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## Friday Mosques and Their Imams in the Former Soviet Union\*

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### Introduction

This research project covers a number of Islamic regions of the former Soviet Union: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan; and Tatarstan in the Russian Federation. The object of the research is the mosques of these traditionally Muslim areas, and in particular the largest and most important ones, the so-called 'Friday mosques'. According to Islamic tradition there are three types of mosque (or to be more precise, places of worship): (1) the family place of worship, sometimes known by the Sufi name *zawiya*; (2) the district place of worship, called a *masjid* or 'mahalla mosque' (a *mahalla* is an urban district); (3) the place of worship entitled to carry out the Friday service: this is known as a 'Friday mosque' or sometimes 'cathedral'; in Central Asia it is called *jami*, or 'Friday'.<sup>1</sup>

My research trips have so far given me the opportunity to assemble comprehensive data on 107 functioning Friday mosques in 21 different cities and towns. I have some data on 24 others, but some issues require clarification. The catalogue of the remaining 63–75 mosques is due to be completed this year, which will give the green light to publication of the initial project in full. This will involve more detailed and thorough information and analysis on the mosques and the people than appears in this sample version. It will also contain the most complete and up-to-date lists of functioning mahalla mosques in Uzbekistan (up to 1000), Azerbaijan (about 500) and Tatarstan (over 300). Besides this, it will include information on the major madrassahs, and on scholars and religious teachers, along with a list of all major interviews I have conducted.

### Historical Background

After 70 years of Soviet control, six newly-born 'Islamic' republics (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) have been thrust

\* This article is part of a research project initiated by the author in 1993. The generous support of the executive directors of the project (Dr Martin McCauley, University of London and Mikhail Pasternak, Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, Trade Investment and Banking Information Service, *Business World* newspaper, Moscow) allowed me to undertake several field trips to a number of Islamic regions of the former Soviet Union: Uzbekistan (February 1992, June 1993, December 1993, September 1994, April–July 1995), Kazakhstan (May 1993, December 1993), Turkmenistan (November 1994), Kyrgyzstan (December 1993, June 1995) Azerbaijan (April–May 1994) and Tatarstan in the Russian Federation (March–April 1994).

into the responsibilities of nationhood by the surprisingly swift demise of the Soviet Union. Tatarstan, within the Russian Federation, has also been encountering a new degree of political identity and autonomy. Autocratic by nature and sustained by clan loyalties, these countries' leaderships were unprepared to cope with the inevitable postcommunist challenges.<sup>2</sup> The new states are in disarray, removed from, yet still held by, their communist past and beset by competing models of future development.

Since the second half of the 1980s, political processes in these countries can be viewed as involving the formation of independent states against the background of a virtually complete absence of civil society. In this context, attempts to establish cultural identity as the basis for a new statehood can result only in a new form of totalitarian state, in which the Soviet structure, with its elements of clan politics, is replaced by primarily clan-based or ethnic politics. The only feasible alternative in the foreseeable future is a form of ongoing instability with disintegrative tendencies. Whatever the prognosis, it is certain that events have become much less predictable, and that the analysis of ethnic and religious politics and expression is vital if a realistic assessment is to be achieved. These are simultaneously the least predictable and the most significant regional factors.

Although, as one commentator has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> religion has not yet become a principal cause of conflict in Central Asia or Azerbaijan, where ethnic and socio-economic issues have instead been the focus of tension, this situation may change, given both the strengthening of political Islam and the fact that the only legitimacy current elites can never appropriate is the Islamic one. Islam is least forgiving of earlier apostasy, and those in power have been less than convincing penitents. How Islam will eventually emerge in the 'Islamic' regions of the former Soviet Union is a major subject of debate, with no easy answers.

The current social, economic and political disarray in all these regions is the background to the reemergence of the *jami* mosques, which are fast being restored, rebuilt and newly constructed, and gradually regaining some of the status and influence they enjoyed before 1917. At the same time, they serve as the area in which traditionalist and fundamentalist forms of Islam coexist; in the near future the *jami* mosques might play a decisive role in the area of encounter between these two trends.

The imams of Friday mosques were before sovietisation, and to some extent remain, the custodians of knowledge, of traditions secular as well as religious, and even of the time, maintaining the basic rhythm of life (five prayers a day) in small villages and mahallas where the clock has not yet become a household article. Mosques are, in practice, the basic arena for the uncontrolled grass-roots activity of all Muslim movements, both formalised ones and those in the process of formation. It is not always easy, however, to discover the political preferences of a mosque when the means at its disposal to influence the population are so limited. These means include, principally, the Friday sermon, which can be given a particular slant and which may be heard by between 1000 and 3000 people.<sup>4</sup> The distribution of both open and secret printed materials is facilitated if it is done through the mosques, and mosques can also collect money for political activity.<sup>5</sup> Besides this, there is a *madrasah* (college) attached to every Friday mosque, which shapes the values and minds of children from 7 to 17 and through them, indirectly, of their parents. And lastly, creating a climate of obligatory visits to the mosque is in itself the most reliable means of exercising political influence.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw new mosques opening all over the traditionally Muslim regions of the FSU, in a rapid and apparently spontaneous process.<sup>6</sup> Some

facts deserve particular attention. First, the new national Muslim Boards, the successors to the official Soviet-era Muslim Boards, do not possess exact figures concerning the number of Friday mosques (the only exception is the kaziate in Turkmenistan); second, the heads of the respective boards are not esteemed by most of the Friday mosques' imams; third, most of the imams (especially in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan) are uneducated people; fourth, there are no generally accepted criteria, or no criteria at all, to distinguish a Friday mosque from a mahalla one. This could partly be explained by the loss of all old traditions, on the one hand, and by the impatience to restore them as quickly as possible, on the other. Mosques are being built by everybody and everywhere, and considerations of prestige and expediency (the need to shorten the distance to the mosque, especially in remote villages) mean that local mosques often claim the status of Friday ones. As a result, an enormous group of informal leaders is being created, who do not have a standard religious education in common, and whose political sympathies and inclinations are uncontrolled and unknown by the central authorities, being completely dependent on regional and personal predilections. At best, this makes for unpredictability; at worst, for various forms of instability, either provoked or supported by uneducated clergy.

On the whole, conditions are favourable for mosques in the FSU (particularly in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan) or, in the case of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, relatively favourable. Tajikistan is the only exception, where 'politically unreliable' mosques have been persecuted and destroyed since late 1992.

Mosques are now becoming more and more influential, due both to their growing number and to their new, higher status. Friday mosques are now gradually acquiring in addition to their traditional religious functions some more general and social ones, a fact which will further strengthen the position of the imams, along with their potential to influence major political processes in these republics.

### The Present Sample

The sample presented here comprises the data on 29 of the Friday mosques, along with brief information on all 107 Friday mosques so far surveyed. I have also included basic information on the cities and republics in question. The details covered in the case of each Friday mosque were:

- 1 the name of the Friday mosque;
- 2 the official address, telephone and fax if any;
- 3 the name and biography of the *imam* (leader of prayers) or *mutawalli* (person entrusted with the management of the mosque);
- 4 the history of the mosque;
- 5 the size of the mosque and the number of worshippers;
- 6 additional information.

### The Survey

#### KAZAKHSTAN

AREA: 2,717,300 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 16,461,000<sup>7</sup>.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION (percentages): Kazakhs 39.7; Russians 37.8; Germans 5.8; Ukrainians 5.4; Uzbeks 2.1.

CAPITAL: **Almaty.**

PRESIDENT: Nursultan Nazarbayev.

MUFTI: Haji Ratbek Nasynbai-oly. Born in 1940 in Alma-Ata. Graduated from Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara and Sharia Faculty of Tripoli University, Libya. In 1986–89, head of the Kazakh branch of the Central Asian Board of Muslims. Since January 1990, Mufti of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Speaks Kazakh, Uzbek, Arabic and Russian.

### ***Almaty***

POPULATION: 1,118,000.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION (percentages): Russians 59.1; Kazakhs 22.5; Ukrainians 4.1; Uighurs 3.7.

MOSQUES: 1 Friday mosque.

