

# *Prajñā Vihāra*

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ASSUMPTION UNIVERSITY OF THAILAND

WHEN SPIRIT AND INTELLECT KNOW NO GENDER  
BOUNDARIES: WOMEN AND THE RISE OF THE  
NAQSHBANDIYYA-KHALIDIYYA IN THE OTTOMAN  
EMPIRE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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บทคัดย่อ

คาคีจา บินท์ ยูซุฟ คือหนึ่งในบรรดาสตรีที่มีอิทธิพลมากที่สุดของซีเรีย และจักรวรรดิออตโตมัน เธอเคยดำรงตำแหน่งผู้นำของ Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya ซึ่งเป็นสาขาหนึ่งของลัทธิซุฟีที่เคร่งครัด สามของเธอก่อตั้งขึ้นมา เริ่มจากรื่องของเธอเป็นตัวอย่าง บทความนี้จะตรวจสอบว่าบรรดาผู้นำของลัทธิซุฟีที่มีทัศนะต่อสตรีและสถานภาพทางสังคมของพวกเขาอย่างไร และที่สุดแล้วงานประเภทนี้จะช่วยให้เข้าใจดีขึ้นถึงพัฒนาการของสังคมมุสลิมในช่วงวิกฤติของประวัติศาสตร์ตะวันออกกลางสมัยใหม่

Abstract

Khadija bint Yusuf was one of the most powerful women in Syria and the wider Ottoman Empire. She also headed a branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya—the Sufi order founded by her husband, Shaykh Khalid. Beginning with her example, this paper examines how the leading Sufi figures viewed women and their place in society. Ultimately, this type of work will help us better understand the development of Muslim societies during a critical period in the modern history of the Middle East.

Introduction

In 1891 Khadija bint Yusuf died in Damascus at the age of 110. Although she is unknown today, Khadija was one of the most powerful women in Syria and the wider Ottoman Empire. She not only formed close bonds with leading politicians, but she also headed a branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya—the Sufi order founded by her husband, Shaykh Khalid. He was a charismatic Kurdish religious leader and *wali* (or saint) from northern Iraq, who won a wide range of followers in the 1820s in the Ottoman Empire and then the rest of the Muslim world. Shortly before his death in 1827, Khalid entrusted Khadija with administrative and financial responsibilities, and her role in Ottoman politics and in the Sufi order grew afterwards. Seven decades later, Khadija's power was so great that the Ottoman Sultan at the time, Sultan Abdulhamid II, made certain that her dying request to rebuild Khalid's grave in Damascus was fulfilled.

By analyzing the writings of Shaykh Khalid and his followers, court records and the *firman decree*, my paper today will illustrate the role of women in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya throughout the nineteenth century. While women are absent from the scholarship on the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya,<sup>1</sup> they nonetheless played a role in Khalid's career and in the growth of the order. They served as teachers, administrators, financiers, and even political leaders. I will argue that the prominence of these women should come as no surprise, since there is nothing intrinsic to Shaykh Khalid's teachings or devotional practices that preclude women from participating in the order or in political life generally. I will also focus on how Khadija and other women assumed control over Khalid's properties after his death, won exemptions from military services and financial privileges for Khalid's family, and forged ties with Ottoman elites, including female members of the Ottoman royal family.

Significantly, my approach to women in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya is consistent with the ideas of Itzhak Weismann, a leading scholar of Sufism. He observes in the preface to *Naqshbandiyya: Activism and Orthodoxy in a worldwide Sufi tradition* that “Naqshbandi authors tend to focus on the ‘great men’ of their brotherhood and to depict them as they ought to have been rather than they

actually were”.<sup>2</sup> To address these biases, he argues that scholars must read Naqshbandi writings critically and crosscheck them “where possible against independent sources”.<sup>3</sup> My paper reflects my research in Syrian and Turkish archives over the last eight years—archives that contain a wealth of “independent sources” about the Naqshbandiyya. From these archives we will see that a tradition of “great women” emerges from the Naqshbandiyya along with the tradition of “great men”.

