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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 *Apakh Khoḡa 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 Uyghur'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 آفاق (*Afāq* from خواجه آرامگاه and آفاق خواجه) 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 Tūlēilā*. There are also other Chinese versions write this name: 阿帕克霍加 – *Āpàkè Huòjiā*, 阿帕克和卓 – *Āpàkè Hézhūo*, sometimes 阿帕霍加 – *Āpà Huòjiā* and 和卓 – *Hézhūo*.

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.² After 1978 Apak

² See: Ch. Valikhanov, *The Russians in Central Asia: Their Occupation of the Kirghiz Steppe and the Line of the Syr-Daria: Their Political Relations with Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan: Also Descriptions of Chinese Turkestan and Dzungaria*, transl. R. Michell, London 1865; H. W. Bellew, *The History of Kashgaria*, Calcutta 1875; H. W. Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashghar: A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashghar in 1873–74*, Boston 2005 (reprint of the book edited in 1875); J. Millward, L. Newby, *The Qing and Islam*, [in:] *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds. P. Kyle Crossley, H. F. Siu, D. S. Sutton, Berkeley 2006, p. 113–34; J. Millward, P. Perdue, *Political and Cultural History of the Xinjiang Region through the late Nineteenth Century*, [in:] *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, ed. F. S. Starr, Armonk 2004, p. 27–62; J. Millward, T. Nabijan, *Political History and Strategies of Control, 1884–1978*, [in:] *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, op. cit., p. 63–98; L. J. Newby, *The Empire and the Khanatee: A Political History of Qing Relations with Khoqand c. 1760–1860*, Leiden 2005; J.-P. Loubes, *The Rectification of documents of Architecture: The Afaq Khwaja Sufi complex in Kashghar*, [in:] *Saints and heroes on the Silk Road*, Paris 2002, p. 113–132; G. Jarring, *Return to Kashgar: Central Asian Memoirs in the Present*, Durham 1986; A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Eastern or Chinese Turkistan*, Calcutta 1882; E. Waite, *From Holy Man to National Villain: Popular Historical Narratives about Apaq Khoja amongst Uyghurs in Contemporary Xinjiang*, "Inner Asia" 8 (2006) no. 1, p. 5–28; *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkestan Summarised from the Tazkhira-i-Khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari*, ed. R. B. Shaw, transl. N. Elias, Calcutta 1897; K. Herdeg, *Formal Structure in Islamic Architecture of Iran and Turkistan*, New York 1990; K. Hodong, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877*, Stanford 2010; H. Masami, *Le Pouvoir des Lieux Saints dans le Turkestan Oriental*, "Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales" 59 (2004) no. 5–6, p. 1019–1040; J. A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, New York 2007; J. A. Millward, *Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine*, "The Journal of Asian Studies" 53 (1994) no. 2, p. 427–458; Ch. Valikhanov, *The Russians in Central Asia...*, op. cit.; I. Bellér-Hann, *Community Matters in Xinjiang 1880–1949: Towards a Historical Anthropology of the Uyghur*, Leiden 2008; I. Bellér-Hann, *Making the Oil Fragrant': Dealings with the Supernatural among the Uyghurs in Xinjiang*, "Asian Ethnicity" 2 (2001), p. 9–23; I. Bellér-Hann, *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, Aldershot 2007; I. Bellér-Hann, *Towards a Historical Anthropology of the Uyghur of Xinjiang*, [in:] *Studies on Xinjiang Historical Sources in 17–20th Centuries*, eds. J. A. Millward, Yasushi Shinmen, Jun Sugawara, Tokyo 2010, p. 239–256; I. Bellér-Hann, *The Written and the Spoken: Literacy and Oral Transmission among the Uyghur*, Berlin 2000; G. Bovingdon, *Contested Histories*, [in:] *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, op. cit., p. 353–374; I. Bellér-Hann, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land*, New York 2010; D. Brophy, *The Kings of Xinjiang: Muslim Elites and the Qing Empire*, "Études Orientales: Revue Culturelle Semestrielle" 25 (2008), p. 69–90; U. E. Bulag, *The Mongols at China's Edge: History and the Politics of National Unity*, Lanham 2002; J. Dautcher, *Down a Narrow Road: Identity and Masculinity in a Uyghur Community in Xinjiang China*, Cambridge 2009; R. Dawut, *Shrine*