#### ***Central Almaty Mosque***

1. Though known as the ‘Central Almaty Mosque’, the mosque has no official name.
2. Almaty, Pushkin St 16. Tel: 7 (3272) 301774.
3. Imam-khatib: Asyl-khan. Born in Almaty in 1962. Graduated from Almaty Islamic Institute in 1993. Speaks Kazakh, Uzbek and Russian. Elementary level of Arabic.
4. Built in early 1840s. Closed in 1932. Reopened in 1943 by Stalin’s order allowing the resumption of religious service at several Friday mosques in the USSR.
5. About 100 worshippers at daily prayer. Up to 3000 people at Friday prayer and almost 12,000 worshippers at prayer on *Qurban-bairam* (The Feast of the Sacrifice).
6. A new building is under construction. Means of financing include regular state aid and donations from Saudi Arabia. Its overall capacity is expected to be enough to accommodate 20,000 worshippers. The construction was still far from complete in autumn 1995.

### ***Shymkent***

POPULATION: 418,000.

LOCATION: 150 km north of Tashkent.

MOSQUES: 2 Friday mosques.

#### ***An-Nur***

1. The name, very popular in Muslim countries, means ‘light’ in Arabic.
2. 486028, Shymkent, Amangeldy St 29. Tel: 7 (3252) 445809.
3. Imam-khatib: Shakrulla Muhamedjanov. Born in 1937 in Shymkent. Uzbek; graduated from Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara, then Tashkent Islamic Institute and also Sharia Faculty of the University of Amman, Jordan. Speaks Uzbek, Kazakh, Arabic, Russian and Turkish. Nominated imam-khatib of the mosque in 1982. At the same time he is the head of the city board of Muslims. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca 7 times.
4. Built in 1858. Closed in 1920, when it was turned into a storehouse. During first half of Second World War it was used as a hostel for refugees. Religious service was resumed in 1943. Reconstructed in 1989–93.
5. Overall capacity (building and yard) about 1 hectare. 200 worshippers at daily prayer. Up to 5000–6000 people at Friday prayer and almost 30,000 worshippers at *Qurban-bairam* prayer.
6. There is a madrassah at the mosque with enrolment of 260 pupils (160 boys and

100 girls). Ten Muslims made a pilgrimage to Mecca through the mosque in 1991, 15 in 1992 and 88 in 1993. A decrease in numbers since then is caused by the growing *haj* costs (organisation and trip) which in 1993 reached approximately US\$ 1500.

#### *Amal Salih*

1. Amal Salih means 'good deed' in Arabic. This name was recommended by the mufti.
2. 487885, Shymkent, Karatyubinsky selsovet, Sairamsky raion, uchastok 'Voroshilov', Lengerskoye shosse 28. Tel: 7 (3252) 446882.
3. Imam-khatib: Muhibulla Hojajev. Uzbek. Born in 1963 in Shymkent. In 1992 graduated from special Islamic courses at Almaty Islamic Institute. Speaks Uzbek, Kazakh and Russian. His Arabic is rather poor. A businessman: the mosque was built at his own expense. Nominated the head of the Shymkent region imams.
4. A newly-built mosque. The construction took 15 months. The grand opening of the mosque took place on 21 November 1992 in the presence of 15,000 guests, Almaty mufti included. Now regarded as the principal mosque of the Shymkent region.
5. Building is 750 m<sup>2</sup> and accommodates 1500 people. 100 worshippers at daily prayer, more than 1000 at Friday prayer. More than 10,000 took part in Qurban-bairam festivities in 1993.
6. The imam's ambitious plans for the future include the first Islamic cultural centre for 500 students (due to be opened by 1997) in southern Kazakhstan, a big modern hotel, a hospital and even the first new cardiology centre to be opened in Kazakhstan in 2 or 3 years.

## **UZBEKISTAN**

AREA: 447,400 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 19,810,000<sup>7</sup>.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION (percentages): Uzbeks 71.4; Russians 8.3; Tajiks 4.7; Kazakhs 4.1.

CAPITAL: Tashkent.

PRESIDENT: Islam Karimov.

MUFTI: Mukhtarjan Abdullayev. Born in 1928 in Bukhara. In 1956 (after 8 years of study) he graduated from the Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara. In 1963, he graduated from the Sharia Faculty of the University of Damascus. Taught Arabic at Mir-i Arab and then at Tashkent State University. Served as chief imam of Bukhara region until May 1993 when he took the office of mufti (i.e. the head of the Maverannahr Board of Muslims). Speaks Uzbek, Tajik, Russian, Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Married, 10 children.

MOSQUES: About 3000 Friday mosques.

HAJ: 3200 Muslims made the pilgrimage in 1993.

### ***Tashkent***

POPULATION: 2,100,000 (1995).

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: (percentages): Uzbeks 44.2; Russians 34.0; Tatars 6.3.

FACTS: Known since the fourth century AD (since the eleventh century by the name Tashkent). 1875–1917: in the Russian Empire. 1918–24: capital of Turkestan Autonomous Republic. Since 1930: capital of Uzbekistan.

MOSQUES: 74 registered Friday mosques; about 300 mahalla mosques.

#### *Tokhtabai*

2. Tashkent, Farabi kuchasi 13. Tel: 7 (3712) 443382.

3. Imam-khatib: Obid-khan Nazarov. Born in Namangan in 1958. Uzbek. Graduated from Tashkent Islamic Institute (1980–84). In 1985–90 worked as imam-khatib of Tilla Sheikh Friday mosque. Since 1990, imam-khatib of Tokhtabai mosque. Speaks Uzbek, Russian and fluent Arabic. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca three times (1988, 1992 and 1993).

4. Built in 1917–18. Closed in 1934. From 1934 to 1989 used as a storehouse, then as a pharmacy and finally as a military barracks. After several petitions were signed by members of the local Muslim community the mosque was given back to the believers in 1989.

5. About 100 worshippers at Salat al-Fajr (dawn prayer) and up to 200 worshippers at Salat az-Zuhr (evening prayer). About 4000 people at Friday sermon. During Qurban-bairam festivities the number of worshippers might exceed 10,000.

6. There are 10 adults who are taught by the imam himself. Has read the authors Al-Mawdudi (*The Basics of Islam*) and Sayyid Qutb (*Signposts*). During interview he criticised the latter for insufficient evidence. Often characterised as the 'typical fundamentalist'.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Tilla Sheikh*

2. Tashkent, Old City, S. Rakhimov district, mahalla Hastymon, Zarkainar (former Hamza) kuchasi 14. In front of the Uzbekistan Board of Muslims. Tel: 7 (3712) 442552.

3. Imam-khatib: Haji Abdarrashid-kari Bakromov. Born in Tashkent in 1949. Graduated from Mir-i Arab and later Al-Azhar. Knows practically all the Quran by heart. Speaks Uzbek, Arabic and Russian. A prominent theologian.

4. Built in early sixteenth century. Never closed. The place where the famous Caliph Othman's Quran is stored.

5. 100–200 worshippers at daily prayer. 400–500 worshippers at Friday prayer. Up to 2000 people at Qurban-bairam prayer.

#### *Kukaldosh*

2. Tashkent, Sheikontokhur district, Ioraz maidan, Navoi kuchasi 46.

3. Domla: Kosimkhon. No official religious education. Speaks Uzbek, Russian and some Arabic.

4. Built in early sixteenth century as a mosque with a big madrassah. Closed in 1937. For many years stood neglected and fell into serious disrepair. In 1992 it was seized by a group of Muslims headed by Naim Hoja-aka (65 years old, speaks Uzbek and some Russian), who until his death in late 1994 was in charge of the restoration of both the mosque and the madrassah. The restoration is being done by voluntary communal work, which is not sufficient. Early in 1993 several commercial firms donated some money, but were soon forced to cancel the donations after presidential decrees forbade subsidies to mosques from the private sector. Naim Hoja-aka did not conceal his critical attitude towards both the president and the Muslim Board, although for some reason he was never disturbed by the authorities.

5. While the reconstruction is still under way the number of worshippers is very limited: some 30–40 people. Theoretical overall capacity (the building and the yard) is about 2000 people.

6. In the functioning madrassah there are 3600 students (2000 boys and 1600 girls). Their principal teacher is Muhammed Amin, an Uighur from China, 37 years old, with fluent Uzbek and Arabic. Simultaneously he works as an imam-khatib. All those who work in the mosque team do so without any remuneration.