I hope this paper will begin a process of reframing how scholars look at Sufi orders during the nineteenth century. Although there is growing scholarship on the role of women in Sufism generally,<sup>4</sup> there remains little work on Sufism and women in the nineteenth century and how leading Sufi figures viewed women and their place in society.<sup>5</sup> Ultimately, this type of work will help us better understand the development of Muslim societies during a critical period in the modern history of the Middle East.

### **Women and the Rise of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya in Kurdistan**

Born in 1776 in a small village in the Ottoman-Iranian frontier district of Shahrazur in what is today northeast Iraq, Shaykh Khalid began his career in 1810, when he journeyed to India and joined the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya *tariqa*. A year later, Khalid returned to Kurdistan. There he founded a suborder of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya that bore his name: the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya. But differences with local religious and political leaders as well as international tensions prevented him from settling anywhere permanently until he came to Damascus in 1823. He died there four years later, reportedly a victim of plague. After his death, the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya grew into a vast socio-religious network, which would go on to play a key role in Muslim societies from Algeria to Southeast Asia.

Women were integral to Shaykh Khalid’s success, beginning with the socio-cultural milieu in which the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya first arose: the Jaf tribal regions in Northern Iraq, Turkey and Iran. In particular, the Jaf tribes differed from Arabs and even Turks in their attitudes toward women, particularly during Shaykh Khalid’s lifetime. The British traveler,

James Rich noted in the 1810s that women in the Jaf tribe lacked “the slightest pretension to a veil, nor had they even a handkerchief round the lower part of the face like Arab women”.<sup>6</sup> They did not even attempt to “hide themselves” from foreigners, and there “were as many women as men present” in Jaf camps.<sup>7</sup> In Rich’s mind, the behavior of Jaf women epitomized the wide freedoms enjoyed by women in a Kurdish society in which women “mixed freely” with men in public and were “treated as equals by their husbands.”<sup>8</sup> The freedom of Kurdish women was so striking that Rich also states that the condition of Kurdish women was “far better” than that of their Turkish, Arab or Iranian counterparts and that Kurdish women in particular derided and despised “the slavish subjection of the Turkish women”.<sup>9</sup> Equally striking is Rich’s discussion of the central role of women in regional diplomacy, in the life of elite Kurdish families in the 1810s and 1820s, and in the important role of Keighan, believed to be an English female knight, in the foundational story of the Baban family, the ruling family of Khalid’s hometown, Sulamaniyya.<sup>10</sup>

How accurate were Rich’s observations of Jaf behavior and the roles of Kurdish women in the Baban and other families? While research on Kurdish women in the nineteenth century remains limited, Martin Van Bruinessen’s work on matriarchy in Kurdish societies suggests that Kurdish populations in the Ottoman lands — both Muslims and non-Muslims — accepted female political and military figures in the nineteenth century. He cites the female Kurdish chieftain who fought for the Ottomans in the Crimean War and the tale of Zambilffirosh in which a queen falls in love with a prince who had foresworn luxury for the life of a wandering dervish. Even more importantly, Van Bruinessen discusses Adela Khanum, the wife of the ruler of Shahrazur, Shaykh Khalid’s and the Jaf’s home region; Adela Khanum was a descendant of the ruling Ardalan family, who frequently intermarried with Jaf rulers. She was Shahrazur’s ruler in all but name from the turn of the twentieth century until 1924 — even presiding over the province’s court. Although Adela Khanum governed several decades after Rich visited Kurdistan, her success lends some credibility to Rich’s portrayal of Kurdish women, particularly that of elite women.<sup>11</sup>

Within this context, women were critical to forming community bridges among various tribes for Shaykh Khalid and penetrating the local political elite. Though there is scant biographical information on these

women in the hagiographies and official histories, Khalid's correspondence, Rich's observations and official Ottoman government records give us a wider view. From Khalid's correspondence and Ottoman records, we know that at least one of Khalid's wives had brothers and other relatives in Aramayn (Hawraman), a mountainous region on the Ottoman-Iranian frontier northeast of Shahrzur.<sup>12</sup> In another one of his letters, Shaykh Khalid mentions that he had recently visited his mother (presumably his mother's grave) in this region. Finally, there are several letters written by Khalid during his time in Kurdistan addressed to a certain "Walidat al-Majida", a term that could have applied to his mother or an older woman whom Khalid especially respected. Whoever Walidat al-Majida turns out to have been, there is little question that older, mother-like women and their relatives were an important factor in Shaykh Khalid's life in Kurdistan.

