

Alexandre PAPAS, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan. Étude sur les Khwajas Naqshbandis du Turkestan Oriental* (Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Jean Maisonneuve successeur, Monde Caucasiens et Tatar – Asie Centrale et Haute Asie II, 2005) : 291 pp. + 22 plates + 3 maps, ISBN-2-7200-1150-9.

The history of Muslim Xinjiang – Eastern Turkestan – appears to be a promising field of research and this book raises several interesting questions both in relation to the history and to approaches to it. Though focused on the political power of the Naqshbandī Āfāqī Ḥwājagān, for whom the author uses the term *Īsānat* (1681-1759), Papas's book also deals with events which preceded their rise, and thus provides the historical context of their rule. Provided with a useful and detailed chronology (pp. 279-82) the book examines both the religious aspects and the political implications of Ḥwājagān rule.

In the "Introduction" (pp. 1-23), Papas discusses his sources and the main problems of previous works on the subject. His main manuscript sources are 18 texts in Persian and Chagatay Turkish. Only four critical editions have been made of these texts, of which only two contain a careful textual criticism: the chronicle of Mirzā Maḥmūd Čurās (1087/1676-77; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1979) and the anonymous *Tārīḥ-i Kāšgār* (1107-1696; Saint-Petersburg: Institut Vostokovedenija Rossiskoĭ Akademii Nauk Sant-Petersburgskij Filial, 2001) both edited by Oleg Akimushkin. Although both these are historical chronicles, Papas stresses the importance of lesser known hagiographic material, a point to which he returns several times throughout the book. He also makes particular use of Uyghur literature. Of the secondary works on the subject, Papas cites in particular those of J.F. Fletcher, M. Hartman, M.A. Salahettinova and V.P. Judin.

In the chapter entitled "Soufisme et histoire intellectuelle" Papas makes the important point that: «Le soufisme n'a que très récemment bénéficié d'un renouvellement heuristique qui a mené la mystique vers l'histoire et révèle une dimension inattendue, mesurée à l'aune d'une notion historique, la sociabilité» (p. 12). This historical perspective, together with the attention paid to the hagiography represents the main approach of the book. Papas's care concerning the use of hagiographic materials is evident, for example, in his analysis of the *Hidāyat-nāma*, a text written in 1143/1730 by Mir Ḥāl al-Dīn Kātib b. Mawlānā Qāzi Šāh Kučak al-Yārkanī. Here, he notes the success of the formula adopted «conformément à une longue tradition du discours musulman et soufi» (p. 123), where the «surinterprétation de la part de l'historien n'est qu'une version minimale de l'hyperinterprétation accomplie par les dévots» (p. 124).

The history of the «Dynastisation» of the *Īsāns* which covers the period between 1580 and 1653 (pp. 25-73) is particularly interesting principally for the process whereby these inheritors of the Naqshbandī legacy (in particular the specific tradition connected with Maḥdūm-i A'zam), acquired importance in an «enclave musulmane en terre infidèle» (p. 27). Such importance implies a certain skill in relations with the non-Muslim communities, the outcome of which is clearly analysed in the chapter on the *exil saint* of Āfāq Ḥwāja (pp. 75-124), where the author produces a convincing explanation of the origin of the sacred nature of the future lord of Yārkanī. This chapter contains an important geographic and historical account of Tibet where Āfāq Ḥwāja lived probably between 1671 and 1675

(pp. 90-6): «Lorsque le maître soufi Āfāq Khwāja parvient au portes de Lhassa, il découvre un monde déconcertant et en même temps emprunt d'une certaine familiarité» (p. 93). This familiarity was in particular represented by the similarity of Tibetan Lamaism with the Lamaism of the Oyrat Mongols well-known to Āfāq Khwāja, who «retrouve d'une part, les contingents et les pasteurs mongols oyrats qui font paître leurs troupeaux et installent leurs campements sur les piémonts du Turkestan ou dans les hautes plaines du Tibet, et dont l'implication politique s'intensifie dans ces deux régions d'accueil à partir du XVII^e siècle. De l'autre, il remarque les similitudes d'une société et d'un État où les saints mystiques constituent des dynasties puissantes et tiennent lieu du fondement temporel et spirituel, au sens où ces familles saintes intercèdent non seulement entre les hommes et le monde supramondain mais dans le monde même, entre sujets tibétains et khâns mongols...» (pp. 94-5). The meeting between Āfāq Khwāja and the Dalai Lama, *magique et légendaire* (pp. 97-102) is reported only in two versions of the *Tazkira-yi 'Azizân* a source written by Muḥammad Šādiq Yārkaṇdī probably the end of the 18th century. This text shows an anthropological perception not common in Muslim literature of the period, and discusses both magical aspects and political events.

