

# The History of the Mausoleum of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* in Turfan

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## Introduction

Uyghur areas in Xinjiang 新疆 are dotted with the tombs and mausolea of Islamic saints known as *mazārs*, or places of visitation, and they attract large numbers of pilgrims. Within the local belief system, these *mazārs* occupy an important position as religious institutions possessing various aspects that pertain to Islam, indigenous beliefs, and so on. In addition, because the chief *mazārs* encourage the movement of people over a wide area through the act of pilgrimage, it is to be surmised that they also play a role in regional integration and economic activity.

These *mazārs*, which could be said to be a prominent feature of society in this region, have attracted the attention of researchers, with various studies having been undertaken, and this has resulted in a comparative abundance of research results. Not only has the history of some of the more important *mazārs* been reconstructed<sup>1)</sup> and historical source materials on *mazārs* in different parts of the region presented,<sup>2)</sup> but more recently considerable light is also being shed on the current state of some of these *mazārs* as a result of field investigations.<sup>3)</sup> In particular, a study by Rāhila Dawut describes a large number of *mazārs* on the basis of fieldwork and with reference to records of oral traditions.<sup>4)</sup> But even in basic research on the chief *mazārs* there remain some about which a full investigation into their historical circumstances has yet to be undertaken. Among these *mazārs*, that which is attracting the greatest interest is Tuyuq Khojam in Turfan.

This *mazār* is generally known as *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*. This designation has its origins in a legend about some devout youths who, in order to escape persecution by a tyrannical ruler, hid in a cave where, by a miracle of God, they slept for a considerable length of time, and the name *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, or "the people of the cave," refers to these youths, who are mentioned in the Qurʾān. This *mazār* thus has some unique features in that it is a cave which has become a place of pilgrimage on the basis of a legend found in the Qurʾān. The aim of this article is to clarify as best as possible the history of this *mazār*, about which there has hitherto been no systematic study. At the same time, I also wish to

consider the distinctive features of this *mazār* in its capacity as a religious institution.<sup>5)</sup>

### I. Tuyuq Khojam as the *Mazār* of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*

This *mazār* is located in the village of Tuyuq in Tuyuq township, Pichan county, Turfan prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, and a cave dug in the side of hills called Huoyanshan 火炎山, or Flame Mountains, represents the *mazār*. Today it includes an area surrounded by an outer wall, while in front of the cave there is a *gunbaz*-style building from which there is direct access to the cave. The cave is reached by a path leading from the entrance to the compound below to the cave up above. According to Rāhila Dawut, the total area of the *mazār*'s compound is 12,000 square kilometres.<sup>6)</sup> A major characteristic of this *mazār* is that it still attracts large numbers of visitors. According to a recent Chinese guidebook to the Turfan Depression, where it is referred to as "the *gongbaizi* 拱拜孜 of Asawulikapei 阿薩吾力開裴," it attracts 10,000 visitors<sup>7)</sup> and is considered worth developing as a tourist attraction.<sup>8)</sup> Thus, even today this *mazār* is without doubt a place that commands interest in the Turfan Depression.

The reason that this *mazār* is so popular as a place of visitation is that, as was noted earlier, it is regarded as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, or "people of the cave," who appear in the Qurʾān. This is widely believed by local Muslims, chiefly Uyghurs, and consequently the cave has become an object of worship.

The basic framework of the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* has developed around the theme of some devout youths who hid in a cave to escape persecution by a tyrannical ruler and remained asleep there for a great length of time. This legend had its origins among the Christians of the Mediterranean, and the cave in question is generally considered to have been located in Ephesus in Asia Minor. According to the Christian version, the youths hid themselves in a cave during the reign of the Roman emperor Decius and were discovered after the Council of Ephesus during the reign of the emperor Theodosius II. The legend spread widely throughout medieval Europe and was incorporated into works of literature, being generally known in Europe as the story of the Seven Sleepers. At the same time, it also appears in "The Cave" chapter of the Qurʾān and is well-known among Muslims as the story of "the people of the cave" (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*). In the Qurʾān it is clearly stated that they remained in the cave for 309 years, while the number of sleepers, generally given as seven, is said to be known only to God and is not specified.<sup>9)</sup> In the commentaries (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān it is described in detail, on the basis of various traditions, how these sleepers were oppressed by an infidel ruler, hid themselves in the cave so as to escape him, and then sank into a deep sleep.

It is likely that in East Turkistan too the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* enjoyed

considerable popularity. For instance, the *Qiṣaṣ alanbiyāʿ*, a hagiography by Rabghūzī which circulated widely throughout Central Asia, includes an account of this legend,<sup>10</sup> and it is known that this work was widely read in East Turkistan.<sup>11</sup> In addition, at least from the nineteenth century onwards there were composed several works relating to the story of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*. These include a work by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī, renowned as the author of the *Tazkira-i ʿazīzān*, in which he brings together accounts gleaned from the *tafsīr* and traditions,<sup>12</sup> and a manuscript about the legend of the *mazār* at Tuyuq brought back by C. G. Mannheim from his travels in East Turkistan in the early twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> These works include details taken from various sources and not mentioned in the Qurʾān, such as the events leading to the seizure of power by the tyrant Dakianus (Decius) and dramatic episodes with a strong narrative element, including the story of how after the sleepers had woken, one of their number went to the nearby town, where he roused suspicion, thus apprising locals of the existence of the sleepers, who eventually ascended to heaven. They are also said to have been accompanied by a dog.

There can be no doubt that today visitors to this *mazār* and the religious leaders in charge of it regard it as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* mentioned in the Qurʾān and that this perception is a natural precondition of the fact that the *mazār* has become a prominent object of worship. When our party visited it in July 1996, the *imām* of the mosque in Tuyuq related the origins of the *mazār* in the following terms with reference to the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*: "At the time of Eysa Pāyghāmbār (Jesus Christ), the area towards Huoyanshan was called the land of Dakianus. Some people who had brought the true faith were persecuted by a wicked king and fled inside this cave. On the way a dog joined them and stayed by their side. They remained asleep for several hundred years until this region was ready to receive the true God."<sup>14</sup> When we revisited the area in August 2001, the custodian of the *mazār* was explaining the legend of the saints of the cave to visitors inside the building attached to the cave entrance, and in an interview he declared that his explication was essentially based on the account of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* in the Qurʾān.

## II. The *Mazār* of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* in Historical Sources

### (1) Until the Mid-Nineteenth Century

When did this *mazār* known as Turfan's *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* first appear on the stage of history? A number of works dating from the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century contain information on its historical circumstances prior to this time.