### Baghdad and Damascus

After the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya spread from Kurdistan southward to Baghdad between 1810 and 1820, Khalid found a new group of male and female supporters. The enormous crowds that gathered at the Baghdadi mosque that became known as Khalid's *zawiya* (the "Tekke Khalidiyya") represented all ages, classes, and ethnicities. Men and women affiliated themselves with the *tariqa* and visited the *zawiya* regularly. Numerous wealthy Baghdadis endowed orchards and properties to support Khalid's work. The Ottoman governor of Baghdad, Dawud Pasha, gave Khalid a cash grant of 30,000 gold pieces, an enormous sum at the time, and provided funds to expand Khalid's *zawiya*.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, the largest contributor to the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya was a woman, Khadija Katun; this fact suggests the great influence that women carried in Baghdad's elite at the time.<sup>15</sup> As Dina Le Gall notes in *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World*, Katun's generosity was consistent with what other Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire had done for centuries, where they often served as "benefactors for Naqshbandiyya institutions".<sup>16</sup>

The role of women in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya continued

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to grow following Khalid's exile from Iraq and decision to settle in Damascus in 1823. Among the prominent Damascene women to join the order was Halima al-Kayyali al-Khalidi. She was the wife of one of Shaykh Khalid's closest Syrian followers, 'Abdullah bin Mustafa al-Khani, and the daughter of a prominent shaykh in Damascus' Salihhiyya neighborhood.<sup>17</sup> In a letter penned in Syria announcing the death of his son in Urfā, Turkey<sup>18</sup> Khalid requested that his disciple in Baghdad, 'Abd al-Ghafur, inform his male and female followers that he had been able to come to terms with the sudden loss.<sup>19</sup> When Husan Efendi died while Shaykh Khalid was in Sulaymaniyya, Khalid told 'Abd al-Ghafur that he had sent Um 'Abd al-Hakim to express the condolences of his family and to console Husan's wife and daughter. He also asked Um 'Abd al-Hakim, whom he referred to reverentially as "*shaqiqa al-shaqiqa*" (sister of the sister), to tell Husan's family that he no longer saw them "as he did before" — a potential indication that Shaykh Khalid would be closer to them in the future and look after their interests.<sup>20</sup> As you can see, women were integral to the growth of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya.

### A Flexible Approach to Women

By the time of Shaykh Khalid's untimely death in 1827, he had enough trust in Khadija that he designated her alone in his *wasiyya* (or will) to oversee his properties in Syria and to distribute charitable resources to the poor. The fact that Shaykh Khalid trusted a woman with such an important assignment along with the fact of the prominence of his female followers in Damascus suggests the strength of women in the order. Moreover, there is nothing intrinsic in Shaykh Khalid's core teachings, in the beliefs of his followers, or the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya's devotional practices that precludes women from participating in the social movement or in political life generally. Equally importantly, there were other women who played important roles in the dissemination of Sufi orders and Muslim social movements generally in the nineteenth century: teachers, leaders, and even soldiers.<sup>21</sup>

That said, Khalid was not a modern feminist, and there are instances in which he appears to have explicitly limited women's access to

the *tariqa*, its followers, and places of worship. In this sense, women may not have been "equal" to men in the order's hierarchy. Shaykh Khalid had female disciples throughout the Ottoman Empire and married the daughter of a prominent Syrian family, but he forbade his disciples in Istanbul after 1823 to marry Turkish women or to allow young women to enter the official Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya lodge in Istanbul; the point of this was to prevent them from forming independent alliances with Turkish elites.<sup>22</sup> Equally important, Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya sources also record that Khalid, while on his deathbed in 1827, barred women outside of his family from entering his family's house in Damascus. The only exception to this was the young women who had been required to remain in the house until they gave birth and who were now nursing children. In addition, he warned his followers not to start relationships with women under the pretext of teaching as well as to cease seeking guidance from his wives in the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya.<sup>23</sup>

