-Ural region, see my “Mawlid an-nabi,” *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar’* Vol. 2 (Moscow, 2018), 248–250.

scholars, based on his own experience as well as Islamic legal texts according to traditionalist way of argumentation. For instance, ‘Abd Allāh seems to have travelled in hand with, or at least examined, one ‘Alī Riḍā’s hajj guidebook entitled *Ḥājjīlarga Raftiq* (The Companion of the Hajjis), which was printed in Kazan in 1909, the previous year of ‘Abd Allāh’s hajj. This guidebook has a fascinating subtitle: the Explanation of the Deceived Hajjis and the Right Way of Avoiding Being Deceived. ‘Alī Riḍā recommended that pilgrims take samovars and pots with themselves on their way. ‘Abd Allāh advised against this, as it was “not a requirement suitable to the era.”<sup>5</sup>

Another example is when in the Orenburg newspaper *Waqt* ‘Abd Allāh found Khayr Allāh al-‘Uthmānī share his thoughts and observation during his hajj in 1911, that is, the next season after ‘Abd Allāh’s hajj.<sup>6</sup> Khayr Allāh al-‘Uthmānī was imam of the First Mosque in Kargala near Orenburg and the former deputy of the second State Duma. ‘Abd Allāh disagreed, when al-‘Uthmānī said that the hajj was obligatory (*fard*) only for those who could have means and capital enough for livelihood after their return and those who did not commit bribery and other crimes. By invoking Islamic legal books, ‘Abd Allāh argued that it was before the trip, not after that people must have means much enough to maintain their dependents. ‘Abd Allāh even contended that bribe (*rishwa*) was permissible (*jā’iz*) (sic!) in undertaking the obligation of the pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, ‘Abd Allāh disagreed, when al-‘Uthmānī said that the hajj was not obligatory for women for fear of difficulty women would meet on their way. ‘Abd Allāh asserted that today was the era when the journey was significantly eased by the linkage between Orenburg and Jidda as well as between Medina and Orenburg by rail and steamship. ‘Abd Allāh lamented the small number of Tatar pilgrims and regarded it as a testimony to weak religiosity in the Tatar community. He tried to persuade the broader public to undertake the hajj and to visit Istanbul, Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup>

‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘ādhī skillfully attuned his traditionalism to modernity. ‘Abd Allāh’s hajj was shaped by modern technology including railways,

<sup>5</sup> ‘Alī Riḍā’, *Ḥājjīlarga Raftiq yākhūd Ḥājjīlaring āldāndiqlarini bayān wa āldānmāyıncha yūrugra fūghri tarīq* (Kazan, 1909), 9; *Rihla*, 31–32.

<sup>6</sup> *Waqt*, 24 June 1912, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Rihla*, 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 28 (1912): 441–442. When he left Sevastopol, he found on board more than one thousand pilgrims, most of whom were from Turkestan, while no more than 25 were Tatars. *Rihla*, 4.

steamship, passports, and quarantine. It was by means of print that ‘Abd Allāh tried to reinforce his voice as a Naqshbandi authority. Still, the core of his hajj experience was reconfirming the changing intellectual tradition of the Volga-Ural Muslim commu-

nity and experiencing its long-standing connectivity to a broader Islamic civilization.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the role of steam and print in transforming Muslims’ perception of space and time, James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, eds., *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2014).

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**Подтверждение связей Халидии:  
Абд Аллах аль-Маадхи во время хаджа в 1910 году**

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В статье представлены результаты исследований мусульманской культуры Волго-Уральской культуры представителем Славяно-евразийского исследовательского центра. Методично описывается история хаджа Абд Алх аль-Маадхи как инструмент влияния на характер отношений Российской и Османской империями.

**Ключевые слова:** *хадж, имам, мусульманская культура.*