The Afaq (Apak) Khoja Mausoleum in Kashgar as a symbol of Uyghur’s identity (ca 1640–2015)

Located in Haohan Village (浩罕村) in the north-eastern suburb of Kashgar, the Khoja Apak1 Mausoleum called by Uyghurs Apak Khoğa Mazār (ئاپاق خوجا مازار) and by Chinese Abahejia mazha (阿巴和加麻札) is the holiest Muslim site in Xinjiang. The Apak Khoja Mausoleum is a complex in the honour of the Khoja family who belonged to the Muslim group Naqshbandi Sufi. This family of religious leaders originally from Bukhara not only grounded Islam in the East Turkestan but also influenced Uyghour’s cultural and political identity by several different factors such as self-perception of ethnicity and locality. This phenomenon developed the basis of Islamic-grounded political regimes, organizations, and initiatives of Naqshbandi Sufism. The tradition of Apak Khoja is a specific „historical reservoir” playing an important role in discussion about Uyghur’s identity. The reputation of Apak in the past and the present depended on many political and religious contexts.

Starting with the famous relations of Russian (Kazakh) traveller Shoqan Shynghysuly Walikhanov (1835–1865; kazakh: Шоқан Шыңғысұлы Уәлиханұлы)

1 Since the Persian language in Central Asia was a kind of lingua franca it is worth mentioning that Persian version of Apak’s name (Afāq) is relatively popular in European literature. The Uyghur form Apak Hoxha (ئاپاق خوجا) is much less popular beyond the borders of today’s Chinese province of Xinjian. However, in this study will be used, “Apak” (not Afāq), because it seems to better reflect the original form. Chinese sources mostly use form 伊達雅圖勒拉 – Apak Yīdáyǎ Túlēilā. There are also other Chinese versions write this name: 阿帕克霍加 – Āpàkè Huòjiā, 阿帕克和卓 – Āpàkè Hézhuō, sometimes 阿帕霍加 – Āpà Huòjiā and 和卓 – Hézhuō.
and analyses of Henry Walter Bellew (1834–1892) the meaning and influence of Apak Khoja and the specific dynasty of Kashgar’s khojas with a symbolic function of their mausoleum is the object of research in many aspects including the historical, sociological, religious and cultural one. After 1978 Apak

Khoja found the place in the analyses of Chinese scholars who present this specific Uyghur phenomenon in a difficult political context. Chinese sources, at various periods, have been called “the Country of the Uyghurs” the “Western Region” or the “Western Countries.” In non-Chinese sources, it was named as “Uyghuristan,” “East Turkestan,” “Chinese Turkestan,” or sometimes “Chinese Central Asia.”


mausoleum, decorated with colourful tiles. Because of its architecture, mausoleum is the greatest Muslim object in the province of Xinjiang. It has features typical for mosques of Central Asia with a particular ʿivan (لىوان، ʿīvon), which is the lobby in the form of a monumental recess with a big hole opening to the courtyard. The mausoleum is decorated with small coloured tiles with the dominant colours of green and blue composing geometric motifs and plants. In the 18th century this monumental building was covered with magnificent tiles. Nowadays only four minarets have colourful mosaics.

Every day many pilgrims honour Apak’s Khoja family members in the mausoleum, which contains special tombs covered with colourful materials. In the middle of the group of tombs a carriage imported from Beijing is placed, which was transported the body of the famous, legendary “fragrant Concubine” Xiāngfēi (香妃, Uyghur ئىپارخان – Iparxan). Outside the tombs there are also four prayer halls, a garden and a pond. The whole complex is surrounded by a wall.

The Khoja Apak Mausoleum (Autor’s pictures)

It is worth stressing the importance of the second part of the name of the mausoleum of Apak Khoja. Namely, the title “Khoja” (in Uyghur خوجا – Hoxha) is derived from the Persian term خواجه (Kᵛājas, Kᵛājagān). Traditionally it meant “a master,” “a teacher” but over time became a honorific title of pious individuals from Central Asia in the Muslim culture. It was the common salutation for teachers, clergy, nobilities, various types of masters, Qur’anic experts and experts of Islamic law. The title „Khoja” had many local variations

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of meaning. For example in India it determined the converts to Nizārī Ismā'īlīs (النزاريون) and it became the name one of many castes.\(^5\) In Central and South Asia the title “Khoja” was usually used to respect a member of the family who was connected with the Prophet Muhammad through a kind of spiritual genealogy – silsila – an authorized “chain” of spiritual and genealogical ancestries.\(^6\) In this sense the term “Khoja” was understood in Kashgar as a synonym of word sayyid (سيد – Arabic sayyid, Persian seyyed) which is extremely popular in India and Pakistan and the analogic term pir (Persian پير; Hindi पीर बाबा Peer Baba) used in Pakistan.\(^7\) In the sources one can find also the another titles of Apak, like for example Hazrat Afaq. Without any doubt, this is an adaptation of the Persian term Hazrat (which in turn is linked with Arabic حضرة – Ḥaḍrah) in the sense of “his Majesty,” “Majesty,” “dignified.”\(^8\) All these titles were connected with a great prestige of masters in the Sufi orders.\(^9\)

There are some historical inconveniences with some geographical and ethnic names in Xinjiang, above all, the usage of the name “Uyghurs” is controversial. This ethnic name was commonly used after 1935, when Shèng Shīcái (盛世才; 1897–1970) – a Chinese military officer and politician in reality the ruler of Xinjiang Province until 1944 – widely introduced the name “Uyghurs” for Muslims of Turkish origin.\(^10\) Therefore, presenting history of this region before 1935 it is more appropriate to use the terminology associated with Turkestan, taking into consideration the great influences of Turkish people in the region. Etymologically, the name – Turkestan in the meaning “the land of the Turks,” is derived from the Persian language (ترکستان). The name “East

