

Sufi Private Family Archives: Regarding Some Unknown Sources on the Intellectual History of Sufi Lineages in 20th Century Xinjiang

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The private documents I would like to present and analyse in this article are the property of several sufi lineages and families whose history has been totally ignored until now by Chinese, Uyghur and Western historians of contemporary Xinjiang. In two articles dedicated to the history and the present situation of these lineages, published in 2001 and 2002,¹ I began writing their history, using some of these documents in addition to oral data collected over the past ten years.² To provide a better understanding of the religious, social and political context to which the literature presented below is linked, I begin this chapter with a brief overview of the history of these sufi lineages and families.

1. Naqshbandi Sufi Lineages and Families in the 20th Century

In 20th century Xinjiang, the most representative sufi brotherhood is that of the Naqshbandiyya, as it is in the rest of Central Asia, i.e. in the Western part, Kokand, Bukhara, Samarkand, and so forth. Throughout Central Asia, the Naqshbandiyya is divided into two rival branches: the Khafiyya who follow only the silent litany (*dhikr*), and the Jahriyya who respect the oral litany and perform the dance (*samā'*).

¹ ZARCONÉ, T. 2001 "The Sufi Networks in Southern Xinjiang during the Republican Regime (1911–49). An Overview," in KOMATSU Hisao, and S. A. DUDOIGNON eds. *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia: Early 18th to Late 20th Centuries*, London: Kegan Paul, pp. 119–32; ZARCONÉ, T. 2002 "Sufi Lineages and Saint Veneration in 20th Century Eastern Turkestan and Contemporary Xinjiang," in *The Turks* 6, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, pp. 534–41. See also ZARCONÉ, T. 2007 "Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya Influence in 20th Century Central Asia, Including Afghanistan and Xinjiang," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 5, pp. 215–24.

² The material used for this article will be presented in greater detail in my book in progress, *Islam and Sufism in the Oasis of Xinjiang, 19th–20th Century*.

1.1. The Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya / Naqshbandiyya-Thāqibiyya

In the 20th century, the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya was represented by Shaykh Qamr al-Dīn (d. 1938), a native of Namangan and a descendant of the famous Uzbek poet and sufi Khwāja Nazar Huwāyda (d. 1780). Qamr al-Dīn fled Farghana in 1926 after the failure of the Basmachi rebellion. He is a representative of the Central Asian Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya, which traces its lineage both to Aḥmad Sirhindī, the Indian reformer of the Naqshbandiyya and founder of its Mujaddidī branch, and to Āfāq Khwāja, the head of the Khwāja dynasty of Kashgaria. Qamr al-Dīn's sufi line became known as the Naqshbandiyya-Thāqibiyya in reference to Thāqib, a sobriquet of Qamr al-Dīn's father, Salāh al-Dīn (1843–1910), who died at Ush. Qamr al-Dīn established himself permanently in the vicinity of Yarkand where he was succeeded by the brightest of his followers, Ayyūb Qārī (Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Yarkandī) (d. 1952, Yarkand). Ayyūb Qārī directed the order during the last decades of the Republican era and consolidated its network all over Xinjiang. He is the shaykh who left the strongest impression on the Naqshbandī sufis in Xinjiang at the end of the Republican *régime* and in the first years of the new Communist power. In 1945 Ayyūb Qārī established at Yarkand a particular madrasa, named the “Chong Madrasa” (Big Madrasa), which became the fountainhead of the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya in Xinjiang. From this place, the order has spread all over Xinjiang, to Ghulja / Ili, Urumchi and Turfan.

Ayyūb Qārī wrote in 1937 (or 1941) a manual (in Chagatay Turkish) for internal distribution which gives an insight into the doctrine and practices of the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya: *Kitāb Manba' al-Asrār* (Yarkand: 1937 or 1941). The book has been reproduced illicitly two or three times by the heads of the line who succeeded Ayyūb Qārī. The last reputed shaykh of this lineage was Shāh-i Mardān from Turfan who died in 1987. There are many disciples of the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya all over Xinjiang, not only among the Uyghurs but also among the Hui / Tungan of Xinjiang, and to a certain extent in Gansu. The manual of Ayyūb Qārī circulates among his disciples and has been recently translated from the Chagatay into Arabic and Chinese for the use of the Chinese-speaking members of the brotherhood (the Hui). The order is still performing the silent *dhikr* and prohibits songs and dance (contrary to its rival branch, the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya). The Naqshbandiyya-Thāqibiyya order is also intimately associated with illegal madrasas. Finally, the influence of Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Maktūbāt* is strong on the Thāqibiyya, second only to that of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.³

³ ZARCONI, T. 2004a “Le *Mathnavī* de Rūmī au Turkestan oriental et au Xinjiang,” in Véronique BOUILLIER, and Catherine SERVAN-SCHREIBER eds., *De l'Arabie à l'Himalaya: Chemins croisés en hommage à Marc Gaborieau*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, pp. 197–210.

1.2. *The Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya (or Naqshbandiyya-Qādiriyya)*

The second major sufi lineage in Xinjiang, like the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiiyya, stems from Farghana, but belongs to a rival line, the Jahriyya. It comprises three branches which were first located in Kashgar and Yarkand, and then spread to the oasis of Khotan and north to Urumchi. The famous Farghani sufi to whom these three branches of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya trace their origin is the well-known poet Majdhūb Namangānī from Namangan (d. in the beginning of 19th century).⁴ He was himself the disciple of Khalīfa Muḥammad Ḥusayn (m. 1834), based at Samarkand and head of the Ḥusayniyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya. Moreover, some of these Naqshbandī lineages occasionally present themselves as Qādirī, an order which was historically integrated by the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya since the time of its founder Aḥmad Sirhindī.⁵

1. The first of these three branches was established in Kashgar in the beginning of the 19th century. It was introduced by a certain Igishī Ishān (d. beginning of 20th c. in Kashgar), a disciple of Majdhūb Namangānī, who emigrated from Namangan. His son, Tāhir Khān Khwāja (d. 1947), born in Kashgar, studied 10 years in a madrasa in Bukhara before returning to Kashgar where he set up a sufi lodge (*khānaqāh*) and a madrasa which drew a great number of Muslims from among the various ethnic communities of Turks, Tajiks and Dungans. Tāhir Khān Khwāja was succeeded by his son and his grandson, but the memory of the branch vanished after the death in February 2000 of the latter, Akhūnjān Ishān, at age 56, since his own sons are totally ignorant about their father's spiritual heritage. I had the chance to meet Akhūnjān Ishān in 1998 and collect oral information about the history of his lineage.

