

## Polemic of The Dagestan Theologians About the Necessity of Hijra (End of 19<sup>th</sup> - Beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century)

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History of the resettlement movement of mountaineers of the North-West Caucasus to the countries of the Ottoman Empire of the end of 19 –beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries throughout long time is an object of researches of modern Russian and foreign experts. In them stages, scales and the reasons of this phenomenon, the main zones of resettlement of emigrants, extent of their assimilation, a role of the Caucasian diasporas in social and political life of the Middle Eastern countries are considered. In their research stages, scales and the reasons of this phenomenon, the main zones of resettlement of emigrants, extent of their assimilation, a role of the Caucasian diasporas in social and political life of the Middle Eastern countries are considered. Rather large volume of archival materials and also a number of the sources of various origin relating to history of the resettlement movement of mountaineers of Dagestan have been introduced for scientific use. As for the arabographic written heritage demonstrating polemic in the theological environment, it poorly studied also requires now the deserved attention of experts.

Theses about the need of resettlement of Muslims for area favorable for realization of their spiritual needs have begun to sound at various discussion platforms again. In this regard studying of theological polemic on problems of a Muhajirs is represented relevant against the background of activization of the destabilizing processes happening in regions of residence of the Muslim communities and the increasing migration activity of the population of the Muslim countries. Studying the ideological basis of the resettlement movement among Muslims of the Caucasus at the end of 19 and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries promotes judgment of this many-sided phenomenon and also is one of the important aspects of the historical relationship of Russia and Turkey.

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At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> - the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries it is truer to correlate emigration of Dagestanis to the concept “resettlement”, in comparison with the tragic processes happening on Western Caucasus which, on the contrary, become attached to “deportation”. However, even though emigration was voluntary, it was one of the tragic consequences of the Caucasian war. In the researches devoted to this problem it is noted that resettlement to the countries of the Ottoman Empire, in particular to Turkey, for mountaineers seemed “lesser evil”. Since, under conditions when it was impossible to defend their independence by armed means, the only means of preserving the purity of their faith, in their understanding was the resettlement to Turkey, to the “country of brothers in faith”, the Sultan of which at that time was perceived by the majority of Muslims as “the Caliph of all faithful”<sup>1</sup>.

In official documents of the Russian administration of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century among the main reasons inducing Dagestanis to move to the countries of the Ottoman Empire, religious “fanaticism” is specified. The aspiration to resettlement, according to representatives of authorities of that time has been caused by desire to lodge to Turkey where Islam was the dominating religion<sup>2</sup>. It would be fair to note that the cruel policy of a czarism in relation to mountaineers of the subdued Caucasus created only the fertile field for appeals to resettlement.

Many mountaineers at registration of necessary formalities, for obtaining permission to leave borders of the Russian Empire it is frequent on a question of the reason of their departure, answered that desire to make a pilgrimage to the holy sites moves them. Under this pretext Dagestan was left also by scientists-theologians, “not wishing to be reconciled with the imperial mode, abuses of imperial administration, and mainly with spiritual and moral and religious pressure”<sup>3</sup>.

Among the local population there was a correspondence, which addressed the need for the resettlement of Dagestan Muslims in the “*dar al-Islam*”. Along with legislative documents and official correspondence, such monuments of the epistolary genre are of great interest to specialists as valuable sources for the

1 A.M. Magomeddadayev, *Emigratsiya dage.stantsev v Osmanskuiu imperiiu*. Vol. I. Makhachkala 2001. p. 55.

2 *The report to the assistant to the chief of the Baku Gendarme Provincial Management from the chief of the Andi district* // RD Central State Archive. F. 66. I. 1. P. 65.

3 D.M. Alkhasova, M.A. Musayev, “O zhizni i deyatel'nosti dage.stanskih uchenyh v stranah arabomusul'manskogo Vostoka”, *Vestnik instituta istorii, arheologii i etnografii*. No. 7. (2006), p. 37-48.

history of muhajirism. These are mainly lettering in Arabic, as well as written in Arabic graphics in Dagestan (*Ajam*).

It is necessary to specify that resettlement moods in the North Caucasus among mountaineers have begun to extend widely during the Caucasian war of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Muhajirians called themselves supporters of the *Imamat*, who found refuge in its territory. According to Muslim historical tradition the prophet Muhammad and his associates forced to make resettlement (*Hijra*) from Mecca to Medina because of oppressions of enemies of Islam were the first muhajirians. The North Caucasian muhajirians associated themselves with heroes of early Islam<sup>4</sup>. The large-scale Dagestan movement of muhajirism to countries beyond the control of the “wrong” is a continuation of internal migration during the Caucasian war<sup>5</sup>.