An account of the actual state of the *mazār* in the earliest period is found in the *Kitāb-i tārikh-i jarīda-i jadīda*, which could be described as a guide to the holy

places of Turfan. It mentions that already during the reign of Sutuq Boghra Khān of the Karakhanids this cave was regarded as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf* alluded to in the Qurʾān. But although this account gives concrete details, it is presumably based on legend. In point of fact, the *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī*, composed by Mullā Mūsá after Qurbān ʿAlī's work mentioned below, states that up until A.H. 1000 it was "a place which unbelievers (*kāfir*) had made into a Buddhist temple, installing lamas, *lodo* (*laodao* 老道?) and brahmins, and which they venerated."<sup>15)</sup>

An account of the historical situation in the seventeenth century, on the other hand, can be found in two works by Qurbān ʿAlī and Mullā Mūsá, both of whom state that the cave was recognized as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf* by order of a ruler named Sulṭān Saʿīd Bābā Khān Bahādur. A copy of the Khān's directive is included in both works, and it includes the following passage:

Khwāja Ayyūb, Mullā Qamūsh Sabāb Oghuli, and Kuchik Mullā Malik — because people from these three households have been serving at the holy Ḥāzrat-i Sulṭān Aṣḥāb Kahf (*sic*), they have been granted the king's favour, with one being made a lamp-lighter (*chirāghchi*), one a cleaner (*jarūbkes*), and one a cook (*bakāwul*), and they have been made tax-exempt (*tarkhān*). Ensure that from son to son and from daughter to daughter they are exempted from tax.<sup>16)</sup>

This directive officially recognized as custodians those who had been previously looking after the cave and made their positions hereditary. It is dated the month of ʿĀshūr, A.H. 1078, corresponding to 23 June-22 July 1667. According to Saguchi Tōru, Sulṭān Saʿīd Bābā Khān Bahādur was the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who was in turn the son of ʿAbd al-Rashīd I, the second *khān* of the Yarkand khanate, and he assumed the title of *khān* in 1653, with Turfan as his base, and ruled for twenty-five years.<sup>17)</sup> The directive's date of 1667 thus tallies with other historical sources. In addition, regarding his patronization of the *mazār*, it is also worth noting that the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* mentions that this *khān* was a devout Muslim.<sup>18)</sup>

Moving on to the late seventeenth century, Qurbān ʿAlī records an episode concerning Khwāja Āfāq, *khwāja* of Makhdūmzāda. According to Qurbān ʿAlī, when Khwāja Āfāq arrived in Turfan, he spent forty days beside the cave<sup>19)</sup> and then declared that it was the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf* and gave instructions for it to be revered. Khwāja Āfāq told the governor (*ḥākim*) of Turfan to erect a *qubba* at the entrance to the cave, and this was constructed in 1110 (1698/99), with descendants of Mullā Qamūsh being installed as *shaykh*.<sup>20)</sup> Similarly, Mullā Mūsá records that although Khwāja Āfāq initially forbade veneration of the cave, after having meditated inside it, he declared, "Your faith is correct. There can be no doubt that this is the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf*."<sup>21)</sup> These traditions could be said to indicate that Khwāja Āfāq, the most famous

saint in East Turkistan and a figure of authority, endorsed this cave as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*.

However, to the best of my knowledge, apart from the *khān*'s document quoted in nineteenth-century works, none of the chief historical sources concerning East Turkistan from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, such as the *Tārīkh-i rashīdī*, Mīrzā Fāzil Chorās's chronicle, the *Tazkira-i 'azīzān*, etc., contain any reference to the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* at Tuyuq. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no evidence in the main extant sources that, prior to the eighteenth century, this cave was recognized as that of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* or that it drew large numbers of pilgrims as a special holy site. Although the traditions and anecdotes cited in works of the nineteenth century present what are claimed to be historical facts proving that the *mazār* at Tuyuq corresponds to the *mazār* of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, insofar that they represent endorsements by authoritative religious leaders and holders of political power, they give the impression of attempts to lend authority to their claims by this means. There is thus a possibility that these traditions relating to the history of the *mazār* were fabricated at some point in time, probably by people affiliated to the *mazār*, in order to demonstrate its legitimacy and were then circulated among the general population, as a result of which they were also incorporated into contemporary writings.

Worth noting in this regard is the fact that a *shaykh* at the time of Qurbān °Alī's visit, called Fūlāt, had in his keeping the aforementioned directive issued by the *khān* and claimed that he held the position of *shaykh* in his capacity as a descendant of one of those stated in the directive to have been appointed custodians. This would suggest that the existence of a document believed to be a directive issued by a historical *khān* was of special significance for Fūlāt's retention of the position of *shaykh* in the nineteenth century. According to Qurbān °Alī, in 1303 (1885/86) a dispute broke out among several *shaykhs*, and when it was decided to share the revenue from an endowment (*waqf*) among seventeen of them, Fūlāt acquired a full half of the revenue because he still occupied the position of chief (*ra'īs*).<sup>22</sup> It is possible that "evidence" in the form of a *khān*'s directive was effectively utilized in disputes such as this by a *shaykh* in the second half of the nineteenth century as proof of the legitimacy of his own prominent position as the chief *shaykh*.

As for the subsequent state of affairs under Qing 清 rule, Rāhila Dawut writes that at the time of Amīn Khwāja, king of Lukchun and a leading figure in Turfan,<sup>23</sup> the *mazār*'s building was erected, and not only did Amīn Khwāja donate some land as an endowment, but he also appointed full-time staff, including a superintendent (*mutawallī*), two or three *shaykhs*, a lamp-lighter (*chirāghchi*), a cleaner (*jarūpkash*), a cook (*bökāl*), and an accountant (*hoshurchi*). Rules for offering horses, sheep, and cattle once annually, holding Friday prayers at the mosque in Tuyuq, and giving material assistance to *sūfis* engaged in religious

practices at the *mazār* are also said to have been promulgated.<sup>24)</sup> But because no sources are given, it is impossible to verify whether this account reflects historical facts.

However, one cannot discount the possibility that, after the advance of the Qing into this region, Amīn Khwāja and his descendants, who wielded power in the eastern part of the Turfan Depression centred on Lukchun – that is to say, the leaders of the house of the commandery prince of Turfan who had been invested as princes by the Qing dynasty<sup>25)</sup> – may have attached special importance to this *mazār* and granted it certain endowments of land and so on. Qurbān ‘Alī writes that in 1220 (1805/06) Amīn Khwāja’s son Farīdūn Wāng<sup>26)</sup> constructed a *khānqāh* and mosque for pilgrims as annexes to the *mazār*.<sup>27)</sup> When one takes into account the fact that in 1216 (1801/02) during the Qing Alpata Khojam, a representative *mazār* of the Turfan Depression, was rebuilt<sup>28)</sup> by Iskander Beg,<sup>29)</sup> the commandery prince of Turfan, and functioned in effect as a place of burial for the house of the commandery prince,<sup>30)</sup> it would not be surprising if the *mazār* at Tuyuq had been patronized and its facilities improved by the house of the commandery prince. But while this *mazār* may have been one of the chief *mazārs* in Turfan, it is to be surmised that, when compared with Alpata, it was not necessarily regarded as a *mazār* of any great religious authority.