2. The second branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya was introduced to Yarkand by a Yarkandī, Mullā Niyāz Ishān (d. 1889, Yarkand), who went to Namangan in order to be initiated into the Naqshbandiyya by Majdhūb Namangānī. Mullā Niyāz later returned to Yarkand in the time of the Emir Ya'qūb Beg. In addition, according to oral tradition, the father of Mullā Niyāz Ishān, Khwāja Niyāz Ishān, traced his origin back to Āfāq Khwāja (16th century), the founder of the Naqshbandī-led Khwāja dynasty. This is the second case in the nineteenth through twentieth centuries when a Farghanī sufi line intertwined with a traditional East Turkestanian

⁴ On Majdhūb Namangānī and the Farghana sufi milieu in 19th century, see OSTONAQULOV, Ikromiddin 2000 "Traditions orales et Littérature chez les Qādirī de la vallée du Ferghana aux XIXe–XXe siècles (traduit de l'uzbek)," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2, pp. 509–30.

⁵ ZARCONÉ, T. 2000 "La Qādiriyya en Asie centrale et au Turkestan oriental," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2, pp. 295–338.

sufi lineage. The son-in-law of Mullā Niyāz Ishān, Khasta (d. 1907, Yarkand), was famous as a poet who authorized a *Dīwān*. Tukhsun Ishān, the last shaykh of this branch, died in 1997 and was succeeded by his son. The mother lodge (*khānaqāh*) of the order in Yarkand is one of the rare historical sufi buildings which have been preserved in Xinjiang; it provides a wide room for the practice of the ecstatic dance.

3. The third branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya was introduced to Yarkand by ‘Abd Allāh (b. 1904 [Andijan]; d. 1978 [Yarkand]) who escaped Andijan in Farghana in 1928 after the Basmachis were defeated by the Soviets. His son, ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 1993) who succeeded him, was the most representative shaykh of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya in Xinjiang during the Republican *régime*. He wrote several books on the Naqshbandiyya, on *ādāb*, *akhlāq* and on some aspects of Islamic law and on traditional Uyghur medicine. None of these books was published, but rather were distributed underground to the members of the branch. One should also mention that ‘Ubayd Allāh was, with Ayyūb Qārī, the second East Turkestanī sufi shaykh in the twentieth century to have published sufi manuals for his followers. The network of lodges set up by ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh expanded throughout Xinjiang, and were particularly important in Khotan.

2. Private Archives and Underground Publications: Classification and Remarks

In my fieldwork since 1994, I have noticed that sufi family documents can be classified under two categories. First, the spiritual genealogies (*silsilanāma*) which show the chain of spiritual links between the last shaykh—the owner of the document—and the Prophet. These sufi genealogical chains are particularly significant documents because they are based “on a more encompassing principle; the personal encounter between two reliable transmitters,”⁶ and because they are one of the three major types of legitimation within Islam, that of succession (the other being the Book / Quran and the consensus of the community).⁷ These genealogies are usually included in sufi diplomas or authorisations (*ijāzātnāma*), which are twofold: a) spiritual genealogies / diplomas given by a sufi master to the shaykhs who will be the head of a new branches to which their family is linked,

⁶ BUEHLER, Arthur 1998 *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, p. 84.

⁷ GELLNER, Ernest 1981 “Doctor and Saints,” in *Muslim Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, p. 116.

since their sons will be their successors; or b) genealogies / diplomas given by the shaykhs to their representatives (*khalīfa*). These last documents are not exclusively preserved in sufi families' archives but are found also in the archives of their representatives.

The second category of sufi family documents consists of sufi treatises or manuals and prayer books, given to the *khalīfa* and disciples, containing the particular teaching of the branch and several other indications (*silsilanāma*, poetry, etc.). This second type of document is usually reproduced and distributed illicitly, and can be found also in the hands of the members of the order and, rarely, for sale by itinerant religious books dealers. Persian and Turkish language (Chaghatay and Modern Uyghur) are predominant in these materials, with a few documents in Arabic. The genealogies are usually written in Persian and the manuals in Uyghur; this is explained by the fact that genealogies are fixed documents, previously written in Persian, formerly the language of the Central Asian sufi literati. After its decline in the nineteenth century, Persian was ignored by the great majority of Uyghurs and understood only by some *khalīfa* of the sufi orders who had been trained in madrasa; nevertheless, since this language was ignored by the majority of the members of the Naqshbandiyya, especially since 1949 the shaykhs have chosen to write their manuals in modern Uyghur.

2.1. Genealogies

The majority of these genealogies belong to the Naqshbandiyya lineage through *Khalīfa-yi Ḥusayn*, who is one of the major figures of this order in all of nineteenth-century Central Asia⁸; and through *Miyān Faḍl Aḥmad* (d. 1815), another important figure of this lineage. The genealogies traced through these men list the shaykhs who came from Ferghana. Another branch of the Naqshbandiyya lineage genealogies are traced though *Āfāq Khwāja*, the founder of the sufi *Khwāja* dynasty of Kashgaria in the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries. Several genealogies bear the seal (*muh*r) of the shaykhs who delivered them. These written genealogies complement and complete the information on these sufi lineages given to me orally by their present shaykhs and by some of their disciples. In some cases, the written documents have preserved more information than human memory. Below are four examples of the genealogies confirmed by family archives.⁹

⁸ On this shaykh, see BABADŽANOV, Bakhtiyor 1996 "On the History of the Naqshbandiyya Muğaddidiyya in Māwarā annahr the late 18th and Early 19th centuries," in M. KEMPER, A. von KÜGELGEN, and D. YERMAKOV eds. *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 1, Berlin: Schwarz, pp. 400–2.

⁹ In all the genealogies presented in this article, I have indicated only the names of the shaykhs after *Khalīfa-yi Ḥusayn*.

