SUFI PILGRIMS FROM CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA IN JERUSALEM

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To Butrus Abu-Manneh
Emeritus Professor at the University of Haïfa

CONTENTS

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List of Figures

Acknowledgments

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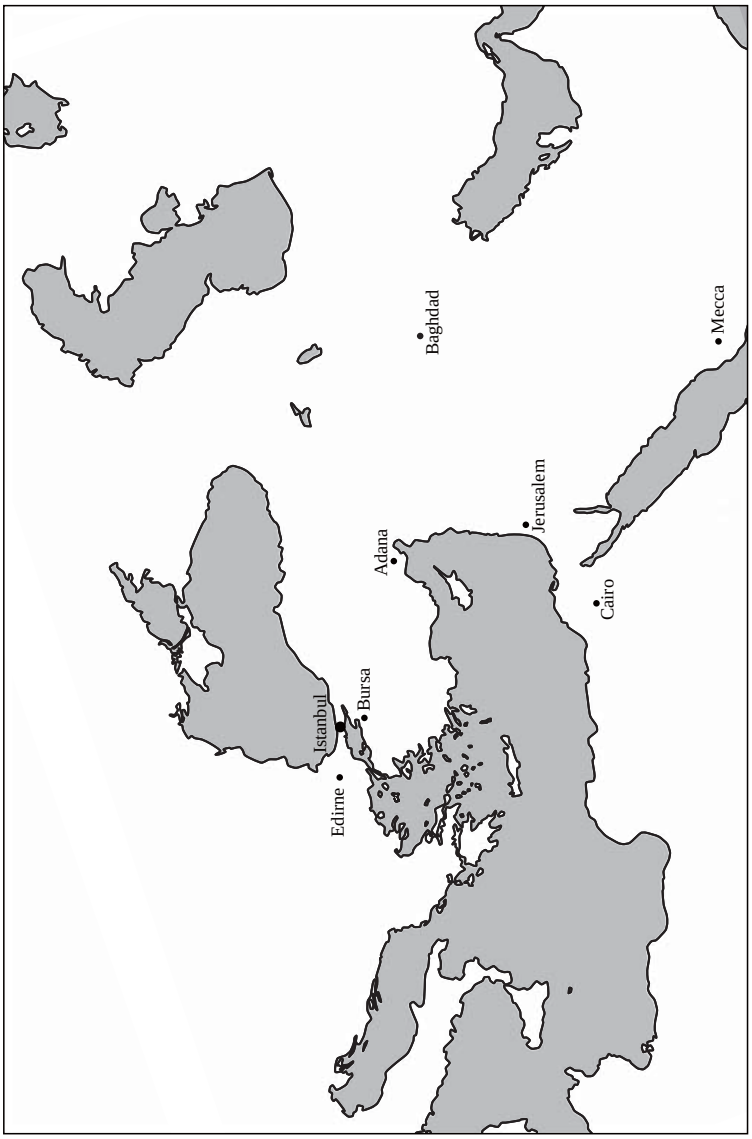
Th. V. Zarcone
Jerusalem, February 2009

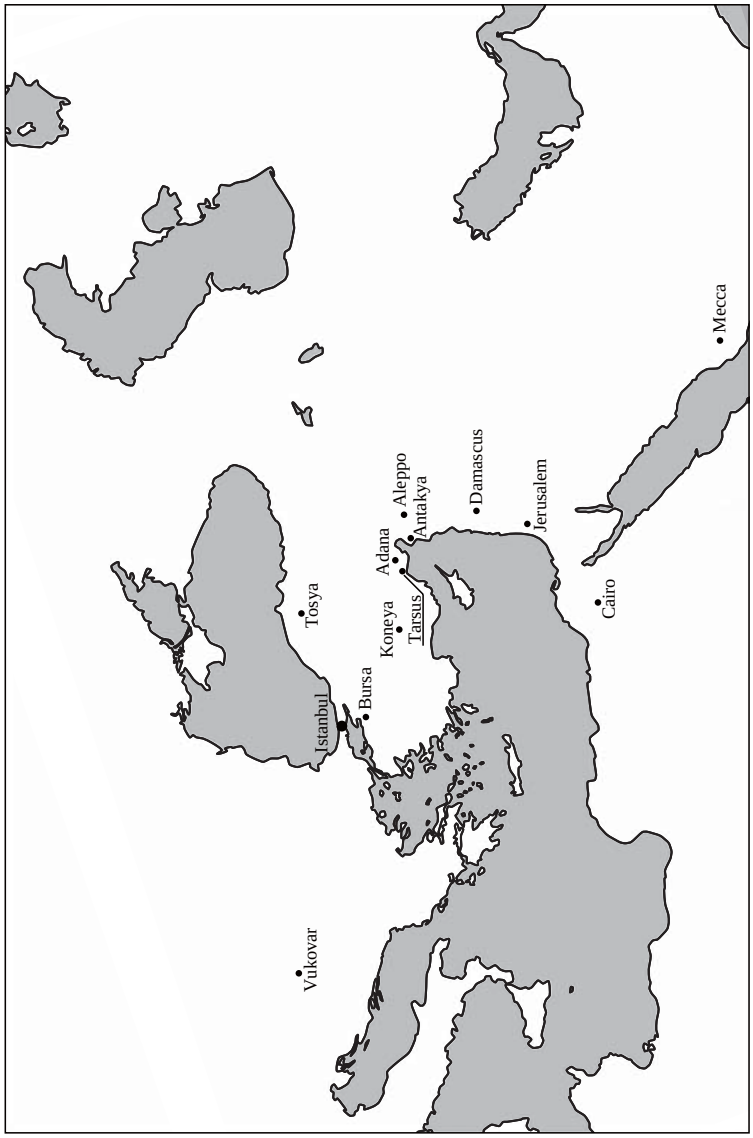
Abbreviations

BVCE: Başvekâlet Arşivi-Cevdet Evkâf, Prime Minister's Archives, Istanbul
PABB: Private Archives of Baha al-Din Bukhari, Ramalla.
PAZA: Private Archives of the Zawiya al-Afghâniyya, Jerusalem
PAZH: Private Archives of the Zawiya al-Hunûd, Jerusalem
PAZU: Private Archives of the Zawiya al-Uzbakiyya, Jerusalem

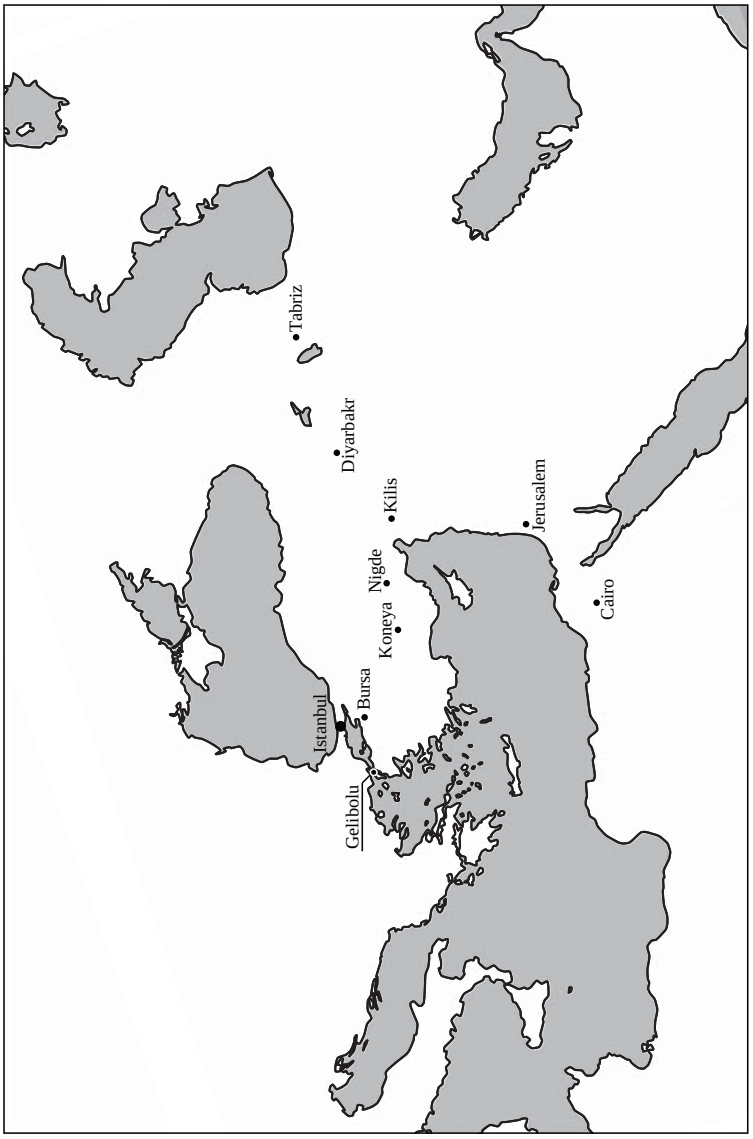
List of Maps



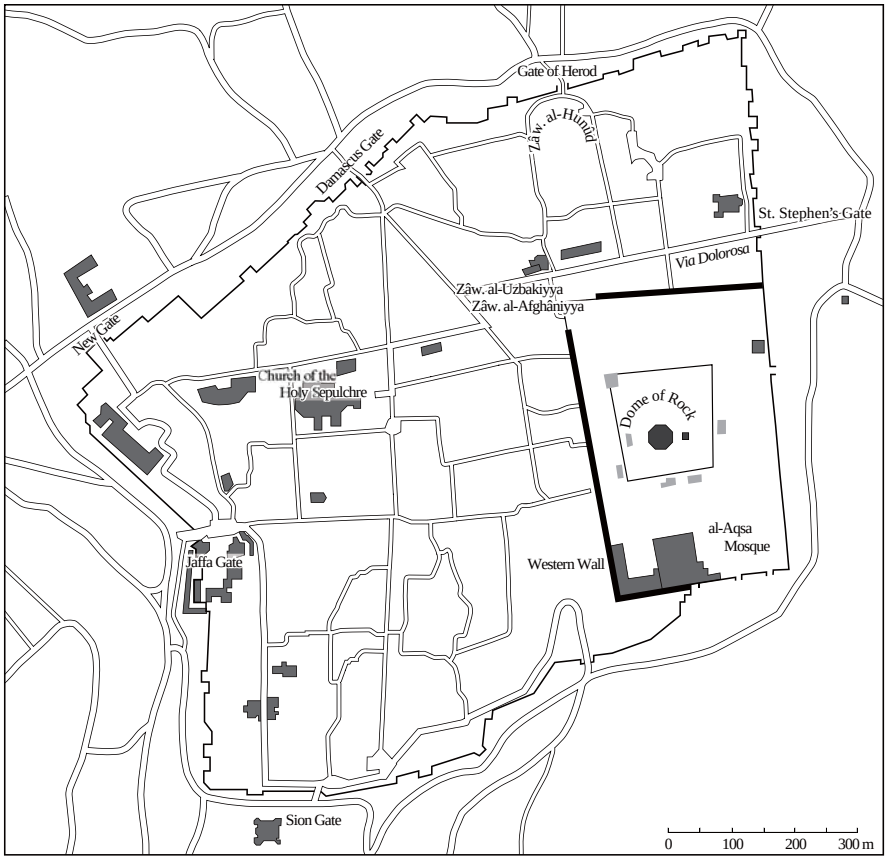
Map 1 The Uzbek lodges in the Ottoman Empire



Map 2 The Indian lodges in the Ottoman Empire



Map 3 The *qalandarkhânas* lodges in the Ottoman Empire



Map 4 Old Jerusalem showing the location of the Uzbek, Indian, and Afghan lodges

"Praise be to Him who brought His slave by night from the holy mosque to the farthest mosque ..."

(Quran *17/1*)

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the pilgrimage to Mecca, pilgrims used many routes to travel from Western and Eastern Turkestan to the Hijaz. One such route ran from Samarkand and Bukhara across Afghanistan, through Mazar-i Sharif and Kabul, to Bombay in British India, and thence by boat to Jidda and Yambu. Another route usually followed by the Muslims of Russia, Tataristan, and Caucasia, in addition to some Central Asians, traversed through southern Russia, reaching Istanbul via boat across the Black Sea, and thence to Syria or Egypt and eventually the Hijaz. Once in Cairo or Damascus, the pilgrims would join the official Mecca caravans —*mahmal shâmî* from Damascus or *mahmal misrî* from Cairo.[1] A third, more convenient route proceeded through Iran and Baghdad,[2] while the fourth route, mainly preferred by the Eastern Turkestani and the Muslims of the Ferghana Valley, ran across the Himalayas and Kashmir to Bombay in British India and from there to Basra or Jidda. The Central Asians were not the only pilgrims to travel to the Hijaz through India; the same route was also taken, though rarely, by the Tatars from the Volga area who chose to embark on this long detour eastwards in order to visit Bukhara, which was so fascinating to their eyes.[3] From Bombay, these Central

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1 On the *hâjj* routes, see V. I. Jarovoj-Ravskij, "Palomnichestvo (hazh) ve Mekku i Medinu," in *Sbornik Materialov po Musul'manstvu* (S. Peterburg: Rozenoer, 1899) vol. 2, pp. 143–145; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), pp. 32–53; Michael N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Indian Experience, 1500–1800* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), pp. 131–145.

2 R. D. McChesney, "The Central Asian Hajj-pilgrimage in the time of the early modern empires," in Michel Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), pp. 129–156; Hamid Algar, "Tarîq and Tariqah: Central Asian Naqshbandî and the Road to the Haramayn," in Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone, eds., *The Roads of Pilgrimages between Central Asia and the Hijaz* (forthcoming).

3 See *Putevyja zapiski dvukh' khadzhiev'* (Kazan: Kazan Universitet, 1861–1862) and 'Abd

Asian pilgrims joined the bulk of the Indian pilgrims, who constituted the majority of the visitors to the holy cities of Islam.[4] In the nineteenth century, Bombay also happened to be one of the ports where Chinese Muslims journeying from Hong Kong would join the Indian pilgrims.[5]

In the nineteenth century, the pilgrimage to Mecca underwent several important changes. First, it grew increasingly popular throughout the Islamic world to become an unprecedented mass movement—a phenomenon that continued until the early twentieth century. Second, the introduction of the railway in the Russian and Ottoman empires toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century revolutionized the *hâjj* routes. The opening of the Transcaspian railway between Krasnovodsk on the Caspian Sea and Andijan in the Ferghana Valley in 1898 resulted in some pilgrims choosing to travel via Krasnovodsk, Baku, Batumi, Istanbul, and Port Said. However, many pilgrims still preferred the Indian route, which was less expensive than travelling by train. According to officials, four to five thousand pilgrims, mostly without passports, travelled to India via Afghanistan every year (the majority being from the Ferghana Valley and Kashgar). A decade later, in 1908–09, the Hijaz railway route was introduced between Damascus and Medina.[6]

Although the route from Samarkand to the Hijaz through India was longer than that by train via Krasnovodsk, the majority of the pilgrims chose to spend more time on the longer routes, which could take even months or years to traverse. Many of these pilgrims decided to establish themselves in some of the cities on the road, for months or years at times, for the sake of business, tourism, or studying in the

al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *Tarjama-yi Hâlım yaka Bâshıma Kelenler* (Saint-Pétersbourg: [1905–1907]), p. 69.

4 On the sea routes between India and the Hijaz, see M. N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Indian Experience, 1500–1800*, pp. 146–171.

5 P. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1878), vol. 2, p. 231.

6 Jacob Landau, *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage. A Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971); Catherine Poujol, "L'Introduction du chemin de fer au Turkestan entre 1880 et 1917. Reflet des mentalités et conséquences," in *Innovations techniques et civilisation* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), pp. 187–206; Alexander Stephen Morrison, "Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868–1910. A Comparison with British India," (Ph. D., All Souls College, Oxford University, 2005), pp. 93–94; Kaïs Ezzerelli, "Le Pèlerinage à La Mecque au temps du chemin de fer du Hedjaz (1908–1914)," in Sylvia Chiffoleau and Anna Madœuf, eds., *Les Pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient* (Beyrouth: Institut Français du Proche-Orient, 2005), pp. 167–191.

madrasas. This is one reason why some of the Central Asian pilgrims who travelled through India and settled in the subcontinent for months or years before continuing to Mecca were given the nickname (*laqab*) of "Hindî" (Indian).

The influx of pilgrims arriving every year and staying for months or years in the Hijaz for religious purposes played a particularly important role in shaping the way of life of this area in the Muslim world and of all the regions located along the *hâjj* routes. Especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which constitute the period covered by this book, the pilgrimage to Mecca became increasingly popular throughout the Islamic world to become, to quote David Brower, a "yearly mass movement."[7] Furthermore, the participation of the Indian pilgrims and Central Asians, including the Afghans, in this influx is notable because both these groups, put together, constituted the most populous community in the Middle East, in general, and in many of its major cities such as Mecca, Jerusalem, and Jidda.

Many Sufis, who were usually more involved in religion than the other believers and were generally fascinated by the pilgrimage—which they regarded as both a physical trip and an inward journey—established lodges along the *hâjj* routes in order to assist the Central Asian and Indian pilgrims. The role of Sufism in these lodges becomes ambiguous if we consider that some of them were genuine mystical centers favoring Sufi pilgrims, while many others were, in contrast, mere pilgrim residences. All of them, however, were under the administration of Sufi shaykhs, which is why these lodges were qualified as *tekke* in Turkish and *takiyya* or *zâwiyya* in Arabic—all meaning a Sufi lodge or convent. From their names, we can also determine the origins of the Sufis living there: there were Uzbek, Afghan, Indian, and even Kazan lodges. In these lodges, in addition to lodgings, the pilgrims could pray, perform *dhikr* (for the Sufis), listen to mystical poetry sung in their own language, whether Chaghatay Turkish or Persian, and conduct discussions with their fellow countrymen. Consequently, to quote Simon Digby's reference to a lodge set up by Central Asian dervishes in the Deccan (India), all these lodges could be called "Turanian outposts," or in the case of the Indians, "Indian outposts."[8] The most famous lodges among these were located

7 David Brower, "Russian Roads to Mecca: Religious Tolerance and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Russian Empire," *Slavic Review* 55:3 (1996), p.567.

8 See Simon Digby, "Sufis and Travellers in the Early Delhi Sultanate: the Evidence of the *Fawâ'id al-Fw'âd*," in Allar Singh, ed., *Socio-cultural Impact of Islam in India* (Chandigarh: n. ed., 1976), pp.171–177, and S. Digby, "The Naqshbandîs in the Deccan in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries A.D.: Bâbâ Palangposh, Bâbâ Musâfir and their Adherents,"

in Istanbul,[9] Jerusalem, Mecca, Cairo, and Medina, but there were many similar lodges dotting the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. It must be mentioned, however, that if we consider the thousands of pilgrims performing the pilgrimage, all theses lodges constituted only a few places where Uzbek, Indian, and Afghan pilgrims could stay. There were numerous other pilgrim residences situated in the main cities along the *hâjj* routes; we are told by Baymirza Hayit that before the Soviet government closed down the pilgrimage route in the 1920s, "over a hundred houses in Mecca were dedicated to the accommodation of pilgrims from Turkestan."[10]

Although the main objective of the *hâjj* pilgrims was to reach Medina and Mecca, the holy city of Jerusalem (al-Quds, "Sanctity") was considered a major and inevitable stop on the route. According to the Muslim tradition, there is a special merit in performing a pilgrimage to this city before reaching Mecca. Jerusalem was regarded as the most sacred city after Mecca and Medina, and therefore, it was given many titles, such as the "Great Gate of Pilgrimage" or the "Right Hand of the Cities of Syria." When visiting Jerusalem, no pilgrim fails to remember that whoever visits the Mosque al-Aqsa, one of the three most venerable Muslim places of worship in the world (the other two being the Mosque al-Harâm at Mecca and the Mosque al-Nabawî (the Prophet's Mosque) at Medina) is "pardoned of his sins, elevated in the estimation of Allah, given the merit of a thousand martyrs, and made inviolable against hell-fire."[11] Another major purpose of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a visit to the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sahra), which is located in the Harâm al-Sharîf (the noble sanctuary). The dome contains a sacred rock supposed to have fall from heaven and is considered to be the rock from which the Prophet Muhammad made his miraculous ascent (*mi'râj*) through the heavenly

in M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone, eds., *Naqshbandis. Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1991), pp.167–207.

9 Thierry Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," *Anatolia Moderna / Yeni Anadolu* II (1991), pp.137–200. A new revised and completed Turkish version of this article is forthcoming: *İstanbul'daki Orta Asyalı ve Hintli Dervişler* (Istanbul: Simurg Y.). See also my complementary study (in Turkish) of the Bukhara lodge of Istanbul presented at the "Yarimadası Conference," Istanbul, May 2008: "Doğulu ve Batılı Yolcuların İntibalarında Buhara Tekkesi" (forthcoming).

10 Baymirza Hayit, *Islam and Turkestan under Russian Rule* (Istanbul: Can Matbaa, 1987), pp.174–175.

11 Charles D. Matthews, "Palestine, Holy Land of Islam," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 51:2 (June 1932), p.173.

spheres and reached the closest approximation on earth to seeing God face-to-face.[12] The event was poetically described by ‘Abd Allâh-yi Nidâ’î, a Qalandar and Naqshbandî shaykh from Kashgar in Eastern Turkestan, who visited Jerusalem on his way to Mecca in seventeenth century: “At the time of the ascension (*mi‘râj*), he traversed from Jerusalem the spheres that led to the divine throne; Muhammad it is to whom [the verse], “He conveyed him by night,” [Qur’an, 17/1] refers.” [13]

In the final analysis, Jerusalem was seen as a city of poor and pious people—a quality that invariably pleased the Sufis. One of its major mystics was the Central Asian Ibn Karrâm (d. 869), founder of the eponymous Karrâmiyya ascetic trend, who retired there, preaching on the central esplanade of the Sakhra and gathering many disciples. After his death, his tomb became a hub for the practice of “pious retreat” (*i‘tikâf*) by his disciples, who later built a home for ascetics called *khânaqâ*, which means Sufi lodge in Persian.[14] In the course of the centuries, Jerusalem was visited by many other mystics who established several lodges connected with the well-known orders of Qâdiriyya, Shâdiliyya, Naqshbandiyya, Mawlawiyya (Figure 1), Qalandariyya, etc.[15] However, the Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebî, writing in the seventeenth century, overestimated their importance when he wrote that there were seventy Sufi orders in Jerusalem with a lodge for each one, and that the most notable lodges were linked to famous Sufi masters such as ‘Abd al-Qâdir Jîlânî, Ahmad Badâwî, Sâdî, Ahmad Rufâ‘î, and Jalâl al-Dîn Mawlawî.[16]

After visiting the Harâm al-sharîf, the pilgrims usually went to many other holy places, generally tombs of prophets and saints. Thus, the Tatar historian Qurbân ‘Alî Khâlidî (1846–1913), who stayed at Jerusalem for many days in 1897–98, after visiting the Harâm al-sharîf, listed all the tombs located in the surrounding of the

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12 On the interpretation of the *mi‘râj* by the Sufis, see Nazeer al-Azma, “Some Notes on the Impact of the Story of the *mi‘râj* on Sufi Literature,” *Muslim World* 63:2 (1973), pp. 93–104, and especially M. A. Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Le Voyage initiatique en terre d’islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels* (Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 1996).

13 “Waqt-i ‘urûj Quds wa samawât-i ‘arshrâ/Tayy-i makân shud “alladhî asrâ” Muhammad ast”; in “Risâla-yi Haqqiyya of ‘Abd Allâh-yi Nidâ’î Kâshgârî,” edited by Güller Nuhoğlu in *Abdullah Nidaî-yi Kâşgârî ve Hakkıyye Risâlesi* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2004), Persian text p. 82, Turkish translation p. 113.

14 Louis Massignon, *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism* (Notre dame—Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), p. 175.

15 Mujîr al-Dîn (fifteenth century), *Histoire de Jérusalem et d’Hebron. Fragments de la chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1876), pp. 163–168, 198–199.

16 *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (Ankara: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1984), vol. 9–10, p. 239.

Figure 1 A whirling dervish (mevlevî) at Jerusalem in 1834, drawing by F. H. Lalaisse (Private Archives T. Zarcone)

city he had visited, namely those of Maryam, Salmân Fârisî, ʻAzîz, ʻIsâ, Rabiʻa' ʻAdawiyya, Mûsâ, Dawûd, ʻAkâsha, Qîmâr Bâbâ, Khalîl, Ibrâhîm, Ishâq, Yaʻqûb, and Yûsuf.[17] The annual pilgrimage to the alleged tomb of Moses at Nabî Mûsâ (28 km from Jerusalem), attended by thousands of pilgrims, is worth special mention. This pilgrimage reached its peak in the nineteenth century when encouraged by the Ottoman sultan who wished to balance the Christian pilgrimage of Easter and it became then the largest in the Holy Land.[18] James Finn, the British Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine from 1853 to 1856, wrote that every year at spring, many Muslims from all parts of Asia attended this pilgrimage: "from India, Tartary,

17 Qurbân ʻAlî Khâlidî, *Tawârîkh-i khamsa-yi sharqî* (Kazan: Urnak Matbaʻasî, 1910), p. 609.

18 Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century. The Old City* (Jerusalem: St Martin's Press, 1984), pp. 134–135. About the architecture of the complex, see Mehmed Tütüncü, *Turkish Palestine (1069–1917). Inscriptions from al-Khalil (Hebron), Nabi Musa and Other Palestinian cities under Turkish Rule* (Haarlem: Türkestan and Azerbaijan Research Centre, 2008), pp. 42–62.

even to the confines of China, from all the countries of Central Asia, and also from Egypt, Nubia, Morocco, the eastern shores of Africa, as well as from Arabia proper and the Turkish provinces in Europe and Asia".[19] In 1912, Frederick Jones Bliss, a scrupulous observer of dervish life in Syria and Palestine, provided a short but accurate description of this feast, which appears to be indirectly under the control of the local Sufi orders. In this instance, Bliss's observations are quoted in full.

> In Jerusalem, however, the Neby Mûsa feast is at present an official affair, in which the dervishes have no organic part, as it were, though they appear prominently in the procession. We must confine ourselves to the main feature of this often-described scene. Just before the noon prayer on Good Friday, the holy flag, which is kept at the house of the mufti, is carried to the Aqsa mosque, within the haram area, by an especially appointed sheikh walking beside the mufti. At the prayers are present the governor and staff, together with huge crowds, not only citizens of Jerusalem but folk from all over the land, who on the previous night have packed the great court-yard. The procession, headed by the holy flag, and the military band, leaves the haram area by a western gate and winds up at the Via Dolorosa—a counter-demonstration indeed!—emerging from the city at Saint Stephen's gate. The entire length of the route is lined with spectators of all creeds. As the banners of the various dervish bands pass by, women break from the lines to tie costly silk handkerchiefs to flagsticks, in fulfilment of vows. Some of the dervishes wound themselves with swords and dirks, being immediately cured by the saliva of a holy sheikh. The procession pauses at a gay marquee tent on the densely crowded slopes of the Mount of Olives, where the pasha has preceded it, while the imam, or preacher, reads or recites a prayer composed for the occasion. After a salute for the sultan, the holy flag is furled and packed in a pair of saddle-bags for the rest of the journey. The band, most of the soldiers, and many of the spectators now return to the city. The diminished procession, however, may be reinforced by other bands of dervishes, who have preceded it to the Jewish cemetery. Over the barren eastern hills it winds till it reaches the shrine of Moses where, for days before, tens of thousands have been assembling: Bedawîn from beyond Jordan, merchants from Damascus,

19 James Finn, *Stirring Times or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856* (London: Kegan Paul, 1878), vol.1, p.293; vol.2, p.223.

> pilgrims from Baghdad, holy men from all parts. There is plenty of food for all during the five or six days of the pilgrimage, as the endowment of the shrine furnishes generously piled platters for those who have brought no supplies. So liberal is the general provision for this occasion that the mufti has funds at his disposal for the hire of donkeys to transport poor people from Jerusalem. All through the week the services of the dervishes are in demand to furnish music in connection with the festivities at the circumcision of boys which may take place of an afternoon at the mosque. On the following Thursday the flag is borne back to the house of the mufti with similar rites.[20]

There are some other accounts of the Nabî Mûsâ feast that describe the Sufi rituals in further detail. For example, according to the Consul Finn, there were in the procession dervishes from Lucknow, India who "squatted down in a good place (as these holy men always do)..."[21] and that other wandering dervishes performed incantations, with serpent charming, and sword jugglery."[22] Also, according to another foreign traveler in 1902, one of the dervishes in the procession "had a '*sheesh*,' a skewer half-a-yard long, through both the cheeks, which he frequently withdrew and replaced, amid the plaudits of the crowd." However, there are also descriptions of sober Sufis "executing a monotonous dance, repeating ceaselessly the formula known as the *zikr*; that is, the mentioning of the name of God, '*Lâ illâlah illa llâh*.'"[23] But the travel to Nabî Mûsâ was, in the case of cold, wind, and bad weather, a terrible adventure, as we are told by two Egyptian Sufis from the Khalwatî order who experienced a hard pilgrimage to this place in 1885.[24] Finally,

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20 Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (Edinburgh: 1912), pp. 268–269.

21 Finn, *Stirring Times*, vol. 1, p. 293.

22 Finn, *Stirring Times*, vol. 1, pp. 237–238, 456.

23 A. Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem* (London: Archibald Constable, 1904), p. 248. At present, the Sufi orders still play an important role during this pilgrimage, see Emma Aubin Boltanski, "Le Mawsim de Nabî Mûsâ: processions, espace en miettes et mémoire blessée. Territoires palestiniens (1998–2000)," in S. Chiffoleau and A. Madœuf, eds., *Les Pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*, pp. 59–80. About the architecture of the complex, see Mehmed Tütüncü, *Turkish Palestine (1069–1917). Inscriptions from al-Khalil (Hebron), Nabi Musa and Other Palestinian cities under Turkish Rule* (Haarlem: Türkestan and Azerbaijan Research Centre, 2008), pp. 42–62.

24 Gilbert Delanoue, "Deux Maîtres soufis égyptiens à Jérusalem," in Béatrice Philippe, ed., *Voir Jérusalem, Pèlerins, Conquérants, Voyageurs* (Paris: Association cimaise, Art et Histoire, 1997), p. 95.

as mentioned below, at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Sufi shaykhs of Jerusalem and of Palestine were active participants in this festival, especially the shaykh of the Uzbek lodge of the city who was one of its organisators.

It is important to mention how Jerusalem obtained this particular position in the *hâjj* geography; first, it was the most sacred place for the pilgrims after Mecca and Medina, although a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was not obligatory. Second, the city was situated in close proximity to the *hâjj* road. However, for generations it was eclipsed by the neighboring city of Damascus (al-Shâm), an ancient capital of Islam titled "the Noble One," which became the center of the network of Eastern caravan routes going to Mecca and the departure point of the official caravan to Haramayn (*mahmal shâmî*). Besides, it is commonly know that the Egyptian *hâjj* caravan returning from Mecca never visited Jerusalem, but conversely, the Maghreban caravan, which was included in the Egyptian caravan, sometimes extended its route by land as far as this city. For all the reasons given above, Damascus was chosen in 1900 to be the departure station for the Hijaz railway, which passed east of Jerusalem. Moreover, it is not surprising that many of the Mecca travelogues and "reports on *hâjj*" (*hâjjnâma*) have dedicated but a few lines to this city, which was, in many cases, rarely ever visited by a great majority of the pilgrims. For example, the Tatar 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, who returned from Mecca by train at the beginning of the twentieth century, did not visit Jerusalem on his way back to Syria, although he went to Damascus and Beirut.[25] To sum up, it is astonishing to see how few references, if at all, mention or describe the Jerusalem pilgrimage among the major academic studies on the *hâjj*. Although situated outside the Hijaz and far from Haramayn, the city of Jerusalem is, symbolically speaking, closely connected with the pilgrimage, and according to me, ought to be studied in relation to it.

This book contends that the Uzbek, Afghan, and Indian Sufi lodges dotting the pilgrimage routes, particularly along the Istanbul-Damascus-Mecca section of these routes, played a significant role in the cultural, religious, and political exchanges between Central Asia, India, and the Ottoman Empire, in general, and with its Arab provinces, in particular. Moreover, the influence of some of these lodges upon the transmission and even the commentary of Sufism, particularly the Naqshbandî and Qâdirî principles, is notable and worth further study. Since there is hardly any

25 *'Alem-i islâm va Jâpûnyâda intishâr-i islâmiyat* (Istanbul: 1910), pp.236–243.

research pertaining to the history of these pilgrim hospices, the present study might be seen as a new chapter in the intellectual history of the pilgrimage and a modest contribution to the plethora of wonderful researches made on this topic by scholars such as Suraiya Faroqhi and M. N. Pearson. The time period considered in this study extends from the seventeenth century to the middle of the twentieth century; that is, the period during which most of these lodges appeared along the *hâjj* routes.

This study comprises three chapters. Chapter one examines the situation of the Central Asian and Indian pilgrim communities staying between Istanbul and the Hijaz and focuses, in the first section, on the association between the Sufi lodges and the pilgrim hospices. The second section of this chapter examines the extent to which some of these lodges could have constituted genuine "networks" based on administrative and authority relations, or at least if these lodges were linked to each other by mutual recognition. The second chapter investigates which Sufi orders were the most represented among the Central Asian pilgrims on the *hâjj* routes. This chapter comprises two sections: the first deals with the Naqshbandiyya lineage, while the second considers the Qalandariyya one. Both these orders are know to have dominated the *hâjj* routes and the Sufi lodges in various ways—at times fiercely opposing and fighting each other, and at other times, compromising and cooperating with each other to a surprising extent. The third and final chapter examines the situation of the Central Asian and Indian pilgrims at Jerusalem and that of the Sufi lodges associated with these communities. It is divided into three sections, each devoted to one of the three following lodges: al-Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya, al-Zawiyya al-Afghân, and al-Zâwiyya al-Hunûd.

Chapter One

SUFI LODGES, HOSPICES, AND PILGRIMS

Central Asian pilgrims were usually, though not exclusively, lodged in the Uzbek lodges (Uzbek Tekkesi, Takiya al-Uzbakiyya, Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya) established in Istanbul and in other parts of the Middle East. Conversely, the Indian lodges (Hindiler Tekkesi, Zâwiya al-Hunûd) were home to both Indians and other Central Asians, since some of them were established by Sufis from Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan who reached the Ottoman Empire through India and took on the *laqab* of Hindî, as explained above. For example, in Cairo, the "Takiyya al-Hunûd" was inhabited exclusively by Bukharians, while the Indian lodges of Istanbul and Jerusalem were exclusive to Indians, as was also the case with an Indian lodge called Söylemez Tekke at Konya (Anatolia).[26] In addition, the Qalandars' lodges (*qalandarkhâna*/*kalenderhâne*) of the Ottoman Empire were generally, during the period under consideration, inhabited by either Indians, Central Asians, or Afghans.

Hence, it is important to mention the "Afghan lodges" (Afghan Tekke) existing in Istanbul and Jerusalem, which were inhabited by dervishes originally from Afghanistan, although their occupants also included Central Asians and Indians. Moreover, several Tatar lodges called Kazan or Kazanlı Tekke, named after a well-known city in the Volga region, were situated in Istanbul, Mecca, and Medina; these generally functioned as exclusive hospices for Tatars pilgrims, and very rarely as Sufi centers.[27] The Kazan Tekke of Istanbul, for example, more famously known as Âyâ Ândrî tekyesî, was clearly depicted as a pilgrim resting house and a home for Tatar students in an early twentieth-century article written by a Tatar pilgrim.[28]

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26 'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak, *Khitat al-tawfîqiyya al-jadîda li-Misr al-Qâhira wa mudunihâ wa bilâdihâ al-qadîma wa' l-shahîra* (Cairo: 1982), p.284.

27 T. Zarcone, "Les Confréries soufies en Sibérie aux XIX^{e} et au début du XX^{e} siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe* 41:2–3 (2000), pp.286–287. See particularly 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *Tarjama-yi Hâlım*, pp.64, 68–69, and 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *'Alem-i islâm*, vol.2, pp.193–194.

28 Nûr 'Alî Nâdîyef, "Seyâhat Khâtiralarî IV. Âyâ Ândrî tekyesî, Ghalata ham Pîrâ mahallasî," *Shûrâ* 14 (1915), p.434.

Since the Central Asian pilgrims came to the Ottoman Empire and the Hijaz from remote, non-Arab dominated regions of the Muslim world, their traditions and behavior were very different from those cultivated in the Middle East—at times, they were even seen as provocative—and the Central Asian pilgrims have frequently drawn the attention of the Western travelers to the Hijaz. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, Isabel Burton, the wife of Robert Burton, a famous traveller and convert to Islam, thus described the Asian pilgrims who gathered at Damascus before joining the caravan to Mecca:

> Among the multitude [of pilgrims] the Persians and Turkmen were distinguished by their caps and huge cloaks of sheepskin; the dark Hindostan; the Afghans with large white turbans (…) there were Samarkand and Bokhara Moslems with flat faces, flat noses, pig's eyes, vacant stare, hair pale brown, or yellow, like Russians, hardly any, or very scanty beards, huge ragged turbans, no colour, wound round shaggy fur caps …[29]

One decade later, John F. Keane, another English traveller and also a convert to Islam who took on the name of Hâjj Muhammad Amîn, described the Central Asian pilgrims he met at Mecca as follows:

> Tartars and Bokharans—powerful, well-built races of very large men with Russian complexions and rosy cheeks—come the whole pilgrimage on foot from the most remote parts of Central Asia, some occupying five and six months on the journey. They perform all the minor pilgrimages most assiduously, and are never to be seen riding donkeys on such occasions as other pilgrims. They go about enveloped in their thick woollen garments on the most scorching day in the desert, and are as dirty as any other, or dirtier.[30]

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29 Isabel Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine and the Holy Land* (London: Henry S. King and Co, 1875), p.58. See also Léon Roches, *Dix ans à travers l'Islam, 1834–1844* (Paris: Perrin, 1904), p.313.

30 John F. Keane (Hajj Mohammed Amin), *Six Months in the Hijaz: an Account of the Mohammedan Pilgrimages to Meccah and Medinah Accomplished by an Englishman Professing Mohammedanism* (London: Ward and Downey, 1887), p.81.

Pilgrims, Sufis, and Hospices

One can wonder about the interest of the Sufi shaykhs in the pilgrims travelling along the *hâjj* routes and staying in the holy cities and their reasons for running their lodges with the double functions of spiritual centers and hostels. All the evidence suggests that as these Sufi shaykhs were themselves among the most devoted of pilgrims, they were naturally inclined to help their brethren, whether Sufi or not, on this holy path. The identification—or more precisely the association between a Sufi convent and a hostel—is not, I believe, an easy task, and it would be idealistic to presume that there was perfect harmonisation of these two functions.