## (2) From the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century

By the second half of the nineteenth century there begin to appear detailed accounts of this *mazār* by outside intellectuals who visited Turfan. In particular, Qurbān ‘Alī gives it great prominence in his aforementioned guidebook.<sup>31)</sup> The fact that a Tatar writer from Semirechie living in Chughchak (Tarbaghatay) in northern Xinjiang should have left an account which concentrated on this *mazār* to such a degree would indicate that at the time it was a quite prominent place of visitation. In the *Tārīkh-i amnīya* too, in the section describing the *mazārs* in various localities, it is touched on in some detail as the main *mazār* in Turfan.<sup>32)</sup> Its author, Mullā Mūsá, hailed from Sayram in western Kucha. The treatment of this *mazār* in these works confirms the fact that it was also known to some degree by people outside the Turfan Depression.

While there are prior to this period no accounts of this *mazār* based on personal experience, there are indications that in the mid-nineteenth century it caught the attention of intellectuals in other oases too. The work by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī mentioned earlier is said to have been written in 1844,<sup>33)</sup> and while there is no mention of the cave at Tuyuq, the fact that it presents the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* in such a systematic fashion would suggest that this work may have been composed for the very reason that this *mazār* was a signifi-

cant institution even for a writer living in the faraway oasis of Kashghar.

Next, a number of accounts have been left by Europeans who visited the area in the early twentieth century. For instance, C. G. Mannerheim, who passed through the Turfan Depression in 1907, gives the following description:

Early this morning we paid a visit to the »7 brothers' mazar«, situated on the mountain slope N of the village. The entrance to the cave in which they lie is said to be guarded by a dog wrapped, as they are, in eternal sleep. Nothing is visible except a mosque comparatively richly decorated with carpets, banners, curtains etc. Opposite the entrance there is a railing, behind which the entrance to the tomb, carefully screened by curtains, is supposed to be. The mullah draws aside the curtains with great ceremony and you see the dog in the shape of an elevation in the floor covered with glazed tiles.<sup>34)</sup>

In view of its name "7 brothers' mazar" and the reference to a dog, there can be no doubt that this cave, decorated with carpets and banners, was the *mazār* of the *ashāb al-kahf*. As was noted earlier, Mannerheim's collection contains a manuscript of "The legend (*tazkira*) of the tomb of the seven brothers in Tuyuq," which has been published, and in content it corresponds to the legend of the *ashāb al-kahf*.<sup>35)</sup> When one considers that Mannerheim not only deliberately chose to visit this *mazār* and left a description of it in the account of his travels, but also brought back a manuscript dealing with the legend associated with the cave, it is to be surmised that even Europeans gained the impression that this *mazār* was a prominent presence among local inhabitants.

But the question of whether or not this *mazār* occupied an overwhelmingly special position among inhabitants of the Turfan Depression in the late nineteenth century requires further examination. In an account of the *mazārs* in Lukchun in 1892 based on enquiries undertaken among locals by the Russian Orientalist N. Th. Katanov, the *mazār* of the *ashāb al-kahf* is mentioned, but only in passing.

In Tuyuq there are two *mazārs*; one is Ashābu-'l-kāhf, while the other is Māshāt Khojam. In Yāng-khī there is one *mazār*, and in Yāng-khī-Kārīz there is a *mazār* called Talliq Khojam. In Qara Khoja there is a *mazār* called At Baghlaghuch (Tethering Post), where there is the radiance of the horse of Hāzreti Älpätā Khojam. In Murtuq there is one *mazār*, and those who wish to become mollas visit Murtuq Khojam. There are the remains of what seems to be a seal on which Murtuq Khojam's horse was pressed into a stone. There are also his own remains. In addition, there is also a melon that had turned into a stone.... In Astānā there is the *mazār* of Älpätā Khojam himself. During the time of the Tāng Khān, Älpätā Khojam fought

against the Chinese (Khitāy) at the age of twelve, and he took the town of Qara Khoja at the age of eighteen. In Qara Khoja there survives a lamp (*sinchiraq>jinchiraq*) of his, and he himself died at Astānā.<sup>36)</sup>

The *mazār* at Alpata, here described in some detail, already appears in historical works as an important *mazār* in the seventeenth century, and there is evidence that it caused friction with a person sent to Turfan by Khwāja Ishāq Walī of the family of the *khwāja* of Kashghar at the time.<sup>37)</sup> In addition, the above account also gives concrete details about Murtuq Khojam, and the reference to “a melon that had turned into a stone” is of particular interest, for when we visited it in July 1996 we observed that a stone resembling a melon in shape had been placed in the *mazār* as some sort of cult object.<sup>38)</sup> In contrast, Aṣḥāb al-Kahf is mentioned only by name. The tendencies reflected in this account may be due to the degree of interest evinced in each *mazār* by individual informants on the basis of their own predilections, but nonetheless one cannot rush to the conclusion that for the inhabitants of Turfan in the second half of the nineteenth century the *mazār* at Tuyuq was a religious institution with an importance on a level different from that of the other chief *mazārs*.

### III. The Historical Realities of the *Mazār* of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*

#### (1) Concrete Details about the *Mazār* as a Place of Visitation

The *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī* brought out by Mullā Mūsá in 1908 includes a concrete description of the *mazār* of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* at this time:

Some consider the sacred phrases of the Qurʾān delivered in God’s own words about the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* to apply to this cave in Tuyuq, and they come on a four- to five-month journey from all Moghūlistān and also Farghāna, Turkistān, Hindistān, and so on, bearing offerings and gifts, and having paid their visit, they return home. The *shaykhs* of this place try every kind of ruse on those who come to visit [the *mazār*], directing them to dismount from their horses here, to worship here, and to pay reverence (*tawāf*) here, just as if it were the shrine in Mecca, and thus instructing them in accordance with the rules of this place, they use guile to fleece them of their possessions. In extreme cases, some even believe that if they do not have the means to go to Mecca, one visit to this Aṣḥāb al-Kahf is equivalent to half a pilgrimage to Mecca. The place where Aṣḥāb al-Kahf is situated is on a high mountain, and it can be reached by ascending a great many stairs. On top of the mountain are several rooms, an outer wall, a small tower, a mosque, a *mihrāb*, a pulpit, and a place for making prayers. Around it there are also many houses. The custodians of this *mazār* have es-



tablished themselves here and spend their days feeding off the endowments. The *shaykhs* of this *mazār* number more than three hundred households. Muslim *khāns*, governors (*hākīm*) of provinces (*wilāyat*), and *amīrs* too have out of kindness and charity granted some endowments. The town of Dakianus and the site of his throne are also said to be in this region of Turfan. They seem to believe that the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* are actually asleep in this cave.<sup>39)</sup>

It is evident that in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, when the author is thought to have actually been here, it was a large and flourishing *mazār*. With regard to this account, I would like to draw attention to four points.

First, there is the surprising extent of the geographical distribution of the pilgrims, who came not only from the Turfan Depression, but also from Chinese Central Asia, West Turkistan, and India. In this regard, reference may also be made to the account of Albert von Le Coq, who resided in Turfan during the 1910s and visited this *mazār*.

On the right bank there rises a modern mosque, the "Shrine of the Seven Sleepers." I visited this mosque, and was told that behind the modern Mohammedan portion there was an ancient temple hewn out in the rock.