### **Andijan Region**

AREA: 4200 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 1,900,000 (the fourth most populous region after Tashkent, Samarkand and Ferghana).

FACTS: An important cotton-growing area (75 per cent of cultivated land is used for cotton). Also famous for fruit and vegetables. Produces oil and gas.

MOSQUES: 183 Friday mosques; about 120 mahalla mosques.

### **Andijan**

POPULATION: 321,000 (1993).

FACTS: Founded in the ninth century under the name of Andukan. Incorporated into Russia in 1876. Important centre of engineering and cotton-cleaning industries. One of the two most islamised Uzbek cities, along with Namangan.

MOSQUES: There are nine functioning Friday mosques. Their names are: Jami, Divanbegi, Uigur, Hokend, Jidda-e-Muburak, Mirposton, Khanaka, Pistamozor, Kuchkarlik-ota. Four more are under construction. There are also 75 mahalla mosques.

### **Jami**

2. Andijan, Babur Square.

3. Imam-khatib: Abdo Wali Mirzoyev, born in Andijan in 1950. No official higher religious education. Speaks Uzbek, Russian, Arabic and Persian. A disciple of Sheikh Hokim-kari and Domla Sheikh al-Hindustani. Has made pilgrimage to Mecca twice. His assistant, Abdo Gaffar, was born in Andijan in 1961. Taught by Abdo Wali. speaks Uzbek, Russian and Arabic. Simultaneously works at the mosque's madrassah as a teacher of Arabic and Fiqh (jurisprudence). Abdo Wali is said to be an unofficial leader of all the Islamic fundamentalists of the valley, although some view this as an overestimation, on the grounds that his fundamentalism is definitely of the moderate type.

4. Built in 1882–92 under the supervision of the special representative of the Turkestan governor Medinsky on donations of local merchant Mahmud Ali Bai. In 1902 partly damaged by an earthquake. Closed in 1937. During the Second World War and until the mid-1950s it was used as a refugee hostel. As a result of neglect the domes of the mosque began deteriorating. In 1968–9 the domes were restored by the state. Simultaneously the southern wall was destroyed and a garment factory was built in its place. In 1974 the eastern wall was turned into a literary museum. Mosque service was resumed in 1989 at the demand of the local population. Soon after, the eastern wall was returned to the mosque; the garment factory is still a matter of dispute.

5. 300–400 worshippers at daily prayer. Maximum capacity of the building: 5–6000 people; total capacity including yard: 15,000 people.

6. The only fundamentalist mosque in Andijan and the biggest Friday mosque in the city. Reckoned among the three biggest Friday mosques of all the Ferghana Valley. Madrassah enrolment: more than 200 pupils.



### *Divanbegi*

1. The mosque's official name is Divanbegi, but it is popularly called Divanobai.
2. Andijan, Altinqulskaya kuchasi 72.
3. Imam-khatib: Haji Muhammed Sadiq-kari Hashimov. Born in Andijan in 1935. Theologian. A disciple of Sheikh al-Hindustani; also trained by his father, Hashim-kari, a prominent theologian. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice. Speaks Uzbek, Arabic and Russian.
4. Built in 1858–62 during the reign of Khudoyar-khon (khan of Kokand, 1845–75). Closed in 1937, reopened in late 1950s.
5. About 200 worshippers at daily prayer; more than 1000 people at Friday prayer; overall capacity 3–4000 people. Serves approximately 20 mahallas and 17 local mahalla mosques are affiliated to it.
6. It is considered to be the principal 'official' mosque in the city and in that capacity usually enjoys the all-round support of the Tashkent-based Muslim Board for Uzbekistan. In 1993 24 people made a pilgrimage to Mecca through this mosque (more than from all the other mosques in Andijan combined). It is located close to the Jami Friday mosque and it is said that the two may merge. It has a madrassah with 120 pupils. In contrast to the practice in some madrassahs, Russian is not used at all.

### **Ferghana Region**

AREA: 7100 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 2,360,000 (the third most populous region after Tashkent and Samarkand).

FACTS: An important cotton-growing area; produces oil and gas. Main cities Ferghana (regional capital), Kokand and Margilan.

MOSQUES: 172 Friday mosques, about 120 mahalla mosques.

### ***Ferghana***

POPULATION: 235,000 (1993).

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: Over 50 per cent Russian.

FACTS: Founded in 1877 under the name of Novy ('New') Margilan; from 1910 to 1924 it was called Skobelev after the Russian general famous for his role in the conquest of Central Asia (1873–81). In 1924 it was renamed Ferghana after the famous Ferghana Valley in which it is situated. Once a typically colonial town, it later became highly industrialised, with oil-refining, chemical and cotton-processing plants.

MOSQUES: There are only 2 mosques (one old and one new) in Ferghana, which is why the regional Muslim Board is located in neighbouring Margilan. The least islamised city in the Ferghana Valley. The two Friday mosques are the Yangichek and the Beshbola.

### ***Yangichek***

1. Yangichek means 'new' in Uzbek.
2. Ferghana, Sobir Rakhimov kuchasi.
3. Imam-khatib: Khafiz Abdo Wali. Born in Ferghana in 1953, of Persian descent. Graduated from the Mir-i Arab Bukhara Theological Academy. Speaks Uzbek, Tajik, Persian, Russian and Arabic.

4. Built in 1990. Extremely beautiful wooden decorations completed in 1992.
5. Building is 600 m<sup>2</sup>. 50–100 worshippers at daily prayer. More than 2000 people at Friday prayer and about 5000 worshippers at Qurban-bairam prayer.

### *Beshbola*

1. Beshbola in Uzbek means ‘five children’.
2. Ferghana, mahalla Beshbola.
3. Imam-khatib: Ashur Muhammed. Born in Ferghana in 1938, of Tajik descent. No official higher religious education. Speaks Tajik, Uzbek and Russian.
4. Built in late eighteenth century, closed in 1936, reopened in 1990.
5. Building is 300 m<sup>2</sup>. 40–50 worshippers at daily prayer. 500 worshippers at Friday prayer. Up to 2000 people at Qurban-bairam prayer.

### *Margilan*

POPULATION: 168,000 (1993).

FACTS: Founded in the eighth century. Its main industries are traditional sericulture and other types of craft.

MOSQUES: Margilan is a city of traditional orthodox Islam: not a single fundamentalist mosque exists in the city. There are 112 mosques, including 11 Friday mosques. This is the highest density of mosques per person in the whole of Uzbekistan (one for every 1500 people). The city is the seat of the Ferghana Regional Muslim Board. The functioning Friday mosques are: Haji Rabia-Ona, Taram Bazar, Barakut, Ibn Massud, Kaptarlik Mozor, Turt Kul, Gumbaz, Teraktagi, Safir Tuade, Mishbad and Khanaka.

### *Haji Rabia-Ona*

1. Ona in Uzbek means ‘mother’. A righteous woman named Rabia lived in Egypt in the nineteenth century. Later she became famous all over the Arab world, though she is unknown in Central Asia. This name was given to the mosque in 1990 at the insistence of the Saudi donors. However, the mosque is still known under its original name, Jalail, the name of the mahalla in which it is located.
2. Margilan, Burhanuddin Margilani kuchasi 108.
3. Imam-khatib: Abdarrakhman Ibn Abdalla. Born in Margilan in 1934. No official higher religious education. Taught and trained by his father Abdallah Makhдум (now 104 years old), who is well known in the region. Abdarrakhman Ibn Abdalla is the head of the regional board of imams. He speaks Uzbek, some Arabic and some Russian.
4. Built in the late eighteenth century, closed in 1936, reopened in 1990.
5. Building is 800 m<sup>2</sup>. 200–250 worshippers at daily prayer. More than 2000 worshippers at Friday prayer and more than 5000 at Qurban-bairam prayer.
6. In 1992 6 people made a pilgrimage to Mecca through the mosque; in 1993 only 3.

### *Barakat*

1. This name was given on Saudi recommendation in 1991. Its original Uzbek name was Tuyaghum.
2. Margilan, mahalla Ahmed Yasawi.
3. Imam-khatib: Haji Zakir. born in Margilan in 1953. No official higher religious education: taught by his father. Speaks Uzbek, Russian and Arabic.
4. A newly-built mosque. Construction was completed in 1989. Voluntary communal work was the main financial source.
5. Building is 500 m<sup>2</sup>. 100–150 worshippers at daily prayer. 1000 people at Friday

prayer and about 3000-4000 worshippers at Qurban-bairam prayer.