Several lodges among those mentioned above actually had a reputation of being resting houses or hospices, rather than a home for dervishes. However, the distinction between a Sufi lodge and a resting house is not very clear; for example, let us consider the case of a wide hospice named "*saray*" (resting house in Uyghur language) in Mecca, with three storeys and thirty-two rooms, built in 1917 with the financial support of a Naqshbandî lodge situated in the city of Aqsu in Chinese Turkestan.[31] In this case, the *saray* was a resting house for Uyghurs pilgrims, but it was under the control of a Sufi lodge. Nevertheless, this *saray* would also have been a place for occasional Sufi ceremonies during the *hâjj*. I use the word "occasional" because, according to Richard Burton, we do know that *dhikr* ceremonies were only rarely performed during the fasting month at the Sufi lodges in Mecca.[32] There was another hospice for Uyghurs pilgrims called "Yarkand Saray" in Srinagar (Kashmir).[33] From its name, we can infer that it hosted pilgrims coming from the city of Yarkand in the south of Xinjiang, which was a former capital of Eastern Turkestan and one of the major caravan cities on the Himalayan section of the Mecca itinerary. From Yarkand, the *hâjj* route went through the Himalayas to Srinagar, and then to Lahore, Multan, Karachi, and Bombay.[34]

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31 Abdurakhman Mamut Diyar, "Aqsu Konishähär Ma'arip Täzkirisi," *Shinjang Tarikh Materiyalliri* (Ürümchi) 24 (1988), p. 114.

32 See Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1903), vol. 1, p. 86. For the activities of the brotherhoods in Mecca, and particularly those of the Sufis from the East-Indies, see C. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (1931; reprint, Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 279–280.

33 Gunnar Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki, IV* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951), p. 102, footnote 7.

34 For more information regarding this pilgrimage route, see T. Zarcone, "Une route de sainteté islamique entre l'Asie centrale et l'Inde: la voie Ush-Kashghar-Srinagar," in T. Zarcone,

A similar confusion arises with respect to the word *tekke*/*takiyya*, which means a Sufi lodge for the Ottomans, although it primarily refers to a pilgrim residence for the Tatars of the Volga, similar to the Kazan lodges.[35] There are other examples of *tekke* set up by Asian people in Haramayn. Muhammad Mansûr Ishân (alias Kirey Ishân), who built one of these at Mecca in 1884–85, was a "nomadic" Sufi shaykh from the Kazakh steppe and presumably a member of the Naqshbandiyya, since he was initiated into Sufism at Bukhara.[36] It is also important to mention a project undertaken by a certain Shâdisân Bâtir from Peshpek (North-eastern Siberia) to set up a *tekke* at Mecca, which finally had to be aborted. Dedicated to housing Kazakh pilgrims from Siberia, this *tekke* was not linked to any Sufi shaykh or brotherhood.[37]

A similar pilgrim residence in Mecca, dedicated to Afghan pilgrims, was built in the eighteenth century by the Sadozai ruler Ahmad Shâh (r. 1747–1772), but it is not possible to confirm the lodge's exact name or whether or not it was controlled by Sufis: "at Mecca they are maintained by a foundation instituted by Ahmed Shauh, who ordered a mosque and some sort of caravanserai to be erected at that city for the use of his countrymen. When there are few Afghauns, the surplus of this charity is distributed among the Arabs, who are therefore little pleased with the influx of Afghaun pilgrims."[38]

In more modern times, one year before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, an increasing number of pilgrims throughout Central Asia decided to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. Hundred of Uzbeks were authorised to perform the *hajj*, and two hospices called *takja* and *musofirkhona* were set up by the Uzbek government at Mecca for the use of these pilgrims. These two hospices were called "Andijon bo' chasi" (garden of Andijon) and "Chust Takijasi" (hospice or lodge of Chust), derived

ed., *Inde-Asie centrale. Routes du commerce et des idées*, *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1–2, 1996), pp. 227–254.

35 "Couvent de derviches," in the *Dictionnaire arabe-français* of A. de Biberstein Kazimirski (Cairo: 1875). For further details on the meaning of this word in Tatar language, see Lazar' Budatov', *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' Turetsko-Tatarskikh' Narechij* (Sanktpeterburg': 1869).

36 Qurbân-'Alî Khâlidî, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe, 1770–1912*, ed. and trans. Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 78–80, 154–155 (the translation reads "Medina" instead of "Mecca"!).

37 "Tekye ichin i'âne," *Ta'ârif ül-Müslimîn* (Istanbul) 21:8 (1910), p. 346. See T. Zarcone, "Les Confréries soufies en Sibérie aux XIX^{e} et au début du XX^{e} siècle," pp. 286–287.

38 M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India. Comprising a View of the Afghaun Nation and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy* (London: Richard Bentley, 1842), vol. 1, p. 280.

from the names of two cities in the pious Ferghana Valley from which many of the pilgrims came. In some ways, this event can be seen as the revival of an old tradition.[39]

The map depicting the distribution of the Uzbek and Indian Sufi lodges in the Ottoman Empire clearly shows that the most important lodges bearing these names were situated in the main cities of the Ottoman Empire, usually in close proximity to the Mecca routes (Maps 1 and 2). Many of these cities were political, commercial, and religious centers. Istanbul, a major point on this route, had the maximum number of lodges (one Afghan, one Kazan, three Indian, and four Uzbek lodges); Jerusalem had one each of Uzbek, Indian, and Afghan lodges, while Cairo had one Uzbek and one Indian lodge. There were also Uzbek, Indian, and Kazan lodges at Mecca and Medina, all of which were part of a network designed to serve and provide assistance to pilgrims coming from India and Central Asia—an obligation usually mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of the lodges. We have, for example, a case that occurred in Istanbul in 1844, in which Indian pilgrims complained about the Awqâf administration, reporting that the Indian lodge in Damascus seemed to have given up its obligation of hospitality.[40]

The highest number of lodges were those inhabited by Indians, located everywhere in the Middle East and in Turkey (Istanbul, Bursa, Tosya,[41] Konya, Tarsus,[42] Antep,[43] Adana,[44] Antakya,[45] Aleppo, Damascus,[46] Jerusalem, and Cairo), even though some of them were not specifically known as "Indian lodges" (e.g., the Söylemez tekke at Konya, see below). This is because there was a significant number of pilgrims from the Indian communities, sometimes important, across the cities of Mecca, Jerusalem, Konya, and all along the pilgrimage routes. According to the French traveller Léon Roches, a whole district in Mecca, named "Souika," was inhabited by rich Indians.[47]

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39 S. A. Hayitov, N. S. Sobirov, and A. S. Legay, *Khorijdagi Özbeklar* (Tashkent: Fan Nashriëti, 1992, p. 88).

40 Başvekâlet Arşivi-Cevdet Evkâf (hereafter BVCE), 10813 (13 R 1260/1844).

41 This lodge, called Hamza Bâbâ Zâwiyya and situated in the area of Tosya, was restored by its new shaykh, Hâjjî Mehmed Dede, an ancient wandering Naqshbandî Sufi of Indian origin, BVCE 9506 (3 M 1190/1776).

42 BVCE 1951 (C 1173/1759).

43 BVCE 19125 (Za 1211/1797).

44 BVCE 21766 (Ca 1142/1729), 23278 (M 1189/1775).

45 BVCE 21467 (3 R 1246/1830).

46 BVCE 4092 (7 Ra 1214/1799); 4201 (M 1214/1799); 5717 (23 S 1214/1799); 10813 (13 R 1260/1844).

47 L. Roches, *Dix ans à travers l'Islam*, 1834–1844, p. 312.

These included not only merchants but also pilgrims who were not restricted, according to the Quran, to mix business and piety.[48] Regarding Jerusalem, the Indian Muslim community in this city, along with the North African community, was considered the most important. Many in this community were pilgrims who had decided to establish themselves in the city and had married locals Muslims.[49] It is, however, quite surprising that Istanbul did not have its own resident Indian community, even though two Indian lodges were located there. In all likelihood, this is because the capital of the Ottoman Empire was not situated along the routes followed by Indian pilgrims. Hence, the presence of more than one Indian lodge in a city is not a sure indication that the place was often frequented by Indians—the lodges were probably there because it had been the seat of the Caliphate since the sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, rather than rich Indians, it was the great number of poor pilgrims from the subcontinent that left a lasting imprint on the memory of both Western and Oriental travelers. Earlier, in the sixteenth century, there already existed a community of poor Indians pilgrims in Mecca.[50] Centuries later, this group was still to be found in the holy city, as indicated by John Lewis Burckhardt in 1829 and Richard Burton in 1903:

> The streets of Mekka are crowded with them; the most decrepit make their doleful appeals to the passenger, lying at full length on their back in the middle of the street; the gates of the mosque are always beset with them; every coffee-house and water-stand is a station for some of them; and no hadjy can purchase provisions in the markets, without being importuned by Indians soliciting a portion of them.[51]

> The highways of Mecca abound in pathetic Indians beggars, who affect lank bodies, shrinking frames, whining voices, and all the circumstances of misery, because it supports them in idleness (…) there are no fewer than fifteen hundred Indians at Meccah and Jidda, besides seven or eight hundred in Al-Yaman.[52]

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48 Regarding the economic dimensions of the *hâjj* and the particular role played by the Indians traders, see M. N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, chapters 6 and 7.

49 Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century*, p.131.

50 S. Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, pp.132.

51 John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia Comprehending an Account of Those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), II, pp.26–27.

52 R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol.2, pp.

The presence of Indians at Jidda, the port of Mecca, was confirmed by Burckhardt, who wrote that "upwards of a hundred Indian families (chiefly from Surat, and a few from Bombay)" were living at Jidda, and that, contrary to the other foreign inhabitants of Jidda, "the Indians alone remain a distinct race in manners, dress, and employment."[53] There were also Indian residents in Taif (in the vicinity of Mecca), where a small mosque bears their community's name: "I saw two small mosques; the best, that of the Henoud, or Indians."[54]

The tragic story of one of these Indian beggars, described as an "unfinished pilgrimage," was narrated by the Turkish officer and novelist Falih Rıfkı Atay in 1915–1918, when he visited Medina and its "bazaar and streets where Asia, Africa, and Anatolia were begging":

> This old man [an Indian pilgrim] had left his country three years before, in search of Paradise. He had started out with just enough money to reach Bombay by train, but the city of Bombay is neither the end of the world nor the threshold of the Hijaz. In Bombay, he spent six months begging at many places until he saved enough money to take a train to Hyderabad.[55] He was then offered the hospitality of the Madrasa Nizam. At one point of time, he met the raja of Hyderabad, who gave him some money, after which the old man decided to travel to Jidda by the sea route. Thanks to two foreigners that he met on the boat, the old man had enough to eat, receiving food from the provisions of one of these foreigners during the first ten days of the travel and from the provisions of the other for the remaining ten days. Finally, he dragged himself to Arafat and from there, to Medina. There is no hope of returning home for him now—he must stay here until the end. His hair has turned white, his face is wrinkled and worn, and his teeth have all fallen out.[56]

185–186. On the Persian pilgrims, see F. E. Peters, *The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.175.

53 J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol.1, p.27.

54 J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol.1, p.154

55 It was well known that the pious Muslims of Bombay donated extensively to charities, which paid for poor pilgrims' passages to Jidda; A. S. Morrison, "Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868–1910," p.93.

56 *Zeytindağı* (Istanbul: 1956. Re-edited Istanbul: Pozitif, 2004), pp.63–66.

Since all the Sufi and non-Sufi pilgrims from Central Asia had to inevitably arrive and stay in Istanbul, this explains the significant number of Uzbek, Indian, and Afghan lodges in the city.[57] Although the two major caravans to Mecca (mahmal) started every year from Cairo and Damascus, there was also a caravan from Istanbul, carrying the Sultan's yearly offerings for sacred purposes to Mecca and Medina, which went to Damascus across Anatolia, where it joined the *mahmal shâmî*. Many Central Asian pilgrims who intended to join this caravan gathered at Istanbul, waiting for the first month of pilgrimage.[58] There are several records in Turkish newspapers regarding the settlement of these pilgrims in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and there is also a postcard (from the early twentieth century) depicting Central Asian pilgrims, vested in their traditional wide coats, gathering in front of the Yeni Cami Mosque at Istanbul (Figure 2). For these pilgrims, going to the Hijaz through the Ottoman Empire provided a marvelous occasion to visit the city of the Caliphate, (Makam-ı Hilâfet) and if they were lucky, they were sometimes able to attend the famous Friday ceremony (*Cuma Selamlık*), that is, the public procession of the Sultan to a mosque, which occurred at noon on Fridays.

> Many of these foreign dervishes are rich people. So, after entering the Ottoman Empire, they first look for a Sufi lodge (*dergâh*) before searching for a hotel. For example, the dervishes from Bukhara are very respectful of the principles of their order (*erkan-ı tarikat*), and they intend to travel to the Ka'aba in order to become *hâjjî*. They also plan to visit Istanbul in order to see the Makam-ı Hilâfet or to attend the Friday ceremony, where they can see our dear Padishah. After doing so, they usually move to Eyüp Sultan and book a room for their family at the lodge (*dergâh*) of Akıl Efendi. They stay here for many months, and if by any chance some members of their family feel unwell, these members cancel their travel to Mekka and continue to reside in the lodge (*tekiye*) for the rest of the year.[59]

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57 T. Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," p. 153.

58 On the "Istanbul caravan", see Ignatius Muradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane, l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman* (Paris: Imprimerie de Monsieur, 1788), vol. 3, pp. 269, 271–272.

59 "Bu ecnebi dervişlerin bir çokları da zengindirler. Öyle olduğu halde Memalik-i Osmaniye'ye geldikleri vakit bir otelden evvel bir dergah araştırırlar. Az cümle Buhara dervişleri erkan-ı tarikata son derecede riayet ettiklerinden bunların Kâbe'ye gidip hacı olmak niyetinde bulunanlar bir kere Makam-ı Hilafeti ziyaret yani cuma selamlığında olsun sevgili Padışahımızı

Figure 2 Central Asian pilgrims gathering in front of the Yeni Cami Mosque at Istanbul (postcard from the early twentieth century (Private Archives of T. Zarcone).

Let us now consider the language issue, more precisely, the problems faced by the Indian shaykhs and pilgrims who did not know the languages spoken in the Hijaz, i.e., Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, in their day-to-day dealings with the Ottoman administration. This is confirmed by the famous Tatar reformist ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, who visited Mecca at the beginning of the twentieth century and noticed the difficulties encountered by Indian pilgrims who spoke only Urdu or Persian.[60] In Konya, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Chishtî shaykh in charge of an Indian lodge was unable to speak Turkish, and since he categorically refused to talk with his local neighbors, he was nicknamed "the man who cannot speak" (Söylemez), a name by which his lodge eventually came to be known (Söylemez Tekkesi).[61] A similar situation occurred at Bursa in 1840–41, when the newly appointed shaykh of the Indian lodge got into trouble with the Awqâf administration because he was unable to speak Turkish.[62]

Conversely, the Central Asians pilgrims rarely experienced communication problems because they spoke the Turkish languages—i.e., Oriental Turkish and Tatar—that were more or less understood by the Ottoman administration, although the Arabs ignored these languages. Even more striking was the case of the Afghans pilgrims who were able, according to Robert Burton, to fluently converse in at least five languages(!).[63] An Afghan merchant once informed ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm in India that although he had never had any contact with Turkey, he was able to learn some Turkish and Ottoman by reading the Indian newspapers, which carried articles on the Hijaz railway (Hijaz Şimendifer).[64]

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gördükten sonra o farz öyle ifa ettiklerinden çokluk çocuklar ile beraber olduğu halde bile İstanbul'a gildikleri vakt doğru Eyüp Sultan'da (Akıl Efendi) dergahının bir odasına inerler. Orada aylarca kalırlar eğer ailesinde bir rahatsızlık zuhur ederse o sene Kâbe'ye gidemezleriyse senesine kadar mezkur tekiyede misafir olurlar," *Muhibban* Year 2:1 (January 1911), p.110.

60 ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *Tarjama-yi Hâlım*, pp.95–96, 99.

61 Yusuf Kücükdağ, "Konya'da Söylemez Zâviyesi ve Vakfiyeleri," İpek Yolu (Konya Ticaret Odası Dergisi, Konya) 1 (1998), pp.155–194.

62 According to a document published by Mustafa Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlat ve Tekkeler* (Bursa: Uludağ Y., 1990), p.215.

63 R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, pp.131, 217.

64 "Abdülhamid eyyamında Türkiye ile bir alâkalamız olmadı ve daha evvelleri hiçte olmamış, yalnız şu son birkaç sene zarfında Hijaz Şimendifer hattı münasebetiyle Hindustan Müslümanlarının himmeti sayesinde gazete sütünlerinde Türk ve Osmanlı kelimelerini öğrendik, bütün malumatımız bundan ibarettir," ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *ʻAlem-i islâm*, vol.2, p.157.

In the 1920s, Ya'qûb, the shaykh of the Uzbek lodge in Jerusalem, was not only regarded as a master of Arabic, Turkish, and perhaps Persian but also imputed to have the ability to speak in many more languages or at least the skill to communicate with all his brothers in religion, as a pivotal principle of the religious hospitality cultivated in his hospice. An Indian visitor of this hospice in 1926 wrote the following note in the "Visitor's Book" of the lodge:

> We stayed at the Bukhara Takia for 7 days and performed all the zearat in this city. We had been very much pleased with the Shaikh Sahib of the Takia who looked after our comfort and health. Though he does not know our language he could get our language interpreted by his man for our welfare.
>
> Aziz Rahman
> Bahmand Ali
> Mazar Ali of Rangunia
> Chittagong-Bengal-India
> (7 - 3 - 26)[65]

At an international conference held at Tashkent in October 2007, Hamid Algar, in his lecture on Sufis and Central Asians pilgrims in the Haramayn, drew the attention of the audience to the "Uzbek lodges set up by Sufi shaykhs along the *hâjj* routes and questioned the Sufi/mystical activities conducted at these lodges.[66] In his investigations on the situation at Istanbul, Algar felt the need to distinguish the two types of Uzbek lodges based on their functions. The first type of lodge was a setting for the practice of the teachings of Sufism, rather than a hostel for pilgrims from Central Asia. However, the second type did, indeed, primarily function as a lodge for Central Asian pilgrims on their way to the Haramayn, and was not really a devotional center. According to my research, Algar's analysis is quite pertinent and is perhaps applicable to most of the lodges along the *hâjj* routes —including not only the Uzbek lodges but also the Indian and Kazan lodges. In 1887, Le Chatelier, a French expert on Sufi brotherhoods, described the activities of the Sufi lodges established in the Hijaz, and especially in Haramayn, writing that these institutions would have contradicted the Arabian ethic had they functioned

65 Original text in English, the "Visitor's Book" of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya of Jerusalem at PAZU, p. 75.

66 H. Algar, "Tarîq and Tariqah: Central Asian Naqshbandî and the Road to the Haramayn."

exclusively as Sufi centers, due to the presence of so many pilgrims searching for a house and a place of devotion, and that they were generally turned into hostels (hôtelleries) or caravanserai for dervishes.[67] Le Chatelier adds that the Naqshbandî lodges at Mecca and Jidda had few local members; they were run by Turkish or Indian shaykhs and visited only by pilgrims.[68]

However, we can consider the possibility that some of these lodges functioned as both Sufi centers and hospices, and a third type of lodge may be added to Algar's classification—an intermediate type. The best example of this type would be the Kazan lodge founded in Mecca at the end of the nineteenth century by the Tatar Muhammad Murâd Ramzî (1854–1934), a member of the Naqshbandiyya initiated by Shaykh Muhammad Mazhar in Medina and a prolific translator of some of the major treatises on the Naqshbandiyya.[69] Muhammad Murâd, who lived in Haramayn between 1876 and the early years of the twentieth century, decided at the end of his life to set up a hospice for the Tatar pilgrims (*Tatar hâjji-khâna*), one of whom he considered himself to be, as he described it, the porter (*bivablık*). Nevertheless, the shaykh was so involved in his Sufi studies, and without doubt, was so guided by Sufi principles that his hospice could not deviate much from his Sufi interest. Hence, during the three sacred months of the pilgrimage (*Shawwal*, *Dhulka'da*, and *Dhulhijja*), the Tatar hospice functioned as a place of residence for the Tatar pilgrims, with Muhammad Murâd serving it as its porter. However, during all the other months of the Muslim year, the place was run as a Sufi lodge, with Muhammad Murâd playing the role of its shaykh.[70]

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67 "Les mœurs arabes s'accomoderaient peu, d'ailleurs, de l'existence de véritables couvents dans les villes saintes. Aussi les Tekkié qui s'y trouvent, ont-elles plutôt le caractère d'hôtelleries, de caravansérails pour les Derouich, que de monastères," A. le Chatelier, *Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1887), p.48.

68 He states that the Naqshbandî *zâwiyya* at Mecca, situated near the "Mahallat, at the Souk el-Halaya," was managed at this time by a certain Shaykh al-Siddîk (b. Shaykh Muhammad al-Hindî). F. de Jong also confirms that all the Naqshbandî Sufis in Medina and Mecca were originally from Bukhara: A. le Chatelier, *Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p.159; F. de Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," p.233.

69 On his life, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, "A Note on *Rashhât-ı Ain al-Hayat* in the Nineteenth Century," in E. Özdalga, ed., *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia. Change and Continuity* (Istanbul: Curzon Press, 1999), pp.61–66.

70 "Ahir ömüründe Mekke'de bina olunmuş bir Tâtâr hacı-hânesine bivablık gibi bir vazife ile mükellef olmuştur ki, bu da islamiyette ulema hissesine düşmüş bir zillettir. Biz de hacılar ile beraber bu zat-i muhteremin bivablık etmekte olduğu hacı-hânede mizafir bulunuyorduk. Filhakika ekser-i mücaverin-i Mekke-i Mükerreme'de bu suretle temin-i maişet ederler, fakat böyle bir sanat, avam-i mücaverin için vazife olabilirse de, ulema için pek de münasebeti yoktur,

A Network of Sufi Lodges?

We cannot confirm exactly how these Central Asian and Indian networks of Sufi lodges functioned in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and if they recognized any central authority represented by one or several of the major lodges. The one thing that we do know, based on archival sources, is that some of these lodges seemed to be closely connected with each other, since some dervishes who previously had been members of one of these lodges were appointed the head/shaykh of another Uzbek or Indian lodge elsewhere. This event has been documented for lodges in Istanbul, Jerusalem, and Bursa.[71] For example, Shaykh Sa'îd Jân Efendî (d. 1899), originally from Kharazm, Northern Turkmenistan, first contacted the Naqshbandî Indian shaykhs in Mecca and Medina. Then in Istanbul he attended, as a dervish, the Bukhara lodge in this city and was later appointed as shaykh of the Bukhara lodge in Bursa. His successor, Hafiz Mehmed Emîn Efendi, had a very similar course of life. He first lived in Medina and then in Istanbul, where he stayed in the Uzbek Kalenderhâne (Eyüp), before finally being appointed head of the Bukhara lodge in Bursa.[72]

We have another such example of a Sufi career spanning several lodges in the case of Shaykh 'Abd Allâh (1848/1849–1930), an Indian Naqshbandî originally from Lahore in the Panjab, who came to Medina in 1877–78 and stayed for a while in the Naqshbandî *zâwiyya* of the city, which was at this time directed by the famous Indian Shaykh Muhammad Mazhar (see the next chapter). 'Abd Allâh travelled to many countries in Northern Africa and in the Middle East, staying for five years (from 1896–1897 to 1901–1902) at the well-known Qâdirî lodge of Hama (Syria), the Bayt al-Jîlânî, to progress on the mystical path. 'Abd Allâh finally reached Bursa, where he was appointed shaykh of the Hindî Tekke/Kalenderhâne of this

lekin ne çare medar-i ta'yiş başka türlü temin olunamazsa aile sahibi bir adam bu suretle hiç olmazsa mevsimde çektıği zahmet bedelinde on ay hane kırası vermez. Şu menfaata mukabil mevsimde hacı-hânede bivablık eder ve şühur-i sairede tekye namiyle şeyhlik eder," 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *'Alem-i islâm*, vol.2, p.194.

71 T. Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," p.160.

72 Mehmed Şemsüddin, *Bursa Dergahları*, ed. by M. Kara and K. Atlansoy (Bursa: Uludağ Y., 1997), pp.301–302.

city in 1910.[73] Another example is that of the Afghan Hâjjî Mehmed, shaykh of the Afghan lodge at Istanbul (also known as an Indian lodge but inhabited exclusively by Afghans), who was appointed as the head of the Indian lodge in the same city after ten years.[74] It is necessary to conduct more research in this field, however, to determine whether the appointments of these shaykhs were due to the decisions of some central authority or the results of personal relations between the lodges.

However, we do know that in 1840, the Awqâf administration in Istanbul, while dealing with a problem that occurred at the Indian lodge in Bursa, referred to the Indian lodge of Istanbul (located in the Horhor district) as an "*asitâne*" (a mother-lodge).[75] In another source dated 1858, the shaykh of the Indian lodge of Istanbul referred to the lodge as the "Dergâh-i Asitâne-yi Hindiyân."[76] Does this reference imply that the lodge was considered the mother-lodge of all the Indian lodges in Istanbul and its hinterland, and perhaps, in the rest of the Empire? We do know, for example, that after the First World War, the former head of the Indian lodge at Jerusalem was appointed the head of the Indian lodge at Horhor in Istanbul (see chapter 3). In fact, some particular ethnic groups like the Indians, Uzbeks, and Afghans probably did have powerful mother-lodges based in Istanbul (generally one for each Sufi order). The principle behind the mother-lodges was finally institutionalized by a Council of Shaykhs (Meclis-i Meşayih), an official government organization set up in 1866, responsible for administrating the Sufi lodges of Istanbul. The Council extended the function of mother-lodges to include working as an intermediary body with a significant administrative power over the other lodges, as designated by the Council. In conclusion, it is important to mention that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Council of Shaykhs dismissed Mehmed Nurî, the head of the Indian lodge of Bursa, following complaints against him by the Indian community in Istanbul, and later replaced him with another shaykh of Indian extraction.[77]

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73 Ibid., pp. 593–594. On the link between the Hama Qâdirî lodge and India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and the Afghan lodges in Tarsus (Southern Anatolia) and Jerusalem, see Zaïm Khenchelaoui and T. Zarcone "La Famille Jîlânî de Hama-Syrie (Bayt al-Jîlânî)," *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 1–2 (2000), pp. 67–68.

74 Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, "Hindiler tekkesi," B/66, Revnakoğlu Archives, Divan Literature Museum, Galata Mevlevihane, Istanbul.

75 From an archival document published by M. Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlat ve Tekkeler*, p. 215.

76 BVCE 1263 (11 Ra 1275/1858).

77 Mehmed Şemsüddin, *Bursa Dergahları*, p. 594.

Chapter Two

CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN SUFI ORDERS ON THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTES

The Uzbek and Indian lodges were genuine Turkish or Indian outposts, and they played a prominent role in bringing the cultural and religious traditions of India and Central Asia to Turkey and the Arabic world. The Ottomans were more sympathetic and accommodating to the Uzbeks lodges, because of the common culture they shared with the members, than to the Indians lodges, whose culture was very foreign to them. Central Asian languages were spoken, studied, and even taught in the Uzbek lodges. We are told by Arminius Vambery, for instance, that while in Istanbul in the middle of the nineteenth century, he used to visit the Uzbek and Bukhara lodges of the city in order to master Oriental Turkish and study the culture of Central Asia. The German orientalist Martin Hartmann did the same in the early twentieth century.[78] The Uzbek and Indian lodges in Istanbul were also influential centers for the teaching of Persian, the language of the literati of Central Asia and India, as well as the study of Persian religious literature, poetry, and calligraphy.[79] It can be assumed that similar conditions prevailed in the Uzbek and Indian lodges throughout the Ottoman Empire and in the Middle East, although there are no documents at our disposal to confirm this. We do know, however, that the Uzbek lodge in Jerusalem continues to maintain a strong interest in manuscripts and books, since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, under the guidance of Shaykh Rashîd, himself the writer of an illustrated *hâjjnâma* manuscript. In

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78 Arminius Vambery, *His Life and Adventures by Himself* (3rd ed., London: T. Fisher Unvin, 1884), pp.28; Martin Hartmann, "Zentralasiatisches aus Stambul," *Islamischer Orient* I (1902); M. Hartmann, *Çaghataisches. Die Grammatik ussi lisâni turki des Mehemed Sadiq* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchlandlung, 1902); T. Zarcone, "Grammaires, Dictionnaires et Littérature du Turkestan à Istanbul au tournant du siècle," in F. Hitzel, ed., *Istanbul et les Langues orientales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp.417–423.

79 For example, in the Indian *Kalenderhâne* of Bursa: Mehmed Şemsüddin, *Bursa Dergahları*, p.591.

2003, the lodge's library acquired about 300 Arabic titles, in manuscript and print, as well as many others in Persian and Oriental Turkish.[80]

Almost all of the main Sufi lineages existing in India and Central Asia—some very respectful of the law of Islam, others antinomian—were represented in these lodges: the Naqshbandiyya, the Qâdiriyya, the Qalandariyya, and the Chishtiyya. The Naqshbandiyya could be regarded as the most important of these lineages, with many lodges under its control. Second in importance, especially with respect to the Indian and Afghan lodges, was the Qâdiriyya—a brotherhood very popular in India, although the order gradually declined in favor of the Naqshbandiyya. A typically Indian Sufi brotherhood, the Chishtiyya sect was represented by the Söylemez lodge at Konya at the end of nineteenth century; the lodge was founded and directed by an Indian Shaykh from Allahabad (Gujarat) called Fâdil Husayn (d. 1910). Fâdil's father Gawhar 'Alî Qalandar Husayn claimed several Sufi affiliations, namely, the Chishtî-Sabirî, Nizâmî, Qâdiri, and Naqshbandî. The Söylemez lodge was first opened as a Chishtî lodge by Shaykh Fâdil Husayn; however, it was later converted into a Naqshbandî lodge. This is a rare example of a Chishtiyya lodge's establishment in the Ottoman Empire; its objective was to assist the *hâjj* travellers, particularly Indian dervishes and pilgrims. Finally, another interesting aspect of the *hâjj* journey was the presence of the Central Asian and Indian Qalandariyya, many members of which used to travel the *hâjj* routes and roam around the streets of the cities on their way. It is quite problematic, however, to clearly define the Qalandariyya group, which was frequently and wrongly associated and even identified as the Naqshbandiyya.

Apart from this, it is known that in the seventeenth century, a Mevlevî lodge in Mecca was directed by two Indian Sufis. The first of these Sufis, Hindî Muhammad Dede, was the son of a king of Bengal. A pilgrim on the road to Mecca, Muhammad Dede was so impressed by the Mevlevî ritual on his visit to Konya that he decided to join this Sufi order. After several years in Konya, he went to Haramayn and was appointed chief of the Mevlevî lodge in Mecca. From his biographer (writing in the eighteenth century), we learn that Hindî Muhammad Dede obtained financial help from his family in India that he used toward the functioning of the lodge and in assisting Indians pilgrims coming to Mecca.[81] Dervish Muhammad Dede succeeded

[80] Bashîr 'Abd al Ghanî Barakât, *Fihris makhtûtât al-Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya fi'l-Quds* (Quds [Jerusalem]: Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya, 2003).

[81] Sakıb Dede, *Sefîne-yi Nefîse-yi Mevleviyân* (Cairo: Wahbiyya, 1866), vol. 2, pp. 151–155.

Hindî Muhammad Dede as the head of the Mevlevî lodge of Mecca; he also was an Indian of royal ascent, originally from Ahmadabad.[82]

The Domination of the Naqshbandiyya over the *Hâjj* Routes

The Hijaz, and particularly the Haramayn, was a major place in the history of the Naqshbandiyya from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Many eminent shaykhs of this order came for this pilgrimage from Central Asia and India and eventually settled in Mecca and Medina, where they made numerous disciples among the pilgrims. This spread the Naqshbandiyya teachings to various, even remote parts of the Muslim world, including Turkey, Indonesia, and China.

It is my belief that a symbolic event that occurred in the sixteenth century gave a prominent role to the Indian Naqshbandiyya in the history of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Emperor Akbar decided to send every year a *hâjj* caravan, actually a ship, to Mecca—modeled along the lines of the Egyptian and Syrian caravans and supervised by one of his nobles, carrying the title of *mir hâjj* (leader of the pilgrims), to serve as his representative during the pilgrimage. Pilgrims from Central Asia and Khurasan were also invited to attend the Indian caravan, and a royal ship was arranged for carrying the pilgrims to the Hijaz. Quite interestingly, the *mir hâjj* of the first caravan in 1576 was a certain Sultân Khwâja Naqshbandî, who was given a substantial amount of money for building a Sufi lodge (*khânaqâh*) in Mecca. Two years later, in 1578, another Naqshbandî Sufi, Khwâja Yahyâ, great-grandson of Khwâja ʻUbaydullâh Ahrar, was commissioned as the *mir hâjj* of the Indian caravan.[83] During the same period, Naqshbandî lodges were established in Haramayn with the support of the sultan Kanûnî Sulaymân and Murad IV.[84] Whether these lodges were places intended only for the practice of Sufism or hospices for pilgrims is undocumented. We might venture, however, to suggest that it is possible they fulfilled both the functions.

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82 Ibid., pp. 119–122.

83 Naimur Rehman Farooqi, *Mughal–Ottoman Relations. A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556–1748* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1989), pp. 113–115.

84 Hamid Algar, "Tarîq and Tariqah: Central Asian Naqshbandî and the Road to the Haramayn," in Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone, eds., *The Roads of Pilgrimages between Central Asia and the Hijaz* (forthcoming).

To return to the matter of the widespread networks of Uzbek and Indian lodges in the nineteenth century, we may suppose that rather than a network of Sufi convents, there was a network of Sufi shaykhs who had connections with each other. Furthermore, this network was complemented by another one—a network consisting of intelligent and educated Sufi pilgrims travelling from lodge to lodge, animating discussions and devotional practices at these places. Two shaykhs are known to have played such a role in the second part of the nineteenth century. The first one, Süleyman Bukhârî (d. 1890), head of an Uzbek lodge at Istanbul called Bukhara Tekke, was an intimate friend of the sultan, his emissary to Central Asia and other countries, and author of several books on Sufi literature. The second one was Shaykh Muhammad Mazhar b. Ahmad Sa'îd al-Hindî al-Hanafî (d. 1883 at Medina), a descendant of the famous Indian Naqshbandî Ahmad Sirhindî and one of the more renowned Sufi and madrasa teachers of Medina. His own madrasa, known as the "Shaykh Mazhar Madrasasi," was listed among the best Islamic schools of the city.[85] His disciples comprised not only Central Asians, Turks, and Tatars but also students from China[86] and the East-Indies.[87] Shaykh Mazhar was the son of Shâh Ahmad Sa'îd, shaykh of the Mujaddidî lodge in Delhi, who had fled from the British occupation of the city and died at Medina in 1860. After succeeding his father as head of the Mujaddidiyya in Medina, Shaykh Mazhar converted three of his houses in the district of Hârat al-Âghawât into a Sufi lodge, which soon became famous under the name of "Ribât-i Mazhar," and he initiated many Muslims into his order.[88]

Although Shaykh Mazhar's lodge in Medina was not represented as an Indian lodge, it welcomed numerous pilgrims from Central Asia and India, mostly Sufis. The Bukhara lodges of both Istanbul and Medina welcomed famous Tatar mullas and Muslim reformists. Süleyman Bukhârî organized several meetings on

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85 According to 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *'Alem-i islâm*, vol. II, p.233.

86 Leila Cherif-Chebbi, "L'Ahong sourd," in V. Bouillier and C. Servan-Schreiber, eds., *De l'Arabie à l'Himalaya. Chemins croisés en hommage à Marc Gaborieau* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004), pp.412; Eloisa Concetti and T. Zarcone, *Sufism in Xinjiang and Inner Asia in the 19th–21st Centuries. Ahmad Sirhindî's Maktûbât and the Naqshbandiyya* (forthcoming).

87 According to Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp.288–289, and Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshabandi Order in Indonesia," *Der Islam* 67/1 (1990), pp. 164–168.

88 Abû'l-Hasan Zayd Fârûqî Mujaddidî, *Maqâmât-i akhyâr* (Delhi: Shâh Abû'l-Khayr Akîdîmî, 1975), pp.90–91. It was Shaykh Mazhar's son, Abu'l-Khayr (d. 1923), who reorganized and reconstructed the Delhi lodge after 1880.

theology at his lodge, which were attended by shaykhs as well as ulamas. Among the participants were the famous Tatar reformist Shihâb al-Dîn Marjanî (d. 1889) and ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhim (d. 1944), both Naqshbandîs.[89] In Medina, Shaykh Mazhar's lodge was visited by the Tatar Murâd Ramzî (d. 1934), translator of the *Maktûbât* of Ahmad Sirhindî and the *Rashahât ʻAyn al-Hayât* of Husayn Wâʼiz Kâshifî;[90] ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhim, who was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya at this very lodge by the shaykh himself;[91] Shihâb al-Dîn Marjanî, when he performed the *hajj*;[92] and another Tatar *mullâ* called Ahmad Safâ (d. 1907).[93] This confirms Stefan Reichmuth's description of Medina "as a religious center [that] served as an important rallying point for pilgrims and scholars from all parts of the Islamic world, bringing them into contact with each other and also with the world of the Ottoman Empire itself."[94] It must be added that the Asian Naqshbandiyya played a major role in this scholarly network, of which Medina formed the center.

Without any doubt, these two lodges in Istanbul and Medina were centers for intellectual, theological, and political exchanges between Ottoman and Asiatic literati and ulamas. Moreover, they played a significant role in the history of Tatar reformism (Jadidism), particularly if we keep in mind that the major representatives of the Tatar reformists were Naqshbandîs (ʻAbd al-Nasîr al-Qûrsâvî, Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî, Ridâ al-Dîn b. Fakhr al-Dîn, etc.) who used these lodge networks on the

89 "Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî hakkinda," in Sâlih ben Thâbit ʻUbaydullîn, ed., *Marjânî* (Kazan: Maʻârif, 1915), p.439; Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî, "Tarjama-yi Hâl," in Sâlih ben Thâbit ʻUbaydullîn, ed., *Marjânî*, p.137; Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî, *Rihlat al-Marjânî* (Kazan: Tipo-litografija Nasl'dnikov' M. Chikovoj, 1897), pp.4–5; edition in modern Tatar in Rizaèddin Fähreddinev, *Bolgar va Kazan Tërekläre* (Kazan: Kazan Tatarstan Kitap Näshrijaty, 1993), p.119.