Here, as in many other places, we see how Islam, when it came into the country, took possession of the old native sanctuaries. In this case it was easy for the Mohammedans, for the legend of the Seven Sleepers is very familiar to them. Unfortunately I was not allowed to enter the old cave-temple, since its entrance was covered by a number of flags which Yakub Beg's troops had taken from the rebellious Tungans in the 'sixties and 'seventies of last century.

This sanctuary is, even to the present day, visited by pilgrims from the whole country, and also from India and Arabia; indeed, one Indian pilgrim worried me to such an extent with his foolish fanaticism that at last I had to get the king of Lukchun to help me to send him off from the district.

Since the "Seven Sleepers" mosque lies close to Karakhoja, the name of Ephesus in its Arabic-Turkish form of *Apsūs* was given to the Old Town.<sup>40)</sup>

The statement that an Indian pilgrim displayed such fanaticism that Le Coq had him sent off by the "king of Lukchun"<sup>41)</sup> tallies with Mullā Mūsá's account. While it is true, as was noted earlier, that throughout the nineteenth century this *mazār* could perhaps not be said to have been of any special significance for the people of Turfan with respect to its objective antiquity and

religious authority, there can be no doubt that at least by the end of the nineteenth century it had moved beyond the sphere of a regional object of worship and had achieved a remarkable geographical reach with regard to the spatial scope of its religious pulling power.

Secondly, it is to be seen that, in keeping with its large number of pilgrims, it constituted in physical terms a large-scale complex made up of several buildings. It has already been noted that there were a mosque and a *khānqāh* said to have been constructed by the commandery prince of Turfan. In addition, it is also evident that steps had been installed to provide access to the cave, which was situated at some height, and these served as a pilgrimage path.<sup>42)</sup>

Thirdly, it had acquired an astonishingly high degree of religious authority. Important in this regard is Mullā Mūsá's statement that it was believed by contemporary pilgrims to be a sacred site on a par with Mecca and that two visits to this *mazār* were considered to be equivalent to a pilgrimage to Mecca. The fact that the cave at Tuyuq was vested with exceptional value not as the *mazār* of a regional saint, but as the *mazār* of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* mentioned in a Qur<sup>ā</sup>nic legend, and exerted a universal and high level of religious pulling power for all Muslims may be assumed to have been the source of the driving force behind the far-ranging geographical extent of its religious authority noted above.

Fourthly, the act of pilgrimage was carried out in accordance with special procedures as indicated by the *shaykhs* and to the accompaniment of rites performed at each stage along the pilgrimage route. Qurbān ʿAlī has left an account of the actual process that he followed on his visit. First, he dismounted from his horse at the "place of destiny" (*jāy-i muqaddar*) below the cave and, having washed himself, set out on foot for the cave up above. The gate beside a building below the cave was unlocked by a *shaykh*, who also unlocked another gate leading to the pilgrimage path, which Qurbān ʿAlī then ascended. Once he reached the building attached to the cave entrance, the door to this building was also unlocked, and he paid homage facing the cave.<sup>43)</sup> After the silk curtain covering the entrance to the cave had been raised, he recited verses from the Qur<sup>ā</sup>n to accumulate merit and then handed the offerings that he had brought with him to the *shaykh*. Having finished worshipping in the cave, he left the building and visited the chamber of the "footprints of the four Companions" (*qadam jāy-i chahār yār*)<sup>44)</sup> to the right and the footprint (*qadam jāyi*) of Khwāja Āfāq with a small *gunbaz* to the left, again reciting the Qur<sup>ā</sup>n as he did so.<sup>45)</sup>

From this description it is clear that the pilgrimage route and buildings were securely locked and strictly managed in stages, with visitors passing through these stages and following certain prescribed procedures, and that there were rites associated with the site of Khwāja Āfāq's sojourn and other related legendary sites. The existence of several secure locks along the pilgrimage route was a physical apparatus for impressing upon pilgrims the fact that the cave, located in the innermost recesses of the *mazār*, was a special sacred

site that could not be easily approached, while the *shaykhs'* unlocking of the gates could be considered to have been also intended to make a display to the pilgrims of the *shaykhs'* own privileged religious position which empowered them to grant pilgrims the opportunity of approaching the cave. It could be said, in other words, that the set-up of the facilities and the pilgrimage process incorporated mechanisms for bringing out the *mazār's* religious status as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*.

Thus, there can be no doubt that by the start of the twentieth century this *mazār* had, in its capacity as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, become a thriving religious institution drawing pilgrims from a wide area. The formation of its astounding religious authority was not simply the result of a natural rise in the *mazār's* reputation. It is to be surmised that a background factor in the growth of its authority had been the success of its deliberate promotion by those affiliated to the *mazār* and of their manipulation of ritual to lend extra authority to the *mazār* through special pilgrimage procedures. One further background factor may be assumed to have been the *mazār's* relationship with political power.

## (2) Political Aspects

If one excludes the existence of a document deemed to represent a directive relating to the official recognition of the *mazār* by a seventeenth-century *khān* of Turfan, concrete details of the relationship between political power and this *mazār* are not clear, even though there are indications that during the Qing the house of the commandery prince of Turfan patronized it and gave material assistance. But with regard to the second half of the nineteenth century, it is possible to point out, though only on the basis of scant material, that some sort of relationship may have developed with the rulers of Turfan during the time of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's rule, established as a result of the Muslim uprising against the Qing that broke out in 1864. A "folksong about Beg Qulī Beg" collected by Grenard and others includes the following lines:

The road to Turfan is a road on which footprints turn into flowers.  
For Tora (=Ḥakīm Khān Tora) in Turfan, Aṣḥāb al-Kahf became a friend.  
There was a battle at Gūmādī, and people suffered from thirst.  
Black-faced Niyāz Beg ate Badawlat (=Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg) and caused him to die  
(i.e., poisoned him).  
Badawlat died on a day in spring.  
Beg Bacha (=Beg Qulī Beg), at the time of the sacrificial service, got up and  
fled.  
An army led by thirty *ambal* came from Bāchīn (Beijing)...<sup>46)</sup>

In view of the fact that Beg Qulī Beg (Beg Bacha) appearing in the title is

the name of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's eldest son<sup>47)</sup> and Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg is mentioned by his other name Badawlat, it is evident that this song describes the situation during the time of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's rule. It refers to the state of affairs during his rule, including the state of Turfan under his administration, the dispatch of troops by the Qing for the reconquest of Xinjiang, their subjugation of Gūmādī and Urumchi to the north of the Tianshan 天山 and of the Turfan Depression during their advance into the area under Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's rule, and the subsequent death of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg at Korla.<sup>48)</sup>

It is also mentioned that Aṣḥāb al-Kahf became a friend for Ḥakīm Khān Tora, who had been appointed governor (*ḥākīm*) of Turfan by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg.<sup>49)</sup> This probably means that this *mazār* supported Ḥakīm Khān in some way. It is true that this is no more than a folksong, and it is therefore questionable whether it reflects actual facts, but it is clear that in the first half of the 1890s, when this folksong was recorded, this *mazār*, as the chief *mazār* in Turfan, was perceived by the Muslim population to be a powerful religious institution with possible connections with the rulers of Turfan. As regards the actual situation, Le Coq informs us that "its entrance was covered by a number of flags which Yakub Beg's troops had taken from the rebellious Tungans in the 'sixties and 'seventies of last century," and this would support the supposition that Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's government enjoyed an amicable relationship with this *mazār* from the time of his initial conquest of the Turfan Depression.