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.”³

The Apak Khoja mausoleum is located just 5 km from the city centre of Kashgar. Five generations of Apak’s Khoja family members rests in the grand

pilgrimage among the Uighurs, “The Silk Road Journal” 6 (2009) no. 2, p. 56–67; R. Dawut, *Shrine Pilgrimage and Sustainable Tourism among the Uyghurs Central Asian Ritual Traditions in the Context of China’s Development Policies*, [in:] *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, ed. I. Bellér-Hann, Aldershot 2007, p. 149–163; J. Fletcher, *Ch’ing Inner Asia, c. 1800*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, part 1: *Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911*, eds. D. Twitchett, J. K. Fairbank, Cambridge 1978, p. 35–106; D. C. Gladney, *The Ethnogenesis of the Uyghur*, “Central Asian Survey” 9 (1990) no. 1, p. 1–28; D. C. Gladney, *Internal Colonialism and the Uyghur Nationality: Chinese Nationalism and Its Subaltern Subjects*, “Cahiers d’Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le Monde Turco-Iranien” 25 (1998), p. 47–63; D. C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People’s Republic*, Cambridge 1991; D. C. Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, “The Journal of Asian Studies” 53 (1994) no. 1, p. 92–123; B. He, G. Yingjie, *Nationalism, National Identity and Democratization in China*, Aldershot 2000; P. Nora, *Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Mémoires*, “Representations” 26 (1989), p. 7–24; A. Papas, *Les Tombeaux de Saints Musulmans a Xinjiang*, “Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions” 142 (2002), p. 47–62; A. Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan: Étude sur les Khwajas Naqshbandis du Turkestan Oriental*, Paris 2005; A. Papas, *Soufisme, Pouvoir et Sainté en Asie Centrale: le Cas des Khwâjas de Kashgarie (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, “Studia Islamica” 100–101 (2005), p. 161–182; J. J. Rudelson, *Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism along China’s Silk Road*, New York 1997; B. Sautman, *Is Xinjiang an Internal Colony?*, “Inner Asia” 2 (2000) no. 2, p. 239–271; M. Sawada, *Tarim Basin Mazars: A Field Work Report on the System of Ordam-Padishah Oasis of Yangisar*, “Journal of the History of Sufism” 3 (2001), p. 39–61; H. Schwarz, *The Khwajas of Eastern Turkestan*, “Central Asiatic Journal” 20 (1976), p. 266–295; R. Thum, *Beyond Resistance and Nationalism: Local History and the Case of Afaq Khoja*, “Central Asian Survey” 31 (2012) no. 3, p. 293–310; D. Tyson, *Shrine Pilgrimage in Turkmenistan as a Means to Understand Islam among the Turkmen*, “Central Asia Monitor” 1 (1997), p. 15–32; E. Waite, *From Holy Man to National Villain: Popular Historical Narratives about Apaq Khoja amongst Uyghurs in Contemporary Xinjiang*, “Inner Asia” 8 (2006) no. 1, p. 5–28; Th. Zarcone, *Quand le Saint Légitime le Politique: le Mausolée de Afaq Khwaja à Kashgar*, “Central Asian Survey” 18 (1999) no. 2, p. 225–241.

³ See: Z. Feng, *Xiang Fei Kao Bian*, Keshen Shi 1982; Liang Hancoo, *Ye Xiang Niangniang*, [in:] *Xiang Fei Kao Bian*, ed. Feng Zhiwen, Keshen Shi 1982, p. 89–90; Lin Zhi, *Ji Xiang Niangniang Mazhaer*, [in:] *Xiang Fei*, eds. Yu Shanpu, Dong Naiqiang, Beijing 1985, p. 211; Ma Ming, *Xiang Fei Miaohui*, [in:] *Xiang Fei*, *op. cit.*, p. 215–216; L. Jiang, *Xiang Fei Kao Zheng Yan Jiu*, Taipei Shi 1989; Sh. Yu, N. Dong, *Xiang Fei*, Beijing 1985.

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 *ivan* (ليونان), which is the lobby in the form of a monumental recess with a big hole opening to the courtyard.⁴ 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 (*K̄vājas*, *K̄vājagān*). 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

⁴ See: G. Gullini, *Architettura iranica*, Torino 1964, p. 326–330; J.-P. Loubes, *The Rectification of documents of Architecture...*, p. 113–118.

of meaning. For example in India it determined the converts to *Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs* Islam – (الذاريون) *an-Nizāriyyūn*) 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 Shìcái (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

⁵ See: Sh. N. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation*, New York 2007, p. 102.