6. In 1992 4 people made a pilgrimage to Mecca mosque; in 1993 the number was 6.

### ***Kokand***

POPULATION: 220,000 (1993).

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: 30–35 per cent Russian.

FACTS: Founded in the tenth century. Capital of the Khanate of Kokand from 1740 to 1876, when the khanate was incorporated into the Russian Empire. The main industries are mineral fertilisers, cotton processing and sericulture.

MOSQUES: 58, of which 7 are Friday mosques. In 1918 there were 500 mosques in the city; now it is the least islamicised city in the Valley after Ferghana. The seven functioning Friday mosques are: Narbuto Bek, Nur al-Islam, Dar as-Salam, Imam Bukhari, Zimbardar, Haji Bek Ghuzar, and Jami.

#### *Nur al-Islam*

1. The mosque was officially renamed 'the light of Islam' in 1991 on the recommendation of the Saudi Uzbeks, who made considerable donations to the mosque. Its previous name, still used popularly, is Ghishtlik machit, 'the brick mosque'.

2. Kokand, Hujand Kuchasi.

3. Imam-khatib: Pirumkuli Haji Maksum. Born in Kokand in 1913. Studied in Tashkent's central madrassah. The head of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in Kokand, and probably in the whole Ferghana Valley. Speaks Uzbek, Arabic and Russian. His assistant, Akmal-khan Namangani, was born in Namangan in 1943. Speaks Uzbek, Russian and Arabic, but reads only a little Arabic.

4. Built in 1913 by a local mahalla merchant, Haji Abdul Aziz, who emigrated to Kashgaria and later to Saudi Arabia soon after the Soviet takeover of Kokand in 1918. In 1935 the mosque was turned into a *chaikhana* 'teahouse', later into a library and finally into a winestore. From the early 1980s it stood neglected. In 1988 it was reopened after an appeal by Pirumkuli Maksum on behalf of the Muslims of the Ghishtlik mahalla.

5. 120–140 worshippers at daily prayer. About 2000 people at Friday prayer. 5000–8000 worshippers at Qurban-bairam prayer. Maximum capacity (building and yard): 10,000.

6. Serves 5 local mahallas (15,000 people) which have no mahalla mosques.

#### *Jami*

1. Formerly known as Amir Umar-khan.

2. Kokand, Jami mosque.

3. Imam-khatib: Muhammed Rajab. Born in Kokand in 1953. No official higher religious education. Trained and taught by his father Muhammed Qasem, who studied at Mir-i Arab Theological Academy in Bukhara. Also taught by Hokim-kari in Margilan. Speaks Uzbek, Arabic and Russian. One of the most prominent moderate fundamentalist leaders in the Ferghana Valley. Arrested in August 1995.

4. Built in 1814 by Amir Umar-khan, khan of Kokand, as a last tribute to the outstanding Kokand poetess Nadira. It is a majestic building of 2000 m<sup>2</sup>, decorated with a colonnade of 98 stately columns. Ironwood for the columns was specially delivered from India. It was closed in 1936 and turned into a storehouse; later it became a museum and a theatre. It stood neglected from 1986. A petition with 14,000 signatures achieved its reopening on 19 February 1990.

5. 100–200 worshippers at daily prayer. Up to 5000 people at Friday prayer. About

7000 worshippers at Qurban-bairam prayer. Maximum capacity (building and yard): 10,000.

6. Reckoned among the three biggest Friday mosques of all the Ferghana Valley. 150 people made a pilgrimage to Mecca through the mosque in 1993. There is a madrasah at the mosque, with 200 pupils from all over Central Asia. In the environs of Kokand the mosque has a summer camp (4 ha.) for the students.

### **Namangan Region**

AREA: 7900 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 1,700,000.

FACTS: The region's main industries are gold mining, construction materials, cotton processing, sericulture and farming (68 per cent of all arable land is under cotton). Since March 1992 the region has become famous for its huge Mingbulak oil field, which is comparable with the Tengiz field in Kazakhstan.

MOSQUES: 192 Friday Mosques.

### ***Namangan***

POPULATION: 345,000 (1993). The third largest city (after Tashkent and Samarkand) in Uzbekistan.

FACTS: Founded at the end of the fifteenth century. Famous for its greenery, flowers and hospitality. The native land of the seventeenth-century Sufi poet Mashrab, who is compared by some with Omar Khayyam. Now the city has cotton-processing and textile industries. It has a relatively small but rather influential community of Meskhetian Turks.

MOSQUES: Namangan is one of the most islamicised cities in the Valley and the whole of Uzbekistan. Its nine functioning Friday mosques are: Mahdum Ishan, Sheikh Ishan, Ataulla (Gumbaz), Imam Aazam (Nuroobod), Emin Hoja Ishan, Abdumalik Akhun, Khazret Langar, Ismail Mahdum, Abu Hanifa.

### ***Mahdum Ishan***

2. Namangan, makhalla Sim Koga.

3. Imam-khatib: Umar-khan. Born in Namangan in 1955. No official higher religious education. Taught by Domla Shamsuddin-kari Hafez. Speaks Uzbek, Arabic, Russian and some Tajik-Persian.

4. Built at the end of the seventeenth century. Closed in 1936. Reopened in 1988.

5. 100 worshippers at daily prayer. Up to 3000 worshippers at Friday prayer. 10,000 people at Qurban-bairam prayer.

6. One of the three biggest Friday mosques of all the Valley. The list of authors most read in the mosque includes such prominent fundamentalists as Hassan al-Banna, Sayed Kutb, Muhammed Kutb, Abu al-Aala al-Maududi.

### ***Emin Hoja Ishan***

1. Its common name in the city is Hujam.

2. Namangan, Kuzegarlik kuchasi.

3. Imam-khatib: Daud-khan Artykov. Born in 1946 in Namangan. No official higher religious education. Taught by his father. Knows half the Quran by heart, speaks Uzbek and Russian.

4. The oldest mosque in the city. The only one in Namangan which has been regis-

tered in the special UNESCO catalogue. Built in the early 1640s by Sheikh Tahur ed-Din and his relative Sheikh Haji Aziz. The latter named the mosque after his son. Closed in 1931, reopened in 1943. Neglected from 1958. On 17 May 1990 Daudkhan reopened the mosque.

5. 200 worshippers at daily prayer. Up to 3000 worshippers at Friday prayer. Almost 10,000 at Qurban-bairam.

6. Twelve local mahalla mosques are affiliated to it.

### ***Samarkand***

POPULATION: 650,000 (1994). The second largest city (after Tashkent) in Uzbekistan.

FACTS: KNOWN since 329 BC under the name of Marakand; from the late fourteenth to fifteenth centuries it was the capital of the Timurid state. From 1868 to 1917 it was part of the Russian Empire, and between 1924 and 1930 the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. A prominent centre for handicrafts, Samarkand also has the largest tea-packing factory in Uzbekistan.

MOSQUES: More than 300 mahalla mosques and 13 Friday mosques, to which may be added the famous Imam Bukhari mosque, although it is situated outside the city boundary. About 350 people in the city can claim the title of haji. 84, 146 and 88 local Muslims made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1992, 1993 and 1994 respectively. The functioning Friday mosques are: Hawaja Zud Murad, Hoja Safoi Wali, Hoja Nisbad-Dor, Hoja Abdi Darun, Agamir Hasan, Namazgoh, Hoja Ubeidulla Akhrar Wali, Shah-i-Zinda, Murad Auliya, Naqshin, Hoja Ishaq Wali, Hoja Yusuf, Hoja Saat, Imam Bukhari.

There are also three Shia mosques in the city – Agamir Hasan, Murad Auliya and Hoja Saat – which serve the long-established local Persian community (usually called Ironi). According to the 1989 census the number of Ironi in the region of Samarkand was 19,600. The real figure, according to the imams of the local Shia mosques, is as high as 100,000. There are 52 mahallas inhabited mainly by Ironis.

#### *Hoja Abdi Darun*

2. Samarkand, Sadriddin Aini 21. Tel: 7 (36622) 353174.

3. Imam-khatib: Mahmujam Ibadulla-zade. Born in Samarkand in 1944. Uzbek. After secondary school graduated from Mir-i Arab (7 years of study) and Tashkent Islamic Institute (4 years of study). Speaks Uzbek, Tajik, Persian, Arabic (fluent) and Russian. Has made one pilgrimage to Mecca.