Naqshbandiyya-Khafıyya / Naqshbandiyya-Thāqıbiyya Yarkand¹⁰

Khwājājam Nazar Huwaydā-yi Chimyānī (1703–80) ¹¹	Mīr ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Marghiānī
Khalīfa Khāl Muḥammad Ushī [S of Huwaydā-yi Chimyānī] (d. 1854–55)	
Muḥammad Sirāj al-Dīn (Mawlawī Sirājī) [S] (d. 1878–79)	
Muḥammad Salāh al-Dīn al-Khākānī al-Ūshī (Thāqīb) [S] (1843–1910)	
Muḥammad Qamr al-Dīn al-Hāj al-Ūshī [S] (1884–85 / 1937–38)	
Qārī ‘Ayyūb (Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Yarkāndī) [Kh] (d. 1952)	
Mūsa Ākhūn [Kh]	
‘Abd al-Rashīd Mawlawī Fayḍābādī [Kh]	
Muḥammad al-Siddīq (Sūfī Makhdūm al-Farghānī) [Kh]	
Shāhmardān Dāmūllām al-Tūrfānī (d. 1987) [Kh]	

[Kh]: *khalīfa* (representative) of the former

[S]: son of the former

From this *silsilanāma* (partially reproduced here), we learn also that Khalīfa Khāl Muḥammad Ushī Chīmīyānī had two distinct affiliations with the Naqshbandiyya: the first is to the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya through a certain Shaykh Mīr ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Marghiānī (?)¹² The second is to the Naqshbandiyya-Āfāqiyya (founder:

¹⁰ Sources for the table: 1. AYYŪB QĀRĪ (Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Yarkāndī) 1937 or 1941 *Kitāb Manba’ al-Asrār*, Yarkand; 2. “Mūnājāt vā dū’ālār.” For entries before Muḥammad Salāh al-Dīn, I completed the *silsila* according to a manuscript by Muḥammad Salāh al-Dīn, in the Tashkent Library; cf. PAUL, J., and ALII 2002 *Katalog Sufischer Handschriften aus der Bibliothek des Instituts für Orientalistik der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Republik Usbekistan / Katalog sufijskikh proizvedenij XVIII–XX vv., iz sobranij Instituta Vostokovedenija im. Abu Rajkhana al-Biruni Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 127–29, and HUWAYDĀ CHIMYĀNĪ 1904 *Kitāb-i Ishān-i Huwaydā-yi Chimyānī*, Tashkent (lithograph), p. 127.

¹¹ This date is given in Huwaydā’s *dīwān* (Huwaydā Chimyānī 1904: 127) published by his descendant Salāh al-Dīn. On this famous poet, see KHOJANAZAR HUWAYDO 2005 *Devon*, Solijanov, Y., and M. Abdullaev ed. Toshkent: Yangi Asr Awlodi, pp. 3–15.

¹² The links in the *silsila* between Khāl Muḥammad Ushī Chīmīyānī and Aḥmad Sirhindī are Muḥammad Ma’sūm, Muḥammad Pārsā and Muḥammad Rasā. On the Central Asian Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya, see von KÜKELGEN, Anke 1998 “Die Entfaltung der Naqshbandiyya Muḡaddidiyya im mittleren Transoxianen vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: ein Stück Detektivarbeit,” in A. von KÜKELGEN, M. KEMPER, and A. J. FRANK eds. *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, pp. 101–51.

Hidāyatullāh Āfāq Khwāja, 1626–94¹³) through Khwājam Nazar Huwaydā-yi Chimyānī (there is one name only in this *silsila* between Huwaydā and Hidāyatullah Āfāq Khwāja: Sūfī Ghāyib Nazar). This means that the Naqshbandiyya-Thāqibiyya is also a continuation of the traditional Naqshbandiyya-Āfāqiyya of Eastern Turkestan, although Sirhindi’s teaching is dominant.

In addition, several successors of Sirāj al-Dīn were affiliated with the Indian Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in Delhi through the initiatic descendants of the famous Mīrzā Mazhar-i Jān Jānān, Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Dihlawī (d. 1824), and of Muḥammad Mazhar (d. 1883).¹⁴

*Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya, Kashgar (branch of Tāhir Khān Khwāja)*¹⁵

Khalīfa-yi Ḥusayn (d. 1834)
Mawlānā Majdhūb ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Namangānī [Kh]
Igishī Ishān (beginning of 20th c.)
Tāhir Khān Khwāja (d. 1947) [S]
Supī Khwāja (d. 1967) [S]
Akhūnjān Ishān (1944–2000) [S]

Akhūnjān Ishān, who directed, until he died in 2000, a branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya in Kashgar, owns several documents (see image 1). These include both a spiritual genealogy (*silsilanāma*, *ijāzātnāma*) and books, as well as such sufi objects as hat, belt (*kamar*) and flags (*ālam*) which belonged to his ancestor Tāhir Khān Khwāja. The documents were certainly brought from Bukhara to Kashgar by the beginning of the twentieth century by Tāhir Khān, who studied there for ten years. Unfortunately, these genealogies are in very poor condition and are not easy to study. At the time of writing, I remain unsure of where these documents have been since the death of Akhūnjān Ishān in 2000.

¹³ The best and most detailed study on this sufi and on his lineage is now PAPAS, Alexandre 2005 *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan. Étude sur les Khwāja naqshbandī du Turkestan oriental*, Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient, Jean Maisonneuve.

¹⁴ On this Indian Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya, see FUSFELD, Warren Edward 1981 “The Shaping of Sufi Leadership in Delhi: The Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya, 1750 to 1920,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ Oral communication of Akhūnjān Ishān, Kashgar, 1998.

*Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya, Yarkand (branch of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān)*¹⁶

Khalīfa-yi Ḥusayn (d. 1834)
Mawlānā Majdhūb ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Namangānī [Kh]
Khalīfa Hājī Abū’l-Qāsim [Kh]
Khalīfa Fayzallah Khān Tūram [S]
Hājī Lutfullāh Khān Tūram [S]
‘Abdallāh Khān Tūram [S]
‘Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram (d. 1993) [S]

From the diploma analysed¹⁷ (see image 2), which bears the seal (*muhr*) of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram (see image 3), we understand that both silent (*khafiyya*) and oral (*jahriyya*) litanies (*dhikr*) were transmitted.¹⁸ Also, it is mentioned at the bottom of this document that the bearer of the diploma was given an authorisation to spread the *ṭarīqa* of Naqshbandiyya. The two Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya and Qādiriyya lineages are closely associated with each other, as throughout Central Asia, which was not the case for the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya lineages.¹⁹

¹⁶ Based on 1. Personal *khalīfa ijāzāt* of the *khalīfa* of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram in Khotan (Khotan, 1998, 2004) (I have seen other examples of this document in the hands of *khalīfas*); and 2. ‘UBAYDULLĀH KHĀN 1972 *‘Ilm-i nāfi‘ ‘amal-i sālih*, Yarkand.