In works of the Dagestan theologians appeals to leave the homeland have deep roots. The famous Dagestan theologian Abubakar al-Aymaki (1711–1799) in the 18th century in the poem “Take Away me overseas!” urged mountaineers to leave the homeland as he considered that modern to him the Dagestan society was in moral decline<sup>6</sup>. Emigration to Syria the large Dagestan scientist-theologian Haji Muhammad of the son Moussa al-Kuduki (1652-1717) is also connected with rejection of weakening of positions of Sharia among the Dagestan Muslims and deepening of norms of customary law<sup>7</sup>.

Resettlement of Dagestanis to the countries of the Middle East after the end of the Caucasian war besides the social and economic background brought protest character to Turkey. V.O. Bobrovnikov specifies in the research that the moods dominating among local theologians of that time were expressed by the Dagestan poet Irchi Kazak. In one of the poems of the 60th years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in support of muhajirians, he is indignant at the sight of the soldiers who have flooded the Caucasus is indignant to bribes in offices at new orders. The poet urged Muslims to gather the families and to go to the Ottoman state, calling the

4 Abdurrahman from Gazikumukh. *Kniga vospitanij sajjida Abdurahmana, syna ustada shejha tarikata Dzhamaluddina al-Husajni o delah zhitelej Dagestana i CHEchni* / Translation from the Arab of M. Saidov - S. Makhachkala, 1997.

5 V. O. A Bobrovnikov, “Muhadzirstvo v “demograficheskih vojnah” Rossii i Turcii”, *Orients*. No 2. (2010), p. 68.

6 A.M Murtazaliyev, *Tvorchestvo Muradbeya Mizandzhi (H.-M. Amirova) v kontekste literatury dagestanskoj diaspori Turcii (vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX vv.)*. Makhachkala 2004. p. 44.

7 A.R. Shikhsaidov, N.A Tagirova, D.Kh. Gadzhijeva, *Arabskaya rukopisnaya kniga v Dagestane*. Makhachkala 2001. p. 109-114.

Turkish sultan by a support of Dagestanis, and assuring that moved he will appear in paradise<sup>8</sup>.

The Dagestan sheikhs of Sufi brotherhood Nakshbandiya have played an important role in the course of resettlement of the compatriots in the 19-20 centuries. Among them: Jamaluddin Al-Gumuki (1788-1869), Sayyid Ahmad Husamaddin (1848-1923), Omar-Haji Ziyavuddin (1849-1921), sheikhs Muhhamad-Haji al-Kikuni (1835,36–1913) and his nephew Sharapuddin al-Kikuni (1875-1936) and also Haji-Musa al-Irpili.

The main propagandists who were standing up for resettlement of Dagestanis to Turkey at the end of 19 – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, in archival documents and researches specify sheikhs Muhammadd-Haji and his nephew Sharapuddin al-Kikuni (from the village Kikuni). They divided views of the Sufi mentor – the sheikh Abdurakhman-Hadji as-Suguri (1792-1881/82)<sup>9</sup> which have been stated in his treatise “*Risala Sharifa*”<sup>10</sup> devoted to conditions of need of resettlement of Muslims on the territory subject to Islamic laws. According to opinion Sheikh as-Suguri, the faithful, being under the rule of non-Muslim rulers, cannot fully realize their spiritual needs, perform all the duties of Muslims. Therefore, when there is no hope to restore the rights of Islam by means of sacred war (gazavat), every Muslim is obliged to leave the territory of war (*Dar al-Harb*) and to move to the region where Islamic Laws dominate (*Dar al-Islam*)<sup>11</sup>.

Polemic on a muhajirism problem at the end of 19 – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries went not only among scientists-theologians of Dagestan, but also all North Caucasus. Supporters of resettlement (Hijra) considered resettlement to be the right decision and convinced their audience that “to live under the rule of the *kafirs* (infidels) is impossible, so you should fight and die or emigrate to the country of Islam”... “*emigration is your destiny, inscribed by Allah, and the will of God must be fulfilled*”, it “*is recognized by Islam, even the Prophet emigrated when it was necessary*”

8 V.O. Bobrovnikov, “Malyj Dagestan” pod Stambulom: severokavkazskie sufii i svyatyte mesta v Turcii”. *Turcica et Ottomanica*. Moscow 2006, p. 153.

9 Z. A. Magomedova, *Shejh nakshbandijskogo tarikata – Abdurahman-Hadzhi iz Sogratlya*. Makhachkala, 2010.

10 A. R. Shikhsaidov, M. Kemper, N. Tagirova. “The Library of Imam Shamil”, *Princeton University Library Chronicle*. Vol. LXIV. Number I. Autumn. 2002. p. 121-140.