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"Turkestan" meant in the period from the 14th to the 19th century a huge area of Central Asia, between Siberia and Tibet in the North, India and Afghanistan in the South and the Caspian Sea in the West and Eastern Mongolia and the Gobi desert in the East. This area for centuries was inhabited by tribes from which are derived the modern peoples of the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Turkmens and Uyghurs. They are closely related, since they use Turkic languages. Therefore suggesting an Uyghur identity in the Apak’s age (in 17th century) seems to be simplified and only partially justified. It seems that it is the most correct to use names of Yarkent Khanate and Kashgar Khanate. On the other hand, some of contemporary Uyghurs find the directly continuity with the former Turkish-Muslim heritage of East Turkestan.11

Paradoxically, the names such as: Xingjiang, East Turkestan, Kashgaria, Uyguristan, the Kashgar Khanate, the Yarkent Khanate and Altishahr (it will be mentioned later) are only partially synonymic. They cover more or less the same geographical ranges but relate to a variety of historical contexts and cultural determinants. It is show clearly in the documents from 17th to the end of 19th century.12

The impact of the Sufism of Nakshbandiyya in East Turkestan

It was mentioned that Apak and his family were considered as the people spiritually connected with the Prophet. Such great connection made this people belong to the Sufi order of nakshbandiyya. This fact had far-reaching consequences not only for the further development of Apak’s worship but also for the symbolism of the Turkish peoples in the Chinese province Xinjiang.

The Nakshbandi Sufism, also known as Nakshbandiyya (نقشبندية – naqšbandī – Naqšbandiyyah) was established on the basis of Sunni Islam and it is now one of the most influential and prevalent mystical dimension of Islam. Nakshbandiyya consequently derives its spiritual genealogy from Muhammad through Abu Bakr (573–634, Caliph of the 632–634), Umar (586–644, Caliph 634–644) and Uthman (577–656, the Caliph 644–656) which are named the

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Rashidun caliphs ("Righteously Guided Caliphs" الخلفاء الراشدون al-Khulafāʾu ar-Rāshidūn). Some nakshbani demonstrate spiritual attachment to Ali heritage (ca. 600–661, the Caliph 556–661) having connection with Shia Islam.\textsuperscript{13}

Genealogy book attesting Afaq Khoja as a sayid, i.e. a descendant of Muhammad (author Unknown, Khoja Ahmat Yahya, ca. 1900)

The hallmark of Islam growing in many areas of Central and southern Asia (Pakistan, China, India) is a relatively strong impact of Sufism. Especially the religiosity in the rural areas of East Turkestan takes the form of worship given to the great Sufi saints. These holy men, bearing various titles, are considered as the people endowed with baraka (بركة), which is a God blessing.

Followers of the folk Islam simply believe that the saint Sufi masters have the ability to intercede with God. The Muslims honour not only saints but also their descendants – *pirs*, heirs of the *baraka*. These successors, in reality, their whole families are both masters of the spiritual path and the doctors, often owning large possessions and colossal fortunes.\(^1^4\)

Each *pir* belongs to one or more of the Sufi orders in the region. From the end of the 12th century, it was a group of Chishtiya (Chishti order) and Suhrawardyia (Suhrawardi order).

In turn, Sufi order of Nakshbandiya appeared from the 16th century.\(^1^5\) The anniversary of the death of saint Sufi – in our case Apak Khoja – is an occasion for pilgrimages and ceremonies being held at shrines.\(^1^6\)

Nakshbandiya was founded in Persia, but it did not develop well there. Small groups of supporters of this school remained in Kurdistan (in Persia appeared again in xix century). As the group strongly linked to the Timurids (1370–1526) it raised the most followers in Central Asia and Turkey. From Bukhara – the main centre of this order and also the largest scientific centre of Muslim Central Asia – nakshbandiya sent emissaries to territory of today’s China. In contrast to the other Sufi orders (such as Kadiriya, Yasawiyata and Kubrawiya) the members of the Nakshbandi school considered missionary work and political activity as important parts of its spiritual growth.

This fact explains the significant religious and political position of Apak Khoja and his successors in Kashgar. Moreover, the history of the Nakshbandiya shows many facts relating to the religious-political commitment of this order. For example, many members of this Sufi school lead the uprisings against tsarist authority in Russian Central Asia and they caused much unrest in the Muslim regions of the former Soviet Union. Nowadays Ğayš-*Naqšabandiya-Tariqa aṭ Riḡāl* (جيش رجال الطریقة النقشبندیة – “The Army of the Men of the Nakshandi Order” is one of the most active underground military organizations in Iraq.\(^1^7\)


Getting back to the Chinese province of Xinjiang, it should be pointed out that Nakshbandi order played there a fundamental role in the local Muslim communities. For ages the school propagated human qualities, such as strong discipline, total dedication to the ideals and strict hierarchy. In these fundamentals the order solidified Islam in Central Asia and constituted resistance against Chinese and Mongolian presence in the region. Nakshbandiya embedded integrally in the local structure of the society. Namely, not only the leaders of the order, but also local lower-ranking authorities as well as a large part of the warriors, were closely associated with nakhshbandiya. Thanks to this structure, the order contributed essentially to the transformation of East Turkestan into a Muslim region.\textsuperscript{18}