¹⁷ Personal *khalīfa ijāzāt* of the *khalīfa* of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram in Khotan (Khotan, 1998, 2004).

¹⁸ On these two forms of the litany, see PANTUSOV, N. 1894 “Orden Khufie,” *Izvestiia Obshchestva arkeologii istorii I ètnografii pri Kazanskom universitete* 12, no. 5, pp. 387–408; ALGAR, Hamid 1976 “Silent and Vocal Dhikr in the Naqshbandī Order,” in A. DIETRICH ed. *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, pp. 39–46; TOGAN, Isenbike 1999 “The Khafī, Jahri Controversy in Central Asia Revisited,” in ÖZDALGA, E. ed. *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia: Change and Continuity*, Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul; Curzon, pp. 17–45.

¹⁹ See Zarcone 2000: 295–338.

*Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya, Yarkand (branch of Mullā Niyāz)*²⁰

Khalīfa-yi Husayn (d. 1834)	Āfāq Khwāja
Mawlānā Majdhūb ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Namangānī [Kh]	Khwāja Niyāz Ishān [Kh]
Mullā Niyāz [Kh of Mawlānā] [S of Khwāja] (d. 1889)	
Nūr Muḥammad Makhdūm [S]	
[Abū’l-Qāsim – Mullā Hakīm] – ? [S]	
Kayf (???)Akhūn Makhdūm [S]	
‘Atāullāh Khān Tūram b. Abū’l-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Namangānī [S]	
Husayn Akhūn Makhdūm (d. 1950 ou 39) [S]	
Türsūn Akhūn Hājji Khwajām (d. 1997) [S]	

Mullā Niyāz had two affiliations to the Naqshbandiyya: first as a *khalīfa* of Mawlānā Majdhūb ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Namangānī, and second as the son of Khwāja Niyāz Ishān who is an initiatic descendant of Āfāq Khwāja (according to the *silsila*). This is the second mention of a continuation of the traditional Naqshbandiyya of Eastern Turkestan.

2.2. *Sufi Manuals and Vade Mecum (Memory Aids, Pocket Books)*

There are three major sufi manuals in Uyghur which have inspired and are still inspiring the contemporary Naqshbandiyya in Xinjiang. Both were written by highly educated shaykhs. The first manual, *Kitāb Manba‘ al-Asrār*, was composed by Ayyūb Qārī (Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Yarkandī) in 1937 or 1941 and reproduced (though not formally published) several times up until 1994. There is also an Arabic translation and an abstracted edition of this book (*Risālat mukhtasar*; 1995) and a booklet of prayers (*Mūnājāt vä dü’ālār*, n.d. circa 2000). Moreover, a Chinese translation of the *Kitāb Manba‘ al-Asrār* was in process in April 2001.

I should also mention the genealogies (*silsilanāma*) presented below, which are integrated in some sufi manuals. This the case with the *Kitāb Manba‘ al-Asrār* of Ayyūb Qārī (Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Yarkandī) and of the *‘Ilm-i nāfi‘ ‘amal-i sālih* (1972) of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān. The first book concerns the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya (Thāqibiyya); this genealogy was systematically up-dated when the book was illegally “reproduced,” at least three times between 1937 and 1995 (the genealogy of this branch is also included in a book of prayers edited by the order (*Mūnājāt*

²⁰ Based on a model of a *khalīfa ijāzāt* given by Türsūn Akhūn—family archives: Yarkand, reproduced in 1998.

vā dū 'ālār [2000]).

The *Kitāb Manba' al-Asrār*, about 200 pages in length (see image 4), contains a complete presentation of the teaching and practices of the Naqshbandiyya, a genealogy of the lineage (see above), as well as some poems by Ayyūb Qārī. In addition, the writer refers frequently to the sayings of Thāqib (Muḥammad Salāh al-Dīn al-Khākānī al-Ūshī), using the phrase “*Thāqib aytūr....*” The influence of the *Maktūbāt* of Aḥmad Sirhindī is striking. For example, letter 257 of the *Maktūbāt* on the subtle centres (*latīfa*) is entirely reproduced. There is also a long discussion of the silent *dhikr* exclusively, of the subtle centres, and a commentary on the eight guiding principles related to Naqshbandī spiritual practice, as formulated by ‘Abdukhāliq Ghujduwānī. This is followed by another commentary on Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband’s three additional principles: *wuqūf-i ‘adadī* (counting of *dhikr* repetitions), *wuqūf-i zamānī* (awareness of time) and *wuqūf-i qalbī* (a heart constantly attentive to God). Together these principles constitute the eleven “Sacred Words” (*Kalimāt-i qudsiyya*) of the Naqshbandiyya. The book also deals with the “sixteen correct behaviors” (“*On Alti Adab*”), which regulates the relations between the shaykh (*murshid*) and his disciples, and discusses a list of the “Spiritual Ādāb” (“*Ādāb-i Ma ‘nawī*”). The book ends with the concluding prayer of the order (“*Khatm-i Khwājagān*”) and with Ayyūb Qārī’s poetry. This is thus a very complete book on the doctrinal teaching of the Naqshbandiyya-Khafiyya and a practical guide for the organisation of a sufi lodge and spiritual training. It is scrupulously read by the present members of the order.

The two other books are the *‘Ilm-i nāfi ‘amal-i sāliḥ*, and the *Muntakhab risāla-yi jahriyya*, written by ‘Ubaydullāh Khān. Both were also reproduced and distributed among the members of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya, although they were not as widespread as the *Kitāb Manba' al-Asrār* of Ayyūb Qārī, which is read as far as Urumchi and Turfan and among the Hui of the Northern Xinjiang and Gansu. In the *‘Ilm-i nāfi ‘amal-i sāliḥ* (1972) (see image 5), we find a long explanation of several aspects of the Naqshbandī faith and practice: the subtle centres (*latīfa*), the litany (*dhikr*), the contemplation (*murāqaba*), the bond to the shaykh (*rābita*), and the “Sacred Words” (*Kalimāt-i qudsiyya*). There are also discussions of certain “*Ādāb-i ṭarīqa*” (with an interesting paragraph on the ceremony of reception—*qol berīsh*), on the “Eight principles” of the brotherhood and on the “Ten conditions.” A special chapter deals with the *dhikr-i jahrī and khafī*. At the end, there are some *ghazal* and *munajāt* of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān and the text of the “*Khatm-i khwājagān*.”