The chapter then proceeds with an account of the stay of Āfāq Khwāja in China (pp. 102-24) and of Muslim presence in this distant region of Asia, focusing in particular on the missionary spirit of the Ḥwāja. A passage of the *Hidāyat-nāma* gives again a strong idea of the perception of China in the Muslim milieu and Papas rightly identifies a *sanctification du voyage en Chine*, which represents «la prémise d'une structure, voire les fondations, de l'ordre dirigé par Āfāq Khwāja, en attente d'un retour au Turkestan» (p. 116). The allusions to a *diyār-i farang*, or *millat-i tarsāyī* (p. 65), are particularly interesting, if quite puzzling. They perhaps refer to the Jesuites working in the Buddhist communities, or to the Lamaist Buddhist community itself.

The exile of Āfāq Khwāja was the result of the split which arose in 1653 between the followers of Maḥdūm-i 'Āzam in Eastern Turkestan, when Yūsuf Khwāja died and Āfāq Khwāja succeeded him at the head of the *ṭarīqa*. Āfāq Khwāja returned to Turkestan in 1680 after an obscure alliance with the Qalmaqs of Northern Mogulistan. this taking of power required a considerable element of self-legitimation, defined by Papas by the dichotomy *khân sanctifié/saint incarné* (pp. 130-3): «Rappelons que dans le contexte aussi bien médiéval que moderne de l'Asie centrale, toute souveraineté est conçue comme le résultat d'une légitimation non seulement d'ordre généalogique ou dynastique et plus particulièrement Ching-gizkhanide, mais également d'ordre religieux, et ce traditionnellement par le truchement des maîtres sufis» (p. 130). Nevertheless political control of Eastern Turkestan between the years 1680 and 1690 was also the result of a particular effort. Analysis of the social aspect allows the author to introduce a more historical analysis and Papas identifies the main actors in the social environment of the dynasty of the *Īsān*: «En deçà des péripéties militaires et politiques du khanat Sa'idiyya, on a pu percevoir une lente installation des shaykhs soufis et de leurs confréries, comme sociabilité et comme spiritualité, à travers les différents cercles de la société» (p. 136). These circles were represented by the northern steppe shepherds, who had already become the object of the missions of Ishāq Ḥwāja; the farmers of the oasis linked with the Uwaysīs and Katākīs; the merchants in their

turn part of the commercial associations supporting the Naqšbandī Āfāqīs; the land owners who were attracted by the social cohesion ensured by a powerful religious leadership; the army; the religious dignitaries and last but not least the dynastic lines «conseillés, dirigés et sanctifiés par les saints soufis».

This leading concept of “sociabilité”, introduces a substantial part of the book dedicated to the political and religious institutions of the *Īsānat* (pp. 139-51), and begins with the creation of a *ṭawāfghāh* of the Āfāqīs, «la construction plus importante de la période» (p. 140) around the mausoleum of Yūsuf Ḥwāja, north-east of Kashgar. The section on *La puissance matérielle au service de l’Islam* (pp. 143-5) offers a good picture of the increase in wealth of the pious foundations and includes an account of the properties of Āfāq Ḥwāja himself. Papas includes a section on the main practices of the *Ḥwājagān*, and their belonging to the sufi brotherhood (pp. 152-60) which includes the consideration of the well-known practices of the *zīkr*, the *ṣamāʿ* and the *jazba*.

In section IV, “L’ishanat, une utopie face aux problèmes du monde” (pp. 170-181) the author examines various questions. In the section “Ériger pour annihiler, annihiler pour ériger” (pp. 171-3) he gives an exposé of the paradox of a «pouvoir destiné à l’impuissance [...]. Jamais les Khwājas ne prétendront fonder un État, et pour cause: quel que soit le caractère absolu du pouvoir qu’ils exercent, quelles qu’en soient l’efficacité et la réalisation historiques, les Khwājas représentent ce pouvoir saint comme un travail de négation du profane» (p. 171). If the «fondements de la sociabilité (*asās-i ashrat*)» appear again as one of the main elements of the *Īsān*’s state, this is also one of the main arguments used against the rival branch of the Ishāqī *Ḥwājagān* «qui souligne très nettement le souci d’édification, de fondation, des Āfāqīs dans le monde» (p. 172). Here the concept of *vaṭan* (p. 178) might be a good example of the use of mystical language in political questions.