How does one explain Shaykh Khalid's approach to women? Khalid often displayed flexibility in both his personal behavior and his approach to his followers. He could suspend basic teachings if changing circumstances dictated that he needed to do so. For instance, Khalid's instructions to his followers in Istanbul in 1823 reflected his fear that one of them would build alliances with the Ottoman elite and usurp Khalid's position as the leader of the order—just as his old disciple in the city, 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Susi, had done before he was expelled from the order. Similarly, Khalid's instructions to his followers in Damascus in 1827 regarding women generally and his Kurdish wives in particular may have been meant to prepare them for a new conservative social and political order in the city after his death. It is worth remembering Rich's observation that the position and freedoms afforded Kurdish women in the nineteenth century was substantially better than those enjoyed by their Arab and Turkish sisters.

### Women and the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya After 1827

As flexible as Shaykh Khalid's teachings may have been, it is worthy of note that his followers either ignored or chose to forget these

final instructions regarding women. After a brief exile in Kurdistan in the late 1820s, Khalid's followers returned to the city and resumed administering his Damascene house, land and network of pious endowments. Rather than limiting their public role, Khadija and other women played an even larger role, closely linking themselves to Shaykh Khalid's legacy. Through Egyptian diplomatic documents, we know that Khadija forged close ties with the Egyptian government during the Egyptian occupation of Syria in the 1830s and won a state pension.<sup>24</sup> In the years after the restoration of Ottoman sovereignty in Syria in 1840, Khadija forged even closer ties with Ottoman officials, including senior female members of the Ottoman royal family's properties. She also won generous state funds for the upkeep of Shaykh Khalid's tomb—appealing directly to highest levels in the Ottoman government. When Khadija died in 1891, Sultan Abdulhamid II requested that a poem be composed eulogizing his decision to uphold her request to rebuild Khalid's tomb.<sup>25</sup>

Other women also played key roles in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya in Damascus and beyond in the nineteenth century. One of Khalid's daughters, Fatima, became a leading teacher of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya in Damascus. She was very well schooled in Islamic sciences, had her own followers, and married the scion of a leading Damascene religious family, Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Khani. She spoke four languages fluently: Arabic, Farsi, Kurdish, and Turkish. By comparison, her father, Shaykh Khalid, only knew Arabic, Farsi, and Kurdish. He never learned Turkish.<sup>26</sup>

Another woman who played a role in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya was 'Aftab bint 'Abdullah, the daughter of one of Khalid's followers from Baghdad. In 1854 she publicly challenged Khadija's decision to sell the contents of Shaykh Khalid's personal library, bringing suit against her in Damascus's shari'a court. According to court records Khadija argued through her representative that the books had been the property of her recently deceased son and she therefore had the right to sell them. 'Aftab countered through her representative that Khalid had written a family *waqf* (or pious endowment) on the flyleaf of a dictionary that mandated that the library remain intact. The chief judge, 'Ali Rida, sided with 'Aftab and prohibited Khadija and any other of Khalid's relatives from obstructing her access to the library. In a subsequent ruling,

Rida certified the family *waqf* as official and mandated Khadija to look after the administration of the pious endowment. Khalid's personal library remained intact and served the people of Damascus well into the mid twentieth century.<sup>27</sup>