‘Ubaydullāh Khān’s second book, *Muntakhab risāla-yi jahriyya* (no date; see image 6), contains a presentation of the two *dhikr*, *khafī* and *jahrī*, of the subtle centres (*latīfa*). There is also a “question-and-answer” section (e.g. “what is a sufi order [*ṭarīqa*] ?”) and a paragraph with a critique of the festival (*māshrāb*) where men and women dance and use musical instruments instead of dancing and

singing separately in sufi assemblies. Here the shaykh defends the dance / *samā'* ceremonies of his order.²¹ Then the book discusses the case of women who enter the brotherhood and the relations of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya with the other orders, i.e. with the Suhrawardiyya, the Qādiriyya or the Chishtiyya. There follows a brief history of the introduction of sufism and *ṭarīqa* into Xinjiang. The book ends with several sufi poems and songs (*hikmāt*) which are sung during the *dhikr*:

There is another manual worth special attention, since it is a highly abstracted presentation of the main teachings and practices of the Naqshbandiyya. It is in the form of a wide leaf, which is supposed to be rolled and brought by the sufi during his travels; it is actually a sufi *vade mecum* (memory book, pocketbook; see image 7). This document belongs to the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya branch of Mullā Niyāz. The leaf is divided into three sections, left, middle and right; in the centre, a drawing represents the five subtle centres (*latā'if*): *qalb*, *rūh*, *sirr*, *khafī*, *akhfā*, with the *dhikr sultan* (see image 8). Some sections are written in Persian, others in Uyghur. In the right section, we find the most important ethical rules followed by the Naqshbandī along with all Sufis and Muslims: the fifteen “*akhlāq-i dhamīma*” (bad moral qualities), *hasad* (envy), *hiqd* (rancour), *kibir* (pride), etc., and below the twenty-three “*akhlāq-i hamīda*” (praiseworthy character qualities), *tawāzu'* (humility), *khidmat* (duty), *karam* (benevolence), *futuwwat*, *muruwat* (generosity), and so forth. These rules belong to an old Muslim tradition of ethics and morality.²² Then we find the “ten stations” (*maqāmāt-i 'ashara*), and, below, three other short sections regarding *naḥī ithbāt* (exercise of negation and affirmation), *dhikr*,²³ and a last section called “*Ḍiyā al-qulūb*” (actually this is a list of the famous “Sacred Words,” *Kalimāt-i qudsiyya*). The lefthand section deals mainly with these “Sacred Words.” There is a brief presentation and a discussion of these guiding principles (see image 9). The middle section of the leaf contains advice for the disciple and other analysis of Naqshbandī doctrine and practice. At the bottom of this *vade mecum* we find a little section entitled “*sharā'it-i ṭarīqa-yi naḥī ithbāt*” and then indications on the *dhikr* used by the Naqshbandī (*dhikr-i nasūt*, *dhikr-i malkutī*, *dhikr-i jabarutī*, etc.). The document is dated 1365/1945 and signed by a certain Mullā Ibrāhīm khalafat b. al-Amīn b. [unreadable] Tashkandī.

²¹ See ZARCONÉ 2004b “Les danses naqshbandīs en Asie centrale et au Xinjiang: histoire et actualité,” *Journal of the History of Sufism* 4, pp. 192–93.

²² See for exemple SUHRAWARDĪ 1990 *Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Turkish Translation by YULIMAZ, K. and GÜNDOZ, I., *Tasavvufun Esasları*. Istanbul: Vefā, pp. 299–341.

²³ On *naḥī ithbāt* and *dhikr*, see Buehler 1998: 120–30.

Conclusion

In this article I have attempted to show that the history of sufism and sufi lineages of 20th century Xinjiang is really virgin soil, as yet untilled by serious modern research. To write this history, the researchers need to rely both on oral materials—less and less accessible because of the death of the sufis who were actors in this history and of their witnesses (two sufi shaykhs I interviewed died in the course of my 10 years field work)—and on private archives, which are also in several cases very poorly conserved and liable to disappear very soon. Writing this history is, then, a race against the clock to gather more and more archives and interview witnesses before they die is the only way to provide the next generations of researchers with the necessary materials to write this history.

One personal anecdote emphasizes this point. Before his death in 2000, I met several times with the last shaykh of one of the Kashgarian Sufi lineages presented in this article. A year after he died, I approached his sons, hoping to learn more about this lineage based on their memory of events. But his sons revealed to me that their father had never told them the history of their spiritual lineage as he has told me, nor had he ever put it down on paper. My field notebook thus became then the lone depository of his memories.

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Image 1: a detail of a *silsilānāma* of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya
(Kashgar, Tāhir Khān Khwāja branch)



Image 2: Personal *khalīfa ijāzāt* of a Khotanese *khalīfa* of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram (the name of the bearer is hidden for privacy)



Image 3: the seal (*muhr*) of 'Ubaydullāh Khān Tūram in an *ijāzāt* (image 4)