Assuming that those affiliated to the *mazār* actually did approach those in power with offers of support, then it is possible that in the confused political conditions during an uprising, when the power holders with control over the region were constantly changing,<sup>50)</sup> the custodians of the *mazār*, faced with a new development in the form of an advance into the Turfan Depression by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's militarily superior régime, may have sought to secure a privileged position for their own religious institution by displaying a cooperative stance towards the new régime. At the same time, it is also evident in moves made by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's government that, in establishing anew and maintaining its control over Turfan, it hoped to win over the hearts of the local population by forming a close relationship with a *mazār* possessing enormous religious authority.

One is here reminded of the fact that Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's government, as a Muslim régime, introduced a policy of patronizing the chief *mazārs* by repairing mausolea, granting land endowments, and so on in Kashghar and elsewhere. It is a well-known fact that the tombs of Khwāja Āfāq, Sutuq Boghra Khān, and others were rebuilt in magnificent style during this period.<sup>51)</sup> That being so, it would be hardly surprising if Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's government had in Turfan shown due respect to a *mazār* said to represent the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*. Furthermore, it would not necessarily be off the mark to consider the possibility that this, in conjunction with the fact that Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg was a charismatic ruler who had established a united government in East Turkistan, was in turn effec-

tive in lending authority to this *mazār*, for as was seen earlier, after the end of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Beg's rule, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it suddenly manifested its distinctive features as a prominent religious institution with far-ranging religious authority.

#### IV. The Muslim Population and Beliefs Concerning Tuyuq Khojam

##### (1) Their Basis and Criticism Thereof

The reason that the *mazār* at Tuyuq existed as a religious institution attracting large numbers of pilgrims was, of course, that its cave was believed by pilgrims and the Muslim population of East Turkistan and the surrounding region to be the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* mentioned in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and thus became an object of worship. But on what grounds did this site come to be regarded as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*? How did this perception come to be universally accepted so that the site was transformed into a representative place of visitation? And in the minds of the Muslim population, by what evidence was the belief that this cave was that of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* supported? Because the truth about such matters does not appear in historical sources, questions such as these are difficult to investigate. But the key to answering these questions would seem to lie concealed in some of the accounts left by intellectuals.

Qurbān ʿAlī writes that there are seven sites in the world regarded as places for visiting the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, and he cites several reasons why the cave in Turfan is the most appropriate of these sites. He points out that the manner in which the sunlight strikes the cave tallies with the account in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān; the cave was known from pre-Islamic times; it was recognized by Khwāja Āfāq; if one visits it, one's prayers will be answered; and conversely those who do not revere it suffer harm.<sup>52)</sup> In addition, he also considers that related place-names appearing in the *tafsīr*, such as Rūm and Afsūs, where Dakianus resided, changed into place-names in the vicinity of Tuyuq, becoming Rūmcha, Turfan, and so on. He stresses in particular that 'Turfan' is a corruption of 'Afsūs' (Afsūs → Tarsūs → Tarfāna → Turfan), and he attempts to explain these changes on the basis of characteristic features of the pronunciation of Turkic languages.<sup>53)</sup>

In addition, an explanation linking Rūm to Urumchi is to be found in the *Tārīkh-i amnīya*. It is argued that the correct form of the place-name 'Urumchi' was originally 'Rūmcha,' and since in Turkic languages diminutives are formed by adding the suffix -cha, 'Rūmcha' means 'little Rūm.' Furthermore, the letter *alef* was mistakenly prefixed to the word 'Rūmcha' and the ending combined with the letter *ya* to give the form 'Urumchi.'<sup>54)</sup> These explanations represent an attempt to explain in a coherent manner, on the basis of historical changes in word forms, the discrepancies between local place-names and the place-names

appearing in the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*.

Setting aside reasons that could also apply to other *mazārs*, such as remarkable manifestations of miraculous efficacy, the explanation that place-names related to the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* were transformed into place-names in the area around the cave, as well as the legend regarding the endorsement of this locality by the famous saint Khwāja Āfāq, would not have been views original with intellectuals such as Qurbān ʿAlī and Mullā Mūsá, but were probably based on information that these writers obtained from those affiliated to the *mazār* and from local inhabitants when they visited the *mazār*. If that is the case, then there is a strong possibility that the reasons for identifying this *mazār* with the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* were propagated by those affiliated to the *mazār* in order to ensure its prestige as a place of visitation, and, through their dissemination among the general population, they had a corresponding effect on the consciousness of the populace (who it was that performed the act of pilgrimage) regarding veneration of this *mazār*. When he wrote the *Tārikh-i amniya*, Mullā Mūsá too set down in quite positive terms these forced explanations that had probably been offered by those affiliated to the *mazār*, and he expressed no doubts whatsoever about the belief that the *mazār* at Tuyuq was the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*.

But in the *Tārikh-i ḥamīdī*, which he wrote some time later, Mullā Mūsá raises some fundamental questions about this *mazār* and levels concrete and scathing criticism against some of its essential aspects.<sup>55</sup> The gist of his criticism is as follows: (1) there is no evidence that there was in Tuyuq a tomb of anyone of ancient times before the time of the prophet Muḥammad, and it cannot be said that there was a prophet's tomb here; (2) neither early Arabic commentators of the Qurʾān nor the Companions (*aṣḥāb*) say that this cave was in Tuyuq, nor do local intellectuals make any mention of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* (e.g., *Tārikh-i rashīdī*); (3) since Turfan was Islamized after Farghāna and Kashghar, no one could have known of the existence of this cave, and Bābā Khān's subsequent recognition of the cave cannot be regarded as proof either; (4) Turfan appears in the histories as 'Turfan', while 'Urumchi' derives from a person's name, and so the view that their original forms were 'Tarsūs' and 'Rūmcha' is baseless; (5) the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* are said to have been tall and to have had large heads, but it is difficult for even a sheep to pass through the entrance to the cave at Tuyuq; (6) the cave at Tuyuq differs from the characteristics of the cave described in the Qurʾān with respect to the manner in which it gets the sun; (7) according to the Qurʾān, those who look at the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* flee in terror, but this is not so in the case of the cave at Tuyuq; (8) it is an act of unbelief to revere places other than Mecca in the same way as one reveres Mecca and to regard them as pilgrimage sites, nor should one worship saints, who are not God; (9) it is said that a visit to Tuyuq is equivalent to half a pilgrimage to Mecca, but the *ḥajj* is undertaken at a fixed time to Mecca; and (10) the local belief that the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*

is in Tuyuq is at variance with the explanations found in the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, and histories.<sup>56)</sup>

The crux of Mullā Mūsá's arguments comes down to the fact that this *mazār* is not the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* referred to in the Qurʾān and that there is no validity in any assertions to the contrary. He lucidly argues that Aṣḥāb al-Kahf does not appear in the histories and that the justification for this identification on the basis of historical changes in place-names is mistaken. He also points out that the cave's characteristics are inconsistent with the accounts in the Qurʾān and *tafsīr*.<sup>57)</sup> A further important point is his criticism of the worship of "saints" and the regarding of localities other than Mecca as special holy sites to which pilgrimages may be made. In sum, Mullā Mūsá thoroughly negates the widespread local popular belief that the *mazār* at Tuyuq is the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* through a critical examination of the grounds on which this belief is based. This critique throws into sharp relief his credentials as a representative intellectual and historian of this period.