If one reviews the 1854 court case, Khadija's motives are pretty clear: she wanted the money that she would get from selling the books in Khalid's library. But 'Aftab's motives are not nearly as clear. Bringing suit in court would have meant expending considerable time and resources fighting over the fate of a collection of books she did not own and could never expect to control. She must have had a very good reason to want the library to remain as it was. While personal animosities may have played a role in motivating 'Aftab to sue Khadija, there is another (and more likely) explanation: education. Khalid's library contained nearly 900 book manuscripts in Arabic and Persian on subjects as diverse as Qur'anic exegesis, law, Islamic mysticism, history, philology, Arabic syntax, grammar, logic, philosophy, and arithmetic. The library also contained multiple copies of key Islamic texts. In the period before the establishment of the Zahiriyya Library, such a vast collection of books, which multiple individuals could access at one time, was a valuable resource to students of the Islamic sciences. In short, 'Aftab sued Khadija to make certain that she-like previous generations of men and women in the *tariqa*-could benefit from Khalid's library.<sup>28</sup>

## Conclusion

Nearly a hundred and fifty years after 'Aftab went to court to save Khalid's library, men and women continue to be drawn to his followers in Syria and in many other parts of the world. Just as there is a *silasila*, or formal chain of spiritual descent, from Shaykh Khalid to his leading contemporary male disciples, there is also a *silasila* of female shaykhs that dates back to the nineteenth century. Hundreds of girls and young women are trained annually in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya *tariqa* in Damascus and develop their own followings. Other women have joined the *tariqa* and been initiated in communities administered by female followers in Cyprus. Today women are an inescapable part of any of the *tariqa*

anywhere in the world.<sup>29</sup>

Though they are often forgotten by scholars and laymen alike today, women made critical contributions to the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya and provide us important insights into the role of women in the Middle East and in Damascus during the nineteenth century. Through a critical reading of Naqshbandi writing and by referencing independent sources, I have sought to restore these women to their rightful place in the history of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya and give a new insight into the rise of modern Islamic movements. My conclusion (and source materials) reminds us of the wisdom of the leading Syrian historian of the Ottoman period, Abdul Karim Rafeq. He argues that "no study of pre-industrial Arab society and the changes it underwent... may be adequate, or in fact possible, without consulting [Syria's] rich law-court registers".<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, we would never know about Khadija and other women in the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya without the registers. Given the spiritual and intellectual limitations of the time – and the way in which biography was conceived – it would not have been possible for Khalid's hagiographers to have included material dealing with the powerful women present in the shaykh's retinue. But spirit and intellect know no gender boundaries, and you may be sure that the women of Khalid's time made their presence felt. Khadija is a particularly telling example of how much genuine power a woman of that time could attain.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Examples of the literature on the Naqshbandiyya and Shaykh Khalid in Western languages include the following texts: Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 22 (1985), 1-36; Butrus Abu-Manneh, "*Khawla* and *Rabita* in the Khalidi Suborder", in *Naqshbandis Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order: Actes de la Table Ronde de Sevres: Proceedings of the Sevres Round Table 2-4 mai/2-4 May 1985*, ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone (Istanbul and Paris: Editions Isis, 1990), 281-294; Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance", *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976): 124-152; Albert Hourani, "Shaykh Khalid and the

Naqshbandi Order", in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented By His Friends and Pupils to Richard Wätzer*, ed. M. Stern, Albert Hourani and Vivian Brown, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 89-104; Albert Hourani, "Sufism and Modern Islam: Mawlana Khalid and the Naqshbandi Order", in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 75-89; and Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 41-68; and Itzhak Weismann, *Taste of Modernity: Sufism, Salihiyya, and Arabism in Late Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). There is also an extensive literature in Arabic and Farsi: Abbas al-'Azzawi, "Khulafa Mawlana Khalid", *Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmi al-Kurdi* (Baghdad) 2 (1974), 182-222; Nizar Abaza, *al-Shaykh Khalid al-Naqshbandi al-'alim al-mujaddid: ha-yatuhu wa-ahamm mu'allafatihi* (Dimashq: Dar al-Fikr, 1994); Dr. İrfan Gunduz, *Osmanlılar'da Devlet-Tekke Münasebetleri* (Istanbul: Yaylaciik Matbasi, 1984); Hawlkat al-Hakim, "Ab'ad zuhur al-Tariqa al-Naqshbandiyya fi Kurdistan fi awal al-qam al-tasi" *ashar*, *Studia Kurdica* 1 (1984): 55-67; Abdrahman Memis, *Haliñi Bağdâdî ve Anadolu'da Hâlidîlik* (Istanbul: KITABEVI, 2000); Mahindokht Mu'tamadi, Mawlana Khalid Naqshband (Teheran: Pazhang Publishing, 1990); and Muhammad Sharif al-Sawwaf, *Mawlana al-Shaykh Khalid al-Naqshbandi* (Dimashq: Bayt al-Hikma, 2000).