90 From a text published in an appendix of his translation of Ahmad Sirhindî's *Maktûbât*; see Ahmad Sirhindî, *Maktûbât* (Mecca: 1899–1900), vol.3, p.189. See also: Nurija Gäräeva, "Kem ul Morad Rämzi?" *Kazan Utlari* (Kazan) 2 (1990), pp.171–175; B. Abu-Manneh, "A Note on *Rashhât-ı Ain al-Hayat* in the Nineteenth Century," p.65.

91 ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *ʻAlem-i islâm*, vol.2, p.233; ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *Tarjama-yi Hâlım*, pp.59, 79, 110.

92 Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî, *Rihlat*, pp.19–20 (modern Tatar edition, p. 130).

93 See Muhammad Murâd Ramzî, *Talfîq al-akhbâr wa Talqîh al-athâr fî waqâʻî Qazân wa Bulghâr wa mulûk al-Tatâr* (Orenbourg: Karîmiyya wa Husayniyya, 1908), vol.2, p.474; "Mawt al-ʻâlim, Mawt al-ʻâlam," *Al-Dîn wa'l-âdab* (Kazan) 2:6 (1907), pp.182–184.

94 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Interplay of Local Developments and Transnational Relations in the Islamic World: Perceptions and Perspectives," in A. von Kükelgen, M. Kemper, A. J. Frank, eds., *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the 20th Centuries* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag), p.21.

route to Jerusalem or Mecca, as mentioned above.[95] Another reformist thinker, Mûsâ Jarullâh Bîgîyef (d. 1949), who was receptive to what he called "high Sufism" and the Naqshbandiyya though not a Sufi himself, visited the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya of Jerusalem in 1926 on his way from Leningrad and wrote a short entry in its "Visitor's Book" (see below).[96] The Kazan lodges of the Ottoman Empire were linked to these networks and to the personalities who resided in them, to a lesser extent, with frequent interactions between the two. For instance, 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhim, who resided at the Kazan lodges at Istanbul and Medina as well as the Naqshbandî lodge of the Indian Muhammad Mazhar, also at Medina, finally set up his own lodge in Mecca. It should also be noted that toward the end of the nineteenth century (1882), the Kazan lodge in Istanbul was visited by Shaykh Zayn Allâh, an important figure among the Tatar Naqshbandiyya, who stayed there for one month.[97]

Another figure worthy of interest is the Tatar historian Qurbân 'Alî Khâlidî (1846–1913), a prolific and passionate author who wrote on saint veneration and the history of the Turkish peoples of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. On his way to Mecca, Qurbân 'Alî stopped at Jerusalem in 1897–98 and visited the Uzbek lodge, where he met Shaykh Rashîd Bukhârî.[98] Thereafter, Qurbân 'Alî went to Medina and visited Shaykh 'Abd al-Sattâr, also called "Shaykh Afandî," a Tatar established there since 1863–64 who, according to Qurbân 'Alî, had set up a madrasa in that city. However, 'Abd al-Rashîd mentions that 'Abd al-Sattâr started a Kazan lodge (*takya*), not a madrasa.[99] In fact, it is possible that 'Abd al-Sattâr's establishment contained both these institutions, since we learn from Qurbân 'Alî that 'Abd al-Sattâr's madrasa contained a mosque and forty-one rooms, which

95 See, for example, Michael Kemper, "Šihâbaddîn al-Marğânî als Religionsgelehrter," in M. Kemper, A. von Kükelgen, D. Yermakov, eds., *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), pp.129–165.

96 The Visitor's Book of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya of Jerusalem (PAZU), p.77. For Bîgîyef's ideas on Sufism, see T. Zarcone, "Un aspect de la polémique autour du soufisme dans le monde Tatar, au début du XXe siècle: mysticisme et confrérisme chez Mûsâ Djârallâh Bîgî," in S. A. Dudoignon; Dämir Is'haqov and Räfyq Möhämmätshin, éds, *L'islam de Russie. Conscience communautaire et autonomie politique chez les Tatars de la Volga et de l'Oural, depuis le XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997), pp.227–247.

97 Ridâ al-Dîn b. Fakhr al-Dîn, ed., *Shaykh Zayn Allâh Hazratning Tarjama-yi Hâli* (Orenbourg: Tipografija Gaz. Vakt', 1917), p.15.

98 Mentioned by Qurbân 'Alî Khâlidî himself in his travelogue to Mecca; see Qurbân 'Alî Khâlidî, *Tawârîkh-i khamsa-yi sharqî* (Kazan: 1910), p.603.

99 'Abd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm, *Tarjama-yi Hâlım yaka Bâshıma Kelenler*, pp.68–69.

means that it could have also functioned as a rest house.[100] At Mecca, Qurbân ʻAlî met Muhammad Murâd Ramzî—another founder of a Kazan lodge in the city. Without doubt, in a sense Qurbân ʻAlî represents, like the two other Tatars mentioned above, an active element among the network of Sufi personalities who forged closer ties between the Uzbek, Indian, Afghan, and Kazan lodges on the pilgrimage routes.

Shaykh Yaʻqûb, who directed the Uzbek lodge of Jerusalem in the beginning of the twentieth century, was neither a madrasa teacher nor a renowned Sufi author. However, he was locally hailed as a scholar and specialist in the history of Islam by both the eminent personalities of Jerusalem and the pilgrims. The Uzbek lodge was open to travellers of various origins; while priority was given to Central Asians, the lodge also put up Indian, Turkish, and Chinese visitors, as can be gathered from its Visitor's Book." However, the members of the Naqshbandiyya were given a preferential treatment since the lodge got a particular register concerning the Naqhbandî who stayed in it (see below).

Regarding the Qalandars and the Qalandar Hospices (*Qalandarkhâna*s)

Apart from the members of the Naqshbandiyya, the most numerous Sufis on the *hâjj* routes were the Qalandars, a class of wandering dervishes without any precise affiliation to a Sufi organisation. This is confirmed in the nineteenth-century travelogues of many Western and Muslim travellers and pilgrims, as well as the prevalence of places called *qalandarkhâna* (residence of Qalandars) along the pilgrimage routes. Surprisingly, Ahmet T. Karamustafa wrote that between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries the Qalandars and the other antinomian wandering dervishes didn't respect the pilgrimage ritual.[101] This assumption is based, according to Karamustafa, on the lack of reports by such dervishes about their travels to Mecca. However our documentation tells us that these dervishes were present on the *hâjj* routes and in a dominant position. Karamustafa may have deduced from the antinomian behaviour of these Qalandars that the pilgrimage ritual, as one of the five pillars of Islam, was rejected with the other obligations. I

100 Qurbân ʻAlî Khâlidî, *Tawârîkh-i khamsa-yi sharqî*, pp.629–630.

101 *God's Unruly Friends. Dervish Groups in the Islamic Middle Period 1200–1550* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), p.18.

think, on the contrary, that, spiritually speaking, as an inner journey and, physically, as an exceptional experience for Sufis who consider homeless wandering a sacred rule, the pilgrimage ritual might have fascinated the Qalandars. Second, we do know from Mujîr al-Dîn that a huge *qalandarkhâna* was set up in the Mamila cemetery in Jerusalem in fourteenth-fifteenth centuries by a certain Shaykh Ibrâhîm al-Qalandarî. Many dervishes, called *faqîr*, lived permanently at this convent which disapeared in the fifteenth century. Some of them were perhaps of Asian origin.[102] Qalandars continued nevertheless to roam the streets of Jerusalem as it is confirmed by Eugène Roger, a French missionary, in 1646, who met some of them.

> The Sectarians following the rule of Mahomet consider as saints all the fools, idiots, blind from birth, and all the people who live voluntarily in poverty and who travel permanently and completely naked, in order to show that they despise the world. All of this I have noticed during the time I spent with them in the Holy Land and where I saw people called Qalenders by the Turks, who are religiously going naked as babies coming out from their mother's wombs. One of them, who was more than sixty years old, wore a silver ring as big as his little finger as a weight under his genitals in order to let people know that he was living a chaste life.[103]

On the other hand, these Qalandars frequently described themselves as Naqshbandî or Yasawî Sufis, when coming from Central Asia, and were generally known as *faqîrs*. In fact, the mystic trend of Qalandariyya originated in Central Asia and India. However, there is sometimes some confusion while distinguishing between the sober and *sharî'a*-oriented Naqshbandiyya and the antinomian Qalandariyya, and in order to clarify this distinction, it is essential to

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102 Mujîr al-Dîn (fifteenth century), *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron*, pp.198–199.

103 "Les sectateurs de la Loy de Mahomet tiennent pour saincts tous les fols, idiots, aueugles naiz, et tous ceux qui de leur volonté propre viuent misérablement, et qui en tout temps vont tout nuds par mefpris du monde, ainfi que j'ay remarqué pendant le feiour que j'ay fait auec eux, en la Terre saincte, où j'ay veu en diuers temps des hommes que les Turcs appellent Calenders, qui font Religieux qui vont aussi nuds qu'vn enfant qui fort du ventre de la mere. Entre autres vn de ceux-cy, agé de plus de soixante-ans, auoit vn anneau de fer auffi gros que le petit doigt, qu' il auoit passé à trauers la peau de deffous le membre viril : ce qu'ils font afin de faire connoiftre qu'ils viuent en chafteté," Eugène Roger, *La Terre saincte ou description topographiqve très-particulière des saincts lieux et de la terre de promiffion* (Paris: chez Antoine Bertier, 1846), p.251.

recall some aspects of the history of these two orders.

It is likely that the confusion began when the Qalandariyya of Central Asia recognized Bahâ' al-Dîn Naqshband, the founder of the Naqshbandî Sufi order, as a one of their patron saints, since this order was considered the most prestigious one in the region. Subsequently, the Qalandars started representing themselves as Naqshbandî, but in this matter they were fiercely criticized by the genuine Naqshbandiyya. In fact, it is known that some Naqshbandî of the Kasaniyya branch (headed by Ahmad Kasanî Makhdûm-i Azam, d. 1542), which preceded the Mujaddidiyya and was more tolerant of antinomian Sufism than the Mujaddidiyya, did adopt certain Qalandarî practices, indirectly adding to the confusion. In the final analysis, we can say that although the Qalandariyya is generally depicted as an antinomian order, it had an intrinsic Qalandarî trend that was very respectful of the laws of Islam and opposed any antinomian activities.

There is another very interesting example of the close association between the Naqshbandiyya and Qalandariyya orders, although this instance did not give rise to any further confusion between them. In the seventeenth century, Shaykh 'Abd Allah-yi Nidâ'î (d. 1760–1761), a Naqshbandî-Qalandar from Kashgar, after wandering for forty-five years and having performed the *hâjj* three times, went to Istanbul and became the head of a well-known *qalandarkhâna* situated in the Eyüp district, which was also known as an Uzbek lodge. Later, because Nidâ'î refused to live as an unmarried dervish, a major Qalandarî principle and a requisite condition for directors of the lodge, he was obliged to give up his functions and leave the *qalandarkhâna*. After that, he became the first shaykh of a new Naqshbandî lodge, the Kaşgar Tekkesi, which also came to be known by his name, as Kaşgarî Abdullah Tekkesi.[104]

The major principles of the Qalandariyya included the practice of celibacy, begging, and wandering, and the *qalandarkhâna* was usually the place where the members of this order used to live together, constituting a particular religious community without its equivalent in Islam. In contrast, the lodges belonging to the other Sufi orders were generally used for hosting occasional or even regular meetings of Sufis, usually married, and only the shaykh and his family were

104 For more information on Nidâ'î and these two lodges, see T. Zarcone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," pp. 153–157, 164–165, and Hamid Algar, "From Kashghar to Eyüp: the Lineages and Legacy of Sheikh Abdullah Nidâî," in E. Özdalga, ed., *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia. Change and Continuity* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul/Curzon Press, 1999), pp. 1–15.

authorized to live there.[105] Shâh Haydar (d. 1700), a member of a Central Asian Qalandar and Naqshbandî community established at Awrangabad in the Deccan, after performing the *hâjj* and visiting Ethiopia, set up a *qalandarkhana* at Istanbul in the seventeenth century. The lodge came to be known under several names, such as Divân-i Özbek Tekke and even Shâh Haydar Tashkandî Tekke, after its founder. According to a Persian hagiographical source, this *tekke* housed forty dervishes, all unmarried, who begged for their food in the streets of Istanbul—a tradition that was still prevalent at the *qalandarkhâna* of Tashkent (Uzbekistan) in the early twentieth century.[106] Furthermore, the *tekke* of Shâh Haydar Tashkandî cultivated a strong tradition of hospitality and offered lodging to wandering dervishes.[107]

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, there were many *qalandarkhâna* of this kind in Central Asia and also in Eastern Turkistan. The Hungarian traveller Arminius Vambery described some of them in 1860, while the Russian ethnographer L. Troitskaja obtained a unique opportunity to talk with the ancient residents of the *qalandarkhâna* of Tashkent in 1945.[108] Regarding the *hâjj* routes, we find *qalandarkhâna* at Istanbul, Bursa, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo, all of which were dedicated to several communities, such as the Uzbek, Indian, and Afghan communities. For instance, one particular *qalandarkhâna* at Damascus in 1844 had a *waqfiyya* stipulating that only *hâjj* pilgrims, especially Indian travellers, would be housed and fed at this place.[109] Another striking example is that of Bursa, which had three *qalandarkhâna*—the first was the Bukhara Qalandarkhâna

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105 With the exception of Bektashî and Mawlawî dervishes, who were certainly influenced by the Qalandarîyya; see T. Zarcone, "*Pour* ou *contre* le monde. Une approche des sociabilités mystiques musulmanes dans l'Empire ottoman," in F. Georgeon, ed., *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman. Sociabilités et Relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp.21–29.

106 L. Troitskaja, "Iz proshlogo kalandarov i maddaxov v Uzbekistane," in *Domusulmanskie verovanija i obrjady ve Srednej Azii* (Moskva: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1975), p.194. For further information on the Qalandars in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, see Alexandre Papas, *Mystiques et vagabonds en Islam. Portraits de trois soufis qalandars* (Paris: Le Cerf, forthcoming).

107 T. Zarcone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," pp. 157–159; *Sufis and Soldiers in Awrangzeb's Deccan. Malfûzât-i Naqshbandiyya*, transl. from the Persian by Simon Digby (Oxford: University Press, 2001), pp.244–246.

108 Arminius Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia, being the Account of a Journey from Teheran across the Turkoman Desert in the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand* (New York: Harper and brothers, 1865), chapters 9 and 10; L. Troitskaja, "Iz proshlogo kalandarov i maddaxov v Uzbekistane," pp.191–223.

109 BVCE, 10813 (13 R 1260/1844).

(Buhara Kalenderhane), also known as the Gâr-ı Aşıkân Dergâhı, which welcomed Bukharian and Afghan wanderers; the second was the Zâviye-yi Özbekiye, also called the Bukhara Qalandarkhâna; and the third was the Hindî Kalenderhane.[110]

If we consider both the hospices bearing this name and the lodges that hosted Central Asian and Indian Qalandars, even when not explicitly called *qalandarkhâna*, we notice that the majority of them lost their Qalandarî identity over time and were absorbed into other Sufi orders, usually the Naqshbandiyya for Uzbeks and the Qâdiriyya for Indians and Afghans. Some of these institutions, however, never entirely relinquished their Qalandarî origin, and in such cases, they came to be known by two names, such as the Afghan Tekke of Istanbul, an Afghan *qalandarkhâna* affiliated to the Qâdiriyya, and the Indian lodge at Bursa, which was still considered a *qalandarkhâna* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another error frequently made by many travellers was to consider all the wandering pilgrims on the *hâjj* routes, mostly Indian and Central Asian, to be dervishes, in general, and Qalandars, in particular. John F. Keane (alias Hâjj Muhammad Amîn), stressed this point in 1887 when he observed that the wandering "darwaysh" (dervishes) "are not to be confounded with the professional beggar or pauper pilgrims." Keane, however, gives a very critical account of them:

> They [the darwayshes] are *bonâ fide* religious mendicants, passing their lives in prayer and devotion, subsisting entirely on charity, and having no home; to abuse or hit one of these would be a most unholy act. They dress in as remarkable and eccentric a manner as they can, and behave outrageously; most of them affecting madness. A Negro Darwaysh, with his amulets of talismans and relics, and festoons of knuckle-bones, stones, and rags, would fetch entire the value of his full weight in a marine store-shop. All of them carry a staff and a half-gourd which they thrust forward to high and low for alms, and he would be a bad Mohammedan who would refuse to give at least something, be it ever so small, to one of these when solicited. These with their companions in the list may be disposed of in two words—mangy mongrels.[111]

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110 Mehmed Şemsüddin, *Bursa Dergahları*, pp.447–448.

111 J.F. Keane, *Six Months in the Hijaz*, p.82. John Lewis Burckhardt also described these particular dervishes as madmen, or "at least assuming the appearance of insanity," *Travels in Arabia Comprehending an Account of Those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), vol.2, p.27.

There are, however, other foreign travellers and scholars who have emphasized the sincerity of the mystic behavior of these wandering dervishes. For instance, John P. Brown, an American diplomat and author of a well-known book on Sufism, wrote a very detailed and accurate description of the Central Asian and Indian qalandars at Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century:

> There are in Constantinople but few of the most austere of the original Orders; these are now only in Bokhara and some parts of Persia, and perhaps in Hindostan. The wandering derviches whom we frequently meet in the streets are not Ottomans, but come mostly from India and its vicinity. They are principally of the Kaderee [Qâdirî], the Nakshibendee [Naqshbandî], and the Kalenderee [Qalandarî] Orders. They wear the ordinary felt Kulah [*kulâh*], or cap of their Order, and are dressed in rags over which is thrown a lion or a leopard skin, called a postakee, which serves them both as a mantle and a praying carpet. In their hands, they bear an alms-cup, called a Keshgool [*kashgul*], for the reception of whatever offerings, voluntary or compulsory, may be given to them. Their ordinary salutation is 'Yahoo!' (O living Good!), and their thanks are generally scanty—at least in words. Besides this, they carry in their hands an iron instrument called Mueen [*mu'în*], a staff at one end, and a curved half circle at the other, on which to rest the forehead or shoulder, and often it contains a sharp pointed dagger for defence or offence. Though they are supposed to be on pious pilgrimages to the graves of the holy dead, or on probationary tours, they are but little respected by other Mussulmans generally, and often suffer from the cold charities of the world. They, nevertheless, sometimes prove, upon acquaintance, to be possessed of much wit and intelligence, and to have acquired during their wandering much true knowledge of mankind. Possessing nothing, and desiring little more than bread or the means of procuring it, they are well able to smile at the worldly ambitions of others, and to criticise its results. It is of these humble Fakeers, or Derviches, that so many anecdotes are given, and whose sarcastic replies furnish morals for so many tales. In place of claiming credit among their fellow mortals, they assume to possess an influence of a superior nature with the Creator, which, however, they are always more willing to exert (for a

> consideration) in favor of others, than for themselves. Indeed, self-neglect, and an abnegation of all personal interests, are their chief capital, and if report be correct, they are seldom averse to express this upon the attention of those whom they may chance to meet in places where assistance is not readily to be found. I have been informed by Mussulman friends that many of these religious enthusiasts do not belong to any of the Tariks, or paths of the Derviches, but are simply Fakeers, or 'poor,' who abandoning the 'temporal world,' devote themselves exclusively to a 'spiritual' one; and that they are not to be considered in any other light than that of ordinary mendicants.[112]

This text is especially significant in that it gives a very detailed description of the Qalandars. In more precise terms, Brown lists out the major symbolic and ritualistic artefacts of these mystics: the symbolic cap (*kulâh*), the lion or leopard skin, the alms-cup (*keşgül*), and the *mu'în*. Isabel Burton made the same observation at Damascus upon seeing dervishes, all Central Asian Qalandars without any doubt, waiting for the departure of the Syrian caravan:

> Dervishes go into knots, sing or recite for their benefit blessings on the Prophet or verses in praise of charity. Dishevelled hair and flowing matted beard fall over their shoulders and chest. [There is a] felt cap, or taj, on their head; leopard, deer, or gazelle skins hang about their shoulders; huge wooden beads hang down from their neck to girdle. [A dervish] carries either a real calabash, or *coco de mer* Kaj Kul, or a tin imitation of one. Women drop into it small coins or bits of bread. Dervishes wander about with tom-toms and fifes to collect alms.[113]

The same Qalandars are easily recognizable in another account by an Ottoman writer, in his description of the Sufis wandering in the streets of Istanbul in the first decade of the twentieth century. It comes as no surprise that the writer regards them as "Russian dervishes from the Naqshbandiyya order."

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112 This description comes from a presentation made by Brown at a Masonic conference (he was himself a high-ranking Freemason), which was published in a Masonic journal in England; John P. Brown, "The Mystical Principles of Islamism; or, a Lecture on the Derviches," *Freemasons Magazine and Masonic Mirror* (September 19 1863), p.217.

113 I. Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine and the Holy Land*, p.59.

> Are there not in our streets peoples with long cloaks and white turbans clamping to their pocket-knives and alms-cups who endeavour to win five or ten coins? Look! All are Russian dervishes from the Naqshbandiyya order. They came to the Ottoman Empire to win some money, and until their departure, they used to stay as guests in the respectful Sufi convent located at Sultan Tepe in Üsküdar [the Uzbek lodge], where they don't pay more than ten coins.[114]

Brown and Burton's description of the Qalandars fits in with the oldest descriptions of these dervishes in Turkish and Persian sources and also confirms the authenticity of the drawings and miniatures dedicated to them by Oriental and Western artists.[115] One such drawing is a representation of a Qalandar made around 1870, in which the Qalandar is depicted with the traditional conical hat (*kulâh*), stick, and alms-cup and is shown roaming through the famous Via Dolorosa at Jerusalem and passing the Ecce Homo vault, near the Uzbek lodge of the city (Figure 3).[116] The presence of Qalandars at Jerusalem during this very period is confirmed by a foreign observer who saw "a special sect of 'holy men' who wandered the streets and subsisted on alms."[117] Photographs of the Qalandars also exist, usually taken in Central Asia by Russians. However, thanks to C. Snouck Hurgronje, the author of *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, we have acquired a photograph that shows two wandering dervishes at Mecca at the end of the nineteenth century

114 "Sokaklarımızda çakı, bıçak bilerek, tabak çanak kenetlerek beş on para kazanmağa çalışan beyaz sarıkla, uzun hırkalılar yokmu? İşte bunların hepsi Rusyalı bir nakşi dervişleridir. Osmanlı memleketlerine gelirler, para kazanıp yerlerine öyle giderler ve gidinceye kadar—İstanbul'da bulunanlar—Üsküdar'da Sultan Tepesinde [Özbekler] Dergah-ı Şerifinde misafir kalıp on para masraf etmezler," *Muhibban* Year 2:1 (1911), p.110.

115 There are several pictures of Turkish, Persian, and Indian Qalandars in the catalogue of an exhibition at the Louvres Museum (with unfortunately weak commentaries), *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux en terre d'Islam. Paris, musée du Louvre 23 avril–23 juillet 2001* (Paris: Edition de la réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), pp.238–249. See also a seventeenth century miniature of an Indian wandering derwish (Indische Fakire) in the *Hof-Und Volksleben. Ein turkischens miniaturen Album aus dem 17. Jahrundert*, F. Taeschner, ed., (Hannover: Orient Buchhandlung Hanz Lafaire, 1925), plate 43.

116 Drawing (1870) by Harry Fenn, published in Colonel Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine* (New York: D. Appleton, 1881), Part 1, p.24.

117 Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century. The Old City*, p.131.

Figure 3 A Qalandar dervish in the Via Dolorosa at Jerusalem, 1870 (drawing by Harry Fenn, published in Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, Part 1, p. 24)

(Figure 4).[118] Although the legend under the picture describes them as "Bukhara dervishes," we can easily recognize the clothing and sacred objects of the Qalandars, as is described by Snouck Hurgronje:

> Notably from Central Asia, these beggars come here through the lands as dervishes, wrapped in motley rag-clothes, their head covered with the high

Figure 4 "Bukhara dervishes" (Qalandars) at Mecca, end of the nineteenth century (from C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, p.5)

118 C. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (1931. Reprint, Leiden: Brill, 1970), p.5.

> Tartar felt cap, in one hand the road stick and the wooden rattle with metal rings whose noise accompanies their monotonous litanies, in the other hand as a receptacle for alms, the beggar's wooden bowl, or the beggar's nut, generally a cocoa-nut.[119]

To this description, we must add the presence of a bundle of rather long brown strings, which was used as a girdle (*qamar* or *chiltan*). Moreover, the musical instrument described by Snouck Hurgronje as a wooden rattle is actually known in Eastern Turkistan as a *sipayä* (*sapayi*),[120] the instrument characteristic to the Qalandars from this region. Hence, I would like to suggest the possibility that the dervishes in Snouck Hurgronje's photograph might be originally from the region of Eastern Turkistan in Central Asia, instead of Bukhara and its vicinity.

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119 Id., pp.3–4.

120 "A percussion instrument consisting of two wooden rods to which are attached one or two iron hoops with iron rings threaded on them," Henry Schwarz, *An Uyghur–English Dictionary* (Washington: Washington University, 1992), p.453.

Chapter Three

THE CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN LODGES OF JERUSALEM

The Uzbek Lodge, al-Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya

The Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya of Jerusalem is situated on the famous Dolorosa Street, a few meters to the northwest of the Harâm entrance of Bab al-Ghawanima (Figures 5, 6, 7). It is flanked on the south by the Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya. The *zâwiyya* was established in the early seventeenth century by 'Uthmân Aghâ b. Abd al-Mu'in, also called 'Uthmân Sufî, a Sufi from Istanbul who erected a mosque and four cells for Sufi members.[121] From a *waqfiyya*, we know that these four Sufis belonged to the Naqshbandî order and that they were obliged to never be careless or beardless, nor to smoke or consume any alcoholic drink or drugs. It is also mentioned that "in the event that there are no Sufis of the Naqshbandiyya order in Jerusalem, the income of the *waqf* should be used to benefit four poor Sufis from the *arwam* (perhaps Rumi: in other words, they had to be Ottoman Turks) who possessed the same qualities. Moreover, if there are no Sufis from *al-arwam* in Jerusalem, then half of the *waqf* should go to four persons from the *affâq* (wandering) Sufi order, and if that too is impossible, the income should benefit four Sufis from any order."[122] It is evident that at this time, none of these Sufis were from Central Asia.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the *zâwiyya* was further extended and developed by Shaykh Muhammad Sâlih al-Uzbakî (d. 1731–32), who gave the lodge its Uzbek identity. Ever since then, it became known as the Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya. After the death of the Shaykh in 1731–32, the governor of

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121 According to F. de Jong, the name of the founder of the Zâwiyya is 'Uthmân al-Bukhârî (from a copy of a *waqfiyya* dated 10 *Muharram* 1133/1720, Mss Leiden F.Or. A. 681/2), Frederick De Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," *Studia Islamica* LVIII (1983), p. 167.

122 Yusuf Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Naqshbandiyya," in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, eds., *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City* 1517–1917 (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), pp. 905–906.

Figure 5 A general view of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya, with the Dome of the Rock in the background (© Zarcone 2006)

Jerusalem, Aghâ Parwâna-zâda (d. 1751), commissioned a dome to be built over his tomb. Muhammad Sâlih al-Uzbakî was succeeded by his son Shaykh Hasan.[123] Later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the lodge suffered much damage, and a major restoration was carried out in the first half of the twentieth century, with the help of the Ottoman state. Thereafter, the place was known as the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya.[124] Another restoration supported by the sultan ʻAbdülhamîd II was undertaken from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth.[125] One century later, in 1983, an important alteration was carried out, in which four chambers meant for Sufi residents and some other rooms—with the exception of the dome over the tomb of Muhammad Sâlih and the mosque—

123 ʻÂrif al-ʻÂrif, *Al-Mufassal fî târîkh al-Quds* (Quds [Jerusalem]: al-Nâshr Fawzî Yûsuf, Matbaʻat al-Quds), 1999, vol. 1, p. 499; Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Naqshbandiyya."

124 BVCE 19418 (1258/1842).

125 From an inscription bearing the tughra of the sultan (the date is erased); see Mehmet Tütüncü, *Turkish Jerusalem (1516–1917). Ottoman inscriptions from Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities* (Haarlem: Türkestan and Azerbaijan Research Centre, 2006), p. 143.

Figure 6 The entrance of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya in Via Dolorosa (© Zarcone 2006)

were pulled down. According to Yusuf Natsheh, "we have lost forever one of the original (and unsurveyed) parts of the *zâviyya*."[126] It is unnecessary for me to dwell any further on the history of the building, since we have at our disposal an excellent article on its architecture written by Yusuf Natsheh and a survey of its Ottoman inscriptions by Mehmet Tütüncü.[127] We have unfortunately no pictures about the lodge before 1983 but thanks to Bahâ' al-Dîn Bukhârî (b. 1944), an artist, a famous caricaturist and a descendant of one of the last shaykhs of the lodge[128] (see below), we have an extraordinary painting of the convent. Bahâ' al-Dîn Bukhârî was born and grew in the zâwiyya before going to Syria with his father, and then to Tunisia with Yasser Arafat in 1982. He produced the painting of the zâwiyya during this voluntary exile in Northern Africa (Figures 8, 9).

126 Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Naqshbandiyya," p. 904.

127 Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Naqshbandiyya," pp. 904–911; M. Tütüncü, *Turkish Jerusalem (1516–1917)*, pp. 142–150.

128 Bahâ' was the son of Rashîd (d. 1989 in Syria), himself the elder son of Ya'qûb Bukhârî; oral communication from Bahâ' al-Dîn Bukhârî, Ramalla, February 2009.

Figure 7 View of the Ecce Homo Arch in Via Dolorosa in 1857; the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya is on the left (PABB).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century until now, shaykhs of Bukhârî extraction held the directorship of the lodge. The first among them was most probably Muhammad al-Bukhârî (d. circa 1810), a merchant of the Waqiya Khân, who was succeeded by a certain Shaykh Hasan.[129] The German traveler Ulrich Jasper Seetzen visited the lodge in mid-nineteenth century. He wrote that the place, called "el-Tekkije," was located in the vicinity of the Harâm al-Sharîf and was reputed to host Indian dervishes and pilgrims from remote countries. When Seetzen saw the lodge some months or years before 1854, the date of publication of his book, the place was inhabited and only one imposing building with marble

[129] BVCE 19418 (1258/1842) and 25420 (Z 1225/1810).

Figure 8 A recent picture of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya painted by Bahâ' al-Dîn al-Bukhârî in 1993 (PABB).

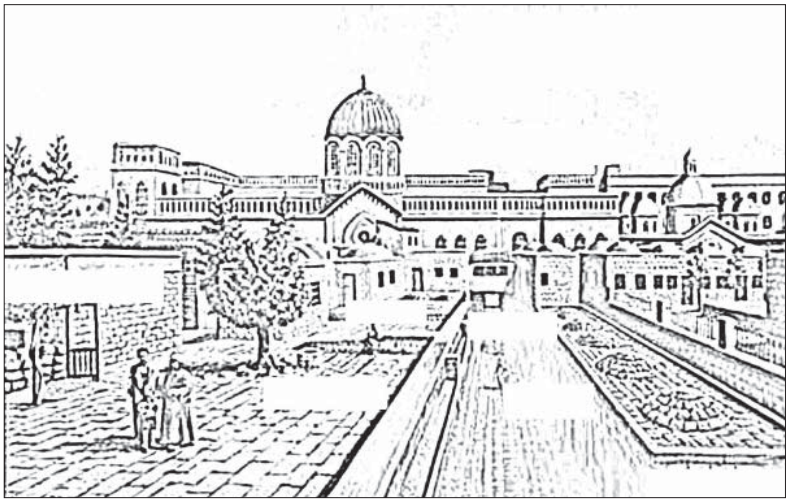

Figure 9 The painting of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya with some comments.

Figure 10 Photograph of Shaykh Rashîd al-Bukhârî, d. 1919 (PAZU)

walls was in good condition, the rest of the convent being ruined.[130] However, according to the the British Consul James Finn, the lodge was directed by a Central Asian shaykh between 1853 and 1856. It is an indication that the place remained inhabited for a short time only.

Finn noted that two houses were allotted to Indian and Tartar pilgrims in the proximity of the Harâm al-Sharîf, and that these houses were 'endowed houses' or 'convents' for the reception of Moslem pilgrims coming from the remote East." In these convents, added Finn, the pilgrims have "free lodging and some allowance of food." The consul wrote also that the Tartar convent was named "Usbekîyeh" and inhabited by "Usbeg Tartars," and that its shaykh was of Bukharan extraction and fluent in Persian:

> Into the latter, the Usbekîyeh (house for Usbeg Tartars), I once accompanied a party of English travellers, being driven in to shelter from a furious rainstorm.

130 Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1854), vol. 2, p. 36.

> One of the English company was on his return from a high government office in Burmah, and he fell into conversation with the president of the place, in Persian. This shaykh was from Bokhâra.[131]

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth, the lodge was under the direction of Rashîd al-Bukhârî (d. 1919), a political exile from Turkestan about whom we have little information (Figure 10).[132] He is the first of a Sufi family who has directed the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya up to the present day. According to his descendants, Rashîd was, in addition to his activity as shaykh of the *zâwiyya*, responsible for the mosques of Palestine (?). He authorized a manuscript, still preserved in the library of the *zâwiyya*, which contains a selection of poems by the famous Central Asian Sufi writers, Ahmad Yasawî, ʻAlî Shîr Nawâ'î, Mashrab, and so on, and a report (*hâjjnâme*) of his pilgrimage to Mekka and Medina illustrated with color paintings (Figure 11). There exists a drawing of an "opening" ceremony, performed probably after the restoration of the *zâwiyya* at the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth. According to Shaykh ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz, Shaykh Rashîd—who was then the head of the *zâwiyya*—can be seen in this drawing accompanied by an Ottoman delegation, all of whom are standing on the roof of the *zâwiyya*. In the background of the drawing, we can see the church of the convent of Notre Dame de Sion in Via Dolorosa (Figure 12).[133] Shaykh Rashîd was murdered by Afghans in the Great Mosque of Jaffa in 1919 during a dispute with the *zâwiyya* al-Afghân over the right to control a plot of land adjoining both the *zâwiyyas*. Later, this plot was ceded to the Afghans by Rashîd's son, Shaykh Yaʻqûb.[134] The explanation of the frequent

131 J. Finn, *Stirring Times*, vol. 1, p. 457. Let us remark parenthetically that the lodge is also named "Uzbekîye" in the C. W. Wilson's map of Jerusalem in 1864, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem 1864/5 - Map 1/2500* (Southampton, 1866).

132 Oral communication from Shaykh ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz, the present head of the lodge (Jerusalem, March 2002 and February 2009). On this event, see also F. De Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," pp. 167–168.

133 The script of the restoration inscription fixed to the front façade of the *zâwiyya*, along with the arms (*tughra*) of the sultan, is badly eroded and its date is illegible. The drawing of the opening ceremony was first published (unfortunately without any references) by the editor of the *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* in the article by Mustafa Kara, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kadar Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar" (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), vol. 31–32, p. 983.

134 According to F. de Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," p. 170.

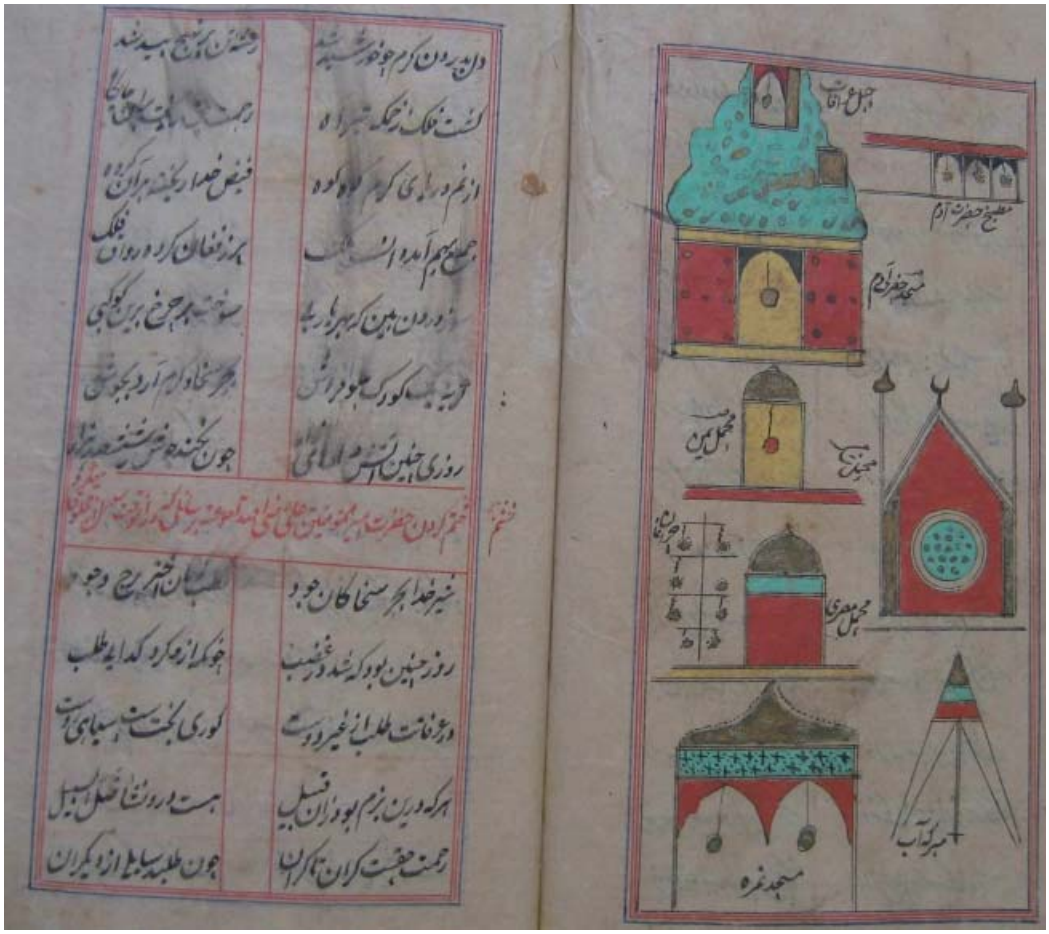

Figure 11 Shaykh Rashîd al-Bukhârî's manuscript (PAZU)

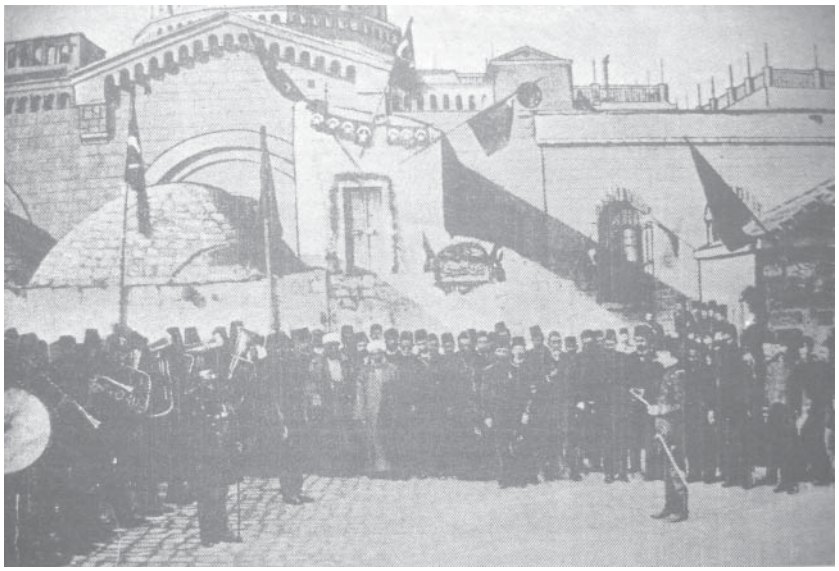

Figure 12 A drawing of a ceremony at the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya, showing Shaykh Rashîd al-Bukhârî, from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century (in Mustafa Kara, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kadar Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar," p.983, and PAZU)

visits of Rashîd to Jaffa was the presence of Central Asians in this city. Rashîd acquired properties there and also built a *zâwiyya* for the gatherings of his disciples. This annex of the main *zâwiyya* at Jerusalem was active up until 1967 when the family lost the support of the *waqf* and was forced to sell it.[135]

Besides, the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya was popularly known in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially by foreign travellers, as an "Uzbek and Afghan hospice" for pilgrims (Figure 13),[136] and in one case, as a "khan or convent for Moslems from India and Tartary."[137] Bliss wrongly reports that the lodge was "controlled by Hindus residents in the holy city."[138] The *zâwiyya* was marked on several maps under the above-mentioned names.