It is worth noting here that Mullā Mūsá's description of the *mazār* quoted in the previous section was critical of the fact that the *shaykhs* looked upon this *mazār* as if it were Mecca and used various devices to fleece pilgrims of their possessions. This means that the actions of those affiliated to the *mazār* and their methods of lending authority to it seemed to Mullā Mūsá, who probably witnessed them, to be somewhat questionable and contrived. This would not have been unrelated to his critical stance towards the legitimizing arguments presumably put forward by those affiliated to *mazār*, nor would it have been unconnected to his voicing of a negative attitude towards the very legitimacy of this *mazār*.

## (2) The Survival of Popular Beliefs

But notwithstanding the thorough-going criticism presented in the *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī*, this *mazār* continued to draw large numbers of pilgrims. Among visitors from the outside world, Evangeline French and Mildred Cable of the China Inland Mission have left an account of this cave in the 1930s.<sup>58)</sup> It could be said that the religious authority of this *mazār* among the Muslim population and its appeal for them were quite deep-rooted, and it is to be surmised that this state of affairs was, as noted earlier, due to the fact that the propaganda and "rumours" spread by those affiliated to the *mazār* and by some of the Muslim devotees continued to have a not inconsiderable effect on Muslims in other regions.

A manuscript held in Sankt-Peterburg relates in great detail and in verse what would seem to be the legend of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*,<sup>59)</sup> and since in the latter part there is a reference to Tuyuq, it is clear that this is the manuscript of a work concerning the origins of the *mazār* of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* at Tuyuq. It is also noteworthy that while it is similar in outline to the episodes based on the *tafsīr*

cited in Muḥammad Šādiq Kāshgharī's earlier mentioned work, it also incorporates in parts some different motifs, but I shall not go into further details for fear of digressing. The main point in the present context is that while this manuscript contains praises of Tuyuq as a place and also describes Alpata and other *mazārs*, it has the character of a guidebook promoting the sacred sites of the Turfan Depression centred on the *mazār* at Tuyuq. It is to be surmised that this *mazār* increased its importance as a place of visitation through the circulation of information about it in works such as this.

But it is hardly likely that the essence of this *mazār*'s vitality should lie in the contrived propaganda and performances of its religious leaders. This can be seen in the fact that in spite of the implementation of anti-religious policies and the influence of communist thought since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and notwithstanding a temporary suspension of activities by religious leaders, beliefs centred on this *mazār* have survived down to the present day.

When I visited the cave in August 1996 and August 2001, as well as inspecting the cave's interior, I also interviewed together with Wang Jianxin and others in our party the *mazār*'s custodians and the *imām* of the mosque at Tuyuq, and as a result some light was shed on the situation since the 1950s. Before "liberation" there had been about thirty custodians at this *mazār*, and its operations had been sustained by an endowment of fields that produced about four tons of grapes annually. Because the land endowment was lost after "liberation,"<sup>60)</sup> operating expenses were met chiefly through donations. During the Cultural Revolution, both the fine *gunbaz*-shaped building of the *mazār* and the mosque were destroyed, and the *mazār*'s sources of revenue dried up completely. In 1982, after the Cultural Revolution, the *imām* of the mosque submitted a list of property that had been lost together with documents concerning their valuation to the head of Pichan county in an attempt to seek government compensation for the losses, but this proved unsuccessful. Even today fragments of roof tiles from the destroyed buildings lie scattered about the grounds of the *mazār*. Subsequently 20,000–30,000 *yuan* 元 were raised from donations, and in June 1996 the mausoleum was rebuilt.

Although there is no documentary evidence to verify these events, the vestiges of destruction wrought during the Cultural Revolution and the revival of activities and reconstruction of facilities as a result of the relaxing of religious policy since the 1980s graphically illustrate characteristic aspects of the history experienced by religious institutions in the course of changes in religious policy and political conditions in contemporary China. While it is true that the main buildings were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, when one compares a photograph of the entire mountainside taken by Le Coq<sup>61)</sup> with a photograph that I took of the same scene in August 2001, the basic appearance of the outer structure surrounding the *mazār* precincts is virtually identical, and in this sense



the present state of the *mazār* may be considered to partially preserve the scene as it looked in the 1910s.

Since its revival in the 1980s, the *mazār* has in recent years come to show a vitality no less dynamic than in the first half of the twentieth century. According to fieldwork undertaken by Wang Jianxin, there are few people in Turfan who have not paid a visit to this *mazār*, and it has become customary for families and neighbours to make regular group visits.<sup>62)</sup> When we visited it in August 1996, there were pilgrims from various parts of Xinjiang, including one from Ghulja (Ili) to the north of the Tianshan, a family of four from Guchen, and ten from Kashghar in westernmost Xinjiang. There was also a Kazakh family paying their respects at the small cemetery attached to the mausoleum. In August 2001 we saw a party of farmers who had come by bus from Qara-qash county in Khotan prefecture. In addition, the entrance to the *gunbaz*-shaped building, which is of particularly fine construction, is said to have been donated by a wealthy person from Yengi Hisar to the south of Kashghar. In other words, there can be no doubt that this *mazār* is revered by Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity, not only in the Turfan Depression, but throughout all Xinjiang, and is attracting large numbers of pilgrims.

Pilgrims today, after having worshipped at the mosque in Tuyuq, enter the grounds of the *mazār*, and inside the building attached to the cave they listen to an explanation of the origins of the cave of the *ashāb al-kahf* as eloquently told by a *shaykh*. Then they are shown inside the cave, and after having recited a verse of the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, meditated, and prayed, they leave the cave. On leaving the building, they are tapped on the middle and lower part of the back by one of the custodians with a stick wrapped in white cloth. Their visit thus follows special procedures, and it could be said that today the *mazār* not only functions as a site of Islamic belief for communion with a tale of the miraculous described in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān,<sup>63)</sup> but also constitutes a locus of living popular beliefs in its capacity as an unusual religious institution associated with ritual acts of a magical nature.<sup>64)</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

Let us summarize the historical circumstances surrounding this *mazār* as elucidated above. The first "evidence" for the *mazār* in historical sources is a directive by the *khān* of Turfan in the second half of the seventeenth century, giving instructions for the recognition of the cave as that of the *ashāb al-kahf* and the appointment of custodians. Later, in the early nineteenth century under Qing rule, it is to be surmised that improvements were made to the facilities by influential members of the house of the commandery prince of Turfan, and although it did not have a prominent presence in the Turfan Depression, there are indications that it was one of the main *mazārs* in the area. In the late nine-

teenth and early twentieth centuries it developed into a large-scale complex and grew rapidly into a major holy site drawing pilgrims from not only Turfan, but also other oases in East Turkistan and even India and West Turkistan.<sup>65)</sup> It is to be surmised that factors behind this growth included the dissemination of the publicity given to it as the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf* by those affiliated to the *mazār* and by believers and the fact that the peculiar procedures and rituals adopted by its custodians were effective in enhancing its religious authority. But when one considers that the *mazār* has survived down to the present day in spite of thorough-going criticism by intellectuals in the early twentieth century and oppressive policies implemented by the People's Republic of China, it should not be forgotten that it is the mentality of Muslims themselves, desirous of contact with saints thought to be close to God, that is a necessary condition for the existence of a "holy site" such as this.