<sup>21</sup>Itzhak Weismann, *Naqshbandiyya: Activism and Orthodoxy in a world-wide Sufi tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2007), XIV.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>Recent examples include Camille Adams Helminski, *Women of Sufism: A Hidden Treasure* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 2003) and Rkia Cornell, *Trans. and Edit., Early Sufi Women A bilingual critical edition of as-Sulami's Dhikr an-Niswa al-Muta'abbidat as-Sufiyyat* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1999).

<sup>24</sup>An exception is Burney Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices in Pakistan and India* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002).

<sup>25</sup>Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, and on the site of ancient Nineveh with a journal of a voyage down the Tigris to Baghdad and an account of a visit to Shiraz and Persepolis* (London: J. Duncan, 1836), *Narrative*, Vol. I, 181.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 284.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 283-285.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 291-301. Rich notes that the Baban family believed that Keighan was an English warrior and had bested the finest Turkish knights until she lost to the male founder of the Baban dynasty, Fakih Ahmad. The Ottoman Sultan then rewarded Fakih with territories in Kurdistan and sanctioned his marriage to the female English knight.

<sup>11</sup>For more on this issue, see Martin van Bruinessen, "Matriarchy in Kurdistan?: Women rulers in Kurdish History", *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 6 (1) (Fall, 1993): 25-39.

<sup>12</sup>Shaykh Khalid built a substantial following in this region and there are still important families connected to the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya there today. For more on Shaykh Khalid's influence on the Ha-wraman, see Ferhad Shakely, "The Naqshbandi Sheikhs of Hawraman and the Heritage of Khalidiyya-Mujaddidiyya in Kurdistan", in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (Istanbul: Svenska forskningsinstitutet Istanbul, 1999), 92-100.

<sup>13</sup>For more on Walidat al-Majida, see Shaykh Khalid, *Makṭūbat Khalid Baghdadī* (Istanbul University Library Rectory, AY 728, folios 1-192, N.D.), folios 107a, 111a-112b, 148a-b, 150b, 165b, 166a, and 181b.

<sup>14</sup>Yusuf 'Izzy al-Din, *Dawid Basha wa-nihayat al-mamalik fi al-'Iraq* (Baghdad: Matba'at al-Sha'b, 1976), 49.

<sup>15</sup>Abd al-Ghani Ibrahim al-Durubi, *al-Baghdadiyyun: akhbaruhum wa-majalisuhum: kitab yabihath 'an majalis Baghdad*. Edited by Usamah Nasir al-Naqshbandi. al-Tab'ah 2. (Baghdad: Dar al-Shu'un al-Thaqafiyya al-'Ammah Afaq 'Arabiya, 2001), 149 and 288-89. Durubi provides a lengthy list of the lands endowed to provide for the upkeep of the zawiya and its accompanying buildings.

<sup>16</sup>Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 2005), 60.

<sup>17</sup>Muti' al-Hafiz and Nizar Abaza, *'Ulama Dimashq wa-a yanuha fi al-qarn al-thalith 'ashar al-hijri* (Bayrut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'asir; Dimashq: Dar al-Fikr, 1991), 433 and Dr. 'Ala' al-Din al-Khani, al-Ustra al-Khaniyya al-Dimashqiyya (Dimashq: Dar al-Fikr, 1986), 29.

<sup>18</sup>Urfa is a town in south-central Turkey near the Turkish-Syrian border. It was an important stopping point on the land route between Iraq and Syria.