11 Bobrovnikov, *age*. p. 72.

*for him*"<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, to the North Caucasian Muslims suggested to emigrate at first to the country devout, and there you will be prepared for release of the earth from enemies. They were convinced that the one who will die on not Islamic earth that will end up in hell and who wants to get to Heaven, has to die on the Islamic earth<sup>13</sup>. Convinced of letters appeals of Dagestanis that soon mountaineers "will be turned into Russians", will call up them for military service. Moreover, remained will live under the power of incorrect to burn in hell as will begin to drink wine. Therefore, according to supporters of resettlement until "roads to Istanbul are open" it is necessary to leave the homeland not to assimilate to the Kazan Tatars, etc.<sup>14</sup>.

In 1905, in Petrovsk, Muhammad-Haji al-Kikuni issued a appeal to Dagestanis to live according to the instructions of the Koran and the Sunnah, as well as explaining the importance of the role of the Sufi Sheikh in the life of ordinary Muslims. The author was outraged by the negligent attitude of Muslims to the observance of moral and ethical norms. The proof of the threat to the foundations of the Islamic religion, according to the Sheikh, is the very kind of Muslims do not disdain to shake the hands of the infidels, i.e. to cooperate with them. The Sheikh appealed, despite all the hardships, leaving the "homeland of the infidels", to go to more favorable places for the righteous Muslim. For confirmation of the correctness the sheikh has provided ayat from the Koran in the text as incontestable proofs the of correctness<sup>15</sup>.

Certainly, this poetic work by Muhammad-Haji al-Kikuni is an appeal to Hijra. Whether the above-mentioned work by his spiritual mentor sheikh Abdurakhman-Haji as-Suguri "Risala sharifa" was is written in Arabic, and, therefore, there could be only to available experts on Arabic, moreover it, it wasn't rather widespread. Al-Kikuni's address in Avar language, on the contrary, was available to a wider audience. Issue of the printing edition of this of the work "seditious" at that time, could happen only owing to censorship oversight (on the title page of the book

12 F. Baderkhan, *Severokavkazskaya diaspora v Turcii, Sirii i Iordanii (vtoraya polovina XIX – pervaya polovina XX v.)*. Moscow (2001), p. 30.

13 *Ibid.*

14 M. I. Abdullaeva, *Vnutripoliticheskaya situaciya v Dagestane v 70-90 gg. XIX veka i migracionnye processy*. Makhachkala 2006. p. 91.

15 M.G. Shekhmagomedov, Z.B. Ibragimova, *Prizyv k hidzhre v tvorchestve dagestanskikh sufiev konca 19 nachala 20 vv.*, an electronic resource. <http://www.gazavat.ru/history3.php?rub=14&art=599> (date of the address 9/04/2018).

there is a record in Russian: “It is permitted by censorship of St.-Petersburg, on August 27, 1905”). It is known that propaganda to Hijra (resettlement), as well as distribution of the ideas of Pan-Islamism in the territory of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the XXth century was pursued by authorities.

Also, by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century of Sharapuddin’s al-Kikuni appeal concerns Dagestanians about which there is a speech in memoirs of his murid, the native of the village Hadzhalmakhi (now Levashinsky district of RD). His main idea is that Dagestan, having become a part of the state of “infidels”, is no longer comfortable for Muslims: “the grace (view) of the Prophet (s. a.s) has from Russian lands. After that nobody will be an owner of property. You won’t be able to patronize the families, wives more. When hang out a cap on your gate, you for fear won’t enter the houses. Russians will take you under the domination”<sup>16</sup>.

Sharapuddin al-Kikuni writes in the poetic work “The Letter from Turkey” that on his homeland the atheist became hunkary, the believer is dishonored, to visit Sufi mentors that “it is forbidden to study true”, the author considers that “Dagestan is profaned”<sup>17</sup>.

Various written sources, dating from second half of the 19th century demonstrate that the attitude of Dagestanis to resettlement, as well as other representatives of the North Caucasian ethnic groups, was mixed. Against the background of appeals to emigration the addresses to Muslims took place not to leave the native land. Among opponents of resettlement along with religious figures there were also representatives of the mountain intellectuals. Seeing malignancy of emigration of mountaineers to the Ottoman Empire, they considered a duty as far as possible to prevent this process<sup>18</sup>.

One of active opponents of resettlement of Dagestanis to Turkey, the officer of the Dagestan horse regiment Alkhas, the son Guseyn (Donoguyev) has published in 1868 in one of the Dagestan languages (Avarian) the brochure under the name

16 L. A. Gadzhdiyeva, Z. B. Ibragimova, “Vospominaniya Ali Usta o shejhe Sharapuddin Kikuninskom kak istochnik po istorii dage.stanskogo muhadzhirstva konca 19 – nachala 20 vv.”, *Vestnik instituta istorii, arheologii i ehtnografii*, №. 4. (2013), p. 41-46.