The most remarkable feature of this *mazār* is that a *mazār* based on a Qur'ānic legend should have appeared in the Turfan Depression, an area on the margins of the world of Islam which was late in being Islamized, and that while it could not match other *mazārs* with respect to the actual antiquity of its history and its "status" within Turfan, it exerted religious authority which displayed pulling power over a vast region and succeeded in rapidly transforming itself into an institution attracting large numbers of Muslims. It is indeed in its essence as a *mazār* associated with Qur'ānic saints rather than regional saints that the basis of the astoundingly far-ranging nature of its religious authority, which sets it apart from other *mazārs* in Turfan, lies. When one takes into account the fact that the physical site of a cave tends to become an object of primitive beliefs, that many Buddhist remains are to be found in the vicinity of Tuyuq, and that magical rites giving priority to worldly benefits have been performed here, it could be said that this *mazār* is an embodiment of the local belief system, which shows a composite form centred around Islam, and that it constitutes a religious magnetic field characteristic of popular beliefs, in which the local universality of Islam and the marginality of Turfan, Islamic beliefs and pre-Islamic beliefs, and the principles of Islam and indigenous thaumaturgy all intermingle and merge together.

It is to be hoped that the systematic study of this *mazār* will advance further in the future, with various aspects such as the genealogy of its legends and traditions, the actualities of its magical rites, the state of its landscape and external appearance, and the cosmological structure embodied in its spatial layout being subjected to examination. I shall be happy if this article provides a basis towards this end.

## Notes

- 1) Hamada Masami, "Islamic Saints and Their Mausoleums," *Acta Asiatica* 34 (1974), pp. 79-98; Hamada Masami 濱田正美, "Satoku Bogura Han no bobyō o megutte" サトク・ボグラハンの墓廟をめぐって [Satuk Boghra Khan's mausoleum in history], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū* 西南アジア研究 34 (1991), pp. 89-112; Kim Hodong, "The Cult of Saints in Eastern Turkestan: The Case of Alp Ata in Turfan" (draft paper presented at the Permanent International Altaistic Conference 35th Meeting, Taipei, 12-17 Sept. 1992); Sawada Minoru 澤田稔, "Orudamu Pādishā seiiki ni tsuite" オルダム・パーディシャー聖域について [On the *Ordam-Pādishāh* system], *Nairiku Ajiashi Kenkyū* 内陸アジア史研究 14 (1999), pp. 91-109.
- 2) Saguchi Tōru 佐口透, *Shinkyō minzokushi kenkyū* 新疆民族史研究 [A study of the history of Xinjiang peoples] (Tōkyō 東京: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1986), pp. 229-33.
- 3) Shinmen Yasushi 新免康, Sanada Yasushi 真田安 and Wang Jianxin 王建新, *Shinkyō Uiguru no bazāru to mazāru* 新疆ウイグルのバザールとマザール [Bazār and mazār among the Xinjiang Uyghur] (Tōkyō: Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyūsho アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所 [Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa], 2001).
- 4) Rāhila Dawut, *Uyghur mazarliri* (Ürümchi: Shinjang Khālq Nāshriyati, 2001).
- 5) A reference to historical sources relating to this *mazār* can be found in Hamada Masami, "Jūkyū seiki uiguru rekishi bunken josetsu" 19世紀ウイグル歴史文献序説 [An introduction to Uyghur historical materials of the 19th century], *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 55 (1983), pp. 380-381, while Saguchi Tōru (*op. cit.*, pp. 231-232) mentions a number of accounts by travellers. Reference has been made in this article to the relevant sources alluded to in both of these studies.
- 6) Rāhila Dawut, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
- 7) Rāhila Dawut (*ibid.*, p. 207) also mentions 10,000 visitors.
- 8) Shen Beiren 申北人, ed., *Tulufan ABC* 吐魯番 ABC [Turfan ABC] (Wulumuqi 烏魯木齊: Xinjiang Meishu Xieying Chupanshe 新疆美術攝影出版社, 1993), p. 63.
- 9) Qur'ān, XVIII. 8-24.
- 10) Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, an Eastern Turkish Version*, Vol. 1, ed. H. E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme and S. Tezcan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 408-411.
- 11) For example, according to a catalogue produced by the Xinjiang Minorities Old Books Office (Xinjiang Shaoshu Minzu Guji Bangongshi 新疆少數民族古籍辦公室), which was engaged in the collecting of old books throughout Xinjiang during the 1980s, it held nine manuscripts of this work, one of which had been copied by someone from Yarkand in 1288 (1871/72) (*Uyghur, Özbek, Tatar qādimki äsārlär tizimlik* [Muhārrir: Qurban Wāli, Qāshqār Uyghur Nāshriyati, 1989], pp. 111-114).
- 12) Muhāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri, *Ashabul kāhf tāzkirisi* (Ürümchi: Shinjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayon azsanliq millät qādimki äsārlär ishkhani, 1994).
- 13) *Ashābu'l-kahf: A Treatise in Eastern Turki*, trans. and ed. Emine Gursoy-Naskali (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1985).
- 14) Shinmen, Sanada and Wang, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 15) Mulla Musa Sayrami, *Tarikh-i hämidi* (Nāshrigä täyyarlighuchi: Änwär Baytur, Millätlar Nāshriyati, 1988), pp. 664-665. There is also a manuscript of the *Tarikh-i hämidi* in the Jarring Collection in Lund University Library in Sweden, but because the final portion is missing, it does not include the section on the *mazārs* in Turfan.
- 16) Qurbān 'Alī valad-i Khālid Hājji Ayāgūzī, *Kitāb-i tārikh-i jarīda-i jadīda*, 1306