4. A certain Hoja Abdi Darun (a mullah and muezzin) came to Samarkand in the seventh century. Here he founded a madrassah and worked as a teacher and a kazi. He died at the age of 91 and was buried next to the madrassah. A big *mazar* (shrine) appeared around his grave. The graveyard was later called Hoja Abdi Darun. The mosque is located in the midst of the former cemetery. In the days of Ulugh Bek a mausoleum was erected over the grave of Abdi Darun; the mausoleum is established near an ancient *khauz* (pond) with a spring. The water in the *khauz* is regarded as medicinal and is used specifically for the treatment of infants in arms. The *aivan* (porch) was erected only in 1908. The latest major repairs of the buildings took place in the 1890s. The mosque was closed in the early 1930s, reopened 1943–52, stood neglected during the subsequent 30 years and went back to the local Muslims in 1981; simultaneously redecoration was carried out at the expense of the local Muslim community.

5. 30–60 worshippers at daily prayer. About 300–400 people at Friday service. Up to

2000–3000 Muslims at Qurban-bairam festivities. Serves 54 adjacent makhallas (about 120,000 people). The area of the mosque is 128 m<sup>2</sup> (about 150 worshippers). Maximum overall capacity (mosque, aivan and the yard): 4000 people. A bigger aivan was built in 1987. A new minaret was erected in 1992.

6. 50–60 boys study at the mosque on a regular basis.

### *Imam Bukhari*

1. Local popular name: Hoja Ismail.

2. Samarkand region, Chelek district, kolkhoz Yarlakabov, kishlak Hoja Ismail. Tel. and fax: (36622) 310988.

3. Imam-khatib: Usman-khan Alimov. Born in the village of Orlot (Kushrabad district) in 1954. Uzbek. His father, Timur-khan Alimov, is a sheikh of the local Naqshbandi order. Graduated from the Mir-i Arab and Tashkent Islamic Institute. In 1992, as a member of the governmental delegation headed by president Karimov, he visited Mecca and the Kaba. Internship at Fez University in Morocco (1993). Speaks Uzbek, Tajik, Persian, Russian and Arabic.

4. The mosque is famous because of the tomb of the outstanding medieval theologian Imam Bukhari, which serves as a pilgrimage centre for the region and the whole of Uzbekistan. The original mosque was built in the sixteenth century alongside the tomb on the order of Abdullah-khan. Closed in 1920s, when it was turned into a kolkhoz storehouse. Owing to an unexpected visit by a delegation of Muslim figures from Arab countries who were searching for the grave of Imam Bukhari the mosque was reopened in 1958, to be closed two years later. In 1973 (a year ahead of the 1200th anniversary of Imam Bukhari) the mosque was finally given back to the Muslims. During the subsequent 20 years all the other buildings were erected (a minaret, a madrassah, an aivan and memorial constructions around the tomb).

5. 5–10 worshippers at daily prayer (from the local kolkhoz); although the figure is sometimes as high as 200 worshippers (the pupils of the madrassah and guests). 600–700 people at Friday service and at least 5000 people during Qurban-bairam festivities. The area of the mosque is 400 m<sup>2</sup> (over 500 people).

6. The madrassah was opened in 1990. Its enrolment is about 150 students. The tuition is free. Moreover some 70 students live in the mosque free of charge. Recently the mosque has been permanently used by the state as a means of legitimising its Islamic credentials within the Islamic world: practically all high-ranking foreign guests are taken to the mosque. Visitors have included the president of Indonesia, the president and the prime minister of Turkey and the prime minister of Pakistan.

### *Bukhara*

POPULATION: 210,000 (1995).

FACTS: Founded in the middle of the first millennium BC. In the ninth century the capital of the Samanid state; later on ruled by the Karakhanids, Khorezm-shah Muhammed, Genghis Khan, the Timurids and the Shaibanids. Since the late sixteenth century the centre of the Bukhara Khanate (renamed the Bukhara Emirate in 1747). In the Russian Empire from 1868 to 1917. In the Soviet Union from 1920 to 1991.

MOSQUES: Before 1920 there were hundreds of functioning mosques and madrassahs. 140 buildings survived: these include 11 functioning jami mosques and two functioning madrassahs (Mir-i Arab for men and Jabore Kalon for women). The author's research also covered two outstanding architectural monuments located outside Bukhara itself (Hazrat Bahauddin Naqshbandi and Char Bakr). The functioning

Friday mosques are: Qalyan, Hoja Zainuddin, Tagband Bofon, Bolo-khauz, Abu Hafsi Kabir, Hoja Tabband, Balyand, Wolidai Abdul Aziz-khan, Calipha Hudaiddod, Haji Mir Ali, Faizaobod, Hazrat Bahuddin Naqshbandi, Chor Bakr.

After 1920 only three Friday mosques were allowed to function in the city: Hoja Zainuddin, Tagband Bofon and Hoja Tabband.

Haji Mir Ali mosque is the only Shia mosque in the city and serves the local Ironi community of 70,000 (unofficial estimate). Local Ironis claim that the total number of Shiites in the region exceeds 100,000. There are four other Shia mosques in the Bukhara region: two in Kagan (Rabot-i-Miri and Huseiniya), one in Tortor mahalla and one in the *kishlak* (village) Talipoch.

### *Qalyan*

1. Known also as an architectural ensemble Poi Qalyan.

2. Bukhara, Nurobad 14. Tel. (36522) 44051. Located in the very centre of the old city in front of Mir-i Arab madrassah.

3. Imam-khatib Jon-Muhammed Gulov. Born in Orjonikidzeabad (Tajikistan) in 1963. Tajik. From a worker family. Graduated from Mir-i Arab. In 1994 spent 3 months at Al-Azhar. In 1992 made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Knows practically all the Quran by heart. Speaks Tajik, Persian, Uzbek, Arabic (fluent) and Russian. Married, three children.

4. The existing building was assembled in 1514. The famous Qalyan minaret was erected in 1127, when the original mosque was constructed. The mosque was destroyed by Genghis Khan in 1220. It is said that Genghis Khan ordered all the imams of the Bukhara region (about 10,000 people) to gather in the yard of the mosque, where they were beheaded and thrown into the well. To commemorate those martyrs a *chillyakhona* (memorial house) was built in 1817 over the former well in the yard of the Qalyan mosque. The mosque was closed in 1927. Subsequently used as a granary, a stable and a storehouse. Partly restored in 1967. Given back to the believers in May 1989. Major repairs began at that time which may continue until the end of the century.

5. 20–30 worshippers at daily prayer. 2000-2500 people at Friday sermon and 10,000 people or more during the Qurban-bairam festivities. The overall area of the mosque (including its yard) is about 10,000 m<sup>2</sup>; maximum capacity about 12,000 people. The mosque is a huge right-angled building divided on the west side by a colossal *mikhrab* niche (constructed on the orders of Tamerlane in the 1370s) and on the east side by the main gate. The overall area of the mosque is 4140 m<sup>2</sup>. Along the building's perimeter there are seven gates of various sizes. A special feature is a 50-m minaret decorated with unrepeated brick patterns along its entire length.

### *Hazrat Bahauddin Naqshbandi*

2. Bukhara region, Kagan district, kolkhoz Naqshbandi (formerly 'Kommunizm'), kishlak Kasr Arifan.

3. Imam-khatib: Bobojon Rakhmanov. Born in Gijduvan (Bukhara region) in 1954. After secondary school and two years in the army worked as a baker for more than 11 years (also worked at the bakery in Mir-i Arab). From 1985 to 1991 worked as imam's assistant in Hoja Zainuddin Friday mosque. In 1992 graduated from Mir-i Arab. In July 1993 took over Hazrat Bahauddin Naqshbandi Friday Mosque when its former imam-khatib (Mukhtarjan Abdullayev) was elected the new mufti of the Muslim Board of Maverannah. Speaks Uzbek, Tajik, Persian and Russian. Basic level Arabic. Married, 6 children.