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135 Oral communication from Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz, February 2009.

136 From a map dating from the end of nineteenth to the early twentieth century, in Adar Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," *Middle Eastern Studies* 28:1 (January 1992), pp.20, 46.

137 J. T. Barclay, *The City of the Great King or Jerusalem as it is, and as it is to be* (Philadelphia: James Challen, 1858), p. 452 and the map on p.430.

138 F. J. Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, p.255. This error is reproduced by Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century. The Old City*, p.163.

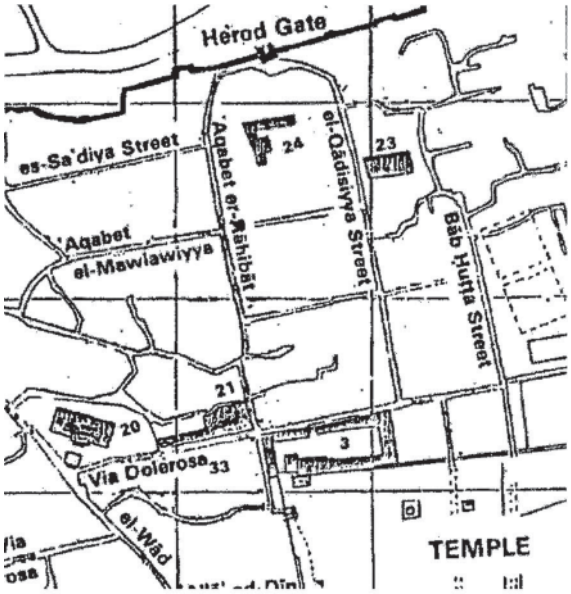


Figure 13 The "Uzbek and Afghan hospice" (Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya) and the "Indian Hospice" (Zâwiyya al-Hunûd) as shown in a map of Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century (in A. Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," p.20)

Rashîd al-Bukhârî was succeeded by his son Shaykh Ya'qûb Rashîd al-Bukhârî (1878–1956).[139] Trained as an alim in a madrasa at Jerusalem, Ya'qûb went from there to Istanbul where he entered the Ottoman army (Figures 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). After his return to Jerusalem, in addition to his activities as shaykh of the

[139] There is a *fatwâ* dated 1333/1918–1919 (preserved in PAZU) from the Awqâf administration at Istanbul that confirms that Ya'qûb was to succeed his father as the director of the *zâwiyya*'s *waqf*.

Figure 14 Photograph of Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-Bukhârî dressed as an officer of the Ottoman army (PAZU)

Figure 15 Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-Bukhârî with his nephews (PAZU)

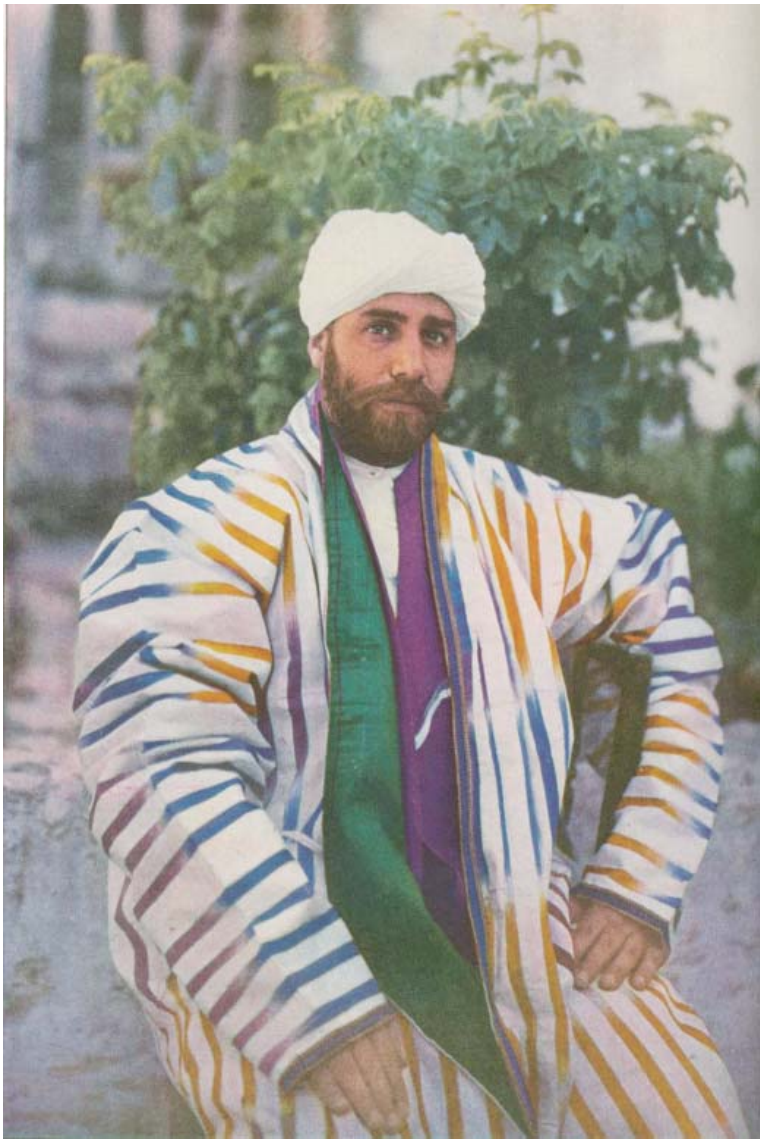


Figure 16 Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-Bukhârî in 1927 (PAZU)

Figure 17 Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-Bukhârî, dressed in the traditional Uzbek long robe (chopon), with his family (PAZU)

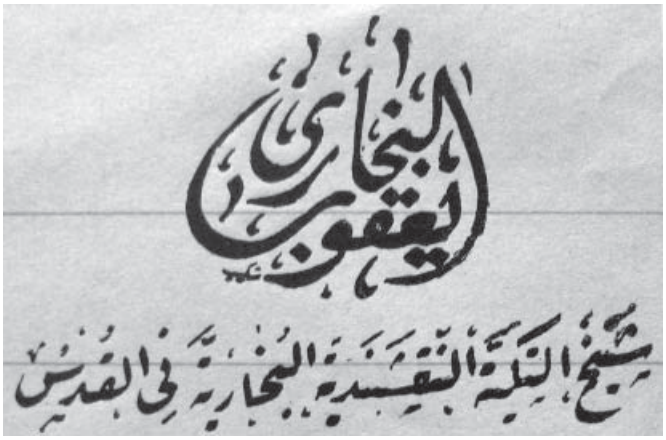
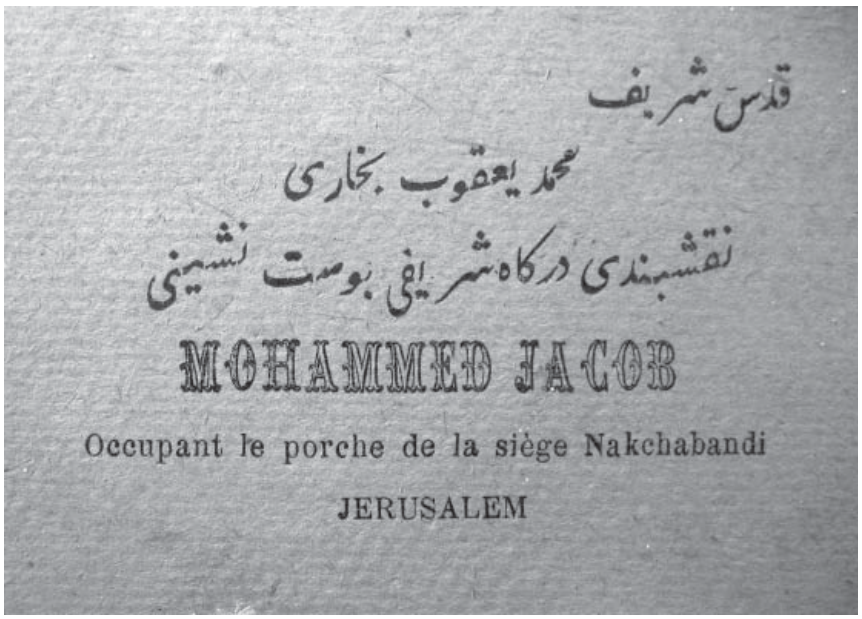


Figure 18 Letterhead with the insignia of Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-Bukhârî (PAZU)



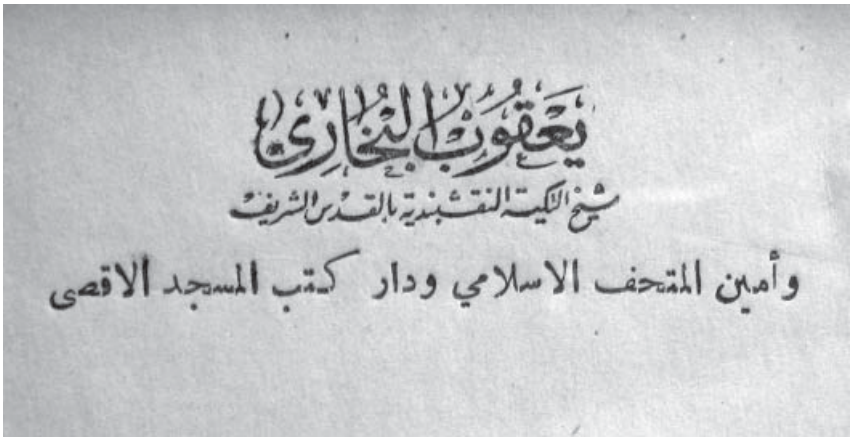


Figure 19 and 20 Cards of Shaykh Muhammad Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî. One, in Turkish and French, indicates his Sufi activities: "Nakşibendi dergâh-i şerifi postnişini" and "occupant le porche de la siège Nakchabandi." The other, in Arabic, indicates that he is the head of the Islamic Museum and of the library of the mosque al-Aqsa (PAZU)

zâwiyya, Ya'qûb was appointed to the Waqf administration and became the head of the Islamic Museum and of the library of al-Aqsa mosque (*amîn al-muthaf al-islâmî wa Dâr kutub al-masjid al-Aqsa*) (Figure 21). As a cleric and a notable, Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî was close to the *muftî* of Jerusalem, Amîn al-Husaynî, the most popular political leader of the Arabs of Palestine, and the shaykh attended all the major religious and even political meetings organised in the city and in Jaffa.[140] He was also one of the founders of the Movement named the Muslim Brotherhood

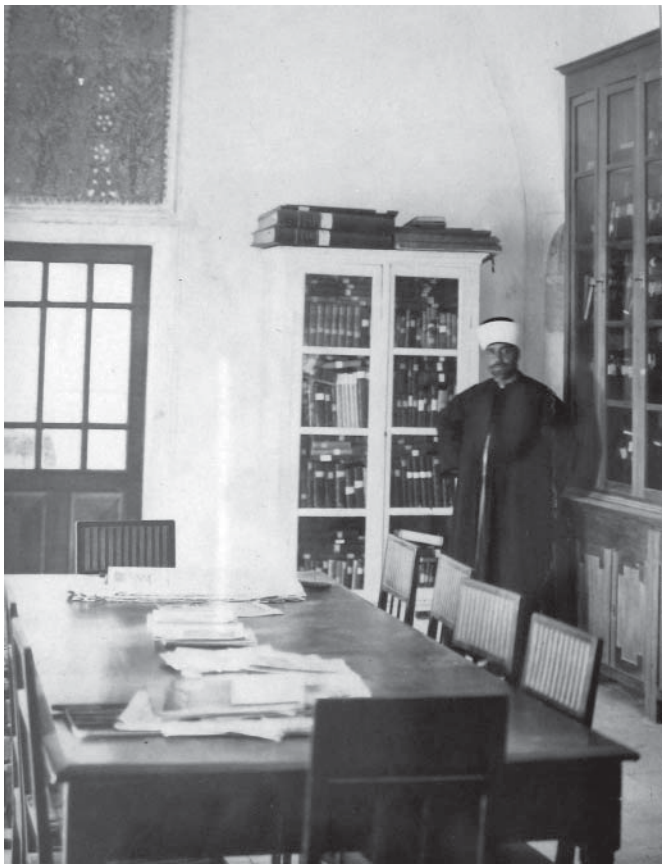


Figure 21 Shaykh Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî in the library of the al-Aqsa mosque (PAZU)

140 On this *muftî* see: Philip Mattar, "The Role of the mufti of Jerusalem on the Political Struggle over the Western Wall, 1928–29," *Middle Eastern Studies* 19:1 (January 1983): pp. 104–118.

Figure 22 Shaykh Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî with a delegation of Indian Muslims (PAZU)

in Palestine (*Harakat al-Ikhwân al-Muslimîn*).[141] There are photographs in the archives of the *zâwiyya* of Ya'qûb participating at a meeting in Jaffa in 1928 and at the 1931 Islamic Jerusalem Congress, and also in a meeting with Indians Muslims (Figure 22). Ya'qûb was also together with the *muftî* one of the organizers of the Nabî Mûsâ festival (see below).

We got some information about the ritual and devotional activities of the *zâwiyya*. The main ceremonies performed at the *zâwiyya* and also in its annex in Jaffa were the sacred feast and the rememberance of God (*dhikr*). The sacred feast is a tradition celebrated in many Uzbek lodges in the Ottoman Empire, such as for example at the Sultantepe tekke Istanbul in.[142] At the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya, the pilgrims and guests were offered a special Uzbek meal, especially the well-known Uzbek rice dish (*pilaw*), containing meat, carrots and grapes, which was cooked

141 Mûsâ al-Shahâbî, "al-Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya al-Uzbakiyya al-Bukhâriyya fî'l-Quds," *al-Quds*, 22 September 1998, p.28, and Oral communication from Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz, February 2009.

142 Doktor Iltûr, "Istânbûl'dâkî Tûrkistânlîlârning bir Jami'asî," *Yâsh Tûrkistân* 43 (1933), p. 22; Grace Martin Smith, "The Özbek Tekkes of Istanbul," *Der Islam* 57 (1980), p.134.

Figure 23 Shaykh Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî with a group of pilgrims from Central Asia (circa 1943, PAZU)

exclusively by men. Then, the ritual of *dhikr* was performed in the mosque of the *zâwiyya* (Shaykh Ya'qûb used the term *khalqatu'l-dhikr* - "circle of the *dhikr*"). From Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz and thanks to an interview with Shaykh Ya'qûb published in a newspaper,[143] we know in detail how Shaykh Ya'qûb and Shaykh Mûsâ directed the *dhikr*. During this ceremony, the task of 'Abd al-'Azîz, son of Mûsâ, was to place a small lamp (*dû' al-masbâh*) in one corner of the prayer hall of the mosque, and then to give to all the participants thirteen little stones (or twenty-one if there were a few participants). These stones, placed near each of the participants who were sitting on the floor, were moved from one point to another in order to mark and to count the change of the *dhikr* formulae (*Allâh, Subhânallâh, astaghfitu'llâh, lâ ilâha illâ-Llâh* …, etc.). Shaykh Ya'qûb pointed to the fact that the light of the lamp should be dim and that the Naqshbandî *dhikr* is different from the *dhikr* practised in the other Sufi fraternities. He said that the *dhikr* formulae

143 From a newspaper clipping preserved in the archives of the *zâwiyya*; this document is undated but appears to have been published after 1961 since the book of 'Arif al-'Arif on the history of Jerusalem (1961) is quoted. The author of this article is Mahmûd al-Qattâl and the newspaper is *Filistin*.

Figure 24 Skandar, a darwish from Central Asia, who lived permanently in the zâwiyya, serving Shaykh Ya'qûb, with the nephews of the shaykh (PAZU)

were actually pronounced with such a low voice that it was almost impossible to hear them (*lâ yakâd yakun masmû'â*). It is surprising that Shaykh Ya'qûb didn' t say explicitly that the *dhikr* in the Naqshbandiyya was silent and that he did not used the term "*khafî*," silent, to qualify this exercise.

The *zâwiyya* declined definitively in the second decade of the twentieth century, for two main reasons that were related to the break in the flow of Central Asian pilgrims that resulted from the closing of the Soviet border. The first one was a consequence of the policy regarding the *waqf* since the British mandate and the

Figure 25 Shaykh Mûsâ and his family (PAZU)

West Bank's annexation to Jordan, and particularly after the Six-Day War and the imposition of Israeli law in East Jerusalem, which drastically reduced the economy of the *zâwiyya.* It became less and less able to supply daily food to the pilgrims and a sacred feast was organised only once a week. The tradition of the ritual feast and *dhikr* was maintained after the death of Shaykh Ya'qûb, when his son, Shaykh Mûsâ, directed the *zâwiyya*, and ceased after 1973, when the later died. The second reason for the decline of the zâwiyya was the effect of the Six Day War which caused many of the "dervishes" staying permanently at the *zâwiyya* and a great number of the Central Asians to leave Palestine. Most of them chose to establish themselves in Jordan (Figures 23, 24).

Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî was succeeded by his son Shaykh Mûsâ (1919–1973) (Figure 25). From this time the *zâwiyya* was known as either "Takiyya al-Naqshbandiyya" or "Takiyya al-Naqshbandiyya al-Bukhâriyya," as it is still called nowadays. Trained as an alim in a madrasa in Jerusalem, Shaykh Mûsâ went then to Egypt in 1935 and studied at al-Azhar mosque. Once in Jerusalem in 1939, he taught Arabic and Muslim ethics in a madrasa and then worked as a *qadi* in the Shari'a Court in

Ramalla, Bethlehem, and Jericho.[144]

After the death of Shaykh Mûsâ in 1973, there was a break in the direction of the *zâwiyya* since his son, ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz, was living in the USA from 1970 to 1990. He is now the shaykh of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya and lives there with his family (Figure 26). Nowadays, few *dhikr* assemblies are organized at the lodge, which functions mostly as a mosque under the name of "Jâmi' al-Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya." However, in 2000, Shaykh ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz published a booklet (of 6 pages) on the Naqshbandi *dhikr* and the "Khwâjagân litany" (litany for the worshipful great masters), a famous prayer in the Naqshbandiyya that proceeds as follows: "*Hadha al-kitâb yahtawî ʻala adhkâr tarîqa al-Naqshbandiyya al-ʻilmiyya*" (n.d.). In 2003, with the help of a local scholar, the shaykh also published a catalog of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the library of the *zâwiyya* (179 titles).[145] However there are many other uncataloged manuscripts, both in Persian and in Turkish, and numerous books.

ʻUthmân Aghâ b. ʻAbd al-Mu'in (seventeenth century)
(…)
Muhammad Sâlih al-Uzbakî (d. 1731–32)
Hasan, son of the abovementioned shaykh
(...)
Muhammad al-Bukhârî (d. circa 1810)
Hasan
(…)
Rashîd al-Bukhârî (d. 1919)
Yaʻqûb Rashîd al-Bukhârî (1878–1956)
Mûsâ Yaʻqûb al-Bukhârî[146] (1919–1973)
ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz al-Bukhârî

144 Shahâbî, "al-Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya al-Uzbakiyya al-Bukhâriyya fî'l-Quds," p. 28, and Oral communication from Shaykh ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz, February 2009.

145 Bashîr ʻAbd al Ghanî Barakât, *Fihris makhtûtât al-Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya fi'l-Quds*.

146 Rashîd, the elder son of Yaʻqûb, didn't succeed his father because he was living in Syria for professional reasons and was unable to take care of the *zâwiyya*; Shahâbî, "al-Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya al-Uzbakiyya al-Bukhâriyya fî'l-Quds," p. 28.

Figure 26 Photograph of Shaykh ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz, present head of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya (PAZU)

The Register of Dervishes

Regarding the origin of the pilgrim population residing in the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya at the beginning of the twentieth century, we have two extremely useful sources at our disposal. The first one is a register (*daftar*) with several details about thousands of pilgrims (Figures 27, 28), all being dervishes and Naqshbandî, who had stayed in the *zâwiyya* between 1911 and 1959—that is, during the directorship of Shaykh Rashîd and Shaykh Ya'qûb. The second source of information is the Visitor's Book maintained at the lodge for the years 1909–1933.[147]

From the title of the above-mentioned register or *daftar*, it is obvious that only the details of the members of Sufi orders, and particularly the Naqshbandiyya order, were recorded: "*Daftar sijill al-darawish aladhina dakhalu fi'l-Takiyat al-Naqshbandiyya bi-l-Quds*" (register of dervishes who have entered the Naqshbandî lodge in Jerusalem).[148] Such a register is not an entirely unique concept, since the archives of an Uzbek Tekke in Istanbul contain a similar document or register maintained for the years 1905–1906 to 1922–1923;[149] however, the latter register lists the names of all the pilgrims who were hosted at the *tekke* and not exclusively the Sufi shaykhs, as is the case of the Uzbek lodge in Jerusalem. However, the signification attached to the word "darwish" by Shaykh Ya'qûb is ambiguous. Actually, in an interview, the shaykh said that all the pilgrims who stayed in the *zâwiyya* may be depicted as "darwishes."[150] This should be the explanation for the presence of a register with only Naqshbandî Sufis as residents. Obviously, it is highly unlikely that all this residents were genuine Naqshbandîs. Let us remark parenthetically for example that there were children aged 4 or 10 who wewe presented as "Naqshbandî."

The Register of Dervishes of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya provides several informative details regarding its Sufi visitors. The years covered by the register extend from 1911 to 1959. The most significant concentration of pilgrims can be seen between the following periods: 1911 to 1915 (773 visitors), 1924 to 1927 (405

147 Both these documents are preserved in the archives of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya (PAZU).

148 Two volumes: vol. 1: from 1330/1911–1912 to 1356/1937-1938; vol. 2 from 1342/1923–24 to 1959.

149 This register was briefly analyzed by G. M. Smith, "The Özbek Tekkes of Istanbul," pp. 131–132.

150 Shahâbî, "al-Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya al-Uzbakiyya al-Bukhâriyya fî'l-Quds," p. 28.

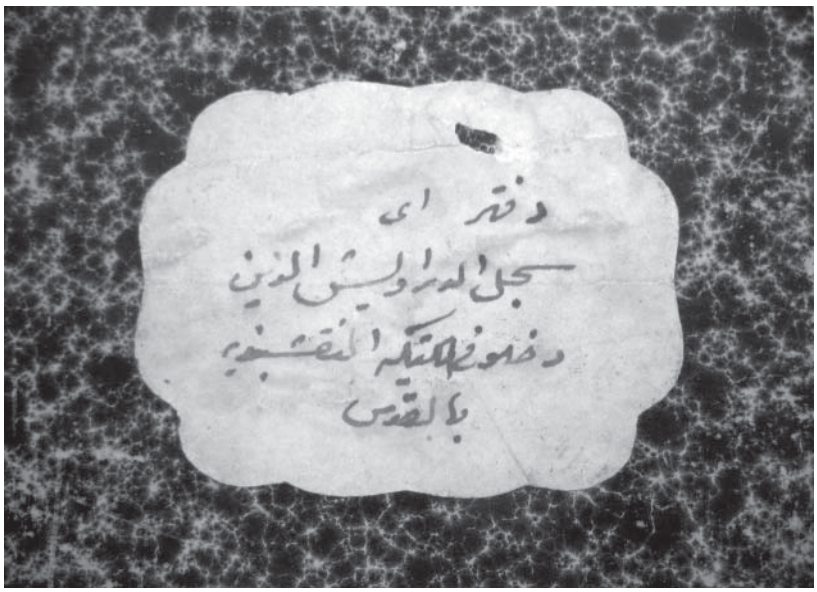


Figure 27 Cover page of the "Daftar sijill al-darawish aladhina dakhalu fi'l-Takiyat al-Naqshbandiyya bi-l-Quds," the Register of Dervishes who have entered the Naqshbandî lodge in Jerusalem (PAZU)

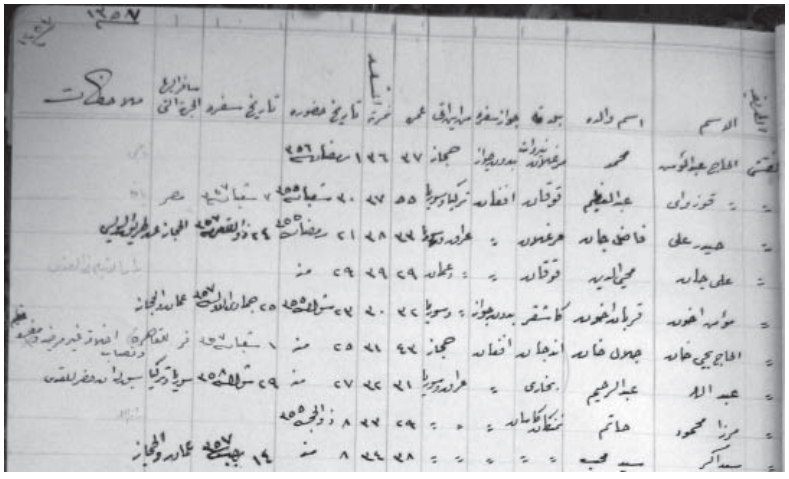


Figure 28 A page from the Register of Dervishes (PAZU)

visitors), 1933 to 1934 (102 visitors), and 1935 to 1938 (448 visitors). Conversely, there were only 224 visitors between 1915 and 1923, and very few in 1918 (7 visitors) due to the First World War. The average of the numbers of visitors for the period from 1911 to 1938 was 86 visitors per year. Then, the number of visitors fell drastically after 1939 (average of 50 per year) and particularly after 1947 (average of 17 per year).[151]

The register lists the names of the Naqshbandî pilgrims, their fathers' names, place of origin, type of passport, date of arrival at the *zâwiyya* and that of departure, the places from where they had come, and their next destination. There is also a section to record whether or not the pilgrims on the register belonged to the Naqshbandiyya order. Moreover, the register records some complementary information pertaining to the family of the pilgrim, his nickname (*laqab*), if the pilgrim was travelling with his wife and sons, and in the case of those who died on the *hâjj* route or during their stay at the *zâwiyya*, the date of their death, etc. Based on the titles that follow or precede some names, we can perceive that these pilgrims had assumed religious (*qarî, hafiz, mullâ, damullâ, 'ulamâ*) or Sufi (*îshân, shaykh, khwâja, khalîfa*) responsibilities. In addition, eight pilgrims listed in the register were offered the position of "doorkeeper" of the *zâwiyya* (*bawwâb al-Takya*).[152]

Almost all the Naqshbandî dervishes mentioned in this register were from Central Asia, particularly from Transoxiana and Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang). A great majority of them came from the Ferghana Valley in Central Asia and from the cities of Andijan, Marghilan, Kokand (Quqan/Khuqand), Namangan, and Ush. The other Ferghanian pilgrims came from Namangan and Osh. There are numerous pilgrims from Bukhara, Samarqand, Tashkent, Khojand, Shahrkhanliq, while a few are from Katta Qurghan, Kulab, Khiwa, Urganch, Ashqabad and Turkistan. Moreover, a great number of natives of Eastern Turkestan (from the cities of Kashgar, Khotan, Yarkand, Qushar, Aqsu, and Yangi Hisar) are listed in the register. In some cases, the names of the cities in the register are followed by another name indicating the precise location, usually the village in the vicinity of the city, from where the pilgrims actually originated. Thus, the mention of the

151 See the complete list of the visitors of the *zâwiyya* for the years 1911–1915, 1924–1928 and 1938–1959 in the appendix.

152 The Marghilani Muhammad 'Uthmân b. Muhammad Sayyid in 1939–40, the Quqandi Tûrdî 'Alî b. Muhammad Mu'min in 1941, the Andijani Qul Muhammad b. Hâjjî Akîn Bardî in 1944, the Khutani 'Abd al-Rahman b. Anwâr in 1948, and the Afghan Iskandar b. 'Uthmân in 1953 (see Appendix).

word "Bukhara" need not necessarily mean that the pilgrim came from the city of Bukhara; it could generally refer to some place situated in Transoxiana. In the register, however, Bukhara is associated with the following cities: Ghijdiwan, Qaratekin, Qarshi, Darwaz, and Balkh. The same is true of some of the other major cities mentioned in the register: Andijan (Khaqan, Bazar Qurghan, Mullaq Bashi); Marghilan (Alti Ariq, Baytun, Shaban, Quwa); Kokand (Isfara, Kasim Badan, Baytun, Bash Ariq, Kahankas, Qishlaq, Gurash Ariq, Bakwar); Namangan (Tush, Kasan, Nuslik), Ush (Arawan, Tarban, Nurkat); Khutan (Qaraqash); and Khiwa (Chibay?, Shajay, Shaban). Nowadays, the members of the contemporary Uzbek community in the Hijaz generally qualify themselves as Turkistani, Bukhari, Uzbek, Quqandi, or Marghilani; this is a confirmation that the great majority of Central Asian pilgrims and thereafter even refugees came from the Bukhara area and the Ferghana Valley, as reflected in the register.[153] This situation persisted until the end of the nineteenth century, according to the Russian consulate at Jidda, who reported that the Ferghanian contingent was the most numerous (Andijan, Marghilan, Quqand, Namangan), followed by the Bukharan contingent.[154]

The report on the Meccan pilgrimage for the years 1909, 1926, 1929, and 1930, published by the Conseil sanitaire maritime et quarantenaire d'Egypte, provides a considerable amount of detailed information on the origins of the pilgrims who reached the Hijaz by ship at Jidda.[155] In 1909, the Bukhari pilgrim community was among the most numerous communities on the pilgrimage route, after the Indian, Javanese, Russian, Egyptian, Malay, Sudanese, Syrian, and Anatolian communities. In 1929, very few Bukhari performed the *hâjj* in comparison with the Afghans. However, in 1930, this number increased significantly, and the Bukhari who came to the Hijaz in this year were sixth-highest in number after the Javanese, Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Yemenite, and Takrouri pilgrims. These changes reflect the political situation in Russian and Central Asia in the years between 1918 and 1928, when many Muslims fled from the Bolshevik Revolution, the de-Islamization of the country, and the famine (the Soviet border was closed in 1920) — an event which is observable in the register of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya. Many Central

153 Bayram Balcı, "La communauté ouzbèke d'Arabie Saoudite: entre assimilation et renouveau identitaire," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 19:3 (2003).

154 V. I. Jarovoj-Ravskij, "Palomnichestvo (hazh) ve Mekku i Medinu," p.136.

155 Docteur Duguet, *Le Pèlerinage de La Mecque au point de vue religieux, social et sanitaire* (Paris: Rieder, 1933), pp.25–27, 253.

Asians (3,000 individuals) followed the Amir of Bukhara who established himself in Afghanistan in 1920, and many others went to Chinese Turkestan or Xinjiang (in 1927, there were 10,000 refugees from Ferghana in Xinjiang).[156] In 1929, it has been said that few Bukhari reached Jidda—an event that is confirmed by the corresponding lack of any Bukhari pilgrim in the Naqshbandî register's entries. It is also worth noting that the Ferghana Valley had experienced a dramatic exodus during the Basmachis uprising and that many individuals and families sold their houses and lands and went for the *hâjj* with the intention of establishing themselves in the Hijaz, never to return home.[157]

A few of the Naqshbandî mentioned in the register came from other parts of the Turkic world: three were from Afghanistan, i.e., one each from Herat, Mazar-i Sharif in Afghan Turkestan, and the Balouchistan province. There are also entries of two Tatars from Kazan and three Turks from Istanbul and Konya in Anatolia. Surprisingly, we find some names of Naqshbandî pilgrims native to Central Asia but living in the Middle East or in the Hijaz; at Taif, Jidda, or even in Iraq; and also in India. For example, Ismâ'îl Ibrâhîm Turkistânî, who resided in Jidda under a Saudi passport, visited the *zâwiyya* in 1957, and Akbar Makhdûm, son of Damullâ 'Abîd, who lived in Taif under a Saudi passport, went to the *zâwiyya* in 1958. Elsewhere in the register, there are entries confirming the many other Central Asians settled at Taif. As an aside, let me mention that according to Frederick de Jong, the Naqshbandî shaykhs of Mecca, Medina, and Jidda at this time were of Bukharian origin.[158]

There are striking oddities about the passports (or travel documents) of these Naqshbandî pilgrims, as reported in the register. For example, after 1924, the majority of those coming from the Ferghana Valley and the rest of the Russian

156 Daniel Balland, "La Diaspora des Turcs de Basse Asie centrale soviétique au XXe siècle," *Bulletin de la section de géographie* 82 (1978), pp. 28–33; Soshana Keller, *To Moscow, not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CN – London: Praeger Publishers, 2001), pp. 204–205; Marco Buttino, *La Rivoluzione capovolta. L'Asia centrale tra il crollo dell'impero zarista e la formazione dell'URSS* (Napoli: l'Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2003), pp. 417–419; S. A. Hayitov, N. S. Sobirov, and A. S. Legay, *Khorijdagi Özbeklar*, pp. 7–10.

157 Seyfettin Erşahin, *Türkistan'da İslam ve Müslümanlar* (Ankara: İlahiyat Vakfı Yay., 1999), pp. 277–278.

158 Frederick de Jong, "Les Confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe," in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, eds., *Les Ordres mystiques dans l'islam. Cheminements et Situation actuelle* (Paris: EHESS, 1985), p. 233.

Central Asia (Bukhara, Samarkand) carried Afghan passports, while only a few had Russian (*urûthî/urûsî/rûs*) passports. Before 1924, their passports were depicted as *rûs*, *bukhârî*, or *amir* (Bukharan Emirate ?) or *uthmânî* (given by Ottoman Turkey), and we find also the ethonym "Uzbak." In another case, the Naqshbandî pilgrims coming from Eastern Turkestan had Chinese (*chinî/sinî*) passports. One of them from Khotan carried an *inglîzî* (English) passport. There were other pilgrims with Turkish (*turkî*), Saoudi (*su'ûdî*), and Irakian (*irâqî*) passports, and in rare cases, some pilgrims carried Pakistani (*bakistânî*) or Palestinian (*filistinî*) (?) passports. Let us remark that the first *turkî* passport (linked to the new Turkish Republic set up in 1923) appeared in 1925 and replaced the *uthmânî* (Ottoman) passport. Strikingly there are a few cases of pilgrims, usually from Khiwa and Urganch (far west of Central Asia), who carried *irânî* (Iranian) passports. However, a huge number of pilgrims travelled the routes without any passports at all (*bidûn-i jawâz*). The presence in Afghanistan of many refugees from Ferghana and other places of Central Asia could be one explanation why they carried Afghan passports. It is also known that several pilgrims who visited the *zâwiyya* two or three times possessed passports of various different countries (e.g., one of them possessed an Afghan, a Palestinian, and a Saudi passport). All the visitors who reached the *zâwiyya* in 1956–57 were established in the Hijaz and received Saudi passports. It is known that in 1953 there were around 17,000 Turkestanian refugees (from Central Asia and Xinjiang) living in Jidda, Mecca, and Taif, where they even established a Turkestani district (*mahalla*).[159]

Islam sees no contradiction between the association of trade and devotion, and this is the reason why Mecca has been a great center of international commerce for centuries. In particular, the vast majority of the merchant community in the Hijaz was non-Arab in origin, and the most prominent among them were Indians, Turks, Javanese, and Bukharis. It should be noted that in the 1850s, an Indian Muslim, Faraj Yusr, who was the chief merchant of Jidda and later the chief banker for the Hijaz, himself lent the provincial government large amounts of money.[160] Hence,

159 B. Balcı, "La communauté ouzbèke d'Arabie Saoudite: entre assimilation et renouveau identitaire." The concentration of Bukhari pilgrims (or residents) in the same cities since 1949 was observed by Yogoslavian pilgrims, as mentioned by Alexandre Popovic in his article "Sur les Récits de pèlerinage à La Mecque de musulmans yougoslaves (1949–1972)," *Studia Islamica* 39 (1974), p. 133.