⁶ See: B. G. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory*, Surrey 2001, p. 304–305; H. Boboyorov, *Collective Identities and Patronage Networks in Southern Tajikistan*, Münster 2013, p. 183, 188; D. Ch. Boulger, *The life of Yakoob Beg; Athalik Ghazi, and Badaulet; Ameer of Kashgar*, London 1878, p. 71.

⁷ The title of *pir* meant the spiritual master, teacher, an old man. See: A. C. Mayer, “Pir” and “Murshid”: *An Aspect of Religious Leadership in West Pakistan*, “The Middle Eastern Studies” 3 (1967) no. 2, p. 160–169; Sayed Jamil Ahmed, *Performing and Supplicating Mānik. Pīr: Infrapolitics in the Domain of Popular Islam*, “The Drama Review” 53 (2009) no. 2, p. 51–76.

⁸ See: F. J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, Delhi 2003, p. 422.

⁹ See: B. Lawrence, *An Indo-Persian Perspective on the Significance of Early Persian Sufi Masters*, [in:] *Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origins to Rumi*, London–New York 1993, p. 19–32.

¹⁰ See: G. Bovingdon. *The Uyghurs...*, p. 12.

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, Turkmen 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: Xingjang, 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

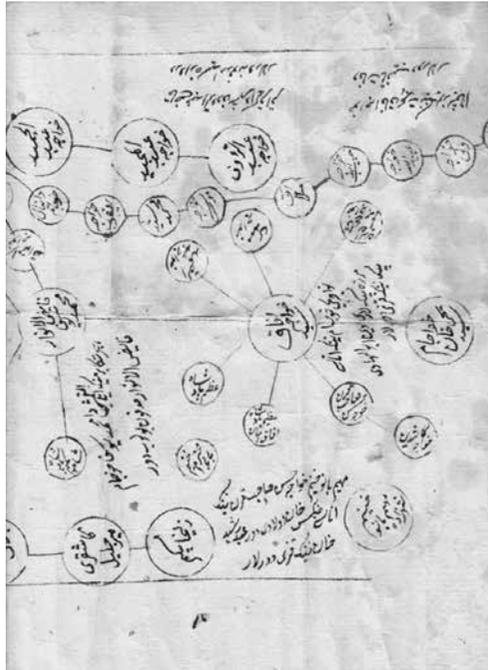
It was mentioned that Apak and his family were considered as the people spiritually connected with the Prophet. Such great connection made this people belong to the Sufi order of nakshbandiyya. This fact had far-reaching consequences not only for the further development of Apak’s worship but also for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

The Nakshbandi Sufism, also known as Nakshbandiyya (نقشبندیه – *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

¹¹ See: D. Gladney, *Internal Colonialism and the Uyghur Nationality: Chinese Nationalism and Its Subaltern Subjects*, “Cahiers d’Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le Monde Turco-Iranien” 25 (1998), p. 47–63.

¹² See: A. F. L. Beeston, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1954.

Rashidun caliphs (“Righteously Guided Caliphs” الخلفاء الراشدين *al-Khulafā’u ar-Rāshidūn*). Some nakshbani demonstrate spiritual attachment to Ali heritage (c.A. 600–661, the Caliph 556–661) having connection with Shia Islam.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.

¹³ See: S. A. Kugle, *Sufis & saints' bodies: Mysticism, Corporeality and Sacred Power in Islam*, North Carolina 2007, p. 143; A. Zelkina, *Quest for God and Freedom: Sufi Responses to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus*, London 2000, p. 77; M. H. Kabbani, *Classical Islam and the Naqshbandi Sufi Tradition*, Washington 2004, p. 557.

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.¹⁴

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 Suhrawardya (Suhrawardi order).