4. The mosque as such was built at one of the most prominent pilgrimage places of the region, the tomb of Bahauddin Muhammed Naqshbandi (1318–89), the founder of the Naqshbandi Sufi order. The first building was constructed in 1544–45 on the orders of Abdel Aziz-khan. In the nineteenth century the amir Akhad-khan had a small mosque and a madrassah built. In 1920 the whole complex was closed and stood neglected until the 1990s. A special police post at the memorial monitored anyone trying to make a *ziyarat* (religious visit or pilgrimage). As a result of poor maintenance and negligence the buildings began deteriorating; the main dome collapsed. In December 1991 the mosque was given back to the Muslims. The major restoration works were completed within two years, facilitated by state assistance and generous donations such as the one from the late Turkish President Turgut Özal (a Naqshbandi), who during his visit to Uzbekistan at the beginning of 1992 came to the memorial to donate US \$45,000.

5. 30–50 worshippers at daily prayer; about 500–600 people at Friday prayer and up to 2000–3000 people at Qurban-bairam festivities. Big attendances are on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, traditional days for *ziyارات* to the tomb of Bahauddin Naqshband, with 1000–1500 pilgrims. The area of the mosque is 1400 m<sup>2</sup>; maximum capacity 1500–1600 people. The height of the main dome is 18m and the height of the minaret (erected in 1719–20) is 12.2 m.

### ***Khiva***

POPULATION: 50,000 (1994).

FACTS: Archaeologists set the founding of the city at more than 2000 years ago, although written sources mention it only from the tenth century AD. From the end of the sixteenth century to 1920 the capital of the Khiva Khanate. In the Soviet Union to 1991.

MOSQUES: Almost all historical monuments are located within the so-called inner city or Ichan Kala. These include the former city jami mosque (Juma Machet) erected as early as the tenth century, rebuilt in the eighteenth century and closed by the Soviet authorities in 1920. Before 1920 it was the only Friday mosque in Khiva. In the early 1990s the feasibility of its return to the Muslims was debated. Although the city administration was ready to hand it over to the believers this did not happen, largely because of the passiveness and indifference of the local Muslim community. The usually cited figure of 96 mahalla mosques in Khiva before 1920 has been questioned by the director of the Ichan Kala museum complex Abdulla Abdurasulov. According to him the city at that time consisted of 67 mahallas with 65 functioning mahalla mosques.<sup>9</sup> 48 of those mosques are still preserved; in 1989 one of them (Seyid Niyaz Shalika) gained the status of the cathedral mosque.

### ***Urgench***

POPULATION: 135,000 (1994).

FACTS: It has nothing but the name in common with the ancient Khorezm capital which was destroyed twice, in 1221 by Genghis Khan and in 1388 by Tamerlane. The remains of that Urgench (partly restored by Tamerlane in 1391) can be found near the Turkmen city of Kunya-Urgench. Modern Urgench (until 1929 called Novo-Urgench, 'New Urgench') was founded at the end of the nineteenth century.

MOSQUES: Until 1920 there were 30 functioning mosques, including one jami mosque (destroyed in 1920). At present there are 4 mosques in the city including one



jami mosque (Akhun Baba). In the whole Khorezm region there are 23 registered Friday mosques and over 150 mahalla mosques.

## **TURKMENISTAN**

AREA: 488,100 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 3 523 000

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: (percentages): Turkmens 72.0; Russians 9.5; Uzbeks 9.0; Kazakhs 2.5.

CAPITAL: Ashgabat (population 399,000; percentages: Turkmens 50.8; Russians 32.4; Armenians 4.6).

PRESIDENT: Sapamurad Niyazov, who has taken the title Turkmenbashi, 'Leader of the Turkmen'.

KAZI: Nasrullah Ibn Ibadullah. Born in Tashauz (Turkmenistan) in 1947. Uzbek. Studied at Mir-i Arab (1969–75) and Tashkent Islamic Institute (1975–8). 1978–82 studied at Al-Azhar (Cairo). 1982–4 imam-khatib of Shalikar Friday mosque in Tashauz. 1984–6 imam-khatib of Bil al-Baba Friday mosque in Iljaly (Tashauz region). From 1986 imam-khatib of Shalikar Friday mosque; still holds this post. In 1987 became kazi of Turkmenistan. On 19 April 1994 was nominated chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs attached to the president of Turkmenistan. Speaks Uzbek, Turkmen, Russian, Arabic and Persian. Married, six children.

MOSQUES: In late 1994 there were 204 registered Friday mosques.

HAJ: During 1992–4 150 pilgrims were sent annually to Mecca with financial assistance from the government of Turkmenistan, covering up to 80 per cent of the travelling expenses.

## ***Dashhowuz***

POPULATION: 120,000 (1994).

FACTS: Founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a fortress on the western border of the Khiva Khanate, 80 km north-west of Urgench. Since 1924 within Turkmenistan. Until 1992 known as Tashauz. Uzbeks constitute about 55 per cent of the population, and Turkmens about 30 per cent. Home city of the republican kazi.

MOSQUES: Three jami mosques. In the whole Dashhowuz region there are 24 registered Friday mosques.

## **KYRGYZSTAN**

AREA: 198,500 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 4 258 000

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: (percentages): Kyrgyz 52.4; Russians 21.5; Uzbeks 12.9.

CAPITAL: Bishkek (population 675,000 (1995) (percentages): Russians 55.8; Kyrgyz 22.7; Ukrainians 5.5).

PRESIDENT: Askar Akayev.

MUFTI: Kimsanbai-aji Abdurrahman. Born in 1940 in the suburbs of the neighbouring Uzbekistan city of Kokand. Kyrgyz. Speaks Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Russian and Arabic. Studied at Mir-i Arab (1959–71) and the Sharia Faculty at Amman University (1976–80). In 1980–81 served as an imam at Seyid Waqqas Friday mosque in Tashkent. 1981–6 director of the Theological Academy in Bukhara; then worked for the muftiate. In March 1990 became kazi of neighbouring Kyrgyzstan. In

August 1993, after the first all-Kyrgyzstan Muslims' congress, became the first mufti of the Kyrgyz Republic.

**MOSQUES:** According to the mufti there are almost 1000 mosques (including those under construction). More than 500 of them are concentrated in the south (former Osh region).

**HAJ:** In 1991 450 Muslims made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and 1000 in each of the two subsequent years.

### ***Bishkek***

**POPULATION:** 675,000 (1995).

**FACTS:** Founded by Russians in 1864 under the name of Pishpek. Renamed after famous Russian revolutionary general Frunze in 1926. Renamed Bishkek in 1988. In 1989, Russians constituted 55.8 per cent of the population, Kyrgyz 22.7 and Ukrainians 5.5.

**MOSQUES:** There was only one Friday mosque in 1994. Although the local Uighur community gained the right to organise Friday sermons in their mosque this cannot be considered a jami mosque.

#### *Bishkek Central Mosque*

1. No official name.
2. Bishkek, Gogol'ya St 53.
3. Imam-khatib: Abdullo Majid. Born in 1936 in Urumchi (China). Uighur. Speaks Uighur, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Russian.
4. Built in 1873. Closed in 1932. Reopened in 1943 after a special decree by Stalin.
5. 200 worshippers at daily prayer, about 1000 at Friday prayer. During 1993 Qurban-bairam festivities it accommodated 5000 people.

### ***Osh***

**POPULATION:** 230,000 (1994).

**FACTS:** Known since the ninth century. In 1994 Uzbeks constituted 41 per cent of the population, Kyrgyz 29, Russians 18 and Tatars 4.

**MOSQUES:** Eight functioning Friday mosques: Baqi, Rabat Abdulla Khan, Imam Bukhari, Shahid Tepe, Aalya, Abdul Jabbar, Imam Aazam, Salman Farsi.

#### *Rabat Abdulla Khan*

1. Rabat means 'linkage'. Abdulla Khan, a local rich man, built the mosque. The only mosque in the region registered in the UNESCO special catalogue.
2. Osh, Alebastrov St 1. Tel. 77148.
3. Imam-khatib: Muhammed Amin-haji Nizamëddinov. Uzbek. Born in 1955 in Osh. Used to work as a driver at the city motor depot. Left driving for bee-keeping. Studied sharia and Arabic with local scholars. Elected as their imam by the local mahalla communities in 1991. Speaks Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Russian and some Arabic. Works without remuneration. Has 20 pupils, most of whom live in his house.
4. Built in the late thirteenth century. Closed in 1935, then stood neglected till 1943. Again closed and neglected from late 1970s until 1990 when reconstruction began. The reconstruction is still not over because of lack of finance. Visiting Saudis gave US \$3000 in 1993, but according to the deputy imam seven times that sum is still needed.