160 Nurtaç Numan, "Mekke Emirleri ve Hicaz'da Osmanlı İdaresi, 1840–1908" (Ph.D., Bosphor University, Istanbul, 2006), pp. 15, 70.

it is not surprising that several Central Asian and Indians staying at the *zâwiyya* presented themselves as traders (*tâjir*)—the Visitor's Book, for example, mentions that Yûsuf b. Ya'qûb from Gulja/Ili in Xinjiang, who belonged to the business company "Yûldiz Shirkati," was a resident of the *zâwiyya* in 1909. Regarding the pilgrims from Central Asia, David Brower notes, "Purely religious ideals were not the only motives impelling the departure of Muslims for the holy places," and he adds that, according to a tsarist observer who in 1911 compiled a sort of social register of the pool of pilgrims from the Sart (Turkish) population of the Ferghana Valley, there were three categories of people performing the *hâjj*: the "merchants hoping to attract more customers once they had completed the *hâjj*, [the] community leaders counting on the prestige of the pilgrimage to augment their clientele, and [the] mullas seeking entry into the Naqshbandi movement."[161]

At this juncture, let us look at some names of the Sufî pilgrims who were registered at the *zâwiyya* in the year 1947, all of whom seem to be quite interesting because of either their religious or their profane activities:

– Sayyid Muhammad Sa'îd al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Madanî, native of the Hijaz and a former trader living in Shanghai

– al-Hâjj 'Abd al-Jabbar from Chinese Turkestan (Turkistân al-Sinî), an *'ulamâ al-wahhâbî* and teacher (*mudarris*) in the Hijaz

– Sayyid Karam 'Alî al-Hindî, a member of the Râbita al-Islâmiyya in India

– Shaykh Muhammad Sâlih Fadl al-Tûnûsî al-Maghrabî, a "well-known *'ulamâ* in the Hijaz"

– Sayyid al-Hâjj Muhammad alias Tûra Jân, an *'ulamâ* of Bukhara living in the Hijaz

– Sayyid Muhammad al-'Aqabî al-Marâkashî, the former head of the Sultan of Marakâshî's personal staff (*ra'is diwân al-Sultân al-Marakâshî*), living in Cairo, belonging to the Egyptian *'ulamâ*, and residing at the Takiyya al-Gulshanî (a well-known Khalwatî Sufi lodge)

– Sayyid 'Abd al-'Alîm al-Siddîqî, an Indian *'ulamâ* and a member of the Râbita al-Islâmiyya in India

– al-Hâjj Hâfiz Makkî al-Bukhârî, a well-known trader at Tarsus (Anatolia)

161 D. Brower, "Russian Roads to Mecca: Religious Tolerance and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Russian Empire," p. 580.

The existence of such a *Daftar sijill al-darâwish* in the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya since 1911 is an indication that Shaykh Ya'qûb was a very proud and faithful follower of the Sufi path to which he belonged and very respectful to all his brothers in the *tarîqa*. We do know, however, that Shaykh Ya'qûb cultivated the Naqshbandî practices and its devotional activities, directing regular *dhikr* assemblies and probably transmitting the teaching of the order through traditional *suhba*. It should be mentioned, moreover, that as a place of interaction between various members of the Naqshbandiyya, the *zâwiyya* also naturally and necessarily became a place for the exchange and transmission of ideas on Islam and Sufism. The presence of several books on Sufism in its library indicates the interest shown by Shaykh Rashîd, and thereafter his son Ya'qûb, in Sufi studies. Besides, there is a manuscript of the *Rashahât 'Ayn al-Hayât* of Husayn Wâ'iz Kâshifî, a classical treatise on Naqshbandiyya principles, which bears the seal of Salâh al-Dîn, son of Sirâj al-Dîn (d. 1910), a Sufi author, poet, and one of the chief personages of the Naqshbandiyya from the Ferghana Valley.[162] This manuscript, certainly offered to Rashîd by this Turkestani shaykh himself, must be understood as a very meaningful and symbolic gesture—a present from a Sufi and a literati to another Sufi and literati.

The Visitor's Book

The Visitor's Book of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya, which covers the years 1909–33, provides information about not only the pilgrims who stayed at the lodge but also those living elsewhere in Jerusalem who visited Shaykh Ya'qûb. It appears that the guests and the visitors of the lodge were not exclusively Central Asians but comprised pilgrims from the whole of Muslim Asia. While a few came from the Muslim West, including places such as Maghreb, Egypt, etc., a great majority of pilgrims was from Western Turkestan (Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Andijan, Namangan, Khojand, Jalalabad, Qurghan Tepe, and Aqmasjid) and Eastern Turkistan (Kashghar, Turfan, Ili/Gulja, Kohna Turfan); some were from Tataristan (Kazan, Ufa, Astrakan), Russia (Moscow, Leningrad), and Afghanistan (Quetta, Kabul, Herat, Peshawar). A miniscule number of visitors came from Turkey

162 For more information on this personage, see T. Zarcone, "Sufi Lineages and Saint Veneration in Twentieth-century Eastern Turkestan and Xinjiang," in *The Turks* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), pp. 534–541, and E. Concetti and T. Zarcone, *Sufism in Xinjiang and Inner China in the 19th–21st Centuries*.

(Konya, Bursa, Istanbul). However, many registrations in the Visitor's Book are of pilgrims from the Indian subcontinent (Bombay, Karachi, Ahmadabad, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Madras, Chittagong, Rawalpindi, Bangalore, Poona, Bareilly, Calcutta, Ceylon Island) and Burma (Rangoon), while a few of the pilgrims came from the Far East, including the Indonesian Archipelago (Mingkapur/Minangkabau, Jogjakarta) and China (Shanghai, Peking). Finally, it appears that two Muslims pilgrims from Africa visited the *zâwiyya*—one each from British East Africa (Mombasa) and South Africa (Johannesburg, Durban), and there was even a visitor from Mexico. The short notes written in the book by visitors are, by and large, quite similar to each other. They give some brief information regarding the pilgrims, their names and origins, the number of days they spent in the *zâwiyya*, etc. Some notes, however, provide the reader with extra information on the professional activities of the pilgrim, the places he visited at Jerusalem, and the itineraries he followed across Asia. The notes are written in many languages: the Central Asians use Oriental Turkish, Persian, and sometimes Arabic; the Indians, Hindoustani or Urdu. There also notes in Malay, Burmese, and Chinese.

From the Naqshbandî register, we do know that between 1923 and 1940, the great majority of the Sufi pilgrims reached Jerusalem from Mecca, if they had already performed the pilgrimage, or by two other routes when coming from Central Asia: one route went through Istanbul and Anatolia, while the other crossed Baghdad. The Visitor's Book at the *zâwiyya* also contains some short accounts of the itineraries followed by the pilgrims. For example, a group of Kashgari traders left Kashgar in 1932 and proceeded to India across Kashmir and the Himalayas. After this, they went by ship to Basra, travelled through Iraq, and reached Sham (Damascus) and Jerusalem.[163] In 1912–13, another pilgrim from Central Asian came to Jerusalem through Iran (Irânîstân) and Damascus.[164]

The majority of the Muslims who signed the Visitor's Book of the *zâwiyya* were not Sufis but simple believers performing the pilgrimage, including imams, lecturers of the Quran, and madrasa teachers, although there were some celebrated Muslims among them. For instance, one of them is the Tatar reformist Mûsâ Jarullâh Bîgîyef, well known by the historians of modern Tataristan, who visited

163 Visitor's Book, p.124.

164 Visitor's Book, p.24.

Shaykh Ya'qûb Bukhârî twice in 1926, on his way to and from Mecca, praising the shaykh who had helped him organize his journey (Figure 29).[165] Among the Chinese Muslims (Hui in Chinese/Tungan in Turkish), we find the mention of Zhao Zhenzu, redactor of the Chinese journal *Yuehua*, in the entries for 1933. He was accompanied by the famous Chinese ulama (*akhund*) 'Abd al-Rahîm Ma Songting (1895–1992), one of the groups called the "Four Great *Ahongs*" who was doing an exploratory trip to Egypt. Shaykh Ya'qûb introduced them to the notables of Jerusalem (Figure 30).[166] Furthermore, in 1935, Muhammad Sulaymân Yin Kuangi, the representative of the Chinese Muslim Association, was honored by Shaykh Ya 'qûb; however, his name has not been mentioned in the Visitor's Book.[167] Lastly, we find a mention of Mullâ Muhammad al-Baqâ' Khwâja, a *shaykh al-Islâm* from Bukhara, who stayed at the *zâwiyya* in 1913.

With regard to the Sufi visitors, we find the names of several *shaykh/îshân* (the word for "shaykh" in Central Asia), and *khwâjas* (a spiritual aristocracy, usually of Sufi origin) coming from Turkey, Western and Eastern Turkestan, and India. Among the most reputed of these guests of the *zâwiyya* who left behind a note in the Visitor's Book was Mehmed Bahâ' al-Dîn Veled (1867–1953), the Grand Master (*çelebi*) of the Mevleviye Sufi order based in Konya, who visited the lodge in September 1915, while in command of a battalion of dervishes (Mücahidin-i Mevleviye Alayı) fighting the British during the First World War. His note carries the insignia of a Mevlevî headgear (Figure 31).

God (*Hüve/Huwwa*]

"Consort with the followers of reality,
That you may both win the gift and be generous (in giving yourself to God)."[168]

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165 Visitor's Book, p. 77.

166 Visitor's Book, p. 132. Here, I would like to thank my colleague Hamada Masami (University of Kyoto) who has translated the Chinese texts written by Chinese Muslims. On Ma Songting see Françoise Aubin, "Islam on the Wings of Nationalism. The case of Muslim *Intellectuals in the Republic of China," in S. A. Dudoignon; H. Komatsu; Y. Kosugi, eds. Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World. Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 260.

167 According to the *al-Jâmi'a al-'Arabiyya*, May 6 and 7, 1935, mentioned in V.V. "Musulmano cinese onorato a Gerusalemme," *Oriente Moderno* 15 (1935), pp. 253–254.

168 This Persian verse comes from the *Mathnawî* of Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (1/711). The English

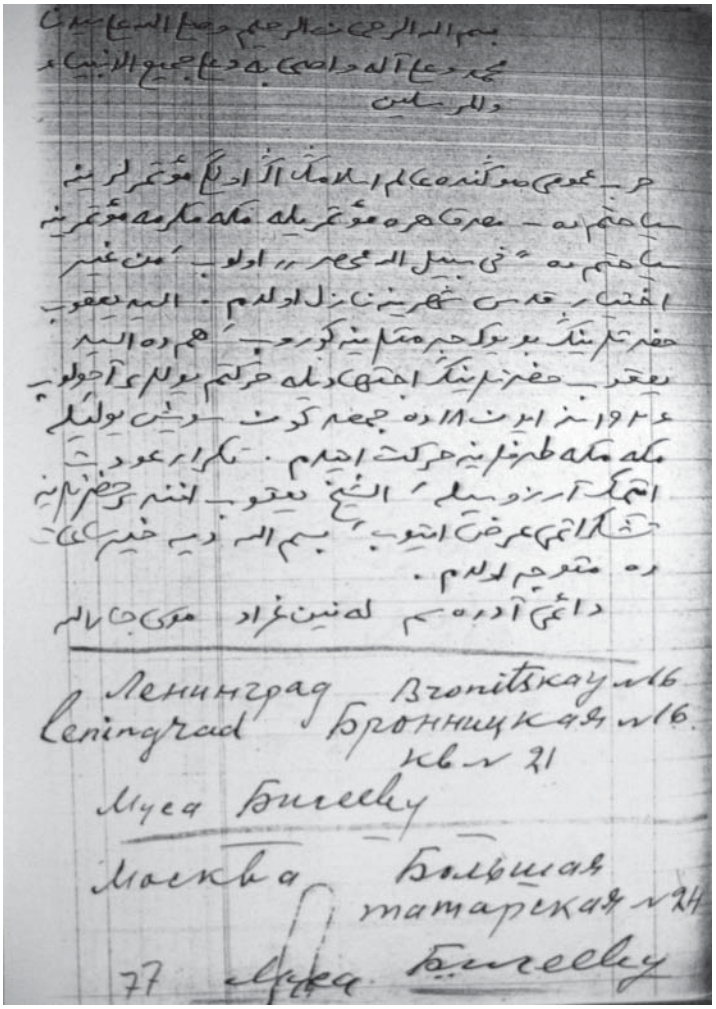

Fig. 29 Text of the note written by Mûsâ Efendî Jarullâh Bîgîyef in the Visitor's Book, 1926 (PAZU)

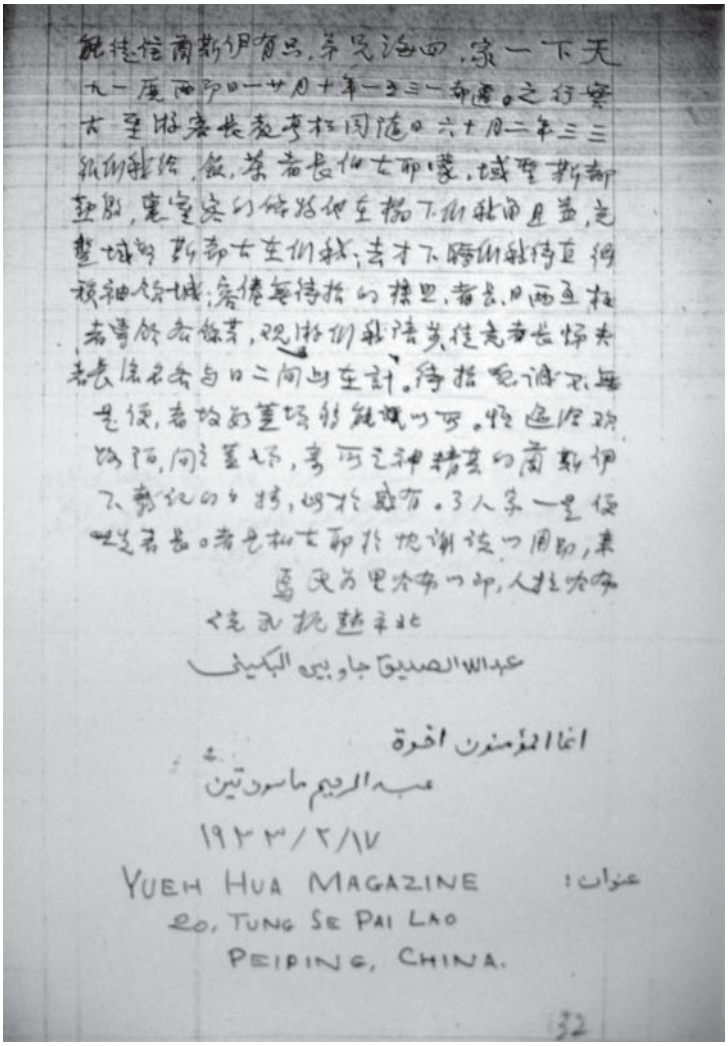

Figure 30 Text of the note written by Zhao Zhenzu in the Visitor's Book, 1933 (PAZU)

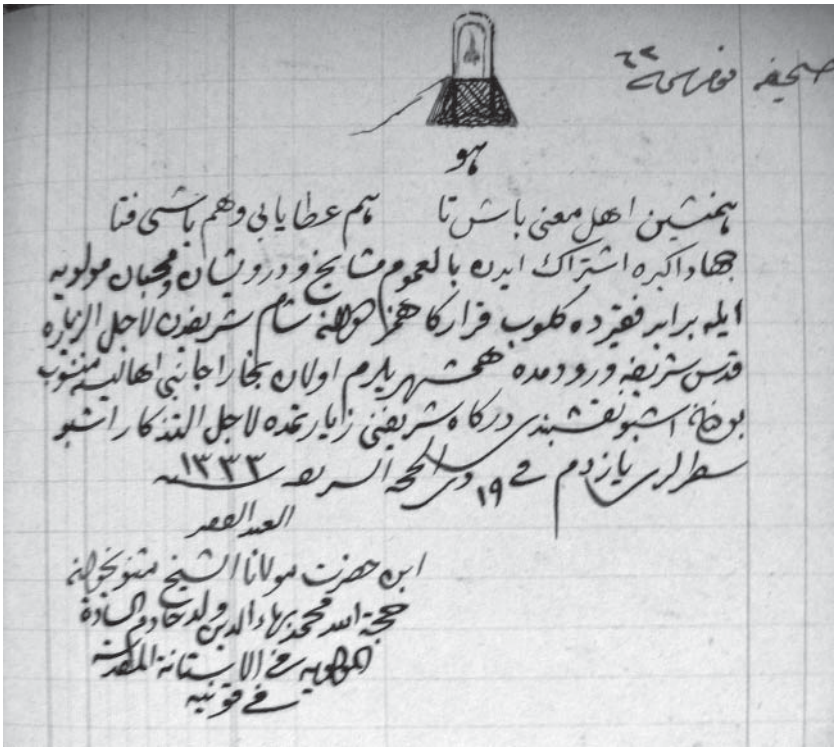

Figure 31 Text of the note written by Mehmed Bahâ' al-Dîn Veled in the Visitor's Book, 1915 (PAZU)

In order to participate in the World War, I came to our [military] headquarters at Damascus in the company of shaykhs, dervishes, sympathizers of the Mevleviye, and Sufis. Then I left Damascus with the desire to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where I visited the Naqshbandî lodge that is associated with the people of Bukhara, whom I consider my compatriots; in memory of this visit, I have written these lines on the 19th of the month of *zilhicce* [*Dhulhijja*] in the year 1333 [1915].

translation is by Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawî of Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî* (London: Luzac and co, 1926), vol. 1 and 2, p. 38.

The slave of the poor
Son of the respectable Mevlâna,
Shaykh and lecturer of the *Mesnevî* [*Mathnawî*]
Proof of Islam
Mehmed Bahâüddin Veled, humble servitor of
the Mevleviye in the Holy Mother-Lodge at Konya [169]

The register also contains short notes written by the following Sufis from Tataristan, Turkey, Central Asia, and India:

– 1920–21: Shaykh Mullâ Hasan al-Dîn b. Mullâ Tuhfat Allâh al-Naqshbandî al-Khâlidî, an *akhûnd-imâm-khatîb* from Orenburg, village of Yangi Qar'alî, who came with his two sons[170]
– 1920–21: Ahmad Ishân or Ahmad Khalîfa Naqshbandî, *imâm* of the Mosque Tîlîkûl at Aqmasjid (Quqand)[171]
– 1924: Shaykh Suleymân Servî from a Naqshbandî tekke in Bursa[172]
– 1926: Darwish Zikriyya Minqkâbawî from Sumatra[173]
– 1927–28: Muhammad 'Alî, a Chishtî-Qâdirî from Rampur and Delhi[174]
– 1927: 'Abd al-Qahhar member of the Naqshbandiyya and the Chishtiyya (no place of origin indicated)[175]

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169 Hü

همنشين اهل معنى باش تا / هم عطا يابى و هم باشى فتا

Cihad-i ekbere iştirak eden bil'umum meşayih ü dervişân ü muhibbân-i Mevleviye ile beraber fakir de gelip karargâhımız (…) Şams-i şerif'ten liecl ül-ziyara Qudüs-i şerife vardımda hemşehrilerim olan Buhara canibi ehalisine mensup bulunan işbu Nakşibendî Dergâh-ı şerifini ziyaretimde liecl el-tezkâr işbu satırları yazdım fi 19 Zilhicce ül-şerife sene 1333.

el-Abd ül-fakır
ibn Hazret-i Mevlâna el-Şeyh Mesnevihân
Hüccetüllâh Mehmed Bahâüddin Veled Hadimu'l-sadat
el-Mevleviye fi'l-asitane el-mükeddese fi Konya

Visitor's Book, p. 64.

170 Visitor's Book, p. 8.

171 Visitor's Book, p. 9.

172 Visitor's Book, p. 72.

173 Visitor's Book, p. 75.

174 Visitor's Book, p. 86.

175 Visitor's Book, p. 79.

– Circa 1930–1935: Muhammad Naqî Mahbûb Miyân Nizâmî, who belonged to the well-known Khânaqâh-i Bareilly (Khânaqâh-yi Niyaziyya) at Bareilly (Uttar Pradesh) and was perhaps a member of the Nizâmî Sufi family[176]

It appears clearly from this list of dervishes mentioned in the Visitor's Book that all of them belonged to either the Naqshbandiyya or other orders such as the Qâdiriyya and the Chishtiyya. There is no mention at all of any member of the Qalandariyya order. The reason for this is twofold: first, the religious traditions of this antinomian order were inconsistent with those of the Naqshbandiyya; second, the Qalandariyya had started to disappear throughout Central Asia after being officially banned by the Soviet government in 1927[177] (the order was also opposed in Maoist Xinjang after 1949, but it continues to survive in India).

Based on some of the notes in the Visitor's Book, we come to know that in the twentieth century, Shaykh Ya'qûb was the cicerone of many of the Sufi dervishes or pilgrims staying at the *zâwiyya* and that he acted as a guide and took them to some of the sacred spots within Jerusalem. Moreover, the *zâwiyya* was situated at a vantage point in Via Dolorosa, and its visitors could watch the processions of the Sufi brotherhoods during the festival of the Prophet Moses (Nabî Mûsâ).[178]

I take great pleasure in stating my coming to Jerusalem for the first time. I was a guest of Shaikh Yakoob al-Bokhari Shaikh-i-Takkia Bokhari Naqshbandi. The Shaikh Sahib provided every facility and took me to every sacred places in Jerusalem. All the time that I was here, Shaikh kept me as his guest and entertained me nicely and vacated his house for me and my party. The Shaikh Sahib is an excellent man and is very well informed about the history of al-Qudus and general Islamic history. He is a very good guide to every new visitor and a hospitable host.

5th May 1929

176 Visitor's Book, p.136.

177 S. Keller, *To Moscow, not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941*, p.138.

178 Before 1948, the processions started from the Haram Sharîf and went through the Bâb al-Hutta and Via Dolorosa toward the Bâb al-Asbât; see F. J. Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, p. 268; E. Aubin Boltanski, "Le Mawsim de Nabî Mûsâ: processions, espace en miettes et mémoire blessée. Territoires palestiniens (1998–2000)," p.74.

Mir Hussain (…) Khan
Jalpur Yagirdor
Tando-Mohamad-Khan
Distr. Hyderabad, Sindh[179]

I stopped in the Nakshbandi Zavia for 4 days with Sheikh Yakub el Bukhari and have been almost as confortable as in my own house. The Sheikh extended to me old Islamic hospitality and took even care to make my stay here comfortable and interesting. The Sheikh combines the old type of sincerity with modern ideas and manners. And I admire him very much. I commend his management to those who want to live comfortably while in Jerusalem.

March 12th 1932

Hashmatullah Khan
Golagang, Lucknow
(retired Wazir, Kashmir State)[180]

In addition to being a good host and talented guide to the sacred spots of the city, Shaykh Ya'qûb assisted the pilgrims in various other ways. For example, a group of Kashgari pilgrims coming from Mecca in 1932–1933 stayed at the *zâwiyya* for ten days, and after visiting the Harâm-i sharîf, they were introduced to the mufti of Jerusalem by Shaykh Ya'qûb himself.[181] No wonder, then, that the Shaykh possessed an astonishing collection of postcards sent from every part of the Muslim world by guests who had stayed at the *zâwiyya*.[182] One such postcard comes from China; it has a photograph of two Chinese temples and was signed and sent to Shaykh Ya'qûb by a Hui, 'Abd Allâh al-Siddîq Jâû-Bîn (the two last words being his name in Chinese). This person's complete name appears in the Visitor's Book as follows: 'Abd Allâh al-Siddîq Jâû-Bîn al-Bakînî (from Peking) (Figure 32). The great majority of postcards are from India, one of which has a picture of the tomb of the famous Chishtî saint, Sultan Nizâm al-Dîn al-Awliyâ, at Delhi.

179 The original of this text is in English, Visitor's Book, p. 92.

180 The original of this text is in English, Visitor's Book, p. 122.

181 Visitor's Book, p. 128.

182 Preserved in PAZU.

Figure 32 Postcard send to Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî by the Chinese pilgrim 'Abd Allâh al-Siddîq Jâû-Bîn al-Bakînî (from Peking) (PAZU)

Since he was friendly and hospitable to all pilgrims, no matter what their place of origin—whether Central Asia, India, or China, it is not surprising that Shaykh Ya'qûb maintained close ties with the neighboring Indian lodge of Jerusalem. In fact, some notes in the Visitor's Book are written by Indian pilgrims who were actually staying at the Indian lodge and only visiting Shaykh Ya'qûb. One of these notes, written by an Indian staying in the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya, demonstrates that the Shaykh was particularly hospitable to Indians:

> 21th 1931
> I attended the zaviya takiah this evening and found the Shaik Yakoub Bokori is taking much (illegible) and attending the profile very friendly with Indians
>
> Adam Sharîf
> Retired Station Master
> Bangalore, India[183]

Another text points to the fact that Ya'qûb sometimes assisted even those Indians who were staying at the Indian lodge and not the *zâwiyya*:

183 The original of this text is in English, Visitor's Book, p.113.

> We are very much thankful to Shaikh Yakub Sahib for giving us every help during our stay in Jerusalem. Hindi Takiya
>
> May 28.5.1933
>
> Jayaball Abdulhann
> Lakdawal
> Karachi[184]

The register also contains mention of some other pilgrims staying at the Indian lodge who visited Shaykh Ya'qûb in 1933–34, including Mûsajî 'Isajî from Quetta in Balouchistan, from "among the dervishes of India" (*min darâwish al-Hunûd*), Hâjjî Muhammad Zuhûr Allâh from Madras, and Hâjjî Rahmat Allâh from Ahmadabad.[185]

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the "Uzbek and Afghan hospice" and the "Indian hospice," as they are described in a map of Jerusalem were, according to a population census, the most frequented resting houses for pilgrims at Jerusalem, hosting many more pilgrims than the Abû Medyen hospice, which put up pilgrims from Northern Africa, and the Christian hospices. Furthermore, we should note that in the abovementioned map, the Uzbek and Indian hospices are listed among the monuments, patriarchates, monasteries, Christian hospices, and major school and synagogues of the city, which is another indication of their importance.[186] From a note in the Visitor's Book (1932) written by a South African Muslim, we obtain the remarkable information that the *zâwiyya* was regarded as more of a "rest house" than a spiritual center, and its shaykh was considered its "manager":

> Today I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the manager of the Nakshabandi Rest House called the Zâwiyya and of visiting the place, and my fellow travelers were well received. As I (illegible) had the opportunity to see the management of the place in operation, I am unable to express any opinion as to how it is being conducted. The place, however, looks tidy and well-kept

184 The original of this text is in English, Visitor's Book, p. 141.

185 Visitor's Book, pp. 142, 154.

186 Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," pp. 20, 38, 46.

what are good indications for its worthy management.
I am grateful to the manager for the entertainment given to us.

4/9/1932
(…) Kayr
Durban Water
S. Africa[187]

The Uzbek lodges of the Middle East regained some interest after the Russian Revolution, when hundred of Tatars and Central Asians escaped Communist Russia and reached Turkey and the Middle East as refugees, and also in the years 1945–1950, when Uyghur refugees came from Chinese Turkestan, fleeing from the Chinese Revolution. The Uzbek lodges of Jerusalem, Cairo, and Istanbul were converted into new homes for these refugees as well as conservatories for their culture, while some of them also doubled up as centers for counter-revolutionary activism.[188] In Cairo in 1938, the Turkistan Lodge (Turkistan Tekyesi) organized a celebration in honor of the martyrs of Eastern Turkestan, with speeches against the China Nationalist Government and in favor of the independence of Eastern Turkestan. The participants and speakers at this event included Caucasians and Turks from Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, as well as Indians.[189] Similar to this, in 1933, the "Union of the Young Turks from Turkestan" (Türkistan Türk Genç Birliği) organized a festival at the Uzbek Tekke of Üsküdar (Istanbul) in order to revive the Central Asian cultural traditions among the exiles from this region.[190] In the same way, the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya at Jerusalem was, until the Second World War, an occasional meeting-place for members of organizations comprising political refugees from Central Asia, and Shaykh Ya'qûb was in close contact with the Turkistani nationalist circles. There are, for example, in the library of the *zâwiyya,* two collections (though incomplete) of the journal *Yash Turkestân* (published in Paris by the Kazakh exile Mustafa Chûqây Ughlî), and of

187 Visitor's Book, p.129.

188 See T. Zarcone "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul." pp. 152–153; F. De Jong, "Les Confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe," p.224.

189 "Misir'da Sharqî Turkistân Shahîdlerînî Îslev Tûplântîsî," *Yâsh Turkistân* (Paris) 109 (1938), pp.34–36.

190 Doktor İlter, "İstanbul'daki Türkistanlıların bir cemiyesi," *Yaş Türkistan* 43 (1933), pp.22 –26.

Millî Turkestân, the journal of the Central Asian refugees based in the Middle East and in the Hijaz (published by Walî Qabûm Khân).[191] Many other publications by Turkestani refugees are to be found in the library, such as a grammar of the Uyghur language by an East Turkestani from Bugur, and a declaration of an association of Turkistani based at Adana in Turkey.[192]

In the decade of the 1930s, the number of pilgrims making the pilgrimage to Mecca declined drastically in Central Asia, to the point of virtually disappearing. After the Second World War, very few Central Asians pilgrims, mostly officials, were authorized by the Soviet government to travel to the Hijaz (only eighteen to twenty persons per year).[193] Let us consider the case of a small group of eighteen *hâjjî* arriving in Cairo on their way back from Mecca in 1953. While in Egypt, the Soviet Embassy at Cairo permitted some of them to leave their hotel only twice, mainly to meet the mufti of Egypt, but even then they were kept under surveillance by the Soviet intelligence. These pilgrims were actually the official representatives of the Spiritual Board of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, the official institution for Islam set up by the Soviets in 1943, and among them was one of the most famous Islamic personages in Soviet Central Asia, the *kadi* Diyâ al-Dîn Babakhanov, son of the Naqshbandî shaykh Ishân Ishân Bâbâkhân b. ʻAbd al-Majîd Khân and the second in the line of the "red mufti" dynasty, who ruled Central Asian Islam from 1943 to 1989.[194] This incident also shows how a Central Asian Naqshbandî shaykh travelled by the new *hâjj* routes in an entirely new manner.

The Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya and the Nabî Mûsâ Festival

In 1897–1898, the Tatar historian Qurbân ʻAlî (see above) met Shaykh Rashîd

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191 F. de Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," pp. 171–170; F. de Jong, "The Naqshbandiyya in Egypt and Syria. Aspects of its History and Observations Concerning its Present-day Condition," In M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic, and T. Zarcone, eds. *Naqshbandis. Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1991), pp.593–594.

192 Qâdî al-Qadât Damûllâ ʻÂshûr Aʻlam Âkhûnd Merhûm Ughlî Hâjj ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz Makhdûm Jangizkhân, *Uyghur Sarfî* (Misr: al-Azhar, n.d.); *Adana ve Havalisi Türkistanlılar Yardımlaşma derneği alemislama ve bütün Dûnya Türkistanlarına Yardım Beyannâmesi* (Adana: Yurt Matbaası, n.d.).

193 B. Hayit, *Islam and Turkestan under Russian Rule*, pp.118, 174–175.

194 "Sovyet Hacıları Mısır'da" *Tarih Dünyası*, I:3 (October 1953), pp.132–133. See also Shams al-Dîn Khân b. Diyâ' al-Dîn Khân b. Ishân Bâbâkhân, *Al-Muftî Diyâ' al-Dîn Khân wa turâthu al-fikrî* (n.p.: Al-Ittihâd al-Sûfiyatî, USSR, 1986), p.66.

Bukhârî, Ya'qûb's father, and spent eight days at the *zâwiyya* while performing an exhaustive tour of the city.[195] He has dedicated several paragraphs of his travelogue to describing the pilgrimage, its history, and the sacred monuments that he saw in the city, including the Harâm al-Sharîf with the Dome of the Rock, the Mosque al-Aqsa, and the Stables of Solomon (Sardâb Sulaymân). He has also described the pilgrimage to the tombs of prophets and saints situated in the vicinity of the city, such as the famous mausoleum of Moses.[196] Decades later, the shaykhs of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya were very concerned by the Nabî Mûsa Festival which was the annual major Muslim event in the life of Jerusalem and also a strong nationalistic rally. The description of this festival by foreign travellers confirms its popularity and the participation of Sufi bands holding the banners of their lineages, and also the performing of the "saber dance (*sayf wa'l-turs* – sword and sheld)."

> Tens of thousands of Muslims men, women, and children assembled in the great square of the Omar mosque, and marched thence to the weird music of drums and cymbals through St. Stephen's Gate down to the Jericho road. A squad of soldiers both infantry and cavalry accompanied them. Some of the cavalry were mounted on camels. The wildest fanaticism prevailed. Men danced, others clapped their hands, and all shouted. (…) Three dervishes stripped naked to the waist, and holding sabers in their hands, danced the saber dance. They feigned to inflict dreadful punishment on their naked bodies with the sabres, sometimes leaning their naked bodies on the sabres while men climbed on their backs. The whole scene was one of revolting ignorance and degradation.[197]

There is an old photograph (before the Second World War) in the archives of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya which shows the *muftî* Amîn al-Husaynî, Shaykh Ya'qûb, several notables of the city, many Sufi shaykhs, and Muslim scouts holding sacred flags, in front of the Dome of the Rock, the starting point of the procession. The procession included religious and political dignitaries, such as the grand mufti and

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195 Mentioned by Qurbân 'Alî Khâlidî himself in his travelogue to Mecca; see Qurbân 'Alî Khâlidî, *Tawârîkh-i khamsa-yi sharqî*, p.603.

196 *Tawârîkh-i khamsa-yi sharqî*, pp.603–612.

197 A. E. Breen, *A Diary of my Life in the Holy Land* (Rochester N. Y.: John P. Smith, 1906), p.503.

the mayor of Jerusalem, and other official delegates represented notable Muslim families of Jerusalem and Sufi shaykhs among whom Shaykh Ya'qûb occupied a place of honour. Other photographs preserved in the archives of the *zâwiyya* shows the processions of Nebî Musâ passing in front of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya and under the Ecce Homo Arch with Muslims dancing the dance of the sabers (Figures 33, 34, 35). According to Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz, his father, Shaykh Mûsâ was a practitioner of this dance.[198] The Nabî Mûsâ celebrations continued to be observed until 1947.

Figure 33 Departing point of the procession of Nabî Mûsâ in front of the Dome of the Rock. The photograoh includes the *muftî* of Jerusalem, Shaykh Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî, and many shaykhs and religious leaders of Jerusalem and of the surrounding districts, with Muslim scouts holding sacred flags (before the Second World War, PAZU)

198 On this dance see : Th. van Tichelen, *Land and Volk in Palestina* (Brugge: J. Houdmont-Carbonez Philip de Goede Laan, 1909), pp. 37–38; Bear Tamoari, "Two Ottoman Ceremonial Banners in Jerusalem", in S. Auld and R. Hillenbrand, eds. *Ottoman Jerusalem*, vol. 1, pp. 317–323.

Figure 34 (left) The procession of Nabî Musa in Dolorosa Street, at the Ecce Homo Arch, near the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya (PAZU)

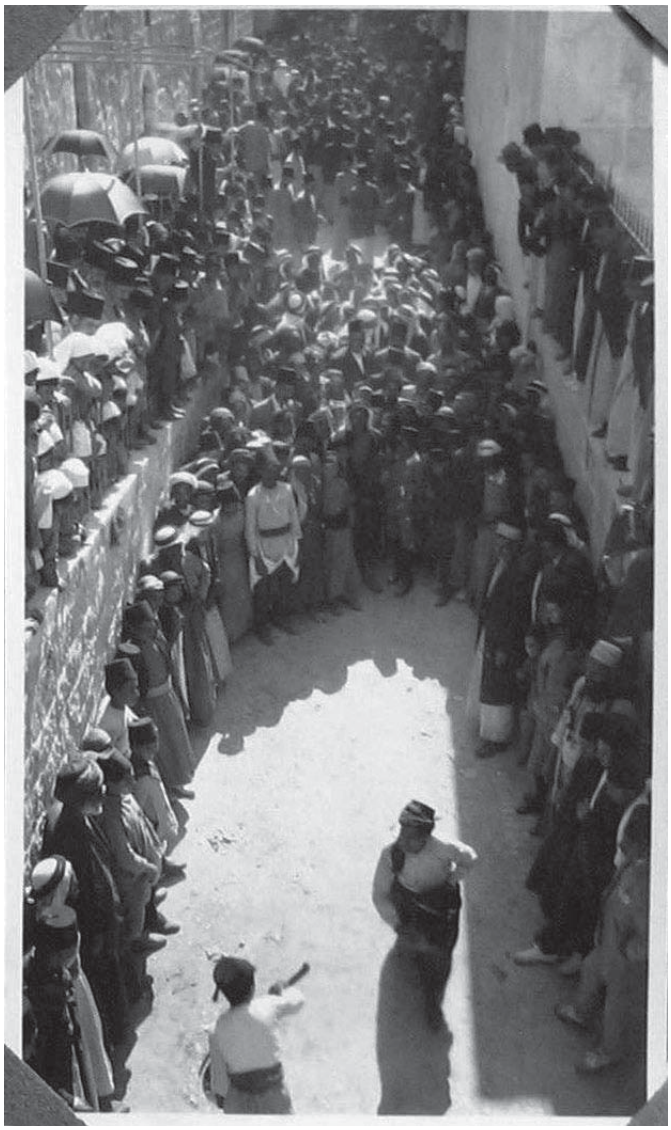

Figure 35 (right) The procession of Nabî Mûsâ going down to St. Stephen's Gate in Jerusalem (PAZU)

The Afghan Lodge, al-Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya

As explained above, the history of the Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya at Jerusalem is more or less interconnected with that of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbekiyya. The term "Afghan" was used to refer to the large ethnic group of people known nowadays as "Pashtun" (the Abdali/Durrani and Ghilzai tribes), who are originally from the North-West Frontier Province. However, many different peoples coming from the frontiers of this territory were called Pashtun at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the ethonym "Afghan" was attributed to all of them, including Balouches, Persians, and Indians from the south of the Hindukush as well as Turkmen, Uzbeks, and Persians (Tajik) from the north, from the area known as Lesser Turkistan (Turkistan-i saghîr) or Afghan Turkistan. This variety was reflected in the Afghan lodges at Istanbul and Jerusalem, headed by shaykhs from Khurasan and Kandahar, respectively. However, the pilgrims from these regions were more commonly known as "Sulaymanî," after the Sulayman ranges situated on the present Afghanistan–Pakistan border, from which the Pashtun originated.

Many travellers who met these Sulaymanî pilgrims in the Middle East and in Istanbul noted how skilful they were at mastering several languages. Burton has qualified one of them, Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhab b. Yûnus al-Sulaymânî, as "a kind of cosmopolitan, speaking five languages fluently, and full of reminiscences of toil and travel."[199] In 1910, the Tatar ʻAbd al-Rashîd Ibrâhîm met a great number of these Afghans in India, waiting for a ship to go to the Hijaz. One of them, Rahîm Bakhsh, became his fellow traveller on his way from India to the Hijaz. In Mecca, ʻAbd al-Rashîd was impressed by another Afghan from Balkh who belonged to the Naqshbandî order.[200] However, there were many among the population of the Hijaz who criticized the Sulaymânî pilgrims, whom they perceived as dishonest and ignorant:

> A good many pilgrims come from Afghanistan and enjoy a very evil repute in Mecca. They are all known by the name Sulaymani, whether true Afghans or of any of the other races inhabiting the country which is bounded by the frontiers of Persia, the Sulaymani ranges, the Oxus, and Beluchistan.

199 R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. 1, p. 130–131.

200 *ʻAlem-i islâm*, pp. 156–160, 210.