The life and the legacy of Apak Khoja

The personality of Apak Khoja is a part of tumultuous history of Nakshbandi order in East Turkestan,\textsuperscript{19} more precisely in Yarkent Khanate called also Altishahr (which is derived from two Turkish words \textit{alti} – “six” and \textit{šahr} – “city”). Altishar is a historical name used in the 18th and 19th centuries for the region of the Yarkent Khanate or – after conquering Yarkand by Apak ancestors – the Kashgar Khanate. In reality it was a kind of union of six cities of Kashgar, Yarkand, Hoten, Uchturpan, Aksu and Kucha. Only some sources in this period, use the name Yeti šahr i.e. the region of the “seven cities” or “four cities” – \textit{Dorben šahr}.\textsuperscript{20}


Apak was born in 1626 in Kumul, where his father Muhammad Yusuf Khoja taught Nakshbandi sufism. His mother was daughter of a wealthy bek (بک – bak; Persian:  بک – beg or beyg), the local leader of Bashkerim. At the age of twelve years, Apak arrived with his father to Kashgar (1638).

His father propagated extensively the ideas of Nakshbandiya in the area of Kashgar. However, the deepest division among Nakshbandi sufis arose in this region of East Turkestan. As a result of rivalry between two sons of Ahmad Kasani: Ishan-i-Kalan Khoja (ایشان کلاں) and Muhammad Ishaq Wali Khoja (محمد اسحاق ولج) power and Nakshbandi heritage in Kashgar has been divided into two different versions of this order. Supporters of the Ishan-i-Kalan Khoja were named Aqtağılıq, that is Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains.” In turn, adherents of Muhammad Wali were called Qaratağılıq or Nakshbandi order from the “Black Mountains.” Relatively quickly, the two rivalry groups of the order created separate, efficiently functioning organizational forms, with their own methods of recruitment of members and their separate leaders called khojas.

Apak’s father, Muhammad Jusuf (محمد يوسف) eagerly spread Nakshbandiya in the version Aqtağılıq. After the death of his father, who was poisoned in 1653, Apak – considered as the sayyid – put much effort to promote the Nakshbandi version from the “White Mountains” in the whole East Turkestan. He did that so zealously in his unique way, that this branch of Nakshbandiya (Aqtağılıq) was named synonymously Afaqiya (Arabic and Persian Afāqi, or Ḥaqqiyya) which came from the name of Apak. In turn, at the same time Qaratağılıq or Nakshbandi order from the “Black Mountains” was also called Ishakiya (Arabic Ishāqi, Ishāqiyya, Persian Eshāqīya), from the name of the founder of this version of the Nakshbandiya.

Until year 70s of the 17th century Apak was the efficient governor of Kashgar, which of this time was a part of Yarkent Khanate (مملکتی یارکند 1514–1705). However, the tensions between Aqtağılıq and Qaratağılıq escalated especially in this period. According to the historical sources, when the khan of Yarkand Abdul Karim (1660–1691) was participating in a pilgrimage in Mekka (hağğ), his son Ismail removed Apak from pow-

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er. As a consequence, Apak took refuge in Tibet seeking political support by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (Tibetan: ངག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, ruled 1617–1682). In the Dalai Lama court Apak presented himself as the legitimate ruler of Kashgar.

The primary source presenting these events is *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkestan* by Muhammad Sadiq Kashgarii (*Taẓkira-and-Ḥwāṅgān-Ṣadiq Muḥammad Kašgari*), published on the basis of five different manuscripts by Robert Barkley Shaw (1839–1879). This chronicle describes the situation in the Kashgar from the beginning of the 17th century to 1756. Another source for the study of this period is the anonymous *Tārikh-i Kāshghar*

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dated by the Russian scholars to 1696, the manuscript of which is located now in St. Petersburg.\(^{25}\) According to these sources, the Fifth Dalai Lama promised to help Apak through an action of Galdan Boshigt Khan (Mongolian ᠳᠥᠯᠠ ᠬᠣᠶᠢᠭᠲᠦ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ, 1632 or 1644–1697, he ruled from 1676). This ruler was the leader of the union of Dzungarian tribes. In 1678, Galdan brought back Apak power in the oases of East Turkestan requiring annual tribute.\(^{26}\)

This kind of intervention can be more easily understood if one takes into consideration the long Nakshbandi tradition of alliances with Mongol tribes.\(^{27}\) In the case of Apak, it was not only the imposition of the new ruler, but also realisation of wishes of Apak’s followers in Yarkent Khanate. Apak strengthened systematically his position overcoming many external and internal difficulties. In 1692 Apak defeated his main opponent Muhammad Amin khan (ruled 1682–1692) in the famous battle of Kargilik.

These events show us once again how Turkish peoples – especially the Uyghurs – were strongly connected with the history of Mongolistan (from the Persian مغولستان) or The Chagatai Khanate (Mongolian: Ṭsagadain Khaant Uls/Цагаадайн Хаант Улс, Chinese 东察合台汗国 – Cháhétái Dōng Hànguó) in the 17th century. This khanate covered a relatively large area including a part of contemporary Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and North-Eastern part of today China (Xinjiang). The Chagatai Khanate had nominally authority over these areas from the mid-14th century to the 17th century, although it is still discussing issue if the Chagatai Khanate really was an independent state, and how much it was depended from the Ming dynasty as a satellite and buffer state of China.