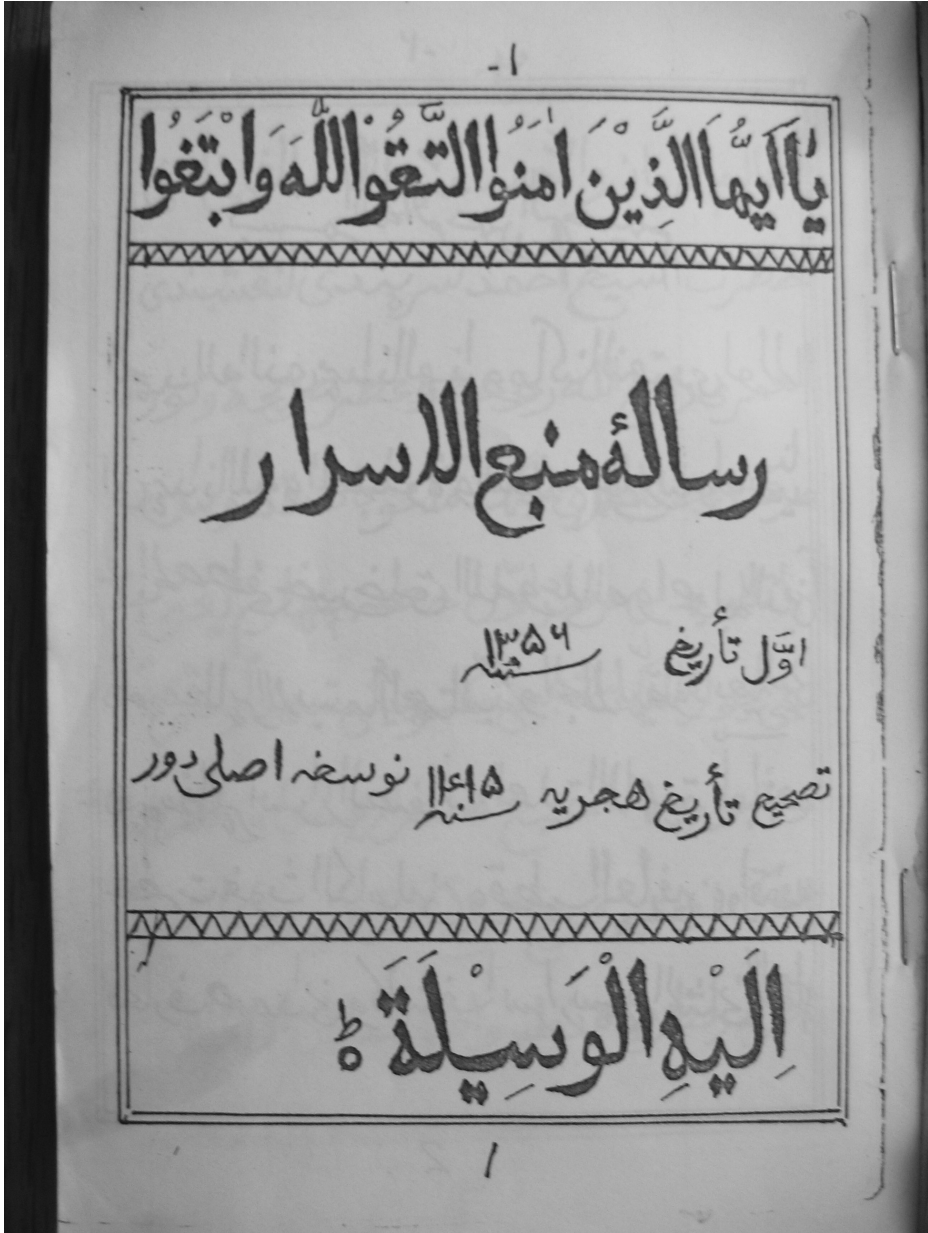


Image 4: Frontispiece of the *Kitāb Manba' al-Asrār* of Ayyūb Qārī (Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Yarkandī), Yarkand, circa 1937 or 1941.

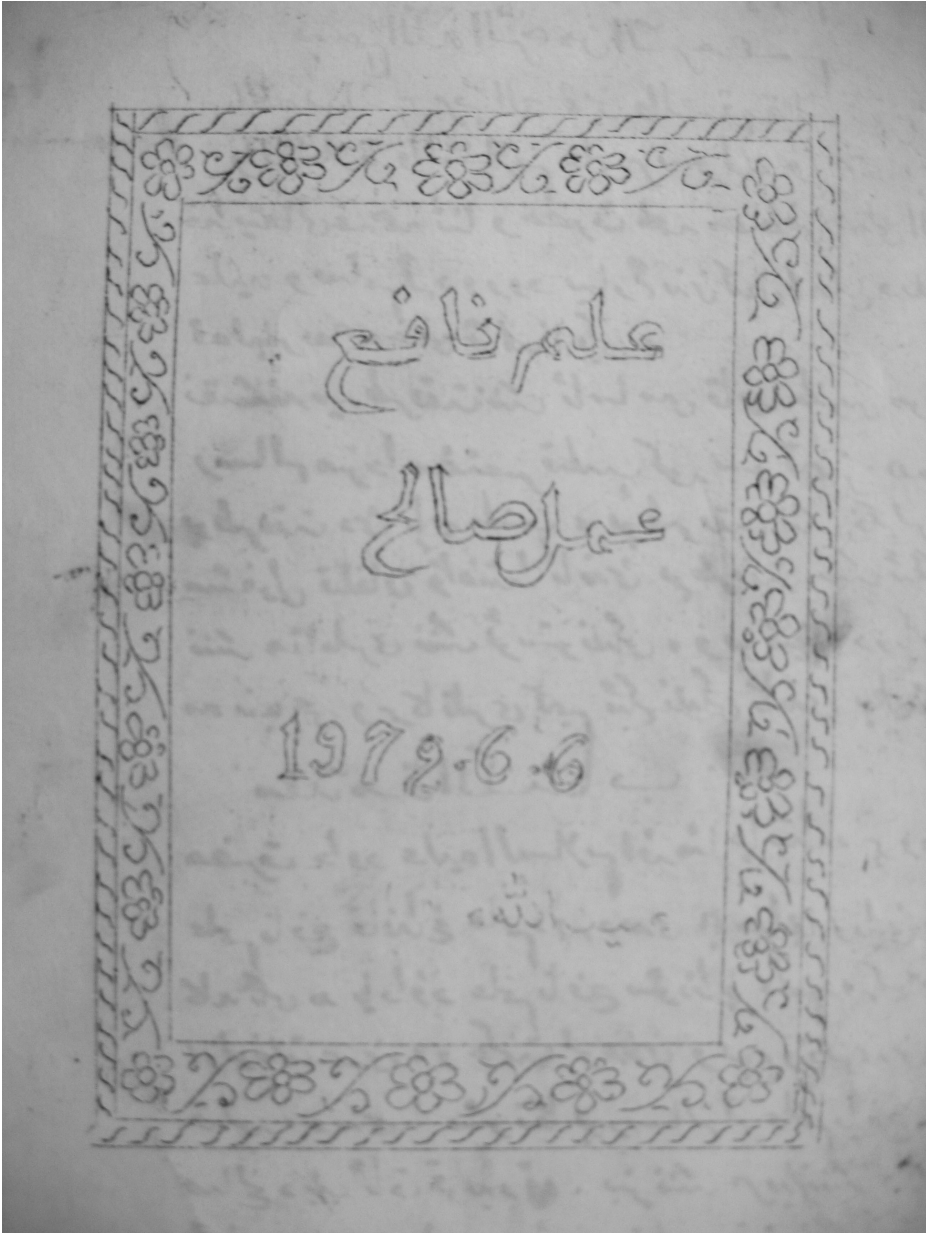


Image 5: Frontispiece of the *Ilm-i nāfi* 'amal-i sālih (1972) of 'Ubaydullāh Khān, Yarkand.