> This name Sulaymani is never uttered by an Arab unless coupled with the epithet "harami," a very comprehensive term, which, applied to the Bedawi [Bedouins] means merely "murderer and robber," a character of which he considers himself justly proud, but applied to the Sulaymani it has a different and very much worse signification.[201]

Regarding these pilgrims, who unlike the Central Asians and Indians performed the pilgrimage without any regulations and protection by any consulate, the French doctor Duguet noted in 1933 that the "the Persians and the Afghans are wanderers in the pilgrimage" (Les Persans et les Afghans sont les vagabonds du pèlerinage).[202] At about the same time, a Turkish journalist was astonished at meeting a group of twenty-five Afghan pilgrims at Istanbul who had come from Herat after a long inland journey through Iran, Georgia, and Batum in the Black Sea, from where they had proceeded to Istanbul by ship, and planned to reach first Alexandria in Egypt and then Mecca. According to the journalist, two of them, Mirzâ Shams al-Dîn and Hâjjî Akbar, were famous in their country.[203] The abovementioned itinerary was one of those commonly followed by Afghan and Central Asian pilgrims at the end of the nineteenth century.[204]

The lodge that is nowadays known as the Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya was established in the first half of the seventeenth century upon a piece of land originally belonging to the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya. At that time, the place was not reserved for Afghan pilgrims or dervishes but for the Sufis of the Qâdiriyya order. According to its *waqfiyya* dated 1633, the *zâwiyya* was endowed for the benefit of the Qâdirî dervishes who followed the order of Shaykh Muhyi al-Dîn ʻAbd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî, after whom the order is named. In the foundation inscription of the *zâwiyya* (1633), this Sufi saint is referred to as "our master and lord, the leading savant, the sultan of all saints." The *waqfiyya* stipulates also that among the many architectural elements of the *zâwiyya*, there are eleven cells dedicated to the poor

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201 John F. Keane (Hajj Mohammed Amin), *Six Months in the Hijaz*, p. 74.

202 Docteur Duguet, *Le Pèlerinage de La Mecque*, pp. 23–24.

203 *Yeni Gün* (Istanbul) (April 7, 1931), p. 4.

204 Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a similar itinerary was followed by the Bukharian Rahmat Allah Wâzih (1817–1895), who wrote a detailed account of his journey; Rahmat Wâzih, *Sawânih al-masâlik wa farâsikh al-mamâlik* (Dushanba: Izdatel'stvo Donish, 1986).

Figure 36 Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya: the cells dedicated to the poor, and the mosque with its minaret (© Zarcone 2006)

from the Qâdirî order (Figures 36, 37).[205] To the east of the lodge were located some houses known as "the houses of 'Uthmân Beg al-Sufî al-Masrî" and to its north was the Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya, which had been endowed by the same 'Uthmân Beg. In 1615, the daughter of Muhammad Pâshâ, the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem, a protector of the Sufis, and the donor of the *waqfiyya* of the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya, married 'Uthmân Sufî, the founder of the Zâwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya. Thus, the futures of the two *zâwiyya* were necessary linked by this marriage.[206]

205 Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Qâdiriyya," in S. Auld and R. Hillenbrand, eds., *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City 1517–1917*, pp.917–926.

206 Id. Maps of the Zâwiyya are given in Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Qâdiriyya," pp.922–923

Figure 37 Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya, mosque and garden (© Zarcone 2006)

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya functioned as a Qâdirî lodge, and none of its documents mention the presence of any Afghan dervish. From a *waqf* document dated 1731, we do know that the shaykh of the lodge was a certain Muhammad Sâlih b. al-Shaykh Hilmî al-Qâdirî and that the lodge was still described as a "Qâdiriyya Zâwiyya". This name is confirmed by another *waqf* document dated 1776–77.[207] In the early nineteenth century, the *zâwiyya* was mentioned in a list of Qâdirî lodges in the Ottoman Empire under the title of "Asitâne [mother-lodge] of Shaykh Yusûf"; but again, there was no reference to Afghan dervishes.[208] However, the *zâwiyya* was already by that time well-known for its tradition of hospitality, since there is an account

and Dan Bahat, *A Selection of Ottoman Structure in the Old City of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Open University of Israel, 1990), p.33.

207 BVCE 15600 (Ş 1143/1731); 17537 (17 N 1190/1776–77).

208 T. Zarcone, "Un document inédit sur les tekke *kadiri* de l'Empire ottoman et du monde musulman au XXe siècle," in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and R. Dor, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin* (Paris: IFEA-L'Harmattan, 1992), pp.275–283.

of a pilgrim who was invited to stay in "the Mosque of Sidi Abdelkader, near the Harâm of Muslim shrine," which is obviously the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya.[209]

There were, nevertheless, Afghan dervishes at Jerusalem in the early nineteenth century: this is what we learn from a *waqf* decision (1809–1810) ordering that bread and olive oil be given daily to the Afghan Sulaymânî dervishes (*darâwish al-Afghân Sulaymânî*) hosted in the madrasa Qâdiriyya.[210] This madrasa, already mentioned by the famous Sufi ʻAbd al-Ghanî al-Nabulûsî at the end of the seventeenth-century, must not be confused with the Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya.[211] The fact that Nabulûsî – himself a member of the Qâdiriyya – was hosted in this madrasa shows that this place has acted both as a teaching institution and a resting place. There is no doubt that the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya mentioned also by Nabulûsî refers to the madrasa-*zâwiyya* of that name.[212]

In all likelihood, it seems that the arrival of many Afghans at the *zâwiyya* occurred only at the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth century. In the eyes of a foreign observer, the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya and the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya constituted a single hospice called the "Afghan and Uzbek hospice."[213] This is the first indication of the large number of Afghans staying in the place. According to a *waqf* document, unfortunately undated but probably from the end of the nineteenth century, we know that the *zâwiyya* was still identified as a lodge associated with the Qâdiriyya (tekyat ül-Kadriye), even though the majority of those who stayed in it were Afghan dervishes (*Afgâniyân deravîş fukaraları*). This document is a petition addressed to the *waqf* administration, in which the shaykh of the *zâwiyya* explains that the Afghan dervishes were facing a water shortage within the walls of their lodge and that the lodge only had rainwater for the pilgrims' ablutions and drinking purposes. In this petition, the shaykh requests supplies of water that had, until then, been refused by the city administration. The letter is signed by all the dervishes staying at the lodge and by their shaykh,

209 "On me donna pour logement la mosquée d'un saint nommé Sidi Abdelkader, situé à côté du Haram ou temple musulman," *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807* (Paris: P. Didot l'Aîné, 1814), vol. 3, p. 129.

210 From a copy of this document, which is preserved in PAZA.

211 For more information regarding this madrasa, see ʻÂrif al-ʻÂrif, *Al-Mufassal fî târîkh al-Quds* (Quds [Jerusalem]: al-nâshr Fawzî Yûsuf, Matbaʻat al-Quds, 1999), vol. 1, p. 253.

212 From Nabulûsî treatise "al-Haqîqa," see Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Ottoman Jerusalem in the Writings of Arab Travellers," in S. Auld and R. Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, vol. 1, pp. 66–67.

213 Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," pp. 20, 38, 46.

al-Hâjj Muhammad Afghânî Qandahârî.[214] In another document dated 1906–1907, a certain Fayd-i Rasûl b. Ghulâm-i Rasûl al-Afghânî, who was awarded a Sufi diploma (*ijâza*) by Shaykh ʻAbd al-Jabbar the head of the Qâdiriyya order in Syria at Hama, is described as the shaykh of the *zâwiyya* at the end of the nineteenth, and beginning of twentieth century.[215] Another shaykh of the *zâwiyya*, ʻAlî ʻAbd al-Qâdir al-Bashah, was accused by the Sharîʻa Court, in the last years of the Ottoman rule over Jerusalem, of providing loans to peasants at interest and of personally using income provided him by the Ottoman Government for the use of the lodge. From the trial, we learn that ʻAlî ʻAbd al-Qâdir al-Bashah was appointed to the position of shaykh even though he was illiterate.[216]

In the year 1919, Shaykh Rashîd, the head of the Uzbek lodge, was murdered by Afghans in Jaffa, following a dispute about a plot of land adjoining both the Afghan and Uzbek lodges; this incidence is another indication of the presence of Afghans at the *zâwiyya*. Quite surprisingly, however, Frederick Jones Bliss, an English traveller, writes that there was no hospice for the Afghan pilgrims, more precisely Afghans dervishes, in Jerusalem in 1912. Bliss adds that "Some poor Qadirîyeh also occupy other rooms in the Haram enclosure, one of which is used for holding the *zikr* [*dhikr*], or religious service, and for keeping the banner and musical instruments, as the order has no especial zawiyeh in Jerusalem."[217]

It appears that the *zâwiyya* began to be known as the Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya toward the middle of the twentieth century when, to quote Y. Natsheh, it "provided accommodation for Afghan visitors and pilgrims while they were in Jerusalem and thus continued to function according to tradition rather than the specification of the *waqf* documents." Natsheh adds that the *zâwiyya* also served as a permanent residence for some members of the Afghan community in Jerusalem.[218] Meanwhile, there were Afghans staying at the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya; in 1953, one of them,

214 BVCE 1492 (n.d.)

215 *al-Sajara al-Qâdiriyya* (Shâm: Matbaʻa al-fayha', 1906-07, one exemplary is preserved in the library of Leiden, Ar 4555); see F. de Jong, "The Sufi Orders in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Palestine," p. 170, footnote 4; "Les Confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe," pp. 216, 239.

216 Yitzhak Reiter, "The Administration and Supervision of *Waqf* Properties in 20th Century Jerusalem," in Faruk Bilici, ed., *Le Waqf dans le monde musulman contemporain, XIX^e-XX^e siècles* (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 1994), p. 171.

217 Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (Edinburgh: 1912), pp. 255–256.

218 Y. Natsheh, "al-Zawiyya al-Qâdiriyya," p. 920.

Iskandar b. ‘Uthmân, from Herat, became the doorkeeper (*bawwâb*) of the Uzbek lodge.[219]

The last shaykhs of the *zâwiyya* were ‘Abd al-Allâh Rahm-dil of Ghazna (1979) and thereafter his son, ‘Abd al-Karîm al-Afghânî, who is the present head of the lodge. Three inscriptions fixed on the façade of the building between 1967 and 1996 bear the new name of the *zâwiyya*, the “al-Zâwiyya al-Afghân.” The inscription dated 1996 is particularly interesting, since it states that ‘Abd al-Karîm al-Afghânî gave up the Qâdiriyya and put the *zâwiyya* under the guidance of the ‘Alawiyya Sufi order, in which he was initiated: “Waqf al-Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya / al-Tarîqa al-Sufiyya al-‘Alawiyya / Masjid al-Zâwiyya al-Afghâniyya / sana 1043 [1633] hijra.”[220]

The ‘Alawiyya, a sub-order of the Shâdhiliyya lineage, was introduced in Palestine in the beginning of the twentieth century by Muhammad al-Hilâlî, a disciple of Ahmad al-‘Alawî (d.1934), who came from Algeria. Some groups of disciples were sent to Ghazza, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Since 1978, the representative of the order at Jerusalem is Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karîm al-Afghanî, who organized the meeting of the order at the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya. His nomination as the head of the lodge was opposed by several Afghans who said that according to tradition, only an Afghan belonging to the Qâdiriyya order could direct the *zâwiyya*, as was the case until 1979, when ‘Abd al Allâh Rahm-dil, the father of ‘Abd al-Karîm, died.[221] At present, the *zâwiyya* hosts regular *dhikr* meetings of the Shâdhiliyya-Alawiyya lineage and one can see, on the walls of the ancient house of the Shaykh, a portrait of the Shaykh al-‘Alawî and the spiritual pedigree (*silsila*) of the order.

The Indian Lodge, al-Zâwiyya al-Hunûd

The Indian lodge, located in the vicinity of the Sâhira Gate (Herod Gate) of the old city, was, according to oral tradition, founded in the thirteenth century, after the coming to Jerusalem of the Indian mystic Bâbâ Farîd Shakarganj, a famous

219 “The Register of Dervishes,” PAZU.

220 For more information on these inscriptions, see Y. Natsheh, “al-Zawiyya al-Qâdiriyya,” p.920.

221 F. de Jong, “Les Confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe,” pp.220–221.

grand master of the Chishtiyya lineage (Figure 38).[222] However, this assertion is undocumented and there is no trace in the biographies of Bâbâ Farîd of any journey to Jerusalem or Mecca. According to the hagiographies, the Indian saint never went westward of Baghdad.[223] Oral tradition also reports that two small rooms attached to a mosque were offered to Bâbâ Farîd as an accommodation during his alleged visit to Jerusalem, and that after his departure, these two rooms and the mosque were converted into a pilgrimage site for Indian pilgrims visiting the Holy City. This site was thereafter known under the name of "Zâwiyya al-Faridiah"; at present, it is called "Zâwiyya al-Hindiyya" (Figure 39, 40).[224]

In fact, the oldest mention of an Indian lodge at Jerusalem can be found in the "History of Jerusalem and Hebron" (*Al-Uns al-jalîl fî tarîkh al-Quds wa al-khalîl*) written by Mujîr al-Dîn (toward the end of the fifteenth century). Mujîr al-Dîn mentions an Indian lodge (Zâwiyya al-Hunûd) located outside the Gate of the Tribes (Bâb al-Asbât) of the Mosque al-Aqsa; this fits the situation of the existing Indian lodge at Herod gate. Unfortunately, however, Mujir al-Dîn has provided very little information about this place:

> The Zâwiyya of the Indian (al-Hunûd) is situated outside the Door of the Tribes (Bâb al-Asbât). It is an ancient place that was first devoted to the Rifâ 'î faqîrs before it became the home of the Indian community and was named after them.[225]

There is no mention, in this history, of Bâbâ Fârid's legendary visit to Jerusalem. The truly astonishing aspect of this mention, however, is the fact that this Indian lodge was known to house dervishes (*faqîr*) belonging to the Rifâ'iyya order. It would not be easy to determine whether or not these Indians *faqîrs* were genuine Rifâ'î, but we may speculate that Mujîr al-Dîn considered them to be Rifâ'î because

222 Taysir Jabbara, *Al-Muslimûn al-hunûd fî qadiyyat filistîn* (Ramallah: Dar al-Shurûq, 1998), p.57.

223 See Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Time of Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i Shakar* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1987), p.29.

224 T. Jabbara, *Al-Muslimûn al-hunûd fî qadiyyat filistîn*, p.57; "History of the Indian Hospice" (Jerusalem: Indian Lodge, [2004], unpublished photocopy).

225 "La Zâvieh des Indiens (el-Honoud)—en dehors de la Porte des Tribus. Elle est ancienne. Affectée d'abord aux faqîrs Réfâ'îtes elle devint ensuite la résidence de la Communauté des Indiens et fut connue sous leur nom," *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron. Fragments de la chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, p.167.

Fig. 38 The main entrance of the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd in 1924 (PAZH)

of the similarity between the rituals performed by wandering Indian dervishes, especially Qalandars, and those performed by the Arabian Rifâ'î (or Ahmadî), as previously demonstrated by the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta.[226]

The lodge has a foundation inscription with the lettering "Zâwiyya al-Hunûd" (Lodge of the Indians: "Hunûd" is the Arabic plural for "Hind," Indian), but its upper part is unfortunately shattered and the date, illegible.[227] The inscription, however, seems to date back to the eighteenth or seventeenth century, at the very most. From documentary evidence, we do know that in 1712, a *zâwiyya* located in the vicinity of "Bâb al-Sahira" was hosting Indian travelers; this is precisely where the Indian lodge is situated in the present day. Records also mention that

226 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1962) vol. 2, pp. 274–275.

227 Preserved in PAZH.

Figure 39 The inscription "Zâwiyya al-Hindiyya" above the entrance of the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd (© Zarcone 2009)

these Indians were given official subsidies (*sürre*) by the Ottoman state.[228] Later, in 1799, this lodge (depicted as a *khânaqâh*, the Persian term for lodge) was directed by a certain Shaykh Shâhbaz Hindî, after whom it was named. In 1834, the head of the lodge was a certain Shaykh Ghulâm Shaykh Muhammad, succeeded by Shaykh Hasan Multânî from Multan (Sind Province of India)[229]. Furthermore, by this time (1834) the lodge was also known by the names of "Shaykh Farîd Hindî Tekkesi" and "Tekye-yi Hindî."[230] Unfortunately, there is no indication of the precise Sufi lineage to which the lodge belonged, although in 1849, it was described as an "Indian house for Qalandars" (Hindî Qalandarkhâna) headed by a certain Shaykh 'Abd Allâh Efendî.[231] At the end of the nineteenth century, like the other *zâwiyya* in the city that hosted pilgrims, the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd came to be popularly known

228 BVCE 23034 (R. 1124/1712).

229 BVCE 23034 (1124/1712); 20962 (C 1214/1799).

230 BVCE 23698 (S 1250/1834).

231 BVCE 23948 (Z 1265/1849).

Figure 40 The inner courtyard of the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd (© Zarcone 2006)

as an "Indian Hospice" and was frequently confused with the Afghan and Uzbek lodges, as seen above.[232]

We have more information about this lodge for the years 1853 to 1856, the time when James Finn was the British consul for Jerusalem and Palestine. As British subjects many of the Indians dervishes living in the lodge or at Jerusalem were under the Consulate's jurisdiction. Finn writes that poor Indian dervishes came to him at the Consulate for help. About one of them he says:

> I was afterwards honoured by a visit from a durweesh in miserable rags (also a British subject), named Sayid Meer 'Ali, conversant with many Oriental languages, who presented a petition for alms in Persian, in which he described himself as 'the dust of the earth beneath the soles of the feet of his Excellency,' which is a canting phrase among such mendicants, and is used

232 A. Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," p.20.

Figure 41 "Dervish beggars," who are in all likelihood of Indian origin, in the middle of the 19th century (in George Williams, *The Holy Land, Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, vol.1, p.405).

by durweeshes in Saadis' Gulistân. We conversed in Arabic. (Figure 41)[233]

Regarding the Indian lodge–called a "tekîyeh"–and its inhabitants, Finn wrote the following:

> I often escorted Indian civil and military officers (of whom many used to pass through Jerusalem) and partook of the hospitality of these Indian subjects of her Majesty, of their hookah [water pipe] and coffee, or sherbet [sweet fruit drink], the visitors meanwhile chatting in Persian or in Hindustânî – shaded luxuriously by a wine treillis, and overlooking a prospect of the sacred

233 J. Finn, *Stirring Times*, vol.1, pp.457–458.

> precincts within the Hharam [Harâm al-sharîf]. The inmates of this house were most commonly Punjabee Moslems, but some were Bengalees. One visitor discovered a Rajpoot among these residents in the Indian Convent, and was not at all prepossessed by his manners".[234]

The last Sufi shaykh of the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd, in the first decades of the twentieth century, was a Qâdirî shaykh named 'Abd al-Rahman Riyâzi al-Dîn Bâbûr b. Riyâzî al-Hînd b. Nazîr al-Dîn (1881–1966; d. at Istanbul) (Figure 42).

Figure 42 Photograph of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman Riyâzi al-Dîn, d. 1966 (Revnakoğlu Archives, Istanbul)

234 J. Finn, *Stirring Times*, vol. 1, p. 457.

A fascinating figure, ʻAbd al-Rahman fought against the British in India, after which he was forced to leave his country. He went to Baghdad and studied at the renowned Nuʻmâniyya Madrasa and then at Al-Azhar in Egypt, before reaching Jerusalem, where he became the head of the Indian lodge.[235] The fact that he was the director of the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd of Jerusalem is also indicated in a Sufi diploma awarded to him in April 1912 by a certain ʻAbd al-Jalîl Julnûr al-Afghânî al-Qâdirî al-Hanafî al-Naqshbandî, which thereby transmits to ʻAbd al-Rahman the full membership and privileges of the Qadiriyya order.[236] The diploma is certified by two other Sufis, al-Sayyid Mustafâ Hasan Salîm al-Dajânî and al-Hâjj ʻAbd al-Hamîd Afghânî. This diploma mentions the name of Shaykh ʻAbd al-Rahman, with a few differences in the form of address: ʻAbd al-Rahman ibn Riyâd b. Nuddâr al-Dihlawî al-Hindî. We cannot determine whether the Afghan dervishes mentioned in this diploma belonged to the Zâwiyya al-Qâdiriyya of Jerusalem or were a Sufi pilgrim temporarily residing in one of the *zâwiyya* of the Holy City. What we learn however from this diploma is that the branch of the Qâdiriyya to which these Afghan Sufis belonged is linked to the powerful Bayt al-Jîlânî of Hama in Syria, that is an old Qâdirî *zâwiyya* set up in fourteenth century by a descendant of ʻAbd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî.[237] The last link in the *silsila* is a certain Shaykh ʻAbd al-Qâdir Abû Ribâʻ al-Dajânî who is himself the disciple of Husayn Afandî Salîm al-Dajânî al-Hanafî al-Khalwatî al-Qâdirî (presented as a *muftî al-sâdât al-hanafiyya*). This branch was clearly under the control of the well-known Dajânî family of Jerusalem who were the traditional administrators of the *waqf* and of the mausoleum of the Prophet David (Nabî Dawûd) and those who carried his banner during the procession of Nabî Mûsâ. We know also from other sources that the Bayt al-Jîlânî had many relations with India and that its shaykhs have transmitted the Qâdirî teaching to several Indian and Afghan dervishes. Hence, Shaykh ʻAbd al-Rahman is both the disciple of Afghan Qâdiris and of the Jerusalem branch of the Bayt al-Jîlânî under the supervision of the Dajânî family. Quite interesting also

235 Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, "Hindiler tekkesi," B/66; Zafer Hasan Aybek, "Hindîler Tekkesi," *Tarih Mecmuası* 7 (Temmuz 1977), p.96

236 I would like to thank Prof Donald P. Little who provided me with a copy of this diploma which I was unable to find in the Khalidi Library (Jerusalem) where it was supposed to be conservated. See the description of this document in Donald P. Little and A. Üner Turgay, "Documents from the Ottoman Period in the Khâlidî Library in Jerusalem," *Die Welt des Islams* XX, 1–2 (1980), p.60.

237 See Z. Khenchelaoui and T. Zarcone "La Famille Jîlânî de Hama-Syrie (Bayt al-Jîlânî)."

is the fact that ‘Abd al-Jalîl Julnûr al-Afghânî, the master of ‘Abd al-Rahman, was both a Qâdirî and a Naqshbandî like many Indian or Afghan Sufis usually attached to the Mujaddidî branch of the Naqshbandiyya.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman supported the Turkish army in Jerusalem, and after the First World War when the Ottomans were defeated, he left Jerusalem with the Turkish troops in 1918, fearing the British occupation of the city. He established himself at Istanbul, but was soon put in prison and tortured by the British, who also occupied this city from 1918 to 1923. After his release, ‘Abd al-Rahman was appointed as the last shaykh of the Indian lodge (Hindiler Tekkesi) of Istanbul (in the Horhor area). He was successor to a certain Hâjjî Mehmed (previously the head of the Afghan lodge of the city), who had been obliged to go to war. ‘Abd al-Rahman directed the Hindi Tekke until the Kemalist *régime* closed down the

Figure 43 Shaykh Nazîr Hasan Ansârî, d. 1951, with King ‘Abd Allah of Jordan (PAZH)

Sufi lodges in 1925; thereafter, he worked at the translation office at the army headquarters. According to Server Revnaloğlu who met him before his death in 1966, the shaykh was a religious scholar (*hakiki fazıl*) and a real mystic (*ehl-i hal, ehl-i kemal*).[238]

After the flight of Shaykh ʻAbd al-Rahman in 1918, the Zâwiyya al-Hunûd of Jerusalem lost its Sufi identity and continued to function simply as a rest house for pilgrims and visitors. Thus in 1922, the Islamic Higher Supreme Council, established in order to supervise the Islamic holy affairs and places at Jerusalem, invited an Indian personality, Shaykh Nazîr Hasan Ansârî (1885–1951) who lived in Ambehta (Saharanpur), to Jerusalem in order to manage the *zâwiyya* as its shaykh, even though Nazîr Hasan Ansârî was not a Sufi (Figure 43). Later, Nazîr Hasan was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Munîr Ansârî, who as of 2009, continues to be the head of the hospice.[239] As a rest house for pilgrims and visitors, the lodge has been receiving financial assistance from the Indian government since the middle of the twentieth century, and it doubles up as an "Indian Cultural Center."[240]

238 C. S. Revnakoğlu, "Hindiler tekkesi"; Z. H. Aybek, "Hindîler Tekkesi," p. 96. See the history of this lodge in T. Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," pp. 172–171.

239 Oral communication from Muhammad Munîr Ansârî and of his son Nazîr Ansârî (Jerusalem, April 2002 and May 2006); see also T. Jabbara, *Al-Muslimûn al-hunûd fî qadiyyat filistîn*, pp. 57–59, and "History of the Indian Hospice."

240 T. Jabbara, *Al-Muslimûn al-hunûd fî qadiyyat filistîn*, p. 59.

CONCLUSION

My conclusions can be summed up in a few paragraphs. First and foremost, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, following the emergence of the first Wahhabî state, and particularly after 1924, during the third Wahhabî state, Jerusalem acquired a new position in the history of the pilgrimage: it became the only holy city where saint veneration and Sufi lodges were not forbidden. The Wahhabites are known to have destroyed hundred of tombs in the Hijaz, particularly those with domes, closed down many *zâwiyya*—their shaykhs having fled—and banned singing, music, any kind of depiction, and Sufi ceremonies. In 1924, the famous Naqshbandî-Khâlidî zâwiyya at Abû Jâbal Qubays at Mecca, the fountainhead of the Indonesian Naqshbandiyya, was destroyed and its shaykh forced to flee. However, Sufism continued to be maintained in very private and secret ways, in very few places. A year later, two Indian pilgrims were sentenced to death for having prayed at the tomb of Khadîja, although the sentence was subsequently reduced to a fine of five dollars.[241] In contrast, saint veneration and pilgrimage to the tombs of the prophets and his companions as well as Sufi processions have continued without interruption in Jerusalem and its surrounding areas. It was only after the Second World War that the pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Prophet Moses was stopped for political reasons, but since 1998, it has been very active.[242] Besides, as a consequence of the weakening of the Sufi orders in the Hijaz, the role of Jerusalem as a conservatory of Sufism was reinforced, symbolically at least, if not practically.

Meanwhile, in 1925, one year after the takeover of Mecca by the Wahhabî, the new Kemalist government in Turkey closed down all the *zâwiyas* and prohibited tomb veneration throughout the country. In effect, all the Uzbek, Afghan, and Indian lodges of Istanbul and those in the rest of the country were closed down

241 Mark J. R. Sedgwick, "Saudis Sufis: Compromise in the Hijaz, 1925–40," *Die Welt des Islams* 37:3 (1997), pp.360–364.

242 E. A. Boltanski, "Le Mawsim de Nabî Mûsâ: processions, espace en miettes et mémoire blessée. Territoires palestiniens (1998–2000)," pp.59–80.

and ceased to work as spiritual centers. Some of them, nevertheless, did function as residences for pilgrims and refugees from Russia. However, the Wahhabî takeover put an end to the informal networks of Sufi centers linking Istanbul, Mecca, and Jerusalem. At the same time, the number of pilgrims travelling to Mecca started dwindling after the creation of the Soviet Union and the closing of its borders in 1920. The Register of Dervishes and the Visitor's Book of the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya of Jerusalem hold the final records of what can be called the "traditional pilgrimage," which implies a long and exhausting journey by caravan or railways across Asia and Anatolia to the Hijaz, punctuated with stops at various pilgrim/Sufi residences. Many of the pilgrims registered in these documents in the years following 1940 had no hope of returning to their country—the pilgrims had actually become exiles. With the death of Shaykh Ya'qûb al-Bukhârî in 1956, a new page has begun in the history of the pilgrimage of the Central Asians to Jerusalem, and particularly the history of Sufi fraternalism ... *mawtu 'âlim, mawtu 'âlam* ...

APPENDIX

Visitors to the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya for the following years: 1911–1915 / 1924–1928 / 1938–1959

Source: "*Daftar Sijill al-darawish aladhina dakhalu fi'l-Takiyat al-Naqshbandiyya bi-l-Quds*" (Register of the dervishes who have visited the Naqshbandî lodge in Jerusalem), PAZU.

Remarks:

When a pilgrim stayed at the Zâwiyya al-Uzbakiyya several times, the first date is that of his first arrival, the second of his last visit.

In general the title "*hâjjî*", born by the great majority of pilgrims is omitted, except in the cases when it seems linked closely to the person's name or when the person's name is actually Hâjjî.

The ages given by some pilgrims are confusing, especially in the case of pilgrims who, on visiting the *zâwiyya* for the second time have given an age which doesn't correspond to the years which have passed since their first visit.

The names of the visitors are not transliterated for technical reasons due to the database program I used.

"Passports" of the Pilgrims

Afghani/Afghaniyya: Afghani
Amir: probably from the Emirate of Bukhara
Anglizi : English
Bakistani: Pakistani (?)
Filistini: Palestine
Hindiyya : Indian
Iraqi/Iraqiyya: Iraqi
Iran/Irani : Iran
Suudi: Saudi
Sini (also *Chin/Chini* and *Khitai*): Chinese
Turki: from the Turkish Republic (after 1923)
Turkestan-i Chini: Chinese Turkestani
Uruthi (also *Rus*): Russian
Uthmani/Uthmanli: Othmani
Uzbak: Uzbek

Places of Origin of the Pilgrims

Afghanistan
Balkh
Baluchistan
Herat
Mazar-i Sharif

Eastern Turkistan
Aqsu
Gulja
Kashgar
Khutan
Kuna Turpan
Qushar
Yarkand

Farghana Valley
Khujand
Marghilan
Namangan
Quqan / Khuqand
Ush

Ottoman Empire / Turkey
Ankara
Istanbul
Qunya [Konya]
Shorum [Çorum]
Tokat

Western Turkistan
Ashqawat
Bukhara
Darwaz
Ghijdiwan
Hisar
Katta Qurghan
Khiwa
Kulab
Nawai
Qarshi
Samarkand
Shahrkhan
Shahrzabdh
Tashkand
Turkistan
Urganch

Arab World
Iraq
Jaddah
Makka
Suriyya
Taif

Other
Astrabad (Iran)
Chin
Hind
Pekin Sin
Qazan (Tatarstan)

NAME	FATHER'S NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	PASSPORT	AGE	dates
Abd Akhun	Sirk	Khutan	Khitai	25	1912–13
Abd al-Ahad	Muhammad Amin	Bukhara Imam Qazi Khan		35	1924
Abd al-Ahad	Mulla Shams al-Din	Marghilan		30	1914–15
Abd al-Alim Siddiqi		Hind			1946–47
Abd al-Azim	Abd al-Hamid	Bukhara Shirwat	Iraqiyya	11/13	1925–27
Abd al-Azim	Mulla Abd al-Nazar	Bukhara Qaratakin	Filistini	66	1938–39
Abd al-Azim	Mulla Akhun	Andijan	Iraqiyya	40/46	1924–27
Abd al-Aziz	Islam	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Afghani / Suudi	40/46	1941/1947–48
Abd al-Aziz	Muhammad Ghazi	Andijan	Afghani	29	1937–39
Abd al-Aziz	Mulla Muhammad Sabir	Bukhara		59	1914–15
Abd al-Aziz	Selim	Andijan	Suudi	40	1933–34
Abd al-Baqi	Alim Baq	Bukhara		67	1914–15
Abd al-Baqi	Dhakir Jan	Marghilan	Afghani	35/41	1941/1945–46
Abd al-Baqi	Muhammad	Qushar		44	1942
Abd al-Fattah	Ashur	Marghilan		18	1925
Abd al-Ghaffar	Mulla Mir Fadil	Khujand / Bukhara	Iraqiyya	64	1926–27
Abd al-Ghaffar Khwaja	Uthman	Marghilan Shaban		10	1924–25
Abd al-Ghaffur	Abd al-Sattar	Quqan		45	1912–13
Abd al-Ghaffur	Baqi Akhun	Kashgar		46	1912–13
Abd al-Ghaffur	Husayn	Kashgar		35	1912–13
Abd al-Ghaffur	Muhammad Sadiq	Namangan	Iraqi / Chini	31/37	1924–27
Abd al-Ghaffur	Mir Qurban	Khujand	Sini	28/30	1937–39
Abd al-Ghaffur	Nasir Jan	Quqan	Afghani	52/53	1943–45
Abd al-Ghani	Abd al-Ghaffur	Marghilan	Afghani	37	1941
Abd al-Hafiz	Mulla Abd al-Nazar	Bukhara Qaratakin	Filistini / Uruthi / Afghani	59/64	1938–40
Abd al-Hafiz, Qari	Muhammad Ali	Namangan			1955–56
Abd al-Hakim	Uthman Jan	Quqan		40	1925
Abd al-Halim	Abd al-Baqi	Qushar		31/33	1945–46
Abd al-Hamid	Amin	Kashgar	Sini	64	1944–45
Abd al-Hamid	Muhammad Ayyub	Bukhara Shirwat	Iraqiyya	45/47	1925–27

Abd al-Hamid Makhdum	Ahmad Ali Makhdum	Andijan			1953–54
Abd al-Haqq, Qari	Abd al-Karim	Ush Arawan	Suudi	40	1945–46
Abd al-Haqq	Mulla Haydar Ali	Marghilan		27	1914–15
Abd al-Hayy	Abd al-Baqi	Namangan		61	1953–54
Abd al-Islam	Muhammad Qabil	Bukhara		30	1911–12
Abd al-Jabbar	Abd al-Rahman	Marghilan	Chiniyya	32/33	1925–27
Abd al-Jabbar	Abd al-Rahman	Marghilan	Sini / Uruthi / Filistini	56	1955–56
Abd al-Jabbar	Khwaja Nazar	Khiwa			1955–56
Abd al-Jabbar	Mulla Mawla Nazar	Marghilan		22	1914–15
Abd al-Jabbar	Shah Ali	Turkistan		71	1914–15
Abd al-Jabbar	Tursun Muhammad	Samarqand	Hindiyya	36	1926–27
Abd al-Jabr		Kashgar			1946–47
Abd al-Jan	Qabil	Namangan Tush	Turki	50	1949–50
Abd al-Karim	Abd al-Gharb	Ush / Makka	Suudi	50	1957
Abd al-Karim	Abd al-Latif	Khuqand	Suudi	36/41	1943–44/ 1947–48
Abd al-Karim	Abd al-Latif	Khutan	Sini	37/40	1943/1947–48
Abd al-Karim	Abd al-Rahman	Andijan		37	1914–15
Abd al-Karim	Abid	Khujand	Suudi	55/56	1945–47
Abd al-Karim	Biy Baba Jan	Marghilan	Afghani	58/61	1940/1943
Abd al-Karim	Baha al-Din	Andijan	Afghani	55	1933–34/ 1939–40
Abd al-Karim	Ibrahim	Aqsu		20	1925
Abd al-Karim	Isa	Khutan		35	1914–15
Abd al-Karim	Khuda Birdi	Kashgar		38	1914–15
Abd al-Karim	Mahmud	Kashgar		36	1911–12
Abd al-Karim	Mahmud	Khutand		45	1914–15
Abd al-Karim	Muhammad Ali	Andijan		32/33	1925–27
Abd al-Karim	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan	Uruthi	59	1927–28
Abd al-Karim	Muhammad Rasul	Quqan		45	1926–27
Abd al-Karim	Mulla Muhammad Qasim	Quqan	Uruthi	61/71	1937–38/1942
Abd al-Karim	Yunus	Marghilan		63	1955–56
Abd al-Karim	Yusuf Bay	Namangan		28	1914–15

Abd Allah		Namangan	Afghani		1937–38
Abd Allah	Abd al-Ghani	Khuqand		48	1912–13
Abd Allah	Abd al-Karim	Tashkand		32	1912–13
Abd Allah	Abd al-Khaliq	Bukhara	Amir	49	1911–12
Abd Allah	Abd al-Qadir	Qushar	Sini	30/40	1955–56
Abd Allah	Abd al-Rahim	Namangan		27	1914–15
Abd Allah	Abd al-Rahim	Bukhara	Afghani	31	1936–37/ 1939–40
Abd Allah	Abd al-Wahid	Qushar	Chiniyya	30	1926–27
Abd Allah	Ahmad	Marghilan	Rus	12	1912–13
Abd Allah	Ashur Muhammad	Quqan		21	1914–15
Abd Allah	Fath Allah	Qazan		40	1943–44/ 1955–56
Abd Allah	Kamal	Andijan		51	1956–57
Abd Allah	Kamal Rawzi	Andijan	Suudi	58	1958
Abd Allah	Mirza Hamadan	Bukhara	Uthmani / Amir	37	1924
Abd Allah	Mirza Rahman	Bukhara		40	1911–12
Abd Allah	Muhammad	Yarkand	Turkestan-i Chini	32	1936–37/ 1948–49
Abd Allah	Muhammad	Ush	Afghani	34	1935–36
Abd Allah	Muhammad Azim	Andijan		49	1912–13
Abd Allah	Muhammad Jan	Marghilan		27/30	1924–27
Abd Allah	Muhammad Razzaq	Shahrkhan	Rus	35	1912–13
Abd Allah	Muhammad Zafar	Quqan		17	1925
Abd Allah	Mumin	Kashgar		41	1911–12
Abd Allah	Nimat Allah	Namangan	Turki	49	1946–47
Abd Allah	Nur Ali Bik	Andijan	Hindiyya	76	1926–27
Abd Allah	Qurban	Andijan		44	1911–12
Abd Allah	Usta Samsaq	Quqan		35/36	1925–27
Abd Allah	Yaqub	Marghilan	Afghan	17	1925
Abd Allah	Yusuf	Khutand	Khitai	12	1914–15
Abd Allah Ahmad Shukri		Istanbul		68	1955–56
Abd Allah Akhun	Ismail	Kashgar	Khitai	25	1912–13
Abd Allah Maqsum	Abd al-Qadir Maqsum	Marghilan	Afghani	66	1938–39