At the end of life, Apak made his successor – khan his son Yahya with the double title “khan – khoja.” Apak left a relatively strong and big state including almost whole Tarim Basin with several strategic cities, such Yarkand, Korla, Kucha, Aksu, and above all, Kashgar. According to Ṭazkirah-and ‘Azizān – anonymous Chronicles “Black Mountaineers” – Qarataqliq (formed in the circle of enemies of afaqiya in 1770), Apak paid for Dzungar military support

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\(^{26}\) See: The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari, op. cit., p. 16.

a great amount of 100,000 tanga in silver. Apak’s opponents described this action as diabolical.\footnote{The chronicle text contain the manuscripts: Bodleian Library ms Ind. Inst. Turk. 3, f. 20a–b; Hartmann Ms. Or. fol. 3292; see: text translated and edited by Minoru Sawada, Three groups of tadhkira-i khwājagān: viewed from the chapter on Khwāja Āfāq, [in:] Studies on Xinjiang historical sources in 17th–20th centuries, eds. J. A. Millward, Shinmen Yasushi, Sugawara Jun, Tokyo 2010, p. 9–30; about 100,000 tanga p. 16.} With time, Dzungars claimed the tribute of 100,000 tanga each year, which supposedly was accepted by Apak.\footnote{See: The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari, op. cit., p. 42.}

Altı-Shahr and its neighbours (16th century)

A presentation of the sophisticated history of Apak khoja’s ancestors whose policy balanced between the Mongol, Chinese and Tibetan influences falls beyond the scope of this paper. Due to the insufficient number of sources many facts related to the life and rule of khojas of the East Turkestan are unknown or uncertain (hypothetical) and are the subject of discussion among scholars. However, it is worth presenting the outline of this kind of „dynasty” created by Apak’s Nakshbandiya in East Turkestan.
Khojas of East Turkestan and “Apak Khojas”

(Āfāqi Khājē)\(^{30}\)

**Khoja Makhdum-i-Azam** ("The Great Master")

ruled: ? – 1542

- **Aqtaḡlïq**
  Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains"
- **Qarataḡlïq**
  Nakshbandi sufis from the “Black Mountains"
- **Khoja Ishan-i-Kalān**
  that is Khoja Muhammad Amin –
  محمد امین
  ruled: ?
- **Khoja Muhammad Yusuf**
  محمد يوسف
  ruled: ?
- **Khoja Apak**
  (as the ruler of Kashgar)
  ok. 1670

**Khoja Apak**

called **Khoja Hidāyatullah**

1678–1680 the conquest of Kashgar by help of Dzungar rulers 1693/94
ruled 1693/94

- **Khoja Khojan**
  خان خواجه جان
  or **Khoja Yahya**
  خواجه يحيى
  ruled: 1693/94 – (?)

- **Khoja Daniyal**
  خواجه دانیال

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The Afaq (Apak) Khoja Mausoleum in Kashgar...

Khoja Akbash
خواجه اکباش
ruled: 1695–1705

Khoja Ahmed
خواجه احمد
ruled: 1705–1720

Khoja Daniyal
خواجه دانیال
ruled: 1720–1754
after his death breaking up of khante of Kashgar

Khoja Yusuf
خواجه يوسف
ruled: 1754–1757

Khoja Burhan-ud-din
خواجه برہان الدين
ruled: 1758
tried to make an independent state from Oirats state the great influence of the Chinese Qing dynasty

from 1758 to 1825 Kashgaria (East Turkestan) became an integral part of China

Khoja Zia-ud-din Akhund
خواجه ضیاء الدين آخوند
uprising against the Chinese authority, khoja killed 1816

Khoja Jahangir
خواجه جہانگیر
called also Sayed Gahangir Sutan
سید جہانگیر سلطان
regained power with the help of the Kakand khanate and Kyrgyzes, ruled 1825–1828

Khoja Jusuf
خواجه يوسف

In the years 1830/1831 according to arrangements with China
East Turkestan (Kashgaria) under the rule of the Kokan khanatee

Khoja Zuhur-ud-din
ظہور الدين
ruled: 1832–1846
The title of Kashgar khoja renewed by Mohamed Ali (Kokand khan), a partial autonomy of Kashgar
the so-called Revolt of the Seven Khojas
the rise caused by the members of the Aq Taghiqs –
the Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains”

Khoja Eshan Khan
خواجه ایشان خان
ruled: 1846
As a result of the political and strategic errors, khoja of Kashgar lost control over East Turkestan

Khoja Ahmed Wang
خواجه ولی خان
ruled: 1846–1857
in the years 1846–1856 Kashgar depended on China,
in the years 1856–1857 revolt against the rule of the Qing dynasty,
May–September, 1857, the last attempt of khojas to gain independence

In the international arena Apak and his successors were called in historiography Āfāqi (which could be translated as “Apak Khojas” or simply “Apaks”). The rulers of this specific dynasty did not have any spectacular achievements in the regional policy like their neighbors.

First of all, over the centuries Kashgar was the place of internal dispute and competition between the two Nakshbandi groups: Ishakiya and Afaqiya, which caused the instability of khoja’s position.

Secondly, the natural rival of Kashgar in the East Turkestan was Yarkand. From the 17th to 19th century both cities tried to establish stable state organisms under the rule of the khojas (Khanate of Kashgar or Yarkent Khanatee).

Finally, the stabilization in the region of Kashgar depended on many factors resulting from Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan policy in Central Asia. In the context of sophisticated dynastic relations the political instability of these small khanates is fully understandable. In the other hand, it is very difficult not only to reconstruct chronology but also the significance of many events in East Turkestan.