In turn, Sufi order of Nakshbandiya appeared from the 16th century.¹⁵ The anniversary of the death of saint Sufi – in our case Apak Khoja – is an occasion for pilgrimages and ceremonies being held at shrines.¹⁶

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, Yasawiya 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 *Ġayš-Naqšabandiya-Ṭarīqa aṭ Riġāl* (جيش رجال الطريقة النقشبندية) – “The Army of the Men of the Nakshbandi Order” is one of the most active underground military organizations in Iraq.¹⁷

¹⁴ See: P. Werbner, *Embodying Charisma: Modernity, Locality and Performance of Emotion in Sufi Cults*, New York 1998.

¹⁵ See: L. Ridgeon, *Sufism in mediaeval Central Asia: a comparison of the beliefs and practices of the Kobrawiyyah and Naqshbandiyyah orders*, “Kokusai Daigaku Chuto Kenkyujo-kiyo” 8 (1994), p. 67–92; Th. Zarcone, *Les danses Naqshbandi en Asie centrale et au Xinjiang: Histoire et actualité*, “Journal of the History of Sufism” 4 (2003–2004), p. 181–198;

¹⁶ See: A. Papas, *Les Tombeaux de Saints Musulmans a Xinjiang...*, *op. cit.*, p. 47–62.

¹⁷ See: *Mapping Militant Organisations: Jaysh Rijal al-Tariqa al-Naqshbandia*, Stanford University, 31.08.2013, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/75>,

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 nakshbandiya. Thanks to this structure, the order contributed essentially to the transformation of East Turkestan into a Muslim region.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,¹⁹ more precisely in Yarkent Khanate called also Altishahr (which is derived from two Turkish words *alti* – “six” and *šahr* – “city”). Altishahr 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” – *Dorben šahr*.²⁰

Apak was the great-grandson of the famous teacher Nakshbandi school Ahmad Kasani (Aḥmad K̄vājagī Kāsānī 1461–1542), holding the honourable title of *أَظَمُ ! مَكْهُدُومُ* – *Makhdūm-i’Azam* “the great master.” It should be noted that the influence of the Kasani as the master of Bukhara stretched from Transoxiana to Tarim Basin (Uyghur *تارىم ئويمانلىقى* – *Tarim Oymanliqi*; Chinese:

25.06.2017; A. J. at-Tamimi, *Musings of an Iraqi Brasenostiril on Jihad: Comprehensive Reference Guide to Sunni Militant Groups in Iraq*, <http://jihadology.net/2014/01/23/musings-of-an-iraqi-brasenostiril-on-jihad-comprehensive-reference-guide-to-sunni-militant-groups-in-iraq>, 25.06.2017.

¹⁸ See: A. Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan...*, *op. cit.*, p. 5–35; A. Papas, *Soufisme, Pouvoir et Sainté en Asie Centrale...*, *op. cit.*, p. 161–182; B. G. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory*, Surrey 2001.

¹⁹ See more: J. F. Flechter, *The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China*, [in:] *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. B. F. Manz, Aldershot 1995, p. 1–46.

²⁰ See: L. J. Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate...*, *op. cit.*, p. 4, note 10.

塔里木盆地– *Tālímù Péndì*).²¹ Apak was born in 1626 in Kumul, where his father Muhammad Yusuf Khoja taught Nakshbandi sufism. His mother was daughter of a wealthy bek (بك – *bak*; Persian: بگ – *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 کلان) and Muhammad Ishaq Wali Khoja (محمد اسحاق ولی) 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 *Aqtaḡliq*, that is Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains.” In turn, adherents of Muhammad Wali were called *Qarataḡliq* 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 *Aqtaḡliq*. 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 (*Aqtaḡliq*) was named synonymously *Afaqiya* (Arabic and Persian *Afāqi*, or *Āfāqiyya*) which came from the name of Apak. In turn, at the same time *Qarataḡliq* 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 (یارکند ماملاکاتی, *mamlakati Yarkand* 1514–1705). However, the tensions between *Aqtaḡliq* and *Qarataḡliq* escalated especially in this period.²² According to the historical sources, when the khan of Yarkand Abdul Karim (1660–1691) was participating in a pilgrimage in Mekka (*haḡḡ*), his son Ismail removed Apak from pow-

²¹ See: J. A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads...*, *op. cit.*, p. 86; I. Bellér-Hann, *Community Matters in Xinjiang 1880–1949...*, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²² See: A. Papas, “Dansez et chantez”: *Le droit au samâ’ selon Āfāq Khwâja, maître Naqshbandi du Turkestan (xviiie siècle)*, “Journal of the History of Sufism” 4 (2003–2004), p. 169–180.

er. As a consequence, Apak took refuge in Tibet seeking political support by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (Tibetan: འགྲོ་འཁོར་ལོ་བཟང་གླེ་མཚོ།, *Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*, ruled 1617–1682).²³ In the Dalai Lama court Apak presented himself as the legitimate ruler of Kashgar.