Abd Allah, Qari	Abd al-Samad	Kashgar			1949–50
Abd Allah, Qari	Muhammad	Andijan	Iraqi	83	1953–54
Abd Allah Qul	Usta Murad	Bukhara		29	1911–12
Abd al-Latif		Bukhara Qaratakin			
Abd al-Latif	Abd al-Rashid	Marghilan	Uthmani	57/59	1924–27
Abd al-Latif	Abd al-Rashid	Marghilan	Turki	69/71	1925
Abd al-Latif	Abd al-Rashid	Quqan	Turki	80/82	1925
Abd al-Latif Muhammad al-Qazi		Iraq			1955–56
Abd al-Mahmud	Abd al-Baqi	Bukhara		19	1914–15
Abd al-Majid Bik	Mirza Bik	Tashkand		54	1911–12
Abd al-Manat	Khus Muhammad	Turkistan		32	1914–15
Abd al-Maqtur	Tahir	Khutan		44	1955–56
Abd al-Mumin	(?)	Kashgar		39	1911–12
Abd al-Mumin	Muhammad	Quqan	Afghani	32	1943
Abd al-Mumin	Muhammad	Marghilan Baysun		37	1937–38
Abd al-Mumin	Muhammad Qul	Bukhara Baysun	Afghani	32	1926–27
Abd al-Mumin	Mulla Shakir Akhun	Marghilan	Sini	68/72	1944–47
Abd al-Mumin Jan	Dhakir Jan	Marghilan		41	1954–55
Abd al-Nazim	Muhammad Abd al-Rahim	Ush Arawan		27/37	1937–38
Abd al-Qadir	Ata Bay	Namangan		49	1912–13
Abd al-Qadir	Khan Muhammad	Shahrkhan		42	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir	Maqsud	Kashgar		22	1911–12
Abd al-Qadir	Muhammad Fadil	Quqan		25	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir	Mulla Hasan Bay	Khujand		32	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir	Qari Said	Bukhara	Amir	37	1911–12
Abd al-Qadir	Qasim	Kashgar		26	1912–13
Abd al-Qadir	Rustam	Quqan	Rus	29	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir	Sad al-Din	Khutan		35	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir	Sadiq	Yarkand		25	1925
Abd al-Qadir	Shams al-Din	Kashgar		24	1924
Abd al-Qadir	Usta Muhammad Muy	Marghilan	Rus	35	1914–15
Abd al-Qadir Ibrahim Turkistani	Ibrahim Turkistani	Makka	Suudi	50	1957

Abd al-Qahhar		Andijan			1949–50
Abd al-Qahhar	Abd al-Rahman	Khujand		23	1914–15
Abd al-Qahhar	Baba Yar	Bukhara		42	1914–15
Abd al-Qahhar	Fath Allah	Bukhara		40	1926–27
Abd al-Qayyum	Muhammad Masum	Qushar	Bakistani	53	1951–52
Abd al-Rahim	Abd al-Mumin	Tashkand		40	1914–15
Abd al-Rahim	Abd al-Rahman	Quqan			1954–55
Abd al-Rahim	Ahmad	Kashgar	Turki	30	1924
Abd al-Rahim	Hisari	Bukhara		24	1925
Abd al-Rahim	Kamil	Quqan		41	1937–40
Abd al-Rahim	Muhammad	Quqan		51	1914–15
Abd al-Rahim	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan	Uruthi / Iraqi	46	1927–28
Abd al-Rahim	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan	Iraqi	32/36	1924–27
Abd al-Rahim	Muhammad Rasul	Quqan		21	1911–12
Abd al-Rahim	Muhammad Yusuf	Samarkand		51	1953–54
Abd al-Rahim	Qasim	Qushar		33/41	1937–38/ 1943–44
Abd al-Rahim	Quqan Bay Sufi	Shahrkhan		47	1914–15
Abd al-Rahim	Rahim Baray	Andijan		38	1914–15
Abd al-Rahim	Yusuf	Bukhara		27	1924
Abd al-Rahman	Abd Allah	Marghilan		25	1914–15
Abd al-Rahman	Abd al-Qadir	Samarqand	Afghani	37	1925
Abd al-Rahman	Anwar	Khutan	Sini	35/39	1948–49
Abd al-Rahman	Aziz Shaykh	Khiwa	Irani	46	1926–27
Abd al-Rahman	Husayn Akhun	Bukhara		55	1912–13
Abd al-Rahman	Ishaq	Quqan		19	1914–15
Abd al-Rahman	Khatim Bay	Bukhara	Amir	29	1911–12
Abd al-Rahman	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan	Iraqi, Uruthi	58	1927–28
Abd al-Rahman	Muhammad Qadir	Quqan		40	1914–15
Abd al-Rahman	Muhyi al-Din	Kashgar		30	1954–55
Abd al-Rahman	Nizam al-Din Maqsud	Andijan		23	1955–56
Abd al-Rahman	Yuldash Bay	Bukhara		61	1914–15
Abd al-Rashid	Abd al-Majid	Samarqand	Rus	53	1924

Abd al-Rasul	Abd al-Rashid	Quqan		52	1914–15
Abd al-Rasul	Aqushqurbay	Marghilan		25	1914–15
Abd al-Rasul	Siddiq	Khutand		78 (39?)	1925
Abd al-Razzaq	Abd al-Jabbar	Samarqand	Afghani	41/42	1933–34
Abd al-Razzaq	Khalil Biy	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Turki	55/64	1933–36
Abd al-Razzaq	Mulla Ata Bay	Quqand		33	1912–13
Abd al-Samad	Abd Allah	Ush Tarban	Sini	27/34	1940/1947–48
Abd al-Samad	Dawlad Yar Sufi	Andijan		38	1912–13
Abd al-Samad	Mirza Rahmat Allah	Quqan Isfara	Iraqiyya / Suudi	15/38	1925–1941
Abd al-Sami	Mulla Abd al-Minan	Ush Arawan		40	1937–39
Abd al-Sattar	Abd al-Karim	Marghilan		24	1911–12
Abd al-Wahhab	Abd al-Rahman	Tashkand		30	1914–15
Abd al-Wahhab	Muhammad Salih	Marghilan / Andijan	Hindiyya	52/53	1925–27
Abd al-Wahhab	Tash Muhammad	Marghilan Shaban	Afghani / Suudi	59/60	1937–38
Abd al-Wahid	Abd al-Jalil	Marghilan	Rus	42	1914–15
Abd al-Wahid	Mulla Muhammad Akhun	Ush	Rus	50	1912–13
Abd al-Wali	Sab Nazar	Tashkand		22	1914–15
Abd Bay	Mustafa	Quqan		49	1914–15
Abd Biy	Karim Biy	Samarqand	Afghani	46	1937–39
Abid	Muhammad Mahmud al-Bukhari	Kashgar	Suudi	45	1957
Abid b. Maqsud	Mulla Fahr al-Din Ishan	Namangan	Hindiyya	55	1925
Abu Ansa	Khwaja Muhammad	Kashgar		60	1911–12
Abu Bakr	Mulla Yuldash	Andijan		31	1924
Adil	Akhun Madhun	Kashgar	Khitai	38	1911–12
Adil	Muhammad Amin	Quqan		31	1914–15
Adil Jan	Abd Allah	Quqan	Afghani	30	1938–40
Adina Murad	Ay Muhammad	Qarshi		33	1925
Ahmad	Abd al-Khaliq Muhammad	Khutan	Sini	31	1940
Ahmad	Abd Allah	Kashgar		25/26	1925–27
Ahmad	Abd Allah	Kashgar		20	1941
Ahmad	Abd Allah	Quqan		30	1911–12

Ahmad	Abd Allah	Tashkand	Rus	23	1924
Ahmad	Abd Allah	Qushar	Uruthi	30	1951–53
Ahmad	Ahmad	Qushar		39	1944–45
Ahmad	Akram	Khujand	Suudi	26	1937–38
Ahmad	Ali	Uzbak	Uthmani / Iraqi	23	1924
Ahmad	Ata Jan	Marghilan	Rus	48	1912–13
Ahmad	Hakim	Samarqand	Rus	68	1924
Ahmad	Ibrahim	Kashgar		92	1912–13
Ahmad	Irkashi	Marghilan	Afghani	39/47	1934–35/ 1938–39
Ahmad	Muhammad	Kashgar	Khitai	22	1912–13
Ahmad	Muhammad	Khutan		21	1914–15
Ahmad	Muhammad	Marghilan	Hindiyya	14	1925–27
Ahmad	Muhammad	Khutan	Sini	30/32	1940
Ahmad	Muhammad Said	Kashgar Aqsu	Chini	32	1924
Ahmad	Muhammad Tawzat	Kashgar		32	1911–12
Ahmad	Mulla Amin	Marghilan		47/48	1938–39
Ahmad	Mulla Ishaq	Marghilan	Rus	29/30	1924–25
Ahmad (Ahmad Kul)	Mulla Ishaq	Marghilan		43/49	1936–39
Ahmad	Mulla Tayib	Ghulja		40	1914–15
Ahmad	Qadir	Kashgar		18	1924
Ahmad	Qasim	Aqsu		30	1925
Ahmad	Rahmat Allah	Kashgar		36/37	1925–27
Ahmad	Yuldash	Marghilan	Suudi	67	1945–47
Ahmad Ali	Mulla Umar Raq	Namangan	Rus	46	1924
Ahmad Ali	Yuldash Bay	Andijan	Afghan	50	1925
Ahmad Afandi		Istanbul			1953–54
Ahmad Akhun	Abd al-Qadir	Kashgar		18	1924
Ahmad Akhun	Muhammad al-Baqi	Kashgar	Khitai	50	1912–13
Ahmad Jan	Sayr Bay	Quqan		35	1911–12
Ahmad Jan	Muhammad Sadiq	Marghilan	Uruthi	50/69	1933–34/ 1949–50
Ahmad Jan	Muhammad Siddiq	Marghilan	Afghan	38	1926–27
Ahmad Jan	Usta Artiq	Marghilan		22	1914–15

Ahmad Khan	Nasir Jan	Namangan		14	1926–27
Ahmad Khwaja	Mulla Zayn al-Din	Marghilan Shaban		41	1924
Ahmad Qul	(?)	Ush		35	1914–15
Ahmad Qul	Mawalana Qul	Quqan		56	1914–15
Ahmad, Sayyid	Ishan Tura	Quqan		40	1914–15
Ahmad Shah Khwaja	Shah Abd al-Rahim Khwaja	Marghilan		43	1911–12
Ahmad Khaki	Husayn Biy	Samarqand Urataba		60/66	1943/1945–46
Ajil Bay	Rahmat Allah Bay	Khujand		41	1912–13
Aka Birdi	Muhyi al-Din	Bukhara		31	1911–12
Akbar	Muhiba	Quqan / Namangan Kasan	Afghani	38	1936–39
Akbar	Usta Khwaja Ahmad	Shahrkhan		25	1914–15
Akbar Ishan	Qasim	Marghilan			1954–55
Akbar Ali	Najm al-Din	Andijan	Afghani	39	1933–34
Akbar Makhdum	Damulla Abid	Taif	Suudi	63	1958
Akhtam	Abd al-Razzaq	Qushar	Khitai	45	1912–13
Akram	Karamat Allah	Bukhara	Rus	43	1924
Akram	Mir Aziz	Khujand		35	1914–15
Akram	Mulla Abd al-Jalil	Quqan		37	1911–12
Akram	Tukhsun	Aqsu		52	1926–27
Akram Birdi	Baha al-Din	Kashgar		29	1924
Akram Khwaja	Husayn	Shahrkhan		30/31	1924–25
Alam al-Rasul	Mulla Mirza Karim	Quqan		33	1924
Ali	Ahmad	Quqan	Iran	43	1926–27
Ali	Ahmad Afd	Kashgar		28	1914–15
Ali	Ahmad Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	40	1914–15
Ali	Ibrahim				1953
Ali	Hasan	Khiwa		71	1954–55
Ali	Muhammad Tahir	Yarkand	Chini	44	1926–27
Ali	Sufi	Kashgar		45	1911–12
Ali	Yusuf	Marghilan		36	1924
Ali Akhun	Ishim Bahr	Tashkand		37	1914–15
Ali Ala al-Din	Mulla Uthman	Marghilan		36	1925

Ali Jan	Muhyi al-Din	Quqan	Afghani	29/32	1936–37/ 1939–40
Alim Jan	Nur Muhammad	Khujand	Afghani	38	1938–40
Alim Jan	Muhammad Hasib	Ush	Turki	40	1952–53
Ali Muhammad	Abd al-Qahhar	Andijan Khaqan	Afghani	60	1940
Allah	Muhammad Rahim	Yarkand		34	1942
Amin	Ahmad	Kashgar	Chin	27	1924
Amin	Bawi	Khutand		26	1924
Amin	Akhun Madhun	Kashgar	Khitai	40	1911–12
Amin	Hamway	Khutan		55	1914–15
Amin	Hasan	Khutand		22	1924
Amin	Talib	Kashgar	Iraqiyya	42	1926–27
Amin	Tursun Muhammad	Kashgar	Khitai	30	1914–15
Amin	Yusuf Bay	Namangan		28	1914–15
Amin Tukhta	Tukhta	Kashgar	Sini	65	1944–45
Amir Allah	Abd al-Hasan	Samarkand		46	1953–54
Arab	Safar Bay	Bukhara	Iraqiyya	41	1926–27
Arif	Izzat	Qazan	Rus	19	1914–15
Arif	Mirza Bay	Samarqand		35/36	1911–13
Arif	Qulaq Bay	Bukhara		36	1914–15
Arif Jan	Muhammad Zahid	Marghilan		29	1914–15
Arif Maqsum		Namangan			1951–52
Armish	Turdi	Qushar		27	1914–15
Artiq Bay	Turdi Khwaja	Andijan		65	1912–13
Artiq Muhammad	Iskandar	Quqan		64	1912–13
Arz Muhammad		Khiwa Chibay		52	1945–46
Ashraq (?)	Karim Bay	Andijan		73	1912–13
Ashur	Abd al-Wahid	Qushar		37	1944–45
Ashur	Ahmad Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	17	1912–13
Ashur	Ismail	Kashgar		65	1911–12
Ashur	Karam Bay	Kashgar		35	1911–12
Ashur	Qara Qul	Marghilan		48	1925
Ashur	Qul Muhammad	Andijan		34	1914–15

Ashur	Sad Allah	Bukhara		60	1914–15
Ashur	Turdi Akhun	Qushar		25	1912–13
Ashur Abd Allah	Abd al-Wahid	Kashgar	Sini	24/25	1941–42
Ashur ali	Abd al-Razzaq	Marghilan		30	1914–15
Asim	Qasim	Andijan	Turki	59/60	1949–50
Asrar Qul	Karim Bay	Andijan		60	1912–13
Ata Muhammad	Ata Allah	Mazar-i Sharif (Afghanistan)		36	1955–56
Atan Jan	Ashur Muhammad	Marghilan	Iraqi	40	1925
Ata Jan	Muhammad Karim	Khiwa	Iraniyya	56	1925
Ayn al-Din	Najm al-Din	Mazar-i Sharif (Afghanistan)		33	1955–56
Ayyub	Muhammad Karim Khwaja	Andijan		30	1914–15
Azam Jan	Khwaja Muhammad	Quqan		28	1925
Azam Khwaja	Aziz Khwaja	Marghilan			1925
Azim Jan	Usta Muhammad Shakir	Marghilan		20	1914–15
Baba Murad	Baram Qul Bay	Bukhara		62	1912–13
Baba Murad	Rahmat Allah	Bukhara Qarshi	Suudi	64	1958
Baba Qulaq	Mir	Samarqand		25	1925
Baba Rahim	Mirza Rahim	Andijan		26	1911–12
Baba Nazar	Ali Nazar	Quqan	Afghani	59/63	1936–37/1943
Baha al-Din	Uthman	Kashgar		24	1925
Bahr Muhammad	Ish Muhammad	Kuni Tapa	Afghaniyya	41	1926–27
Bahram	Abd al-Karim	Bukhara		35/36	1924–25
Bahram Khwaja	Mirqim Khwaja	Namangan		32	1914–15
Balta Bay	Muhammad Umar	Marghilan	Iraqi	47	1925
Balta Bay	Tash Bay	Namangan		35	1914–15
Baltuqmaq	Dhakir Bay	Namangan		60	1912–13
Baqi	Sharif	Kashgar		36	1911–12
Baqi Jan	Dhakir Jan	Marghilan	Afghani	40/42	1951–52
Barat	Uthman Ali	Marghilan	Hindiyya	56	1925
Barkut Khwaja	Siraj al-Din Khwaja	Bukhara	Amir	21	1914–15
Batir Ali	Bahwan Bay	Andijan	Iraqiyya	49	1926–27
Bawwa	Nar Ali	Marghilan		40	1925

Bay Baba	Usta Husayn Bay	Marghilan		40	1912–13
Bazar Bay	Jar Bay	Quqan		22	1914–15
Bazar Way	Artiq Way	Andijan			1949–50
Bik Muhammad	Atina	Kulab	Hindiyya	45	1925
Bik Murad	Atan Jan	Khiwa Urganch		33	1925
Bik Tash	Khuda Birdi	Andijan		29	1924
Bilad	Ishaq	Kashgar	Khitai	37	1914–15
Buram	Hashim Akhun	Shahrkhan		36	1912–13
Bushi Bay	Rahman Qul Bay Sufi	Quqan		48	1914–15
Buzurg Khwaja	Asghar Khwaja	Tashkand		30	1926–27
Burhan al-Din	Abd al-Salam	Bukhara	Bakistani	60	1954–55
Dada Bala	Rahman Qul	Quqan Alti Ariq		65	1925
Danish	Qurban	Turkistan		33	1911–12
Dara Khwaja	Abd Allah Khwaja	Quqan	Rus	23	1914–15
Darwish	Muhammad	Marghilan		65	1925
Dast Muhammad	Amir Muhammad	Andijan		21	1914–15
Dawran Qul	Abd al-Jalil	Samarqand	Afghani	22	1926–27
Daws Muhammad	Sultan Ghazi	Tashkand		30	1914–15
Dawud	Abd al-Basit	Kashgar Kuna Turpan	Afghan	40	1926–27
Dawud	Ahmad	Ashqawat [Ashqabad]	Suudi	55/57	1942–43
Dawud	Mahmud	Aqsu	Khitai	65	1911–12
Dawud	Mahmud	Kashgar			1949–50
Dawud	Yahya Akhun	Kushar	Sini	32/35	1936–37/1941
Dawud Ishan	Ibrahim Khwaja	Bukhara		45	1914–15
Dawud Jan	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan		41	1912–13
Dust	Abd Allah	Bukhara	Uthmani	60/ 69–70	1911–12/ 1924–27
Dhakir	Abd al-Karim	Andijan	Afghani / Uruthi	40/53	1942/1953–54
Dhakir Khwaja	Yusuf Khwaja	Marghilan		33	1914–15
Fadil	Abd Allah	Qazan		25	1912–13
Fadil	Mulla Muhammad Rahim	Quqan		22	1914–15
Fadl Allah	Ibrahim Qul	Namangan	Suudi	33	1958

Fayd Muhammad	Asad	Bukhara		38/ 39–40	1924–27
Fayd Muhammad	Usta Mir Barad	Quqan		42	1912–13
Ghafur jan	Nasr Jan	Quqan		21	1914–15
Ghaib	Isam al-Din	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Afghani	37/38	1937–38
Ghaib	Muhammad Zand	Quqan Kasim Badan	Afghani	47/48	1941
Ghaib Allah	Muhammad Rahim	Yarkand			1943/1945–46
Ghazi	Muhammad Husayn Bay Qari	Marghilan		23	1914–15
Ghulam	Yuldash Bay	Quqan	Hindiyya	8	1926–27
Ghulam Abd al-Qadir	Yuldash	Quqan	Afghani	18	1937–38/1940
Ghulam Haydar	Arif	Tashkand	Afghani	39/45	1946–47
Habib Allah	Mulla Khalil	Tashkand	Hindiyya	38/40	1924–27
Habib Allah	Niyaz	Kashgar	Chini Wa Anglizi	30	1925
Habib Allah	Zayn al-Din	Kashgar		32	1914–15
Hafiz Abd al-Hayy	Hafiz Abd al-Karim	Samarqand		24	1925
Hafiz Makki al-Bukhari					1946–47
Hajji Bay	Sakin Bay	Khujand	Rus	51	1914–15
Hajji Bik	Mulla Hasan	Marghilan		47	1912–13
Hakim	Ishan Mirza	Bukhara		40	1911–12
Halim	Atash Bay	Namangan		30	1914–15
Halim Makhdum	Yusuf	Urganch	Hindiyya	36	1925
Hamid	Abd al-Razzaq	Qushar	Khitai	23	1912–13
Hamid Jan	Ahmad Jan Qari	Tashkand		45	1933–34
Hamid Jan	Muhammad Amin	Marghilan		24	1959–60
Hamra	Ghaffur Bay	Qushar	Khitai	37	1911–12
Hamran	Khal Qul	Quqan	Iraqiyya	64/65	1925–27
Hamra Qul	Khaliq Nazar	Andijan		40	1914–15
Hamra Qul	Rajab Bay	Samarqand	Afghani	36	1926–27
Hamra Qul	Tura Qul	Quqan		48	1914–15
Haqq Qul	Tahir	Qushar		35	1914–15
Hasan	Ahmad Jan	Tashkand	Suudi	45	1944–45
Hasan	Khan Nazar Bay	Tashkand		34	1914–15

Hasan	Khwaja Muhammad Sufi	Quqan	Uthmani	72	1924
Hasan	Mustafa	Tokat		46	1911–12
Hasan	Qasim	Aqsu	Chin	52	1925
Hasan Bay	Badil Maqsud	Marghilan		44	1925
Hasan Bay	Ismat Diyar	Andijan		50	1925
Hasan Bay	Muhammad Turdi	Andijan		60	1912–13
Hasan Bay	Mulla Rahman Birdi	Shahrkhan		28	1914–15
Hashim	Talb al-Din	Kashgar		50	1911–12
Hashim	Ata Mirza	Namangan Kasan	Afghani	37/38	1933–34
Hashim	Muhammad	Shahrkhanlik		40/42	1940
Hashim	Rustam Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	36	1914–15
Hashim	Yusuf Bay	Kashgar		41	1912–13
Hashim Jan	Abd Allah Bay	Khujand / Ush	Iraqiyya	27	1926–27
Hunash Waqt	Tila Qul Sufi	Marghilan		45	1911–12
Haydar					1955–56
Haydar	Mulla Khan Muhammad	Marghilan		30	1914–15
Haydar Ali	Fadil Jan	Marghilan	Afghani	33	1936–39
Haydar Ali	Khatim Bay	Quqan		41	1914–15
Haydar Ali	Mirza Ali	Quqan		65	1926–27
Haydar Ali	Mirza Bay	Quqan	Afghan	58	1924
Haydar Ali	Tura Bay	Quqan		22/23	1924–25
Haydar Bay	Ali Bay	Kashgar		30	1914–15
Hazar	Yusuf	Bukhara Qarshi	Turki		1926–27
Hikmat	Nimat Allah	Bukhara	Amir	24	1911–12
Husayn	Bakr	Qunya [Konya]	Turki	38	1937–39
Husayn	Ziluja	Kashgar		24	1912–13
Husayn	Muhammad Bay	Marghilan	Rus	52	1912–13
Husayn	Nadir Khan	Andijan		24	1914–15
Husayn	Yusuf	Qarshi		25	1914–15
Husayn Jan	Umar Zaq Jan	Bukhara		50	1926–27
Husayn Bay	Muhammad Dhakir	Khuqand		40	1911–12
Ibrahim	Abd al-Mumin	Tashkand		40	1914–15

Ibrahim	Abd al-Rahim	Kashgar	Hindiyya	36	1925
Ibrahim	Ahmad	Kashgar	Khitai	30	1914–15
Ibrahim	Bakht	Kashgar	Khitai	30	1912–13
Ibrahim	Iskandar	Marghilan Shaban		40/41	1924–25
Ibrahim	Ismail	Marghilan		25/36	1925–27
Ibrahim	Ismail	Quqan	Rus	68	1925
Ibrahim	Khal Muhammad	Khujand		39	1925
Ibrahim	Mahmud	Namangan		30	1914–15
Ibrahim	Muhammad Alim	Quqan		45	1912–13
Ibrahim	Muhammad Sufi	Kashgar		65	1912–13
Ibrahim	Mulla Nazar	Tashkand		46	1912–13
Ibrahim	Satualdi	Quqan		28	1911–12
Ibrahim	Sulayman	Tashkand	Hijazi	25	1924
Ibrahim Jan	Makki Sufi	Marghilan		26	1914–15
Ibrahim Khwaja	Sad al-Din Khwaja	Marghilan Shaban	Afghani	12	1925
Idris	Turdi Khwaja	Kashgar		26	1912–13
Ihsan Bay	Khwaja Bay	Quqan		36	1914–15
Ikash Birdi		Urganch	Irani	55	1926–27
Ikash Birdi	Khuda Barkash	Marghilan		45	1924
Ikash Birdi	Khuda Dirkan	Tashkand		48	1912–13
Ikash Birdi	Muhammad Rahim	Bukhara Qarshi	Afghani	36	1935–36
Ikash Birdi	Rustam Bay	Marghilan		52	1924
Ilyas	Mir Ilyas	Quqan	Afghani	38	1951–52
Imam	Mulla Hanafi Khalifa	Andijan	Iraqiyya	47	1926–27
Imam Qul	Ata Qul	Andijan		58	1953–54
Iman	Abd al-Nabi	Katta Khurghan		48	1914–15
Inabat	Haji Hussam al-Din	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Afghani		1937–38
Irkash	Arif bay	Namangan		36	1914–15
Irkash	Hasan Biy	Marghilan		56/69	1933–34/ 1944–45
Irkash	Ismail	Tashkand		45	1925
Irkash Yunus	Mansur	Bukhara		30	1933–34
Isa	Abd al-Rahim	Kashgar		32	1941

Isa	Muy	Kashgar		65	1911–12
Isa	Shah Ali	Kashgar	Khitai	45	1912–13
Isa	Talib	Kashgar	Iraqiyya	30	1926–27
Isa Ahmad		Bakistan		50	1956–57
Isa Dhakir Khwaja	Yahya Dhakir	Marghilan	Suudi	67	1957
Ish Murad	Nar Muhammad	Bukhara Katta Kurghan	Bukhara	54	1924
Ishan Akhun	Rahman Qul	Andijan		35	1914–15
Ishan Hajji	Abd al-(?)	Marghilan		26	1911–12
Ishaq	Abd al-Hamid	Kashgar		36	1911–12
Ishaq Bak	Ibrahim Bak	Tashkand		66	1955–56
Iskandar	Uthman	Herat Afghanistan	Afghani	60/62	1953–54
Islam	Abd al-Halim al-Bukhari	Kashgar - Makka	Suudi	33	1957
Islam	Abu Qasim	Kashgar	Iraqi	27	1925
Islam	Isa	Khutand	Hindiyya	63	1925
Islam	Khuda Birdi	Kashgar		34	1911–12
Islam	Niyaz Bak	Bukhara Ghijdiwan		69	1938–39
Islam	Qurban	Khutand	Hindiyya	67	1925
Ismail	Ali	Shahrzabdh [Shahrzabz]		21	1912–13
Ismail	Baqi	Kashgar		67	1911–12
Ismail	Islam Niyaz	Yarkand		35/39	1943/1946–47
Ismail	Khuda Birdi	Khutand		35	1924
Ismail	Muhammad	Kashgar		21	1914–15
Ismail	Rustam Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	20	1914–15
Ismail	Sahib Nazar	Quqan		38	1912–13
Ismail Akhun	Qurban	Kashgar	Sini	35/47	1940/1946–47
Ismail Ibrahim Turkistani	Ibrahim Turkistani	Jaddah	Suudi	55	1957
Ismail Khwaja	Tash Khwaja	Quqan		61	1925–27
Ismat	Ghaib Nazar	Quqan		30	1911–12
Ismat Allah	Abd al-Rahim Sufi	Andijan	Suudi	57	1945–46/ 1949–50
Ismat Yar	Mulla Ahmad	Quqan		51	1925
Jafar	Said Alim	Marghilan		31	1912–13

Jalal	Mir Aziz	Namangan	Rus	45	1914–15
Jalal al-Din	Ishan Baba Khwaja	Namangan - Makka	Suudi	67	1957
Jalal al-Din	Nizam al-Din	Marghilan		20	1912–13
Jamal al-Din	Ruz Muhammad	Marghilan Shaban	Afghani	35	1925
Jarkish	Khudai Nazar	Shahrzabz		46	1912–13
Juma	Tukhta	Kashgar		35	1914–15
Juma Bay	Halim Bay	Andijan		48	1925
Jura	Muhammad Azim	Andijan		70/73	1944–45/ 1947–48
Jurbay	Abd al-Razzaq	Quqan	Uruthi	25/44/47	1925/1943–44/ 1947–48
Jurbay	Hamrah Bay	Quqan	Rusi	56	1925
Jurbay	Jayan Bay	Quqan		50/65	1912–13/1924
Jurbay	Mirza Umar	Bukhara		67	1914–15
Jurbay	Mulla Ata Bay	Quqand		20	1912–13
Jurbay	Safar Bay	Bukhara		27	1914–15
Jurbay	Usta Baba	Marghilan		54/55/56	1924–27
Jurbay	Yuldash Bay	Quqan	Hindiyya	26/27	1925–27
Kabil	Mumin	Yarkand	Sini	54/63	1936–37/ 1939–40
Kal Muhammad	Ali Muhammad	Baluchistan			1954–55
Kamal al-Din	Abd al-Khaliq	Andijan Bazar Qurghan	Afghani	49	1945–47
Kamal	Muhammad	Bukhara		38	1911–12
Kami	Muhammad	Bukhara		39	1912–13
Kamil	Ahmad	Kashgar	Khitai	20	1912–13
Karamat Khwaja	Said Khwaja	Andijan	Turki	32	1926–27
Karam Ali al-Hindi		Hind			1946–47
Karim	Muhammad Yunus	Ush		35	1914–15
Karim Bay	Rahman Bay	Khujand / Bukhara		30/31	1924–25
Karim Birdi	Allah Wirqash	Khiwa		48	1925
Karim Jan	Abd al-Khaliq	Andijan	Uruthi / Suudi	33/36	1940/1942
Karim Jan	Akhun Jan	Marghilan		26	1914–15
Khaliq Nazar	Abd al-Nazar	Quqan		46	1912–13
Khal Muhammad Tish	Mamur Biy	Marghilan	Afghani	33/35	1943–46
Khal Muhammad	Abd al-Qabbar	Andijan Khaqan	Afghani	59/61	1940

Khal Muhammad	Muhammad Wali	Marghilan	Afghani	63	1941
Khan Mirza	Muhammad Baba	Marghilan		46	1912–13
Khan Mirza	Niyazi Bay	Andijan		70	1914–15
Khan Muhammad	Abd al-Qurban	Andijan Khaqan	Uruthi	63	1940/1947–48
Khan Muhammad	Muhammad Siddiq	Quqan		24	1914–15
Khayli	Tawzat	Kashgar		47	1911–12
Khizr	Yusuf	Bukhara Qarshi	Turki	45	1926–27
Khizr Niyaz	Tash Timur Sufi	Urganch	Afghaniyya	40	1926–27
Khuda Birdi	Ata Allah	Kashgar		30	1911–12
Khuda Birdi	Akhun	Qushar		22	1911–12
Khuda Birdi	Karam Mustafa	Kashgar		48	1911–12
Khuda Birdi	Khal Murad	Khiwa Urganch	Iraqi	51	1925
Khuday Barkash	Baba Jan	Khiwa	Iraqi	65	1925
Khuday Barkash	Khwaja Niyaz	Khiwa	Iran	52	1924
Khuday Birdi	Muhammad Qul	Khuqand Bakwar	Afghani		1946–47
Khuday Nazar	Baba Jan	Khiwa		39	1925
Khwajam Bardak	Mulla Said Khwaja	Quqan		34	1914–15
Khwaja Muhammad	Abd Allah	Samarqand		45	1911–12
Kuday Bay	Quldash	Quqan		25	1914–15
Kul	Muhammad Salih	Hisar		33	1912–13
Kul Muhammad		Urganch	Irani	61	1926–27
Kul Muhammad	Jubaq Qul	Namangan	Iraqiyya	50	1925
Kunja	Muhammad Shakir	Marghilan		36	1911–12
Kunja Bay	Uzaq Bay	Andijan		22	1914–15
Lutf Allah	Karam Allah	Bukhara		54	1911–12
Lutf al-Din Khwaja	Yuldash Khwaja	Andijan		23	1914–15
Lutfi	Ali	Bukhara	Uthmani	33	1925
Mahmud	Ahmad	Qushar		38	1944–45
Mahmud	Alim Bay	Bukhara Katta Qurghan	Rus Ve Irani	61/62	1924–25
Mahmud	Satualdi	Andijan		19	1912–13
Mahmud Akhun	Shun Akhun	Kashgar Yangihisar	Chin	60	1926–27
Mahmud Khwaja	Musa Khwaja	Bukhara		29	1914–15

Maqsud	Thabit Qumayi	Kuma	Turki	58	1957
Maqsum	Mumin Bay	Samarqand		35	1914–15
Maqsur	Usta Shakir	Marghilan		70	1914–15
Malmiyas	Ismail	Ush		40	1914–15
Maruf Khan	Musa Khan	Marghilan Quwa		61/66	1945–48
Mawlawi Mir Muhammad	Muhammad Umar	Baluchistan			1954–55
Mir	Iman (?)	Kashgar		32	1911–12
Mir Ahmad	Usta Mir Abd	Quqan		29	1914–15
Mir Ali Jan	Umar Qari			25	1914–15
Mir Alim	Khiban	Qazan	Rus	18	1914–15
Mir Biy	Yuldash	Quqan	Afghani	30	1937–38
Mir Ilyas		Qushar	Afghani	37	1951–52
Mir Muhammad	Madad	Khiwa Shajay		26	1941
Mir Way	Akbar	Quqan	Afghani	32	1935–36
Mirza	Barq Bay	Tashkand		30	1911–12
Mirza Ahmad	Hamran Qul	Quqan	Iraqiyya	30	1925
Mirza Ahmad Jan	Mahmud Khan	Namangan		45	1951–52
Mirza Akram			Afghani		1946–48
Mirza Ali	Mirza Ahmad	Marghilan		25	1912–13
Mirza Ali	Mulla Mirza Ahmad	Marghilan	Afghaniyya	25/40	1912–13/ 1926–27
Mirza Alim	Muhammad Umar	Quqan			1954–55
Mirza Hakim	Muhammad Yusuf	Marghilan		33	1925
Mirza Hayat		Bukhara			1952–53
Mirza Karim	Mir Said Bay	Marghilan		52	1914–15
Mirza Karim	Mirza Rahim	Quqan	Afghan	22	1924
Mirza Mahmud	Khatim	Namangan Kasan	Afghani	29/32	1936–37
Mirza Rahim	Tash Muhammad Sufi	Quqan	Afghan	66	1924
Mirza Rahmat	Mulla Khal Mirza	Quqan	Iraqiyya	56	1925
Mirza Rahmatullah	Mulla Khan Mirza	Quqan Isfara	Suudi	71/73	1940
Mirza Shadma	Dawlad Shah	Balkhi Mazar	Afghaniyya	41	1926–27
Mirza Umar	Uz Muhammad	Quqan	Afghani	56	1933–34
Mirza Umar Qari	Khalifa Mirza	Quqan Isfarlik		35	1925

Mirza Yuldash	Mirza Muhyi al-Din	Quqan	Afghani	38/41	1935–36/1943
Mirza Yuldash	Mirza Shams al-Din	Quqan	Afghani	37	1935–36
Miyan Bay	Akbar	Quqan	Afghani	31	1935–36
Miyan Bay	Bay Muhammad	Qarshi		40	1925
Miyan Mulk Khwaja	Munawwar Khwaja	Quqan	Rus	52	1925
Miyas Bay	Muhammad Murad	Khiwa	Iran	52	1924
Muhammad	Sarmsaq Bay	Eski Marghilan		52	1911–12
Muhammad Raziq	Buba Bay	Quqan		57	1911–12
Muhammad	Abd al-Khaliq	Quqan	Afghani	47/51	1927–28/ 1930–31
Muhammad	Abd al-Qahhar	Andijan	Afghani	54/58	1940
Muhammad	Abd al-Qurban	Andijan	Afghani		1940
Muhammad	Abd al-Mumin	Kashgar	Chini / Uthmani	36	1924–1925
Muhammad	Abd al-Rahman	Marghilan		16	1914–15
Muhammad	Abd al-Rasul Sufi	Samarqand		55	1912–13
Muhammad	Ahmad	Khutan		40	1914–15
Muhammad	Ahmad	Yarkand		31	1941
Muhammad	Ahmad	Kushar		40	1944–47
Muhammad	Ahmad Abd al-Rahim	Yarkand		32/33	1941/1943
Muhammad	Akbar	Marghilan		25	1914–15
Muhammad	Ali Abd Allah	Khutan		34	1956–57
Muhammad	Ali Khwaja	Andijan		58/61	1924–25
Muhammad	Hasan	Qazan	Uruthi	66/67	1951–52
Muhammad	Husayn	Kashgar		38	1911–12
Muhammad	Ibrahim	Kashgar		49	1911–12
Muhammad	Ibrahim	Marghilan	Hindiyya	38/39	1925–27
Muhammad	Ibrahim	Marghilan		33	1914–15
Muhammad	Ismail Haqqi	Shurum Ankara	Turki	26	1926–27
Muhammad	Mumin	Kashgar		30/32	1911–12/ 1914–15
Muhammad	Muhammad Ali	(?)	Uthmani	53	1911–12
Muhammad	Muhammad Said	Namangan	Suudi	18	1925
Muhammad	Muhammad Shah	Kashgar	Khitai	15	1912–13
Muhammad	Muhammad Tukhta	Aqsu		40	1912–13

Muhammad	Mulla Hisar	Taskand		26	1912–13
Muhammad	Mulla Khatfiyya	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Iraqiyya	54	
Muhammad	Mulla Khalifa	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Iraqiyya	54	1925
Muhammad	Mulla Muhammad Qasim	Andijan		30	1914–15
Muhammad	Nimat Allah	Kashgar	Khitai	28	1911–12
Muhammad	Niyaz	Yarkand		27/28	1941
Muhammad	Qasim	Kashgar		52	1911–12
Muhammad	Qurban	Kashgar		23	1912–13
Muhammad	Rahim	Kashgar		32	1914–15
Muhammad	Ruzi Muhammad	Khutand	Afghaniyya	36	1926–27
Muhammad	Sadr	Khiwa Shaban		26	1942
Muhammad	Sarmsaq Bay	Eski Marghilan		53	1912–13
Muhammad	Shams al-Din	Tashkand		69	1912–13
Muhammad	Tahir Bay	Qushar		37	1914–15
Muhammad	Tash Muhammad	Andijan		17	1912–13
Muhammad	Urun	Samarqand	Turki	44	1925
Muhammad	Uz Muhammad	Khiwa Shajay		28	1941
Muhammad	Yaqub	Khutand		22/23	1925–27
Muhammad	Yunus	Chin	Khitai	69	1911–12
Muhammad Abd Allah	Mulla Ramadan	Ush		26	1912–13
Muhammad Abd al-Rahman	Muhammad Qasim	Khutan		30	1941
Muhammad Akhun	Mumin Khwaja	Kashgar		29	1912–13
Muhammad al-Atabi al-Marakashi					1946–47
Muhammad Ali	Ata Bay	Marghilan	Khitai	26	1911–12
Muhammad Ali	Muhammad Salim	Marghilan		24	1912–13
Muhammad Ali	Ghazi	Qutan [Khutan]		17	1925
Muhammad Ali	Muhammad Umar	Andijan		28	1914–15
Muhammad Ali	Muhammad Yunus	Ush		26	1914–15
Muhammad Ali	Turdi	Yarkand		25	1911–12
Muhammad Ali	Sadiq Bay	Namangan	Uthmani	74	1911–12
Muhammad Ali	Yuldash Biy	Andijan	Afghani	53	1935–36/ 1939–40