In principle, in the years 1514–1680 the Khanate of Kashgar depended Yarkand functioning as a relatively independent state in the framework of the local autonomy, to the Mongol (Dzungar) intervention in the years 1678–1680.\textsuperscript{31} Over the next decades, Khanate of Kashgar depended completely on Dzungar

interventions which were mainly connected with rivalry among Mongolian princes. Moreover, this was a typical phenomenon of Mongolian dynasties. Individual actors of the Mongolian political scene used the internal division of the Khanate of Kashgar into the Aqtägliq – “White” and Qaratağliq – “Black Mountaineers” in Kashgar Naksbandi order. Automatically, with the collapse of the Dzungar power in the region during the reign of the Qing dynasty in 1757, Alitishahr was immediately incorporated into China.

Incorporation of Dzungaria to China (1757) and Chinese campaigns against Kashgar (1758)

With time a new aspect arose in the context of attempts to obtain independence by Kashgar, namely the Chinese-Russian rivalry in the region. In the 19th century, Russians began to use the same means of legitimacy in relation to the people of Turkish and Mongolian origin, just before the Mongols did. Russians paid some amount of money for the support of their affairs and preferred numerous alliances similar to the Mongols practices in Manchuria.32

The apotheosis and symbolism of Apak Khoja and his mausoleum

The attempts to create an independent Muslim state on the territory of East Turkestan (Kashgar, Uyguristan) from the 18th to the 20th century have a great symbolic importance among Uyghurs. It seems that after his death Apak became more important than he was during his life. He did not only become a hero in the local history related to Kashgar but also a symbol of the whole East Turkestan and a well-known figure in many regions of Central Asia. At the same time, his character has permanently been in the crossfire of criticism. In China the figure of Apak Khoja became a favorite topic in the context of Uyghur nationalism (in a positive or negative sense) and a reference to Uyghur national identity. This 17th century ruler has been the inspiration for many historians in and out of Turkestan. The prominent place of Apak and the criticism of his activity in the Uyghur historiography have also attracted many Western scholars.33

Uyghur sources, in their specific approach, strengthened the glorification of Apak Khoja because reports of this kind present the unique position of Sufi saints. Over time, Apak’s apotheosis became as important as himself. What is more, the pilgrimages generated new literature in honour of Apak. The pilgrims arriving to Apak Khoğa Mazār needed many reassuring religious stories about Apak, prayers, poems and songs. In this context, a new literary genre came into being, that is a kind of quasi-theological texts called maqāmāt (مقامات). This kind of poems had an extremely strong connection with Apak’s tomb.34 Apparently, the Nakshbandi tradition of maqāma in Kashgar partially referred to the classic maqāma (مقامة), which is derived from Arabic literature. However, in the Arab world they were a kind of short rogue stories, linking the folk tradition and popular tales.

The classical Arabic maqāma was narrative prose in the form of a poem, in which the narrator presents one outstanding hero. In the case of Turkish Nakshbandiya in Kashgar maqāma became a song in which the events from the life of the saint with his sapiential sentences are praised. Experts in Muslim literature distinguish the Nakshbandi perception of maqāma using the name maqāmāt/manāqib, which differentiates it from the classic version.35

33 See for example: E. Waite, From Holy Man to National Villain…, op. cit., p. 5–28;
34 See: R. Thum, Beyond Resistance and Nationalism…, op. cit., p. 293–310.
35 See: R. Thum, Beyond Resistance and Nationalism…, op. cit., p. 300.
The *maqāmāt/manāqib* tradition about Apak became extremely creative and popular. The first work of this kind was *Hidāyatnāmah*, or *Book of Hidāyatnāmah*, the title of which refers to Apak’s original name – Hidāyatallah. This example of *maqāmāt/manāqib* was formed in the environment of Aqtaḡlïq – Sufis from the “White Mountains” in the years 1729–1730. It consists of five chapters (bāb). The author of the *Hidāyatnāmah* wanted to keep the deeds and thoughts of Apak for the next generations and simultaneously his aim was to create a kind of guide for followers of the master. The work contains the essential features of teaching and theological ideas of Apak about love and the meaning of mystical dances.

Another example of the *maqāmāt/manāqib* literature in East Turkestan is the undated *Tadhkirat al-Ḥidayāt*, also known under a different title: *Manāqib-i Targima-yi Hidāyat Allah Khwajam,* which was created soon after the above mentioned *Hidāyatnāmah*. *Tadhkirat al-Ḥidayāt* was indeed inspired by the *Hidāyatnāmah*, which is proved by a detailed analysis of the text. These two classic *maqāmāt/manāqib* were written in Persian, which was the literary language commonly used in the region. Both examples of *maqāmāt/manāqib* show clearly how the local Nakshbandi order in Kashgar protected the symbolism of the members of afaqiya.

However, the local history of Apak made the common genre of Muslim literary *taẕkira* (تانکر) even more popular, which literally means “recollection,” because *maqāmāt/manāqib* were not widely copied. This type of Persian and Turkish literature presents biographies of famous poets, saints, sheikhs and scholars. A typical *taẕkira* contains a biography and discusses the works and deeds of a particular hero. It is also a kind of the most traditional Muslim biography in Central Asia. What is more, in the 18th and 19th centuries there existed a belief that every holy tomb (mausoleum) should have its *taẕkira*. It was considered as a kind of “supporting paper,” which might ensure that the memory about great men would be preserved through the next generations.