The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682), who supported Apak Koja (according to 19th picture)

The primary source presenting these events is *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkestan* by Muhammad Sadiq Kashgarii (*Tazkira-and-Hwāğagān-Şadiq Muḥammad Kaşğari*), published on the basis of five different manuscripts by Robert Barkley Shaw (1839–1879).²⁴ 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 *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*

²³ See: A. Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan...*, *op. cit.*, p. 152–153.

²⁴ *Qāshqāri Muḥämmäd Sadiq Tazkirāyi äzizan*, eds. Nijat Mukhlis, Shämsidin Ämät, Kashgar 1988. English translation: *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari*, ed. R. B. Shaw, transl. N. Elias, published as a supplement to “The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal” 66 (1897) no. 1, p. 1–67. Addendum: T. Zarcone, *Sufism from Central Asia among the Tibetans in the 16th–17th Centuries*, “The Tibet Journal” 20 (1995) no. 3, p. 96–114.

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 $\text{ᠭᠠᠯᠳᠠᠨ ᠪᠣᠰᠢᠭᠲᠤ ᠬᠠᠨ}$, 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 Khanatee. 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: *Tsagadain 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.

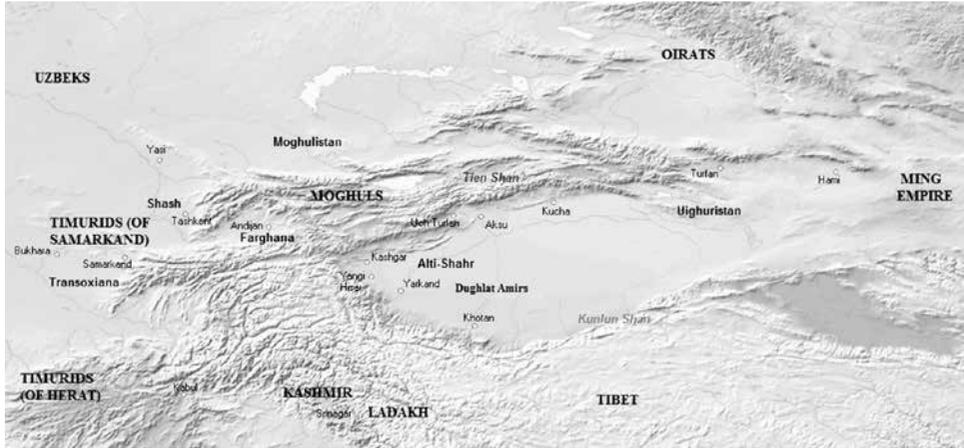
At the end of life, Apak made his successor – khan his son Yahya with the double title “khan – khoja.” Apak left a relatively strong and big state including almost whole Tarim Basin with several strategic cities, such Yarkand, Korla, Kucha, Aksu, and above all, Kashgar. According to *Tazkirah-and 'Azīzān*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

²⁵ See: *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar. Anonimnaia tiurkskaia khronika vladetelei Vostochnogo Turkestana po konets XVII veka: faksimile rukopisi Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk Rossii*, ed. O. F. Akimushkin, St. Petersburg 2001.

²⁶ See: *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁷ See: R. Foltz, *The Central Asian Naqshbandī connections of the Mughal Emperors*, “Islamic Studies” 7 (1996) no. 2, p. 229–239.

a great amount of 100,000 tanga in silver. Apak's opponents described this action as diabolical.²⁸ With time, Dzungars claimed the tribute of 100,000 tanga each year, which supposedly was accepted by Apak.²⁹



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.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ See: *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Khojas of East Turkestan and “Apak Khojas”

*(Āfāqi Khājé)*³⁰**Khoja Makhdum-i-Azam** (“The Great Master”)

مخدوم اعظم خواجه

ruled: ? – 1542



Aqtağliq
Nakshbandi sufis from the “White
Mountains”

**Khoja Ishan-i-Kalān**

ایشان کلاں

that is Khoja Muhammad Amin –
محمد امین

ruled: ?