Muhammad Ali	Yusuf	Andijan		38	1911–12
Muhammad Amin	Ahmad	Quqan Baysun	Suudi	40/41	1945–48
Muhammad Amin	Balta Akhun	Yarkand		54	1912–13
Muhammad Amin	Ismail Haqqi	Churum	Turki	21/22	1925–27
Muhammad Amin	Ismat Allah	Quqan	Iraqiyya	28	1926–27
Muhammad Amin	Muhammad Baba Damulla	Marghilan		35/36	1943–45
Muhammad Amin	Muhammad Karim	Quqan		34	1914–15
Muhammad Amin	Muhammad Umar	Andijan		76	1956–57
Muhammad Amin	Muhammad Zafar	Quqan		21	1925
Muhammad Amin	Mulla Jabir	Bukhara Darwaz	Afghani	48/49	1940
Muhammad Amin	Mulla Taj al-Din	Andijan		39	1914–15
Muhammad Amin	Musa Jan	Turkistani		23	1949–50
Muhammad Amin	Ruzi	Kashgar	Chini Wa Anglizi	20	1925
Muhammad Amin	Shaykh Salih	Makka	Khitai	60	1911–12
Muhammad Amin	Taj al-Din	Quqan		30	1914–15
Muhammad Amin, Qari	Imdan Jan	Khuqand		50	1955–56
Muhammad Amin Qari	Pahliwan	Marghilan Shaban	Suudi	48/64	1937–38/ 1944–45
Muhammad Asrar	Muhammad Isa	Bukhara Qaratakin	Afghani	64	1937–39
Muhammad Ayyub	Mulla Jar	Quqan	Khitai	25	1912–13
Muhammad Azam	Muhammad Jan	Tashkand	Afghani	43/53	1946–47
Muhammad Aziz	Mulla Tukhta	Kashgar	Khitai	32	1912–13
Muhammad Dhakir	Atina Muhammad	Khuqand		69	1911–12
Muhammad Dhakir	Hamran Qul	Quqan	Iraqiyya	12/13	1925–27
Muhammad Fadil	Muhammad Saib	Quqan		58	1914–15
Muhammad Husam al-Din	Muhammad Asam al-Din	Tashkand		25	1914–15
Muhammad Ibrahim	Muhammad Siddiq	Aqsu	Iraqiyya	45	1925
Muhammad Isa	Ibrahim Akhun	Khutand	Chini	33	1924
Muhammad Ishaq	Muhammad Karim	Quqan	Afghaniyya	50	1926–27
Muhammad Ishaq	Nishan Bay	Quqan	Rus	38	1912–13
Muhammad Ismail	Muhammad Isa	Namangan		37	1914–15
Muhammad Ismail	Muhammad Khalil	Kashgar	Iraqiyya	35	1926–27

Muhammad Ismat Chalabi	Ahmad Sabri	Istanbul	Turki	45	1949–50
Muhammad Jan	Anam Jan	Tashkand	Rus	14	1925
Muhammad Jan	Ibrahim	Marghilan		61/62	1948–50
Muhammad Jan	Muhammad Alim Bay	Ush		35	1914–15
Muhammad Jan	Muhammad Qasim	Marghilan	Afghani	32	1937–38
Muhammad Jan	Muhammad Rasul	Andijan		35	1914–15
Muhammad Jan	Nasir Jan	Namangan		35	1926–27
Muhammad Jan	Tajir Jan	Namangan		24	1925
Muhammad Jan	Yar Muhammad	Khiwa	Afghani	48/50	1946–47
Muhammad Jura	Muhammad Zaid	Quqan		25	1914–15
Muhammad Kabir	Muhammad Amin	Marghilan		20	1912–13
Muhammad Khan, Tura	Husayn	Ush Nurkat	Sini	30/32	1945–48
Muhammad Murad	Ata Allah	Bukhari		35	1925
Muhammad Naji	Jalal al-Din Khwaja	Namangan - Makka	Suudi	38	1957
Muhammad Nazar	Amir Ghazi	Quqan		29	1924
Muhammad Nazar	Said Akhun	Kashgar		32	1914–15
Muhammad Nazar Ishan	Ishan Said Nazar	Khiwa	Iraqi	40	1925
Muhammad Niyaz	(?)	Khutand		45	1914–15
Muhammad Niyaz	Dust	Khiwa		50	1925
Muhammad Niyaz	Muhammad Churak	Kashgar	Hindiyya Wa Iraqi	45	1925
Muhammad Niyaz	Said	Kashgar		36	1914–15
Muhammad Numan	Mulla Ibrahim	Marghilan	Iraqiyya	45	1926–27
Muhammad Nur	Ali	Yarkand	Chini	17	1926–27
Muhammad Nur	Muhammad Numan Bay	Quqan		26	1924
Muhammad Nur	Turdi	Khutand		30	1924
Muhammad Qasim	Amir Buway	Marghilan		30	1912–13
Muhammad Qasim	Sulayman	Marghilan		34/35	1943–46
Muhammad Qul	Juma Nazar	Qarshi		33	1925
Muhammad Qul	Mulla Hadrat Qul	Quqan	Afghaniyya	54	1926–27
Muhammad Quldash	Yuldash Bay	Quqan	Hindiyya	33/34	1925–27
Muhammad Qurban	Alim Burhan	Khuqand		31	1954–55

Muhammad Qurban	Hamadan Bay	Kashgar	Khitai	32	1914–15
Muhammad rahim	Muhammad Rasul	Quqan		24	1914–15
Muhammad Rahmat Allah	Ishaq Bay	Quqan		27	1914–15
Muhammad Rasul	Usta Muhammad	Marghilan		37	1914–15
Muhammad Rasul al-Qadi	Muhammad Alim	Quqan	Afghani	62/73	1939–40/ 1952–53
Muhammad Riza Khan	Isa Bakib	Namangan	Suudi	53	1957
Muhammad Sabir	Abd al-Hakim	Tashkand	Suudi	60	1957
Muhammad Sabir	Mir Abd Allah	Marghilan	Afghan	35/36	1924–25
Muhammad Sabir	Qazaq Bay	Khiwa	Iraqi	65	1925
Muhammad Sadiq	Muhammad Raziq	Quqan		21	1911–12
Muhammad Sadiq	Muhammad Salih	Marghilan	Rus	39	1912–13
Muhammad Sadiq	Muhammad Yunus	Khujand		33	1914–15
Muhammad Sadiq	Tash Muhammad	Shahrkhanlik	Afghani	74/82	1933–34/ 1947–48
Muhammad Safi	Muhammad Qul	Quqan	Afghaniyya	18	1926–27
Muhammad Safi	Rahmat Allah	Khiwa	Iraqi	25	1925
Muhammad Said		Bukhara			1946–47
Muhammad Salih, Shaykh					1946–47
Muhammad Salih	Muhammad Ali	Andijan		34/35	1925–27
Muhammad Salih	Mulla Safar	Quqan		44	1914–15
Muhammad Salih	Sayyid Sulayman	Shakhkhan		36	1914–15
Muhammad Salih Makhdum	Sar Makhdum	Khiwa	Iraqiyya	45	1925
Muhammad, Sayyid	Arz Muhammad	Khiwa Shaban		29	1941
Muhammad Sharif	Muhammad Rajab	Bukhara	Hindiyya	34/35	1925–27
Muhammad Sharif	Muhammad Yusuf	Khiwa	Iraqi	41	1925
Muhammad Siddiq	Muhammad Sharif	Marghilan		23	1914–15
Muhammad Sulayman	Sulayman Mahmud	Namangan		54	1954–55
Muhammad Tukhta	Muhammad Amin	Yarkand		18	1912–13
Muhammad Tukhta	Muhammad Muy	Yarkand		55	1912–13
Muhammad Tukhta	Mulla Tukhta	Kashgar	Khitai	38	1912–13
Muhammad Tura Jan					1946–47
Muhammad Turdi	Abd al-Razzaq	Bukhara		31	1912–13

Muhammad Uthman	Muhammad Sayyid	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Afghani	59	1937–40
Muhammad Uthman	Muhammad Umar	Khujand	Afghani	37	1946–47
Muhammad Yaqub	Allah Birkash	Khiwa	Iraqi	57	1925
Muhammad Yaqub	Bik Timur	Bukhara Urganch	Iran	35/37	1924–25
Muhammad Yaqub	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan		59	1914–15
Muhammad Yusuf Khwaja	Muhammad Qahir Khwaja	Khiwa	Iraqiyya	62	1926–27
Muhammad Yunus	Tash Muhammad	Andijan Khaqan	Suudi	66/72	1939–40/ 1945–46
Muhammad Yusuf	Mulla Shah Maranqul	Bukhara Sharawan		81	1925
Muhammad Yunus	Yuldash Bay	Quqan		38	1914–15
Muhammad Zafar	Husam Bay	Quqan		52	1925
Muhammad Zahid	Muhammad Sabir	Quqan		41	1914–15
Muhammad Zaid	Khatim Qul	Quqan		60	1914–15
Muhammad Zarnuq	al-Shaykh Bik Muhammad	Khiwa Shaban		43/44	1941–42
Muhyi al-Din	Abd Allah	Tashkand		48	1911–12
Muhyi al-Din	Inayat Allah	Quqan		29	1914–15
Muhyi al-Din	Muhammad Arif	Quqan		31/32	1924–25
Muhyi al-Din Khwaja	Akram Khwaja	Quqan	Hind	20	1925
Muhyi al-Din Khwaja	Muhammad	Tashkand	Uthmani	35	1924
Muhyi al-Din Shah	Burhan al-Din Shah Qari	Bukhara	Afghani	30	1959
Mukarram	Mahdi	Bukhara		28	1924
Mukhtar	Abd al-Rahim	Shahrkhanlik	Suudi	22	1947–48
Mukhtar Maqsum	Amin Jan	Andijan			1949–50
Mulla	Tash Bay	Marghilan		61	1914–15
Mulla	(?) Maqsum	Marghilan		53	1911–12
Mulla	Hamdi	Yarkand	Khitai	30	1911–12
Mulla Abd al-Ghafur	Abd Muhammad	Khujand		25	1914–15
Mulla Abd al-Jabbar	Mulla Mawla Nazar	Marghilan		22	1914–15
Mulla Abd Allah	Rahim Bay	Namangan	Rus	23	1912–13
Mulla Abd al-Rahman	Abd al-Qadir	Samarqand	Afghan	36	1924
Mulla Abd al-Rahman	Mulla Yuldash	Andijan		21	1912–13
Mulla Abd al-Razzaq	Muhammad Imla	Andijan		70	1912–13
Mulla Abd al-Samad	Pahliwan	Andijan		25	1912–13

Mulla Abd al-Sattar	Yuldash Bay	Andijan		31/32	1924–25
Mulla Ahmad	Nur Muhammad	Quqan		23	1914–15
Mulla Ahmad Jan	Mulla Badaway	Namangan		32	1914–15
Mulla Amin	Karim	Quqan		28	1912–13
Mulla Batir	Saja	Kashgar	Iraqi	36	1925
Mulla Balta Bay	Muhammad Qasim	Marghilan	Uthmani	52	1924
Mulla Fayd Allah	Damulla Alim	Namangan		34	1914–15
Mulla Hamid jan	Rahim Qul	Quqan		23	1914–15
Mulla Hamra Ali	Imam Nazar	Quqan		46	1924
Mulla Hamra Qul	Imam Nazar	Quqan		43	1925
Mulla Hasan Bay	Mulla Atash	Shahrkhan		36	1914–15
Mulla Haydar	Abid	Bukhara	Iraqiyya	39	1926–27
Mulla Haydar	Ali Muhammad	Samarqand	Afghani	41	1933–34
Mulla Khawsi Muhammad	Mulla Kabil	Shahrsabdh		24	1914–15
Mulla Mir Sadiq	Fadl	Khujand		23	1914–15
Mulla Mir Sultan	Mir Abd al-Azim	Samarqand	Suudi	61	1937–39
Mulla Mir Taji	Mir Ahmad	Tashkand	Rus	33	1914–15
Mulla Mir Tursun	Mir Muhammad	Samarqand	Rus	49	1925
Mulla Muhammad Dust	Sufi Muhammad	Bukhara Hisar	Afghan	30	1924
Mulla Muhammad Imla	Sharif Muhammad	Marghilan		45	1912–13
Mulla Nimat	Tash Muhammad	Sarmarqand	Turki	60	1925
Mulla Sad Allah	Asad Allah	Mazar-i sharif	Afghani	33	1925
Mulla Safa	Shir Muhammad	Khiwa	Iraqi	58	1925
Mulla Sanki Khan	Ismail	Quqan Qanibadem		30	1925–27
Mulla Sayyid Sultan	Sayyid Abd al-Azim	Samarkand	Suudi	61	1937–38
Mulla Sufi	Turdi Bik	Marghilan		25	1914–15
Mulla Sultan	Khuday Qul	Quqan		38	1914–15
Mulla Taj al-Din	Sulayman	Ush		36	1914–15
Mulla Taj al-Din	Tash Muhammad	Namangan		31	1914–15
Mulla Tash Muhammad	Uthman Yar	Marghilan		38	1911–12
Mulla Umar Ali	Mulla Ibrahim	Qushtaba Saray		29	1914–15
Mulla Yaqub	Yusuf	Khiwa Urganch	Iraqiyya	55	1926–27

Mulla Yuldash	Dust Bay	Marghilan		43	1924
Mumin Akhun	Qurban Akhun	Kashgar		32	1936–39
Mumin Jan	Dawud Jan	Andijan		26	1912–13
Munfid	Ashur	Kashgar		35	1911–12
Muqim	Mulla Arif Jan	Quqan		46	1914–15
Murad	Khal Nazar	Bukhara	Uthmani	7	1925
Murad	Mulla Sultan	Shahrkhan		21	1914–15
Murad	Qurban Murad	Qarshi		26	1914–15
Murad	Tursun Khwaja	Bukhara		42	1914–15
Murad Akhun	Muhammad Qasim	Marghilan		45	1914–15
Murad Allah	Qurban Nazar	Bukhara		25	1912–13
Murad Khan	Azam Khwaja	Tashkand	Uruthi	30	1949–50/ 1954–55
Murtaza	Mahmud	Marghilan			1954–55
Musa	Abd al-Ghaffur	Marghilan	Suudi	27	1945–46
Musa	Isa	Yarkand	Chini	42	1925
Musa	Muhammad Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	36	1914–15
Musa	Qurban	Kashgar		25	1911–12
Mustaq	Muhammad Yaqub	Marghilan		29	1914–15
Muzzafar Khan	Sayyid Musa Khan	Marghilan / Namangan Nuslik		65	1947–48/ 1954–55
Nadir	Ismail Bay	Marghilan		26	1914–15
Najm al-Din	Jalal al-Din	Namangan Kasan	Afghani	32	1933–34
Najm al-Din	Muhammad Ibrahim	Quqan		26	1914–15
Najm al-Din	Shihab al-Din	Quqan		30	1914–15
Najm al-Din Qari	Mulla Nasr al-Din	Namangan		36	1914–15
Nar Muhammad	Mulla Jan	Marghilan		58	1914–15
Nar Shah	Mulla Safar	Mazar-i sharif	Afghan	35/36	1925–27
Nasr Allah	Islam Bay	Bukhara	Afghan	38	1924
Nawruz	Abd al-Rasul	Bukhara	Afghan	33	1911–12
Nazar Ali	Asghar Ali	Namangan		30	1914–15
Nazir	Abd Muhammad	Quqan	n.p.	37	1924
Nazir	Khuday Qul Mirza	Quqan	Hindiyya	40	1925
Nazir	Mir Mamur	Quqan		35	1912–13

Nimat Allah	Sadiq	Bukhara	Uruthi	35	1952–53
Nimat Allah	Sayyid Qudrat Allah	Farghana	Sini	19	1957
Niyaz	Ali	Khutan		30	1914–15
Niyaz	Ibrahim	Kashgar		35	1911–12
Niyaz	Muhammad Rahim	Yarkand		37	1911–12
Niyaz	Musa	Kashgar		35	1912–13
Niyaz	Tash Timur Sufi	Urganch	Afghan	38/39	1924–25
Niyaz	Turdi	Khutan		21	1911–12
Niyaz	Tursun	Khutan		45	1911–12
Niyaz Ali	Jabbar Khwaja	Quqan Bash Ariq	Turki	48/49	1946–47
Niyaz	Nasr al-Din	Samarqand	Afghan	68	1924
Nizam al-Din	Ahmad Birdi	Marghilan		43	1912–13
Nizam al-Din	Ismat	Khutand		38	1924
Nizam al-Din	Jamal Sufi	Marghilan		38	1911–12
Numan	Muhammad Musa	Andijan	Rus	31	1914–15
Numan Akhun	Islam Khwaja	Kashgar	Iraq	34	1925
Nur	Turdi	Kashgar		30	1912–13
Nur	Turdi	Kashgar		22	1912–13
Nur al-Din	Bay Dada	Namangan		31	1914–15
Nur al-Din	Mulla Qasim	Gulja		35	1914–15
Nur Ali	Abd Allah	Marghilan		30	1914–15
Nur Ali (Yashaq)	Usta Husayn Biy	Quqan	Afghani	63/64	1943/1946–47
Nur Allah	Rawzi	Khutan	Turki	61/66	1954–55
Nuri	Abd al-Rasul	Bukhara	Uthmani / Bukhari	37/39	1924–25
Nur Muhammad	Abd Allah Bay	Urganch Khiwa		61	1924
Nur Muhammad	Ata Murad	Khiwa	Iraqi	55	1925
Nur Muhammad	Muhammad Shakir	Namangan	Rus	36	1914–15
Nur Muhammad	Mulla Bay	Quqan	Irani wa Iraqi	64	1925
Nur Muhammad	Rasul Qul	Bukhara		29	1914–15
Paraz	Bay Muhammad	Bukhara		49	1911–12
Pazar Khwaja	Rahman Sirri Khwaja	Bukhara	Amir	38	1912–13
Pul Muhammad	Tash Muhammad	Quqan		45	1925–27

Qabil	Abd al-Mumin	Yarkand	Sini	64/71	1936–37/1940
Qabil	Khudai Nazar	Shahrsabz		42	1912–13
Qada	Nazim Bik	Marghilan		33	1914–15
Qadir	Mulla Khwaja	Khutan		37	1911–12
Qadir	Siddiq	Kashgar		50	1924
Qadir Birkash	Allah Birkash	Khiwa		56	1924
Qahhar	Hakim	(?)		22	1912–13
Qalandar	Sayyid Yusuf	Quqan	Afghan	42	1926–27
Qalandar	Yusuf Khwaja	Marghilan		44	1911–13
Qanbar Ali	Haydar Ali	Quqan	Afghani	56	1925
Qari Siddiq	Mulla Yuldash	Quqan		21	1914–15
Qasim	Abd al-Rasul	Marghilan		50–53/ 69/72	1924–27/1943
Qasim	Ali	Kashgar	Sini	36/61	1936–39
Qasim	Azim Jan	Namangan Tush		32/33	1937–38
Qasim	Fayd Allah	Kashgar		25	1924
Qasim	Hashim	Marghilan	Afghani		1937–38
Qasim	Islam	Tashkand	Rus	51	1911–12
Qasim	Ismail	Khuqand		22	1914–15
Qasim	Ismail	Kashgar	Khitai	45	1911–12
Qasim	Ismail Bay	Samarqand		66	1911–12
Qasim	Kabak	Kashgar		53	1924
Qasim	Mahmud Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	45	1914–15
Qasim	Marghilan	Marghilan	Uruthi	70	1941
Qasim	Muhammad Rasul	Marghilan		28	1911–12
Qasim	Mulla Hashim	Marghilan	Afghani	44/45	1933–34
Qasim	Khakim	Quqan		33	1914–15
Qasim	Rustan Bay	Khujand	Afghani	25	1925
Qasim	Talib	Kashgar		21	1912–13
Qasim	Thabit Maghrub al-Bukhari		Suudi	37	1957
Qasim	Yuldash	Quqan	Afghani	32	1937–38
Qasim	Yusuf	Khutan	Khitai	66	1911–12
Qasim Akhun	Ashur	Kashgar		36	1912–13

Qasim Jan	Azim Jan	Namangan Tus		33	1937–38
Qasim Jan	Yuldash Bay	Quqan		22/23	1925–27
Qasim Khwaja	Aluq Khwaja	Namangan		32	1926–27
Qasim Khwaja	Taj al-Din Khwaja	Quqan		22	1914–15
Qazbin	Usta Muhammad Rahim	Marghilan		70	1911–12
Qiyam al-Din	Muhammad Sharif	Bukhara	Uruthi	38/44	1944–47
Qudrat Allah	Amir Muhammad	Samarqand	Rus	30	1914–15
Qudrat Allah	Sayyid Hakim Khan Tura	Farghana	Sini	56	1957
Quldash	Yuldash	Quqan	Afghani	48/49	1937–38
Qul Muhammad	Akin Birdi	Andijan		46	1944–45
Qunush Bay	Baba Jan	Samarqand	Khitai	40	1914–15
Qurban	Bay Nazar	Quqan Qanibadam		30	1925
Qurban	Muhammad	Kashgar		60	1911–12
Qurban	Saqi Bik	Andijan		67	1924
Qurban Ali	Khwaja Nasir			45	1912–13
Qurban Ali	Muhammad Ibrahim	Quqan		41	1926–27
Qurban Bay	Mansur Bay	Andijan	Anglizi	66	1925
Qurban Qari	Mulla Balta	Kashgar	Iraqi	12	1925
Qurban al-Shirkani	Juma Murad	Khiwa	Suudi	57	1958
Qurban	Karim Bay	Andijan		40	1912–13
Qurban Muhammad	Mulla Abd al-Nabi	Samarqand		32	1912–13
Qushan	Abd al-Khaliq	Marghilan		28	1911–12
Qushqari Bay	Muhammad Isa	Marghilan	Afghan	66/67	1924–25
Qutluq Murad	Mirza Bay	Khiwa	Iraqi	53	1925
Quz Way	Abd al-Azim	Quqan	Afghani	55	1936–39
Quz Way	Artiq Biy	Quqan Kahankas	Afghani	44/45	1933–34
Rahim	Muhammad	Ibrahim	Andijan	51	1912–13
Rahim	Murad	Kashgar		40	1911–12
Rahim Bik	Jura Bik	Samarqand	Afghani	29	1937–39
Rahim Birdi	Ikash Birdi	Quqan		26	1914–15
Rahman	Qasim Bay	Marghilan		35	1912–13
Rahman	Sulayman Khwaja	Quqan		27	1911–12

Rahmat	Mulla Bay	Bukhara		33	1914–15
Rahmat Allah	Shaykhi	Pekin Sin		48	1911–12
Rahman Birdi	Abd al-Ghaffar	Khiwa	Iraqi	46	1925
Rahman Sharif	Satualdi	Quqan		45	1912–13
Rajab	Rustam Akhun	Kashgar	Khitai	26	1914–15
Rashid	Nasir Akhun	Kashgar		15	1914–15
Ramadan	Tahir	Aqsu	Chin	66	1925
Raziq	Yunus Bay	Marghilan		26	1914–15
Rida Qul	Muhammad Muy	Bukhara		47	1914–15
Rustam	Muhammad Uthman	Marghilan		27	1912–13
Ruz	Mawlan Bay	Andijan		32	1914–15
Ruza	Husayn	Kashgar	Khitai	27	1911–12
Ruza	Tukhtash Bay	Quqan		45	1914–15
Ruzi	Amin	Yarkand		60	1952–53
Ruzi	Bulaq	Quqan Qishlaq	Afghani	71	1945–46
Ruzi	Jamshid	Aqsu	Chin	56	1925
Ruzida	Abd Allah	Kashgar		50	1911–12
Ruzi Murad	Khuda Birdi	Bukhara		30	1914–15
Ruz Khwaja	Tawzat Khwaja	Khutan	Khitai	30	1912–13
Ruz Muhammad	Hamid Niyaz	Urganch		79	1925
Ruz Muhammad	Juma Ilyas	Astraba[d]	Iran	30	1924
Ruz Muhammad	Mulla Rahmat Allah	Quqan		40	1912–13
Ruz Murad	Khuda Birdi	Bukhara		28	1912–13
Sabir	Fasih al-Din	Qazan	Rus	19	1914–15
Sabir	Isa Bay	Marghilan		36	1914–15
Sabir	Qasim Akhun	Aqsu	Chin	56	1925
Sabir	Tilla Way	Marghilan		23	1914–15
Sad al-Din Khwaja	Muhammad Diya Khwaja	Marghilan Shaban	Afghani	50	1925
Sad Allah	Mir Sad Allah	Kashgar	Khitai	32	1912–13
Sad Allah	Shir Muhammad	Quqan	Afghani	47/48	1946–47
Sadiq	Nawta	Kashgar	Khitai	22	1912–13
Sadiq Akhun	Ghazi	Kashgar	Iraqiyya	34	1925

Sadiq Khwaja	Umar Khwaja	Tashkand	Uthmani	46	1924
Sadiq Khwaja	Sultan Khwaja	Khiwa	Iran	65	1924
Sadir	Mulla Khalifat	Kashgar	Iraki	30	1925
Sad Jan	Ahmad Jan Qari	Tashkand		44	1933–34
Sadr al-Din	Khudayar	Samarkand	Suudi	40/50	1945–46/ 1956–57
Sadaqa Muhammad Azim	Muhammad Azim	Hijaz	Suudi	56	1957
Safar	Ali Bay	Andijan		36	1911–12
Safar	Husayn	Qazan Turkistan		29	1926–27
Safar Khwaja	Ahmad Khwaja	Marghilan Shaban		15	1924
Safar Muhammad	Pir Muhammad	Khiwa		70	1926–27
Sahib Nazar	Biy Muhammad Hasi	Andijan	Suudi	71	1953–54
Saib	Muhammad Karim	Marghilan		27	1914–15
Said	Ali	Andijan Mullaq Bashi	Sini	39	1949–50
Said	Alim Ughli	Qushar		40	1911–12
Said	Isa	Yarkand	Khitai	56	1911–12
Said	Ruzi	Yarkand		46	1912–13
Said Jamal	Said Kamal	Bukhara		20	1914–15
Said Mir Jan	Said Fadil	Bukhara		40	1914–15
Said Muhammad	Muhammad Ali	Quqan		23	1912–13
Said Muhammad	Mukhtar Said	Khiwa	Iran	35	1924
Said Mumin	Sayyid Akram	Quqan		38	1925
Said Murad	Usta Ata	Samarqand		32	1914–15
Said Rahman	Said Murad	Bukhara	Khitai	40	1911–12
Salih	Muhammad Yusuf	Quqan	Afghani	45	1925
Salih	Shukur Ughli	Marghilan	Rus	50/52	1911–13
Salih Jan	Hasan Biy	Marghilan		42/43	1933–34
Samsaq Khwaja	Ishan Khwaja	Quqan		39	1914–15
Samsaq Qari	Turdi	Quchar	Iraqiyya	30	1926–27
Sata Way	Bik Way	Ush		47	1912–13
Saturaldi	Usta Qasim	Marghilan		22	1914–15
Sayf al-Din	Khwaja al-Bukhari	Bukhara		55	1955–56
Sayf al-Din, Mulla	Mulla Diya al-Din	Marghilan		28	1912–13

Sayf Allah	Fayd Allah	Marghilan		24	1912–13
Sayf Allah	Fayd Allah	Khukand		42	1924
Sayf Allah	Fayd Allah	Katta Qurghan	Hindiyya	54	1925
Sayf Allah	Muhammad	Katta Kurghan		45	1924
Shah (?)	Ish Muhammad	Quqan		28	1914–15
Shah Khan	Muhammad Khan	Bukhara		55	1911–12
Shah-i Mardan Qul	Mukhtar Bay	Bukhara		42/43	1924–25
Shah Murad	Muhammad Alim	Quqan		35	1914–15
Shah Murad	Muhammad Safar	Khiwa Shaban		49	1941
Shah Murad	Mulla Muhammad Umar	Quqan		50	1911–12
Shakir	Muhammad Zahid	Namangan		42	1914–15
Shams al-Din	Abd al-Rahim Bukhari	Bukhara		46/51	1956–57
Shams al-Din	Jayan Muhammad	Andijan	Afghani	46/52	1937–38/1943
Shams al-Din	Muhammad	Marghilan		26	1914–15
Shams al-Din	Muhammad Isa	Tashkand		51	1925
Shams al-Din Khalifa	Abd Allah Khwaja	Andijan	Afghani	72/73	1944–45
Sharaf	Shukur	Qarshi	Amir	38	1914–15
Sharaf al-Din	Iqnah al-Din	Nawai		64	1912–13
Sharaf al-Din	Mirza	Samarkand	Afghani	67	1955–56
Shaykh Sadi	Mulla Abd al-Ghaffur	Bukhara Qaratakin		29	1925
Shihab al-Din, Qari		Shahrkhanlik			1951–52
Shir Muhammad	Niyaz Khwaja	Andijan		63	1912–13
Siddiq	Qadir	Kashgar		11	1924
Siddiq	Sharf Akhun	Qushar		40	1914–15
Siraj al-Din	Kamal al-Din	Bukhara		67	1956–57
Siraj al-Din	Najm al-Din	Bukhara		44	1914–15
Siraj al-Din	Najm al-Din Maqsud	Bukhara		39	1912–13
Sufi	Mulla Muhammad	Yarkand		37	1911–12
Sulayman	Artiq Bay	Marghilan Yar Mazar		36	1925
Sulayman	Dawud	Kashgar	Khitai		1911–12
Sulayman	Dawud	Marghilan	Khitai	20	1911–12
Sulayman	Ibrahim	Marghilan		32	1911–12

Sulayman	Shakir Biy	Marghilan	Iraqi	75/84	1925/1927–28
Sulayman	Nimat Allah	Quqan			1959–60
Sulayman	Umar Zan	Quqan		39	1912–13
Sultan	Abd Ali	Tashkand		35	1911–12
Sultan	Ibrahim	Bukhara		46	1911–12/ 1914–15
Sultan	Nur Muhammad	Khujand		35/37	1924–27
Taj al-Din	Ahmad Ali	Quqan		31/32	1943–44
Taj Bay	Baltur	Andijan		58	1912–13
Taj Bay	Yusuf	Andijan		30	1912–13
Talib al-Din	Usi Muhammad	Marghilan		36	1914–15
Tilla	Kabul Bay	Bukhara		44	1911–12
Taj Bay	Atash Bay	Shahrkhan		30	1914–15
Tash	Khuday Birdi	Andijan		29/30	1925–27
Tash Muhammad	Akhun Baba	Andijan		48	1912–13
Tash Muhammad	Burhan al-Din	Marghilan		66/71	1943–44
Tash Muhammad	Ismail	Quqan		65	1912–13
Tash Muhammad	Mulla Abd al-Khalil	Marghilan		66	1914–15
Tash Mulla	Abd al-Rahman	Quqan		43	1912–13
Taslim	Muhyi al-Din	Kashgar		34	1911–12
Tawzat	Qasim	Kashgar		25	1912–13
Thabit Qari	Bakhtiyar	Kashgar		47	1911–12
Tir Mulla	Ayub	Chin		54	1911–12
Tish	Amin Ashir	Marghilan		30	1914–15
Tish Way	Abd al-Khaliq Way	Andijan	Afghani	53/60	1940/1947–48
Tukhta	al-Baqi	Kashgar		47	1912–13
Tulandi	Mulla Tukhta	Khutand	Angilizi wa Chini	42	1924
Tura Qul	Mirza	Ush		35	1925
Turdi	Ayyub	Kashgar		31	1912–13
Turdi	Khaliq Nazar	Quqan		42	1914–15
Turdi	Karim	Kashgar		33	1911–12
Turdi Ali	Hakim Jan	Quqan		50	1924
Turdi Ali	Muhammad Mumin	Quqan Gurash Ariq		52/65	1943–44/ 1951–52

Turkan	Muhammad Rahim	Tashkand		35	1914–15
Tursun	Abd al-Wahhab	Marghilan		39	1925
Tursun	Khuda Birdi	Khutan		35	1914–15
Tursun	Muhammad Ali	Khutan		62	1937–38/1942
Tursun	Mulla Salim	Ghulja		40	1914–15
Tursun	Turdi	Kashgar		40	1924
Tursun	Yaqub				1949–50
Tursun Bay	Ghaib Bay	Namangan		36/37	1924–25
Tursun Muhammad Amin	Hashim	Khutan Qaraqash	Sini	65	1944–45
Tutinji Bay	Mahmud	Quqan Alti Ariq		61	1926–27
Umar	Ali	Bukhara Charsuw		43	1924
Umar	Muhammad	Quqan		55	1933–34
Umar	Muhammad Sadiq Bay	Tashkand		43	1914–15
Umar	Qurban	Kashgar		30/31	1924–25
Umar	Yusuf Ali	Andijan		27	1914–15
Umar	Yunus Bay	Marghilan		53	1914–15
Umar Ali	Farq Bay	Andijan			1914–15
Uram Bay	Muhammad Yunus	Quqan		35	1914–15
Urun Bay	Muhammad Safa	Khiwa	Iraqiyya	51	1925
Usta Ahmad	Mulla Abbas	Samarqand		41	1924
Usta Akhun	Buram Bay	Samarqand		59	1914–15
Usta Khuda Yar	Mulla Sabir	Bukhara		28	1914–15
Usta Qawzi	Mulla Nizam al-Din	Marghilan	Afghani	32/34	1924–25
Usta Sharif	Usta Nazar	Khujand	Suriyya		
Usta Sayyid	Qutluq Murad	Khiwa	Iraqi	53	1925
Uthman	Ish Muhammad	Andijan		42	1925
Uthman	Islam				1949–50
Uthman	Muhammad Sayyid	Marghilan Alti Ariq	Afghani	60/66	1940/1946–47
Uthman	Mulla Baqi	Kashgar		28	1912–13
Uthman	Niyaz Bay	Namangan	Khitai	47	1911–12
Uthman	Rukn	Kashgar	Khitai	25	1912–13
Uthman	Shams al-Din	Marghilan	Turki	50	1924

Uthman	Tukhta	Namangan		55	1911–12
Uthman	Umar	Andijan		28/29	1925–27
Uthman Abd Allah, Sayyid	Isa	Namangan	Afghani		1937–40
Uthman Khwaja	Mulla Zayn al-Din	Marghilan Shaban		52/54	1924–25
Uthman Khwaja	Umar Khwaja	Namangan		40	1914–15
Uthman, Qari	Muhammad Sadiq	Marghilan	Sini	40	1933–34/ 1938–39
Uz	Muhammad Ali	Urganch		35	1914–15
Uzaq Bay	Ahmaq Bay	Marghilan		35	1914–15
Wada Bay	Muhammad Karim	Quqan		60	1914–15
Wahhab	Mulla Alim	Quqan		25	1914–15
Walidat	Abd Allah	Bukhara		76	1911–12
Yadkar	Bahram	Bukhara		26	1924
Yadkar	Mughlâq Bay	Bukhara		33	1914–15
Yahya	Ata Allah Qari	Namangan			1949–50
Yahya	Khwaja Nazar	Khiwa		58	1954–55
Yahya Khan	Jalal Khan	Andijan	Afghani	43	1936–39
Yahya	Talib	Kashgar		20	1925
Yaqub	Akhun Khwaja	Marghilan	Afghan	51	1925
Yaqub	Nubat	Kashgar		25	1914–15
Yaqub	Qasim	Andijan		30	1914–15
Yaqub	Isa	Kashgar	Khitai	23	1912–13
Yaqub	Turdi	Qushar	Sini	50/54	1943–44/ 1947–48
Yaqub Jan	Shir Quzi	Quqan	Afghani	32	1940
Yar Muhammad	Khan Muhammad	Bukhara		30	1911–12
Yar Muhammad	Muhammad Said	Darwaz		58	1925
Yar Muhammad	Qurban Ali	Marghilan		25	1959–60
Yar Muhammad	Taj Muhammad	Bukhara Balkhi Shirghani	Afghani	35	1938–39
Yuldash	Nazquz	Andijan		32	1914–15
Yuldash Bay	Qanbar Ali	Quqan		29	1914–15
Yuldash	Tash Muhammad	Andijan		10	1912–13
Yusuf	Ahmad	Kashgar	Khitai	35	1914–15
Yunus	Akhun	Qushar		40	1911–12

Yunus	Muhammad	Tashkand	Uruthi	51/60	1933–34/ 1939–40
Yunus	Mirza Abd al-Razzaq	Quqan			1954–55
Yunus	Yuldash Bay	Marghilan		28	1911–12
Yunus	Ahmad	Yarkand	Turki	37	1926–27
Yusuf	Ahmad Khwaja	Marghilan		36	1911–12
Yusuf	Amin	Kashgar		35/38	1914–15
Yusuf	Maqsud	Qushar		22	1911–12
Yusuf	Mulla Niyaz	Yarkand		40/41	1924–25
Yusuf	Musa	Marghilan		40	1911–12
Yusuf	Sadiq	Khutand	Khitai	42	1914–15
Yusuf	Tash	Tashkand		38	1912–13
Yusuf	Tash Muhammad	Quqan	Rus	22	1914–15
Yusuf	Thabit	Kashgar		52	1924
Yusuf	Turdi Khwaja	Qushar	Khitai	67	1912–13
Yusuf	Tursun	Tashkand	Afghani	48	1947–48
Yusuf	Isa	Kashgar		52	1911–12
Yusuf Khwaja	Baba Jan Khwaja	Khiwa Urganch	Iraqiyya	54	1926–27
Yusuf Khwaja	Niyaz	Kashgar		41	1914–15
Yusuf Najm al-Din					1946–47
Zamra	Thabit	Kashgar	Khitai	32	1911–12
Zayn al-Abidin	Abd al-Samad	Andijan	Turki	47/ 65–66	1925/1949–50

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Abbreviations

BVCE.: Başvekâlet Arşivi - Cevdet Evkâf, Prime Minister's Archives, Istanbul.
PABB: Private Archives of Baha al-Din Bukhari, Ramalla.
PAZA: Private Archives of the Zawiyya al-Afghâniyya, Jerusalem
PAZH: Private Archives of the Zawiyya al-Hunûd, Jerusalem
PAZU: Private Archives of the Zawiyya al-Uzbakiyya, Jerusalem

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