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36 See: A. Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan…*, op. cit., p. 239.
According to Zälili Divani from 1718 by Muhammad Zalīlī (18th century), the tombs of the saints attracted thousands of pilgrims, who recited the names of the saint Sufis, the events of their lives, merits, and even the story of the tomb, etc.\textsuperscript{40} Since the 19th century, this specific rituals have been performed on the basis of the recitation of the \textit{taẕkira} manuscripts, which is testified for example in \textit{Ulūgh tazkirah-and-Bughār khān} from the years 1829–1830.\textsuperscript{41}

The \textit{taẕkiras} about Apak Khoja stimulated intensively the imagination of Uyghurs in the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century. Sometimes the reflections about the master and his apotheosis went so far that it caused a transformation of works devoted to other khojas into the \textit{taẕkiras} in honor of Apak. An example of this phenomenon is \textit{Siyar al-Muḫliṣin – Biographies of the loyals} by Ibn Khvāyaha Ali Akhūnda (19th century), who was the member of \textit{Aqtaḡlïq} – Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains.” This work written in Persian lauded the deeds of Apak's sons: Hasan and Muhammad Yusuf. However, in the Turkish translation this book was not only titled \textit{taẕkira}, but even \textit{taẕkira} in honour of Apak Khoja. In this way, the work which presented three generations of Nakshbandi leaders of the “White Mountains” was changed into a \textit{taẕkira} in honour of the Holy ruler of Kashgar. Thus, Apak's apotheosis and his strong connection with Nakshbandiya \textit{Aqtaḡlïq} was doubtlessly the work of this fraction of the Nakshbandi order in East Turkestan. \textit{Taẕkiras} became very popular in the 19th century, and from this period we have many documents and manuscript copies of these texts, such as, for example an anonymous document dated to the end of the 1800s \textit{Taẕkirat al-idāyat},\textsuperscript{42} and the 19th-century manuscript \textit{Haẓrat Sayyid Āfāq Khvājanīng Tasralar}.\textsuperscript{43}

It was saidbefore that many Uyghurs recognize Apak as the national hero considering him as the great son of the nation and Islam. However, some Uyghurs follow a totally different, critical assessment of Apak. This diversity of perception of Apak perception has a long tradition. First of all, it was caused by a division of the Nakhbandi order, which I have already mentioned several times. In the 18th century, Apak’s opponents from the group \textit{Qarataḡlıq} (the

\textsuperscript{40} See: Zälili Divani, Beijing 1985, p. 605.
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Tadhkirat al-idāyat}, manuscript \textit{ms Ind. Inst. Pers. 122}, Bodleian Library.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Haẓrat Sayyid Āfāq Khvājanīng Tasralar}, manuscript \textit{Prov 369}, Jarring Collection, Lund University Library.
Nakshbandi order from the „Black Mountains”) accused Apak of betrayal of the Kashgar state in the famous work *Taẕkirah-i, Azīzān*. The allegation was that Apak constituted high treason because he gained power thanks to the help of the infidels – Dzungars (Mongols). This accusation of Apak was regularly repeated over the next centuries. Some Uyghur authors considered taking of the position of the ruler of Kashgar by Apak for the great amount of 100,000 tanga in silver as a shameful thing, unworthy of a great statesman and a Saint. It is worth noting that the above mentioned *taẕkiras* in honour of Apak created a retouched image of this khoja. According to these documents, Apak fought against the Fifth Dalai Lama, who practised magic. The fact that Apak took advantage of the Dzungar help is considered there as a good, cunning and prudent action to gain higher purpose. The *taẕkiras* in honour of Apak did not absolutely mention that Apak’s policy caused a very negative result for Kashgar khaganate, such as dependence on Dzungars for more than 70 years.

Since the establishment of the Kashgar Khanate (ca. 1680) the former Yarkent Khanate (ماملکتی یارکند, *mamlakati Yarkand* 1514–1705) never regained its importance

The negative view of Apak’s character became typical for one of varieties of Uyghur nationalism, which presented Apak’s cooperation with the Mongolian invader as acting against the interests of Uyghur state.⁴⁴ Nowadays, the

mainstream criticism of Nakhbandi Sufism in Kashgar in the 1980s resulted in several negative Uyghur interpretations of Apak’s activities and reinterpretations of his importance. The works such as *Apak Khoja hāqqida muhakimā* by Ānwār Batur, *Qabahāt, bir yânā,āqidā, Batura qetim Appaq Khoja toghrisida* written by Nizamidin Hüsāyin, or a short history of the Yarkent Khanate *Tarikhtin bayanlar qiskichā* by Ibrahim Niyaz openly criticize Apak’s policy and his character.45

All these critical works are characterised by a great distance to Sufism and sharp aversion to the Nakhshbandi orders. They stress that before Apak’s political activity the region of Altishahr under the rule of Yarkent Khanate enjoyed greater freedom and development. According to these interpretations, the Nakhshbandi dynasty of Kashgar with the Dzungars’ interventions caused only stagnation and a withdrawal of economic and cultural development of Turkestan. Moreover, the above mentioned Ibrahim Niyaz in his history interpreted the period of domination of Nakhshbandi khojas as the time of extreme decadence and great moral collapse. Apak is presented there as a bizarre and downright scandalous robber.