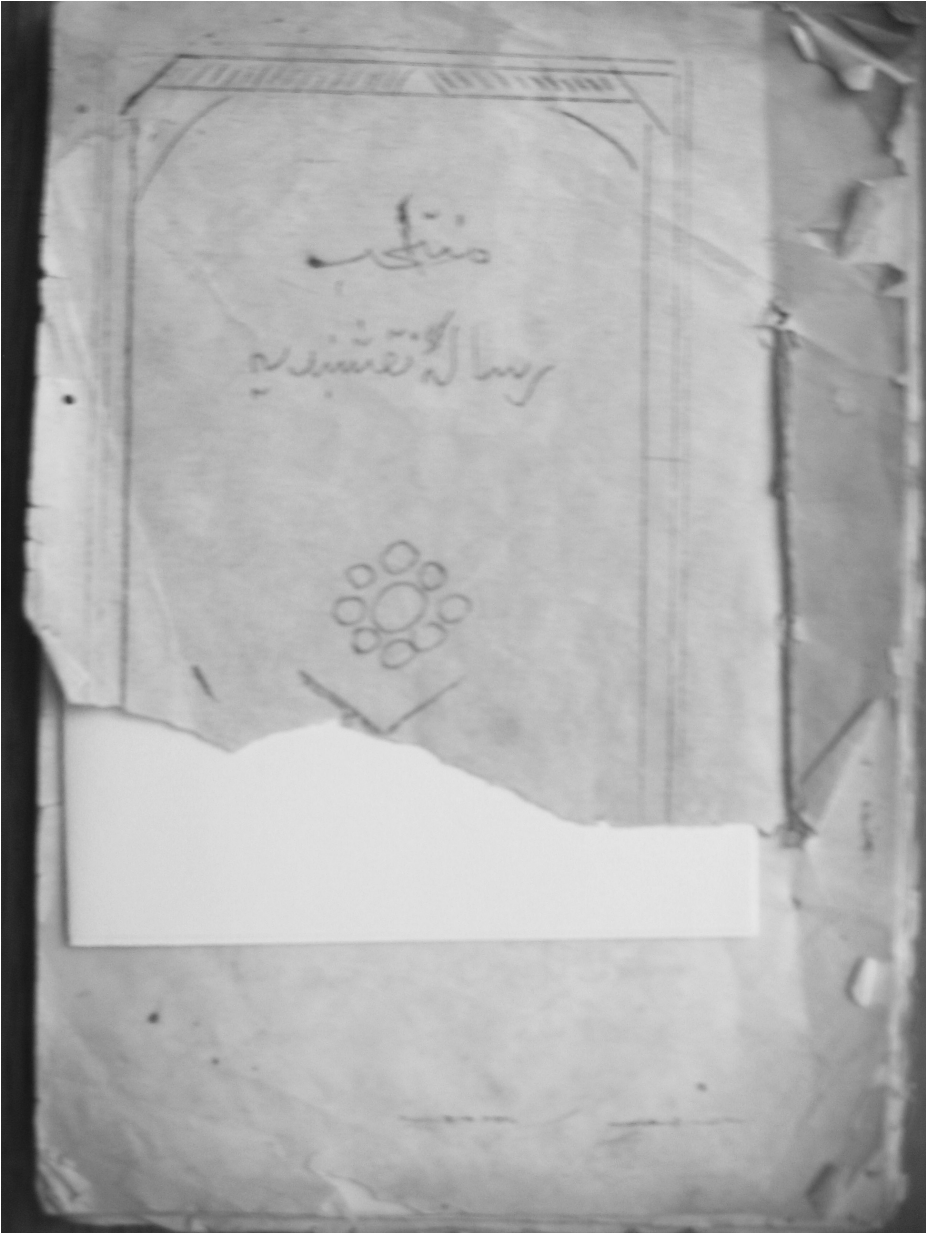


Image 6: Frontispiece of the *Muntakhab risāla-yi jahriyya* (no date) of ‘Ubaydullāh Khān, Yarkand.