**Khoja Muhammad Yusuf**

محمد یوسف

ruled: ?

**Khoja Apak**

(as the ruler of Kashgar)

ok. 1670

Qaratağliq
Nakshbandi sufis from the “Black
Mountains”

**Khoja Muhammad Ishaq Wali**

محمد اسحاق ولی

ruled: ? – 1599 C.E.

**Khoja Shadi (?)**

ruled: ?

**Khoja Ubaydullah (?) or****Khoja Abdullah (?)**

ruled: ?



Khoja Apak أفاق خواجه
called **Khoja Hidāyatullah**

حدايت الله

1678–1680 the conquest of Kashgar by help of Dzungar rulers 1693/94 1678–1680
ruler 1693/94**Khoja Khojan**

خان خواجه جان

or **Khoja Yahya**

خواجه يحيى

ruled: 1693/94 – (?)

**Khoja Daniyal**

خواجه دانيال



³⁰ It is based on: *The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan summarised from the Tazkira-i khwajagan of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari*, op. cit., p. 5–56; J. A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads...*, op. cit., p. 78–124; T. Zarcone, *Sufism from Central Asia among the Tibetans in the 16th–17th Centuries...*, op. cit., p. 96–114; Kwangmin Kim, *Saintly Brokers: Uyghur Muslims, Trade, and the Making of Qing Central Asia, 1696–1814*, Fall 2008, p. 56–340.

▼
Khoja Akbash

خواجہ اکباش

ruled: 1695–1705

▼
Khoja Ahmed

خواجہ احمد

ruled: 1705–1720



Khoja Daniyal

خواجہ دانیال

ruled: 1720–1754

after his death breaking up of khante of Kashgar

▼
Khoja Yusuf

خواجہ یوسف

ruled: 1754–1757

▼
Khoja Burhan-ud-din

خواجہ برہان الدین

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

خواجہ ضیاء الدین آخوند

uprising against the Chinese authority, khoja killed 1816

▼
Khoja Jahangir

خواجہ 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

خواجہ یوسف

▼
**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 الدین

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 Taghliqs* –
the Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains”



Khoja Eshan Khan

خواجہ ایشان خان

ruled: 1846

As a result of the political and strategic errors, khoja of Kashgar lost control over East Turkestan



Khoja Ahmed Wang

خواجہ ولی خان that is Khoja Wali Khan احمد وانگ

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 1678–1680.³¹ Over the next decades, Khanate of Kashgar depended completely on Dzungar

³¹ See: Kwangmin Kim, *Saintly Brokers: Uyghur Muslims, Trade, and the Making of Qing Central Asia, 1696–1814, op. cit.*, p. 342.

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 *Aqtaḡliq* – “White” and *Qarataḡliq* – “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

³² See: M. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800*, Bloomington–Indianapolis 2002, p. 47–75.

The apotheosis and symbolism of Apak Khoja and his mausoleum

The attempts to create an independent Muslim state on the territory of East Turkestan (Kashgaria, 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 Khoja 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 *maqāmāt* 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/manāqīb* tradition about Apak became extremely creative and popular. The first work of this kind was *Hidāyatnāmah*, or *Book of Hidāyat-nāmah*, the title of which refers to Apak's original name – Hidāyatallah. This example of *maqāmāt/manāqīb* was formed in the environment of *Aqtaḡliq* – 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/manāqīb* literature in East Turkestan is the undated *Tadhkirat al-Hidayāt*, also known under a different title: *Manāqīb-i Tarḡima-yi Hidāyat Allah Khwajam*,³⁶ which was created soon after the above mentioned *Hidāyatnāmah*. *Tadhkirat al-Hidayāt* was indeed inspired by the *Hidāyatnāmah*, which is proved by a detailed analysis of the text.³⁷ These two classic *maqāmāt/manāqīb* were written in Persian, which was the literary language commonly used in the region. Both examples of *maqāmāt/manāqīb* 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 *tazkira* (تذکره) even more popular, which literally means “recollection,” because *maqāmāt/manāqīb* were not widely copied. This type of Persian and Turkish literature presents biographies of famous poets, saints, sheikhs and scholars. A typical *tazkira* 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.³⁸ What is more, in the 18th and 19th centuries there existed a belief that every holy tomb (mausoleum) should have its *tazkira*. 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.³⁹

³⁶ See: A. Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan...*, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

³⁷ This manuscript is kept in the British Library – see: Bodleian MS Ind. Inst. Pers. 122 (*Tadhkirat al-Hidāyat*). More details see: R. Thum, *Beyond Resistance and Nationalism...*, *op. cit.*, p. 300, 308.