17 A.M. Murtazaliyev, *Tvorchestvo Muradbeya Mizandzhi (H.-M. Amirova) v kontekste literatury dagestanskoj diaspori Turcii (vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX vv.)*. p. 40-43.

18 A.M. A. Murtazaliyev, “Tema muhadzhirstva v dage.stanskih pis'mennyh istochnikah 2-oj poloviny XX veka”, [http://www.gazavat.ru/journal3.php?mag\\_id=15&article\\_id=122](http://www.gazavat.ru/journal3.php?mag_id=15&article_id=122) (date of the address: 4/05/2018).

“Manual to My Brothers on Belief”. In addition to the statements about the importance of Muslim’s performance of his religious are discussions about the role of authoritative representatives of Muslim communities, obliged to keep their countrymen from evil deeds and rash steps. In the address the imperial officer condemns Dagestanis, “no shame of the deputy of the tsar-sardar and other chiefs, having thrown fatherly property, leaving it is unknown where”<sup>19</sup>.

In 1913 the famous scientist Ali Kayayev (1878 - 1943)<sup>20</sup> has addressed the contemporaries from pages of the Arabic-language newspaper “Dzharidat Dagistan”: “There is a lot of reasons inducing Dagestanis to the countries of the Ottoman Empire. Among them, for example, such that spread false rumors spread panic that Dagestan is a country of godlessness and, according to the Sharia, it is impossible to live in it; or another, spread by some supporters of the sheikhs (spiritual leaders) of tariqa, that a Muslim must necessarily be a follower of the ideas of one of the sheikhs of tariqa (mentor) and go his way. And if he arrives contrary to it, then Allah allegedly won’t believe in his purity and justice and all his service will be rejected. And if there is no such mentor in Dagestan, then it is necessary to go to the countries of the Ottoman Empire (looking for him) and live there, next to him... And another to that a similar nonsense because of which are misled many men of science of Dagestan in which here and the shortcoming is so felt. And they, selling the personal property and the real estate, emigrate to these far-away countries, subjecting themselves and the families of danger”<sup>21</sup>. Ali Kayayev considered that “Sharia ordered to Muslims resettlement not differently as at the beginning of Islam, in days when believers weren’t so strong to find the religion in the city of pagans to Mecca etc. ... and forbade resettlement when Mecca was conquered and the need for this disappeared...”<sup>22</sup>. For the argument of his point of view Kayayev cited a number of hadiths that refutes the necessity of making a Hijra. From pages of the newspaper the author convinces Dagestanis not to leave the homeland: “... There was in any of texts on Sharia nothing of that kind that would speak about obligation of Hijra (resettlement) to any Muslim city, as before conquest of Mecca, and later ... It is no secret that all Muslims can send the religion all over the world just as residents of the Ottoman Empire and emigrating to this country can do it, without any distinction today. As well as the fact that you see at the same

19 *Ibid.*

20 V.O. Bobrovnikov, “Kayaev Ali”, *Islam na territorii byvshej Rossijskoj imperii*. Vol. 1. Moscow (2006). p. 192 - 194.

21 Ali Al-Gumuki. “Pochemu dagestancy ehmiriruyut v strany Osmanskoj imperii? “Dzharidat Dagistan. On February 4, 1913 N. 5. s. 4, Translation of Navruzov A. (Navruzov A. “Dzharidat Dagistan” - araboyazychnaya gazeta kavkazskih dzhadidov. Moscow 2012. p. 197.

22 *Ibid.*

*time the mosques built by Muslims in many capitals of the great states, such as St. Petersburg, London, Liverpool, etc.”*<sup>23</sup>.

Opponents of *Hijra* considered that if Muslims can make all religious practices in the territory of the accommodation, then they shouldn't emigrate as it is a part a *dar al- Islam* and “*is divided into three categories: 1) lands where primordially live Muslims; 2) new lands conquered by Muslims; 3) the Muslim lands occupied by infidels; according to the Islamic legislation, they are considered as only temporarily lost and are subject to return to a bosom of Islamic property...*”<sup>24</sup>.

However, the result a series of events which have been in Russia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Dagestan Muslims have been deprived of an opportunity to fully satisfy the spiritual needs. The resettlement of Dagestanis to the countries of the Ottoman Empire which had a set of negative consequences I was the measure compelled on which they went, having lost hope to see the best times.

Undoubtedly that besides a religious factor, the important role in the course of resettlement was played by state policy of two powers - Russia and Turkey. It is known that after capture of the imam Shamil authorities in the Caucasus stimulated “deliverance” of the region from “restless”, “dangerous” for them population. And Turkey in the conditions of the Russian-Turkish opposition, has been interested in inflow of the North Caucasians tempered in fights. The number of emigrants, the direction of migration flows, the relation of authorities varied depending on domestic and foreign policy of the states.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* s. 32.

<sup>24</sup> Baderkhan, *age.* p. 32.



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