Another typical example of a ruthless attack against Apak is an Uyghur historical novel (*tarikhiy roman*) – in reality a biographical novel (*bi’ografik roman*) under the title *Apaq Khoja* written by Abduväli Äli. The author presents there Apak as a devil and traitor of the Uyghur nation.46 Biographical novel is a not too popular literary genre in Europe. Rian Thum compares its character to Hollywood creations such as *Alexander the Great* or *The Last Emperor*.47 The value of the historical novel of Abduväli Äli is of course disputable, due to his controversial expressions, such as the „time of oppression,” the “period of ignorance and conflicts.” However, its cultural influence and social impact are still relatively big. This story is very influential especially in Xinjiang, which is proved in the detailed study *From Holy Man to National Villain* by Edmund Waite.48 The image of Apak created by Abduväli Äli was more accepted by the

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47 See: R. Thum, *Beyond Resistance and Nationalism: Local History and the Case of Afaq Khoja…*, p. 305.

young generation of big cities. In the countryside the cult of Apak Khoja is still extensive and popular.⁴⁹

On the other hand, Apak’s mausoleum has been a very important symbol of Islam presence in Xinjiang for all Muslims of this region. It is impossible to present a detailed description of the rich history of the Apak mausoleum in Kashgar. Nevertheless, it is still worth showing a general outline of the most important facts connected with this monument and their influence on Uyghurs in the regional and international contexts.⁵⁰

The Mausoleum of Apak Khoja in Kashgar in the context of the history of East Turkestan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>The events from the history of the Uighurs/East Turkestan</th>
<th>The events associated with the mausoleum of Apak Khoja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Muhammad Yusuf’s decision to build the mausoleum in Bishkiram</td>
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<tr>
<td>1640 [?]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>The ending of construction of the complex in Bishkiram</td>
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<tr>
<td>1678–1693/4 [?]</td>
<td>The escalation of the conflict between the two Nakshbandi groups in Kashgar: ishakiya and afaqiya. The fall of the Yarkent Khanate</td>
<td>The destruction of the Apak mausoleum by the Kyrgyz</td>
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<tr>
<td>1693/1694</td>
<td>The rebuilding of the mausoleum by Yahya (خواجه يحيي ruled: 1693/94 – [?]), the son of Apak Khoja</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>Conquest of Altishahr by the Chinese Army</td>
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<td>1760</td>
<td>The Chinese emperor Qianlong (1701–1799) announces a decree taking the Apak mausoleum under care</td>
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<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>The Chinese description of rituals of pilgrimages to the tomb of Apak in the work Kashige'er fu Yingjisha</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>The renovation of the mausoleum by the Chinese Emperor Qianlong (1701–1799)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1812–1819</td>
<td>Xu Song’s description of the pilgrims’ customs and rituals in the mausoleum of Apak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>The organization of the anti-Chinese insurrection by the Jahangir Khoja (خواجه جهانگیر 1825–1828) in the mausoleum of Apak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1849</td>
<td>The anti-Chinese uprising and the second Chinese presence in East Turkestan</td>
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<tr>
<td>ok. 1855</td>
<td>Prohibition of public gatherings and visiting of the Apak mausoleum released by the Chinese officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok. 1865–1877</td>
<td>Russian (Kazakh) traveler Shoqan Shynghysuly Walikhanov (Шоқан Шыңғысұлы Уәлиханұлы) visited Kashgar and left an interesting description of the mausoleum of Apak Khoja</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Muhammad Yaqub Bek (1820–1877) created the Emirate of Kashgar</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Development of the mausoleum, which is visited by European travellers who left new descriptions of monument</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>The conquest of Hoten in East Turkestan (Kashgaria) by the Chinese army headed by Zuo Zongtang</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Xiao Xiong’s description of the Apak mausoleum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933–1934</td>
<td>Establishment of the Republic of East Turkestan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Liang Hancao's description of the Apak mausoleum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944–1949</td>
<td>Establishment of the Second Republic of East Turkestan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Destruction of the Apak mausoleum by an earthquake</td>
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<td>1948–1950</td>
<td>Lin Zhi’s and Ma Ming’s descriptions of the Apak mausoleum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Incorporation of Kashgar into the People’s Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Reconstruction of the destroyed mausoleum</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Cultural Revolution
(文化大革命 – wénhuà dà gémìng)

1966–1976

1978

The beginning of opening policy

80s of 20th century

Extension of Uyghur agitation in Xinjiang
Publication of popular history and historical articles against Apak Khoja

2000

Publication of the controversial, critical historical novel entitled Apak Khoja by Ali Abdulwäli
Prohibition of performance of rituals and ceremonies in the Apak mausoleum in honour of Apak Khoja

2008

Anti-Chinese actions of Uyghurs

Today the mausoleum of Apak Khoja has been classified as a great sightseeing spot of the People’s Republic of China and it is recognized by many Chinese and Western tourists as a major highlight. However, there are also Muslims, mostly among Uyghurs, who still treat the Apak mausoleum as a sanctuary. Therefore, this monument is still the place of many pilgrimages, even though pilgrims cannot celebrate any religious festivals there.

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Summing up, it should be noted that the sources and literature about Apak Khoja go beyond the functionality of devotional religious texts in the world of Islam. The importance of this person goes also beyond the popular narrated stories in the oases of East Turkestan and beyond the often highly critical, historical novels of the Uyghur nationalists. Examining the sources about the history of Apak Khoja, the evolution of his worship and also the bitter criticism of his adversaries, one should take into consideration not only the facts but also the importance and meaning of these facts among the Uyghurs. The presented analysis leads to the following conclusions.

Firstly, the great meaning of Apak proves that, regardless of the system of values, Apak is a reference point in the history of Uyghurs and the whole history of modern East Turkestan.

Secondly, Apak’s reputation depends on the political and social context. For example, the negative image of this khoja caused opposition within Sufism Nakshbandiya in Altishahr (the strong competition between Aqtağliq – Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains” and Qaratağliq – Nakshbandi order from the “Black Mountains”), which provoked critical literature by Apak’s opponents. In the 20th century Apak did not also have good reputation in the
People’s Republic of China, which propagated a sharp criticism on the basis of dialectical materialism during the Mao rule to 1978.