<sup>19</sup>As'ad al-Sahib, *Bughyat al-wajid fi maktubat Mawlana Khalid*. (Dimashq: Matba'at al-Taraqqi, 1334/1915-16), 219.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 206-207.

<sup>21</sup>Sahib, *Bughyat al-wajid*, 259-265. A good example is Nana Asma'u. For more on her life, see Beverly B. Mack and Jean Boyd, *One Women's Jihad* (Blomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000).

<sup>22</sup>Sahib, *Bughyat al-wajid*, 121.

<sup>23</sup>Khalid, *Makṭūbat Khalid Baghdadī*, folios 44b-45a and Sahib, *Bughyat al-wajid*, 259-264.

<sup>24</sup>Imad Ra'uf, *al-'Iraq fi watha'iq Muhammad Ali* (Baghdad: Bayt al-Hikma, 1999), 68 (#46 and #211).

<sup>25</sup>Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemi, Nezâret ve Devâir, 66/70, document date 12 Safer 1269 (November 25, 1852); Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemi, Nezâret ve Devâir, 128/37, document date 28 Rebi'ulahir 1271; (January 18, 1851); Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemi, Nezâret ve Devâir, 348/50, document date 29 Ramazan 1277 (April 10, 1861);

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<sup>26</sup>Makama Shar'iyya li-Dimashq, Vol. 1151, pp. 153, 180-182, case dated 20 Jumada 11310 (December 10, 1892) and al-Hafiz and Abaza, *Ulama Dimashq*, 681.

<sup>27</sup>For more on the library and a copy of the specific court case, see Frederick De Jong and Jan Just Witkam, "The Library of al-Sayk Kalid al-Sahrazuri al-Naqshbandi: A Facsimile of the Inventory of his Library (MS Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, No. 259)", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987), 68-73.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>Annabelle Böcher, "Islamic Teaching among Sunni Women in Syria", in *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Donna Lee Bowen and Evelyn A. Early, 292-296, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

<sup>30</sup>Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Law-Court Registers and their Importance For a Socio-Economic and Urban Study of Ottoman Syria", in *L'Espace Social De La Ville Arabe*, ed. Dominique Chevallier (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve Et Larose, 1979), 58.

## EZIGBO MMADU: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONCEPT OF A GOOD PERSON IN IGBO WORLDVIEW

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### บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้ตรวจสอบแนวคิดเกี่ยวกับ "บุคคลที่ดี" ในโลกทัศน์ของชาวอิกโบ อีกทั้งยังเห็นว่า "บุคคลที่ดี" นั้น ถูกสร้างขึ้นมาจากความสัมพันธ์ของมนุษย์ บทความนี้ยังได้นำเสนอว่า ความดีในความเข้าใจของชาวอิกโบ นั้นคือจุดสุดยอดของการสร้างสรรค์ของพระเจ้าสูงสุด และความงาม (ของการสร้างสรรค์) ที่อยู่ที่ตัวมนุษย์ในฐานะที่เป็นผู้กระทำการทางศีลธรรม การมีขงบนใดๆก็ตามที่เห็นไปจากอุดมคตินี้คือการลดฐานะของตัวมนุษย์เองจากจุดสูงสุดที่มนุษย์ชาติถูกจัดวางไว้ เมื่อเป็นเช่นนี้สำหรับชาวอิกโบ คำว่า "บุคคลที่ดี" จึงเป็นการจับความและสะท้อนให้เห็นอุดมคติเหล่านั้นซึ่งจำเป็นสำหรับความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกลุ่มและภายในกลุ่มด้วยกันเอง

### Abstract

This paper examines the concept of 'ezigbo mmadu' (good person) in Igbo worldview. The paper argues that 'ezigbo mmadu' is constructed in human relationships. It argues that the Igbo people's understanding of 'mmadu' as the climax of the Supreme Being's creativity and beauty situates the human person as a moral agent. Deviating from that ideal is an aberration that reduces the human person from the pinnacle that humankind has been placed. And so, for the Igbo 'ezigbo mmadu' captures and reflects those ideals necessary for group and inter-group relations.



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