5. About 30 worshippers at daily prayer, 500–700 at Friday prayer and up to 3000 at Qurban-bairam.

*Imam Bukhari*

2. Osh, Kyrgyzstan St 20. Tel. 27428.

3. Imam-khatib: Muhammejan Akhmedov. Uzbek. Born in 1940 in Jalal-Abad. Graduated from technical secondary school. Five years of study at the Islamic Institute in Tashkent. In 1979–89 worked as imam-khatib in four different mosques (two of them in Tashkent). Became head of Imam Bukhari in September 1989. speaks Uzbek, Persian, Russian and Arabic. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice.

4. Built in 1960 at the expense of a local merchant. Closed in 1931; reopened in 1943 on Stalin's order. A new mosque building financed by Saudi Arabia is under construction.

5. 60–150 worshippers at daily prayer, up to 3000 at Friday prayer and almost 30,000 at Qurban-bairam.

## AZERBAIJAN

AREA: 86,600 km<sup>2</sup> including Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, 5500 km<sup>2</sup> and Nagorno-Karabakh, 4400 km<sup>2</sup>.

POPULATION: 7,200,000 (1992)

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: (percentages): Azeris 84.7; Russians 4.5; highlander ethnic communities (Lezgi, Avars and others) 4.2; Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh 2.1.

CAPITAL: Baku (population 1,300,000).

MAIN RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS: Shiites constitute 70 per cent of Muslims (the majority of Azeris and the Talysh); Sunni muslims (30 per cent) are represented mainly by highlanders (Lezgi especially), Tatars and some Azeris.

PRESIDENT: Geidar Aliyev (born 1923) since June 1993.

CHAIRMAN OF THE MUSLIM BOARD OF THE CAUCASUS: Sheikh al-Islam Alla Shukur Pasha-zade. Born in Lenkoran in 1949. Talysh. Graduated from Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara (3 years of study) and Tashkent Islamic Institute (4 years). 1976–80 worked as imam khatib of Baku central mosque Teze Pir. In 1980 elected chairman of the Muslim Board for Transcaucasia, and thus became the youngest ever head of any of the Muslim boards since 1943. In 1982, in commemoration of his successful efforts in narrowing the gap between Azerbaijan's Shia and Sunni communities, he was elected corresponding member of the Jordanian Islamic Academy. In 1992 elected chairman of the newly created Supreme Religious Council of the Peoples of the Caucasus (SRPC). Speaks Azeri, Russian, Turkish, Arabic and Persian. His dissertation for master's ('candidate') degree was on the history of Islam in Azerbaijan and his doctoral dissertation was on the role of shura in Islam. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca eight times. A member of parliament. He has two vice-chairmen: Jabrail Mikail-ogly, in charge of Azerbaijan's Shia community, and Salman Musaogly, a mufti, in charge of the Sunni community.

MOSQUES: There is no definitive list of functioning Friday mosques in Azerbaijan. According to data provided by the Muslim Board there were about 600 jami mosques at the beginning of 1994. The leaders of the officially registered Islamic party say that there are 280 functioning Friday mosques, excluding those in Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh, out of a total of 4000 mosques. Another important source of information turned out to be a published list of relics and monuments in Azerbaijan

under state protection. According to this list, there were 468 mosques under state protection in 1988, including both big Friday mosques and small mahalla mosques. Most of these (though the exact number is unknown) have already been given back to Muslim communities, though not all those given back are functioning yet. It should be noted that about 50 mosques in areas of military action have either been destroyed or have ceased to function. According to the list mosques are distributed as follows: the Apsheron Peninsula: 94; the mountainous northern area Belokany-Zakataly-Kakhi-Sheki: 82; the southern Lenkoran area (on the border with Iran): 75; Kuba-Kussar zone (on the border with Dagestan): 53; Nakhichevan: 39.

HAJ: In 1992 260 people made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1993 the number was 500 despite increasing travel expenses (US\$ 300 in 1992 and US\$1200 in 1993). There are more than 3000 people in Azerbaijan who have the honourable title of *haji* (*gaji* in Azeri). Because of the predominantly Shia character of the republic pilgrimages to Kerbala (Iraq) or Mashhed (Iran) are just as popular as pilgrimages to Mecca. There are approximately 3000 *kerbalai* and almost 300,000 *mashhedi* in Azerbaijan.

### **Baku**

POPULATION: 1,300,000 (including approximately 150,000–200,000 refugees – 1994). In the 1970s and 1980s at least 30 per cent of the republic's population lived in Baku-Sumgait area. This figure now exceeds 50 per cent. Until 1988–90 Baku was a 'melting pot' multinational city with considerable numbers of Armenians (18.0 per cent) and Russians (12.2 per cent). Since the Armenian pogroms in Baku in 1990 there are no Armenians in the capital; the number of Russians has also decreased significantly, by some 20,000.

MOSQUES: There are 27 big Friday mosques; only 6 of these are functioning. There are also about 60 mahalla mosques in the city. One Friday mosque is currently under construction.

Functioning Friday mosques: Juma (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) (Icheri Sheher, Asaf Zeinaly St 51); Qasimbek (nineteenth century) (Azi Aslanov St 23); Teze Pir (1905–15) (Mustafa Subhi St 28); Gyoï (Ajdarbek) (1912–13) (S. Vurgun St 76); Gaji Sultan Ali (1910) (Askerov St 75); Ashumovskaya (nineteenth–twentieth centuries) (Abdalla Shaig St 14).

### **Teze Pir**

1. Persian for 'new sacred place'. Another Baku mosque (Qasimbek) is known under the name 'Kohne Pir' or 'old sacred place'. The latter was the residence of the sheikh ul-Islam until it was closed in 1920. From 1947 Teze Pir became the new seat of the sheikh ul-Islam.

2. Tel. (8922) 952574, 945549 (direct number of sheikh ul-Islam).

3. Imam-khatib: Jabrail Mikail-ogly. Vicechairman of the Muslim Board for the Caucasus in charge of Azerbaijan's Shia community and questions of sharia. Born in Baku in 1952. Graduated from Mir-i Arab in Bukhara (3 years of study) and Tashkent Islamic Institute (4 years of study). In 1982–3 in charge of Ajdarbek Friday mosque. In 1987 was simultaneously nominated as imam-khatib of Teze Pir and vice-chairman of the Muslim Board.

4. Built in 1905–15 under the supervision and with the donations of a local rich lady, Nabatkhanum Ashurbekova. Her brother Ajdarbek was simultaneously engaged in building the neighbouring Gyoï (Ajdarbek) mosque. Designed by the famous architect Zivarbek Ahmedbekov. Closed in 1920. Used as a culture club until 1947 when

it resumed its religious function.

5. Some 50 worshippers at each of the three daily prayers. Up to 300–400 people at Friday prayer and more than 10,000 at Qurban-bairam or Ashura (commemoration of the martyrdom of Hussein).

6. The biggest mosque in the city. The Baku Islamic Institute was established on the mosque's territory in 1990. In 1995, after 5 years of study, the first group of imams was due to graduate from the Institute, thus bringing dependence on Tashkent to an end.

### *Ashumovskaya*

1. Appears under this name in various official lists. A popular name Gaji Baba is also used within the Muslim Board and in the mosque itself. Since 1990 the mosque's representatives have called it Imam Hussein mosque. This name was given on Iranian recommendation and is recognised in most of the mosques, though not by scholars or the Muslim Board. Another name, Shirvanlar, is also rather popular.

2. Tel. (8922) 921416.

3. From April 1989 to November 1992 Haji Abdul was imam-khatib of the mosque. Born in 1942 in Baku. Speaks Azeri, Russian, Persian and a little Arabic. His constant attacks on President Abulfaz Elchibey led to his arrest in November 1992 and subsequent imprisonment. He was freed in summer 1993 after Geidar Aliyev came to power and soon left for Moscow, where he is still undergoing medical treatment. After his arrest the mosque functioned for some time without an imam-khatib. In March 1993 during Ramadan one of Ayatollah Khomeini's favourite disciples Ayatollah Khamedani arrived at the mosque at the request of its parishioners. Since then the 70-year-old ayatollah has been acting imam-khatib on a temporary basis. He speaks Persian, Arabic, Turkish, English and Urdu. An important role in the everyday life of the mosque is played by the leader of the religious-political society *Tovbe* (Repentance), Haji Kerim. He was born in 1949 in Baku and graduated from Baku Polytechnical and Motor Transport Institutes. He turned to political Islam in the mid-1980s.