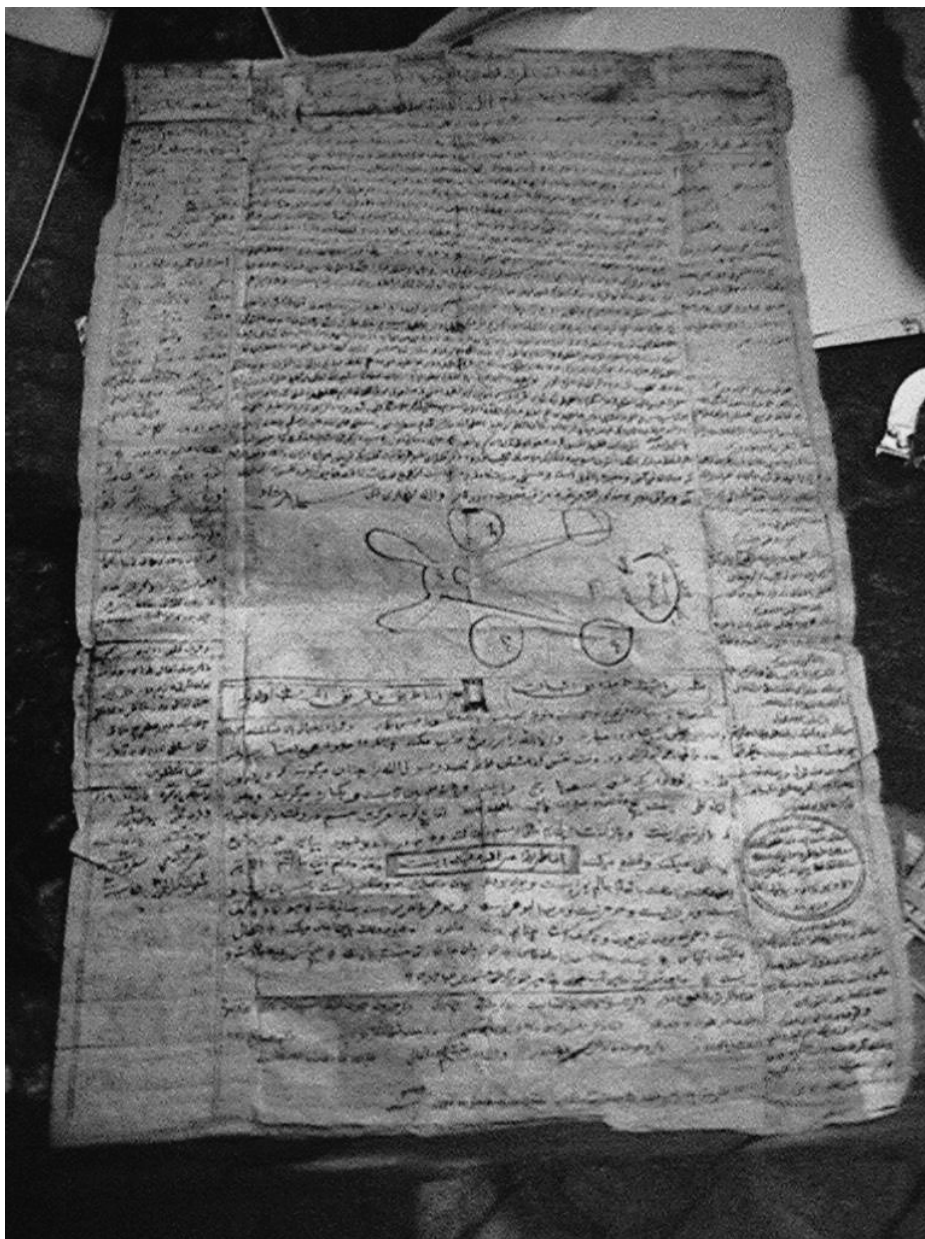


Image 7: General view of a sufi *vade mecum* (memory book, pocketbook);
Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya branch of Mullā Niyāz, Yarkand.

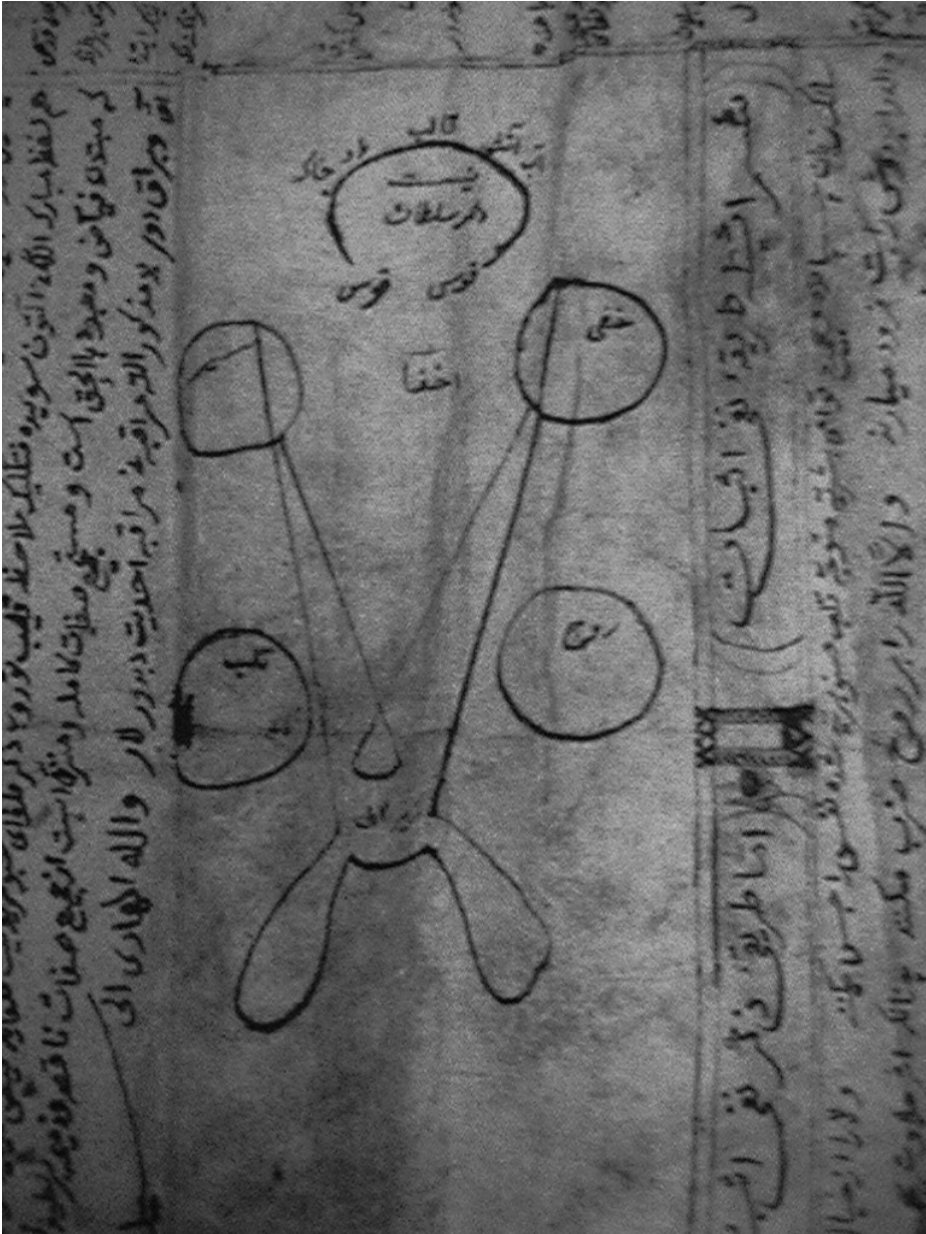


Image 8: Drawing of the five subtle centres (*latā'if*) (detail from the sufi *vade mecum*).



Image 9: The “Sacred Words” (*Kalimāt-i qudsiyya*) (detail from the *sufi vade mecum*).