³⁸ See: H. Monttaghifar, *The Traditions of Persian “Tazkirah” Writing in the 18th & 19th Centuries and Some Special Hints*, “Advanced in Information Sciences and Service Sciences” 2 (2010) no. 3, p. 111.

³⁹ See: G. Jarring, *The Ordam-padishah system of Eastern Turkistan shrines*, “Geografiska Annaler” 17 (1935), p. 348–354.

According to Zālili Divani from 1718 by Muhammad Zalili (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.⁴⁰ Since the 19th century, this specific rituals have been performed on the basis of the recitation of the *tazkira* manuscripts, which is testified for example in *Ūlūgh tazkirah-and-Bughār khān* from the years 1829–1830.⁴¹

The *tazkiras* 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 *tazkiras* in honor of Apak. An example of this phenomenon is *Siyar al-Muḥliṣin – Biographies of the loyals* by Ibn Khvāyaha Ali Akhūnda (19th century), who was the member of *Aqtaḡliq* – 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 *tazkira*, but even *tazkira* 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 *tazkira* in honour of the Holy ruler of Kashgar. Thus, Apak’s apotheosis and his strong connection with Nakshbandiya *Aqtaḡliq* was doubtlessly the work of this fraction of the Nakshbandi order in East Turkestan. *Tazkiras* 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 *Tazkirat al-idāyat*,⁴² and the 19th-century manuscript *Hazrat Sayyid Āfāq Khvājanīng Tasralar*.⁴³

It was said before 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 *Qarataḡliq* (the

⁴⁰ See: Zālili Divani, Beijing 1985, p. 605.

⁴¹ Abū al-Qāsīm, *Ūlūgh tazkirah-i Bughār-khān* (great *tazkira* *Bughār-khān*) manuskript C543, St Petersburg, The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. See: R. Thum, *Beyond Resistance and Nationalism...*, *op. cit.*, p. 301, 310.

⁴² *Tadhkirat al-idāyat*, manuscript *ms Ind. Inst. Pers.* 122, Bodleian Library.

⁴³ *Hazrat Sayyid Āfāq Khvājanīng Tasralar*, manuscript *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 *Tazkirah-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 *tazkiras* 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 *tazkiras* 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.



A street of Yarkand according to H.E. Gordon, *Roof of the World*, 1876.

Since the establishment of the Kashgar Khanate (ca. 1680) the former Yarkent Khanate (ماملاکاتی 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

⁴⁴ See: R. Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History*, Harvard 2014, p. 220.

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 häqqida muhakimä* by Änwär Batur, *Qabahät , bir yänä ,äqidä, Batura qetim Appaq Khoja toghrisida* written by Nizamidin Hüsäyin, or a short history of the Yarkent Khanate *Tarikhtin bayanlar qiskichä* 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 Nakshbandi 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 Nakshbandi 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 Nakshbandi 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 Abdüväli 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 Abdüväli 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 Abdüväli Äli was more accepted by the

⁴⁵ See: Änwär Batur, *Apak Khoja häqqida muhakimä*, “Shinjang Sifän Dasho Ilmiy Zhurnali” 3 (1987), p. 57–70; Nizamidin Hüsäyin, *Qabahät ,äqidä' yänä bir qetim Appaq Khoja toghrisida*, “Shinjang Mädäniyati” 2 (1989) no. 3, p. 113–154; Ibrahim Niyaz, *Tarikhtin qiskichä bayanlar*, Kashgar 1989.

⁴⁶ See: A. Äli, *Apaq Khoja*, Ürümchi: Shinja Khälq Näshriyati 2000.

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

⁴⁸ See; E. Waite, *From Holy Man to National Villain: Popular Historical Narratives a about Apaq Khoja amongst Uyghurs in Contemporary Xinjiang...*, p. 5–28.