Thirdly, the importance of Apak depends on the form of Islam. Uyghurs usually were under the influence of the traditional Maliki sunnism. Although many of them accepted beliefs about the saint Sufis, a part of their community preferred the idea of the salafiya, e.g. the return to the sources of Islam, which – according to salafiya – is only Koran and sunna. From this point of view, Sufism is a heresy, impure Islam. Apak and his kind of Nakshbandiya is automatically the enemy of this group. In turn, the followers of popular Islam in villages refer with great reverence to the sacred heroes of the past. The mausoleums such as Apak’s monument in Kashgar are sources of their identity.

Fourthly, the personality of Apak is an object of emotional discussion between his supporters and opponents. The ambiguous interpretation of the activity of Apak is consequently developed since the 18th century. An attempt to reach a balanced modern and independent interpretation of the facts must take into consideration the diverse range of sources.

Finally, the continuation of the Apak worship and the national function of his mausoleum in the turbulent history of East Turkestan has produced the literary genre of maqāmāt/manāqib and taẕkiras. They confirm once again the age-old truth of historical analysis that not only facts but also the importance of the events for the community is the key to the understanding of many historical phenomena. It is quite obvious that history consists of facts and interpretations. This mechanism of interpretation of facts in the taẕkiras caused the popularity of Apak and continuity of his worship, despite the criticism of his adversaries.

Abstract

The Khoja Apak Mausoleum is the holiest Muslim site in Xinjiang. However Apak Khoja (1626–1694) is Uyghur’s controversial hero.

It should be noted that the sources and literature about Apak Khoja go beyond the functionality of devotional religious texts in the world of Islam. Examining the sources about the history of Apak Khoja, the evolution of his worship and also the bitter criticism of his adversaries, one should take into consideration not only the facts but also the importance and meaning of these facts among the Uyghurs. The great meaning of Apak proves that, regardless of the system of values, Apak is a reference point in the history of Uyghurs and the whole history of modern East Turkestan. The presented analysis leads to the following conclusions:
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**Key words**
Afaq Khoja, Eastern Turkistan, Uyghurs, sufism, islam, history of Central Asia, Kashgar, Afaq Khoja Mausoleum, Xinjiang
**Abstrakt**

Mauzoleum Apaka Hodży w Kszgarze jako symbol tożsamości Ujgurów (1640–2015)

Mauzoleum Apaka Hodży jest jednym z najbardziej świętych i symbolicznych miejsc dla muzułmanów chińskiej prowincji Xinjiang. Niemniej dla współczesnych Ujgurów sama postać Apaka jest kontrowersyjna w kontekście ujgurskiego narodowego. Z jednej strony źródła i piśmiennictwo na temat Apaka wykraczają poza funkcję dewocjonalnych literatur islamu, która posiada ponadnarodowy charakter. Z drugiej strony, badając historię samego Apaka i rozwoju jego kultu oraz jego zaciętej krytyki, należy uwzględnić nie tylko fakty, ale również znaczenie, jakie posiada on dla Ujgurów w kontekście ich tożsamości narodowej. Owo „znaczenie” sprowadza się do faktu, iż niezależnie od ocen Apak jest wyraźnym punktem odniesienia w historii Ujgurów.

Po pierwsze reputacja Apaka zależy od kontekstu politycznego i społecznego. Pomijając rywalizację wewnątrz sufizmu nakszbandijja w Altiszahr, która generowała negatywne oceny Apaka ze strony Qarataḡliq, postać ta spotkała się również w Chińskiej Republice Ludowej z ostrą krytyką maoistowską na bazie materializmu dialektycznego.

Po wtóre znaczenie Apaka zależy od wyznawanej formy islamu. Ujgurowie, którzy ulegli wpływom tradycyjnego sunnizmu, z jego podstawowym postulatem muzułmańskiego powrotu do źródeł, np. salafiji, z wielką niechęcią odnoszą się do skażonego, ich zdaniem, sufizmu. Apak jako reprezentant nakszbandijji automatycznie nie jest dla tej grupy autorytetem. Z kolei islam ludowy wsi z wielką szczcią odnosi się do świętych bohaterów przeszłości, których mauzolea są punktem odniesienia i jednym z fundamentów tożsamości.

Po trzecie postać Apaka budzi duże emocje wśród jego zwolenników i przeciwników. Ambivalentna ocena Apaka jest konsekwentnie rozwijana od XVIII w. Próba dotarcia do wyważonej oceny opierać się musi na rzetelnej interpretacji różnorodnych źródeł. Wreszcie po czwarte żywotność kultu Apaka i nowe funkcje mauzoleum w burzliwych dziejach tego regionu generowała literatura typu *maqāmāt/manāqib* oraz *tażkir*. Potwierdzają one raz jeszcze odwrotną prawdę w analizie nauk historycznych, że nie tylko same fakty, ale również znaczenie, jakie dane wydarzenia posiadały dla społeczności, są kluczami do zrozumienia wielu dziejowych fenomenów. Jest zupełnie oczywiste, iż historia składa się z faktów i interpretacji. To właśnie mechanizmy interpretacji faktów w *tażkirach* zaważyły na popularności Apaka i ciągłości jego kultu mimo krytyki przeciwników.
SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
Apak Hodża, Turkiestan Wschodni, Ujgurzy, sufizm, islam, historia Azji Centralnej, Kaszgar, Mauzoleum Apaka Hodży, Sinciang

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