The fourth chapter “Le legs d’Āfāq Khwāja: prologue ou épilogue du pouvoir soufi” (pp. 183-229) gives an account of the history of the end of the *Īsān*’s “utopia”. The brief power of Muḥammad Mūʿmin Ḥān, who tried to restore the Chagatayd line ended with the rise of the Qarataghliq line of the Ḥwājagān and the flight of the successors of Āfāq after a period of Terror. This second *exil saint* this time in India, was not as successful as the first one. The section “Danyāl Khwāja: suzeraineté Jungghare et pouvoir soufi” (pp. 195-9) offers a good picture of the situation which preceded the final taking of Kashgar in 1759 by the Qings and the creation of the *Huijiang* (Muslim territory) within the context of the final Chinese colonization.

Two general remarks could be made which relate to the new way in which history was being written in the post-Mongol period. In this new historiography, the importance of a “sufi” style, inspired by various Persian authors from the late Ghaznavid Sanāyī, to Saʿdī, have to be considered and implies a further step, which includes what Bert G. Fragner calls “Persophonie”, *i.e.* the diffusion of Persian outside the Iranian context proper. This is shown, for example, by the systematic use of this type of literary works: «chaque lundi le le shaykh lit et commente le mathnavī de Rūmī» (p. 68). The same could be said for the use of the poetry of Ḥāfīz, which shows some similarities with the *fāl*, widespread in Iranian lands: «on raconte qu’un jour le khān, à la lecture de deux dystiques de Ḥāfīz demanda leur explication aux ‘ulamā’. Ceux-ci n’y parvenant pas, le khān déclara que quiconque parviendrait à lui expliquer ces vers deviendrait son maître spirituel. C’est

alors qu'apparut Yūsuf qui lui donna la juste explication» (p. 69). We observe here the use, even if in a rudimentary way, of a conventional language, which was the expression of a typical approach with Persian mystical literature.

A second argument, which deserves attention concerns a comparative analysis of another, more known, Sufi context, the Safavid one, in particular the structural analogies between the state of the *Īsāns* and the state of the Safavids, in particular in its first phase. The allusion to an "archetypal" town of Ardabīl (p. 33) to which curiously Papas adds an interrogative *sic*, appears as a demonstration of the inspiration to this model. It is not by chance that the Safavid dynasty also originated in a Sufi milieu, rather than in a Shiite context, as Michael Mazzaoui successfully demonstrated in his *The Origins of the Safawids. Šī'ism, Sūfism and the Gūlāt* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972). Other analogies could be identified in what Papas calls «utopie théologique-politique» (see pp. 125-6) where correctly he identifies the analogy with the Ottoman reality for the period of the Sa'idi khans, but does not consider the contemporary, theocratic Safavid system. Even if antagonistic this last political world, was also a strong reality of the time, and cannot be underestimated. Further research could also be undertaken on a comparative analysis with other contemporary historical situations, by which the Eastern Turkestan seems to have been influenced. This applies not only to the Safavid "theocracy", but also to a larger framework including the Ottomans and the Transoxanians states. If it is difficult to define the foreign policy of the *Īsāns*, the study of the foreign policy of other nations in relation with Eastern Turkestan could offer some more information on the subject.

Papas's Book represents an important contribution to an understanding of the history, and in particular the society, of this largely unknown region, due especially to his new approach to the sources.

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Jilali EL KOUDIA, *Moroccan Folktales*, translated from the Arabic by Jilali El Koudia and Roger Allen with critical analysis by Hasan M. El-Shamy (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003): 183 pp., ISBN 0-8156-0789-X.

Long deemed secondary to texts of the classical Arabic 'canon', oral traditional narratives in Arabic, among them oral histories, epics, folktales, fables, proverbs, religious stories and songs, are now acknowledged for their centrality to Arab-Islamic popular culture. This is perhaps no more evident than in Morocco where, in spite of the incursions of modern mass media, heroic episodes from the *sirat* Bani Hilal are still recounted by professional storytellers in Marrakech's Jemaa al-Fna, and where women remain the guardians and transmitters of the folktale.

Among the traditional Arab scholarly elite, interest in Arabic folk narratives has been scant. In recent decades, however, thanks in part to the advent of cultural studies and revised notions regarding the validity of studying popular or 'low' culture and what were formerly considered 'non-literary' forms, greater scholastic attention is now paid to oral traditional narratives in Arabic. This has given rise to a growing number of anthologies, structuralist analyses, typology studies and tale and motif indices. Jilali El Koudia's *Moroccan Folktales*, a collection of reconsti-