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

Date	The events from the history of the Uighurs/East Turkestan	The events associated with the mausoleum of Apak Khoja
1638	–	Muhammad Yusuf's decision to build the mausoleum in Bishkiram
1640 [?]	–	The ending of construction of the complex in Bishkiram
1678–1693/4 [?]	The escalation of the conflict between the two Nakshbandi groups in Kashgar: ishakiya and afaqiya. The fall of the Yarkent Khanate	The destruction of the Apak mausoleum by the Kyrgyz
1693/1694		The rebuilding of the mausoleum by Yahya (يحيى خواجه) ruled: 1693/94 – [?]), the son of Apak Khoja
1758	Conquest of Altishahr by the Chinese Army	
1760		The Chinese emperor Qianlong (1701–1799) announces a decree taking the Apak mausoleum under care
1794		The Chinese description of rituals of pilgrimages to the tomb of Apak in the work <i>Kashige'er fu Yingjisha</i>

⁴⁹ See: R. Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History...*, p. 307.

⁵⁰ The chronological presentation on the basis: A. M. Gilkison, *Soul of the Mazar: The Khoja Afaq Mauzoleum (1600s to the Present) and Ujghur Collective Memory*, in: https://etd.ohiolink.edu/!etd.send_file?accession=miami1377021203&disposition=inline, p. 66–67; R. Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History...*, p. 10–280.

1795		The renovation of the mausoleum by the Chinese Emperor Qianlong (1701–1799)
1812–1819		Xu Song's description of the pilgrims' customs and rituals in the mausoleum of Apak
1826	The organization of the anti-Chinese insurrection by the Jahangir Khoja (جہانگیر خواجہ ruled 1825–1828)	The solemn visit of Jahangir Khoja in the mausoleum of Apak
ca. 1849	The anti-Chinese uprising and the second Chinese presence in East Turkestan	Prohibition of public gatherings and visiting of the Apak mausoleum released by the Chinese officials
ok. 1855		Russian (Kazakh) traveler Shoqan Shynghysuly Walikhanov (1835–1865 <i>Шоқан Шыңғысұлы Уәлиханұлы</i>) visited Kashgar and left an interesting description of the mausoleum of Apak Khoja
ok. 1865–1877	Muhammad Yaqub Bek (1820–1877 Tajik: <i>Яъқуб-бек</i>) created the Emirate of Kashgar	Development of the mausoleum, which is visited by European travellers who left new descriptions of monument
1878	The conquest of Hoten in East Turkestan (Kashgaria) by the Chinese army headed by Zuo Zongtang	Xiao Xiong's description of the Apak mausoleum
1904		A Chinese guide identified the grave of Xiang Fei-“Fragrant Concubine”
1933–1934	Establishment of the Republic of East Turkestan	
1943		Liang Hanco's description of the Apak mausoleum
1944–1949	Establishment of the Second Republic of East Turkestan	
1947		Destruction of the Apak mausoleum by an earthquake
1948–1950		Lin Zhi's and Ma Ming's descriptions of the Apak mausoleum
1952	Incorporation of Kashgar into the People's Republic of China	
1956		Reconstruction of the destroyed mausoleum

1966–1976	The Cultural Revolution (文化大革命 – <i>wénhuà dà géming</i>)	
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 <i>Apak Khoja</i> by Äli 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.

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 *tazkiras*. 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 *tazkiras* 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:

Firstly, 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 *Aqtaġliq* – Nakshbandi sufis from the “White Mountains” and *Qarataġliq* – 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.

Secondly, 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.

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It is quite obvious that history consists of facts and interpretations. This mechanism of interpretation of facts in the *tazkiras* caused the popularity of Apak and continuity of his worship, despite the criticism of his adversaries.

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 nacjonalizmu.

Z jednej strony źródła i piśmiennictwo na temat Apaka wykraczają poza funkcję dewocyjnej literatury islamu, która posiada ponadnarodowy charakter. Z drugiej strony, badając historię samego Apaka i rozwoju jego kultu oraz jego zacieklej 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 Qaratağlıq, 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 czcią 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 *tazkiry*. Potwierdzają one raz jeszcze odwieczną 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 *tazkirach* zaważyły na popularności Apaka i ciągłości jego kultu mimo krytyki przeciwników.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Apak Hodža, Turkiestan Wschodni, Ujgurzy, sufizm, islam, historia Azji Centralnej, Kaszgar, Mauzoleum Apaka Hodży, Sinciang

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