- (1886/87), India Office Library (IOL), Mss. Turki 2, f. 20b. I have used the IOL manuscript, which would seem to be in the author's own hand.
- 17) Saguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
  - 18) *Тарих-и Кашгар*, Факсимиле рукописи; издание текста, введение и указатели О. Ф. Акимовской, СПб., 2001, стр. 96 (f. 100a).
  - 19) According to Qurbān 'Alī, the place where he stayed was called the *qadam jāyi* of Ḥaẓrat-i Afāq.
  - 20) IOL, Mss. Turki 2, f. 22ab.
  - 21) *Tarikhī hāmīdī*, p. 664.
  - 22) IOL, Mss. Turki 2, f. 21ab.
  - 23) Amīn Khwāja emerged as a leading figure in the Turfan Depression in the mid-eighteenth century, and when Qing forces advanced into the region against the Jungars, he took the lead in submitting to the Qing, in recognition of which he was in 1759 appointed commandery prince of Turfan (Tulufan *duoluo qunwang* 吐魯番多羅郡王) and established a line of commandery princes (see Saguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–172).
  - 24) Rāhila Dawut, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–207.
  - 25) For details, see Saguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–197.
  - 26) He was the fifth commandery prince of Turfan and died in 1815 (*Qinding waifan Menggu huibu wangong biao chuan* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳, "Tulufan huibu zaixuchuan" 吐魯番回部再續傳).
  - 27) IOL, Mss. Turki 2, f. 47b.
  - 28) Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–27.
  - 29) He was the third commandery prince, being the son of Amīn Khwāja and elder brother of Farīdūn (Saguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 178).
  - 30) C. G. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906–1908* (Helsinki, 1940; repr. Oosterhout, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 359.
  - 31) Hamada, "Jūkyū seiki uiguru rekishi bunken josetsu," pp. 380–381. In the IOL manuscript it is assigned 32 folios (17b–49a) in a total of 68 folios.
  - 32) *Тарих-и Эмэниэ. История владельцев Кашгарии. Сочинение Муллы Мусы, бен Мулла Айсэ, Сайрамца*, Изданная Н. Н. Пантусовым, Казань, 1905, стр. 318–319.
  - 33) Muḥāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8 (editor's note).
  - 34) Mannerheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 360–361.
  - 35) *Aṣḥābu'l-kahf* (see n. 13).
  - 36) K. H. Menges, ed., *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Turkistan, II. Aus dem Nachlaß von N. Th. Katanov herausgegeben* (Berlin, 1943), p. 54.
  - 37) Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Шах-Махмуд Чурас, *Хроника*, Москва, 1976, стр. 19 и 165.
  - 38) Shinmen, Sanada and Wang, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–183. The current *shaykh* rejected as superstition the popular belief that a melon had turned into a stone.
  - 39) *Tarikhī hāmīdī*, pp. 663–664.
  - 40) A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1928), pp. 93–94.
  - 41) This refers to Imin Khwaja (Yeming Hezhuo 葉明和卓), the ninth commandery prince of Turfan (Saguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 180).
  - 42) Today there is no such path with steps. It was presumably destroyed in later times and replaced with an ordinary path.
  - 43) The walls are said to have been inscribed with phrases from the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, which they still are today.
  - 44) This had probably been established on the basis of the legend that four Companions of Muḥammad miraculously visited the cave of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* (Muḥāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42).

- 45) IOL, Mss. Turki 2, ff. 47b-48b.
- 46) Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie* (Paris, 1898), Vol. 3, pp. 98-99.
- 47) M. Hamada, "L'Histoire de *Hotan* de Muḥammad A'lam (III)," *Zinbun* 18 (1982), p. 75.
- 48) Several works from East Turkistan claim that Ya'qūb Beg was poisoned by Niyāz Beg, the governor (*hākīm*) of Khotan.
- 49) Н. М. Веселовский, "Бадаулет Якуб-бек Аталык кашгарский," *Записки Восточного отделения Императорского Русского археологического общества*, том XI, 1889, стр. 100; 'Abd Allāh Pānsad, *Tārīkh-i ṣighārī*, British Library, Or. 8156, f. 80a. Ḥakīm Khān belonged to the house of the *khwāja* of Kashghar.
- 50) After the outbreak of the Muslim uprising, the rulers of the Turfan Depression changed at a bewildering rate from the leaders of the Turfan uprising to the forces of the Kuchan *khwāja*, the Tungan forces, and Ya'qūb Beg. See Shinmen Yasushi, "Jūkyū seiki dōranki no Turufān" 19世紀動亂期のトゥルファーン [Turfan during the period of disturbances in the 19th century], *Isuramu Sekai* イスラム世界 29/30 (1988), p. 68.
- 51) Ma Pinyan 馬品彥, "Nanjiang de maja he maja chaobai" 南疆的麻扎和麻扎朝拜 [Mazārs and the worship of mazārs in Southern Xinjiang], in Qinghaisheng Zongjiaojū 青海省宗教局, ed., *Zhongguo Yisilanjiao yanjiu* 中國伊斯蘭教研究 [Studies in Chinese Islam] (Xining 西寧: Qinghai Renmin Chupanshe 青海人民出版社, 1987), p. 381.
- 52) IOL, Mss. Turki 2, ff. 24b-25a.
- 53) *Ibid.*, ff. 29b-30a.
- 54) *Тарих-и Эмэние*, стр. 318.
- 55) There are said to be no major differences in content between the *Tārīkh-i amniya* and the *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī*, the latter of which might be described as a revised and enlarged version of the former (Hori Sunao 堀直, "Rekishī ninshiki to rekishi jojutsu" 歴史認識と歴史敘述 [Historical perceptions and historical accounts], in Nishikawa Masao 西川正雄, ed., *Gendai rekishigaku nyūmon* 現代歴史學入門 [Introduction to contemporary historiography] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大學出版會, 1987), p. 88), but this section on Aṣḥāb al-Kahf is an exception.
- 56) *Tarikhī ḥamīdī*, pp. 671-695.
- 57) The fifth point has some persuasive aspects. When I entered the cave in August 2001, I found that the passageway from the entrance to the interior of the cave was so narrow that even a person of small stature had to crawl.
- 58) E. French and M. Cable, *A Desert Journal: Letters from Central Asia* (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1934), p. 118.
- 59) *Tazkirah-i Ḥazrat Sultān Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, Институт востоковедения, Санкт-Петербургский филиал, Ms. or. C. 562, ff. 2a-11a.
- 60) In 1935, during the time of Sheng Shicai 盛世才, part of the land endowment was appropriated by the Uyghur Cultural Promotion Association, and then in 1950 control of the entire land endowment was transferred to the Democratic League for the Defence of Xinjiang (Baowei Xinjiang Minzhu Tongming 保衛新疆民主同盟). See Reyila Dawuti 熱依拉·達吾提, *Weiwuerzu maja wenhua yanjiu* 維吾爾族麻扎文化研究 [Studies in the culture of mazārs among the Uyghur people] (Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Daxue Chupanshe 新疆大學出版社, 2001), p. 129.
- 61) Le Coq, *op. cit.*, pl. 23.
- 62) Wang Jianxin, "Torufan chiiki bunka ni okeru bunritsu to tōgō" トルファン地域文化における分立と統合 [Division and integration of local culture in Turfan], *Nairiku Ajishi Kenkyū* 11 (1996), p. 55.
- 63) Wang Jianxin writes that the *mazār* gives the impression of a centre for the study

- and exchange of Islamic learning (*ibid.*, p. 56).
- 64) As regards the situation prior to 1950, various magical rites for the healing of illnesses and so on are said to have been performed (Rähila Dawut, *Uyghur mazarliri*, pp. 207–208).
  - 65) Behind this far-ranging influence one can detect the expansion of the trading sphere surrounding East Turkistan throughout the nineteenth century, including relations with British India, but this is an issue that requires further investigation.