4. Built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with donations from a rich local merchant, Haji Baba Ashumov. Designed by the architect Eichler. Closed in 1928. In the 1940s and 1950s used as a factory, then a research institute. In 1989 the mosque was seized by the newly emerged *Tovbe* society. Since then the mosque has become completely independent of the Muslim Board. Its main official goal, as proclaimed in its charter, is a peaceful struggle against drugs, alcohol, prostitution and theft. *Tovbe* members are nevertheless ready to turn to any means, including armed struggle, if there is a threat of returning their mosque to official control.

5. Overall capacity (building and yard) is about 1 ha. Principal prayer hall is about 500m<sup>2</sup>. No more than 40 worshippers at daily prayer and up to 80 people at weekends. The parishioners go to the neighbouring Teze Pir mosque for Friday prayer. At Qurban-bairam and Ashura prayers there are more than 5000 worshippers.

### *Mashtagi*

POPULATION: 60,000.

FACTS: Located on the Apsheron Peninsula some 30 km to the north of Baku.

MOSQUES: Mashtagi consists of 4 mahallas. There are 19 mahalla mosques, most of them still closed, and one Friday mosque. 500 inhabitants have the honorary title of haji, 300 the title kerbalai, and more than 10,000 the title meshhedi.

*Mashtagi Juma Mesjid*

2. Mashtagi settlement, Seiid Abad Aga St, Kooperativ 69. Tel. (8922) 243469.
3. Imam-khatib: Gaji Asadulla Abdul-ogly. Born in 1938 in Mashtagi. A descendant of ancient local religious family well known for at least 450 years. His two grandfathers were local imams and became famous for their donations and personal participation in the building and restoration of mosques. After secondary school moved to Baku where he worked as assistant locomotive driver. Later studied for 7 years at Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara. Then graduated from Tashkent Islamic Institute after four years of study. Speaks Azeri, Russian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Uzbek, Tatar, Turkmen and Dargin. Has acquired 18 different manual professions including metalworker, bricklayer, carpenter and house painter. Made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Married, three children.
4. According to archaeological data the original mosque on the site dated back to the fourteenth century. Several mosques had been destroyed before the current building was erected in late nineteenth century. Closed in 1937 and then neglected. Later turned into a storehouse. Mosque service was resumed in 1989 on demand of the local population. Asadulla Abdul-ogly was elected imam-khatib and headed the restoration works. During 8 months of 1989 a new minaret was built. At 46.66 m it is the highest minaret in Azerbaijan. The second and the third floors along with another minaret were scheduled for completion by the beginning of 1995. A madrassah for 60 pupils was built in March 1994.
5. 40–50 people at daily prayer, 200–300 worshippers at Friday prayer and 10,000–15,000 people at Qurban-bairam and Ashura.

*Nardaran*

POPULATION: 7500.

FACTS: A small settlement to the north of Mashtagi. The name may mean ‘valley of fire’; Nardaran was formerly one of the main Zoroastrian sanctuaries on the peninsula. Known for its *pir* (sacred place), the tomb of Bibikhanum, sister of the seventh Shia imam in the Ismaili interpretation, Yahiya Muhammed. A mosque was erected at the tomb in 1363–4.

MOSQUES: One Friday mosque and 9 mahalla mosques. One of the most islamised places in Azerbaijan.

*Nardaran Juma Mesjid*

2. Nardaran settlement, Asaf Zeinaly St.
3. Imam-khatib: Haji Azim. Born in Nardaran in 1919. No official higher religious education. Taught by local sheikhs. Speaks Azeri, some Arabic, Russian and Persian. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Elected imam-khatib in 1989.
4. Built in the early twentieth century by the people of the settlement under the guidance of one Orzali. Closed in 1930. For some time stood neglected. Later used as a granary, then as a library. Given back to the Muslim community in 1989.
5. The size of the building is 432 m<sup>2</sup>. 15–20 worshippers at daily prayer, 100–200 people at Friday prayer and almost all the settlement inhabitants at Qurban-bairam and Ashura.

**TATARSTAN**

AREA: 68,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

CAPITAL: Kazan’ (population: 1,300,000).

POPULATION: 3,720,000 (as of 1 October 1992).

Ethnic Composition: 107 nationalities are represented in the republic; 8 of them constitute 99 per cent of the population: Tatars 48.5; Russians 43.3; Chuvash 3.7; Ukrainians 0.9; Mordvins 0.8; Udmurts 0.7; Bashkirs 0.5; Mari 0.5. Those of Muslim origin thus amount to just under 50 per cent of the population.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND MOSQUES: On 15 January 1994 there were 522 registered religious societies in Tatarstan, including 399 Muslim societies (of which only 116 were already registered in 1993). Most of these were *mutawalliyat* councils. A *mutawalliyat* is a group of 10–20 people set up to build or restore a particular mosque or supervise its functioning. There is no longer any distinction between Friday mosques and mahalla mosques. Nowadays all functioning mosques have the right to hold Friday services. On 1 June 1994 there were 310 functioning mosques and another 159 were under construction or restoration.

DISTINCTIVE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE MOSQUES: From the eighth to the tenth centuries wooden-gable roof mosques were the symbol of this area. Over the period from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries stone gradually replaced timber and was used exclusively from the mid-sixteenth century. After the seizure of Kazan' by the Russian army in 1552 most of the mosques (418 out of 536) were destroyed and the building of new ones was prohibited until 1767 when the Russian empress Catherine the Great allowed stone mosques to be built once again. Until the eighteenth century many Tatar mosques were notable for the architectural combination of dome with one corner minaret or two main entrance minarets. Later on the dome almost disappeared and the standard mosque building now has a cylindrical or octahedral minaret rising from the centre of the gable roof. Another architectural tradition is the lack of decoration or ornamentation on the mosques' facades, which do not differ from the facades of surrounding houses.

THE MUSLIM BOARD OF THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE CIS AND SIBERIA: Until 1992 all the Muslims of Tatarstan and their mosques were under the auspices of the so-called Muslim Board of the European Part of the Soviet Union (since December 1991, CIS) and Siberia with its headquarters in Ufa, Bashkortostan. This Muslim Board was established as early as 1789; its latest reorganisation was in 1943. Two congresses of opposition clergy in August 1992 (in Ufa and Naberezhnyye Chelny, Tatarstan) saw the creation of at least two independent Muslim Boards in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. At present about 30 per cent of all mosques in Tatarstan remain loyal to the original Muslim Board based in Ufa, and almost 40 per cent recognise the new independent Muslim Board; the remaining mosques are still neutral. The authorities in Kazan' and Moscow are trying to use the Muslim Boards by playing them off against each other.

MUFTI OF THE MUSLIM BOARD OF THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE CIS AND SIBERIA: Talgat Tajuddin. Born in 1946 to a working-class family in Kazan'. Married, five children. Graduated from one of the Kazan' vocational training schools, then from Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara. In 1973 was appointed second imam-khatib of Kazan' Marjani mosque. From 1974–8 was assigned by the Muslim Board to study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. On his return was appointed first imam-khatib of Marjani mosque. Since 1980 has occupied the post of mufti. Speaks Tatar, Russian and Arabic.

MUFTI OF THE MUSLIM BOARD IN THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN: Gabdulla-Hazrat Galiullin. Born in 1954 in Kazan'. Relative of Talgat Tajuddin (their wives are cousins). Also related to the mufti of the Crimea and to the imams of Friday mosques in Nizhni Novgorod and Saratov. Graduated from Mir-i Arab Academy (1978–83)

and Tashkent Islamic Institute (1983–7). From 1987–90 worked as the third imam in Marjani mosque. Since 1990 imam-khatib of the Pichen-Bazar (now renamed Nurulla) mosque. In August 1992 was elected mufti and the head of the Muslim Board in the Republic of Tatarstan. It is noteworthy that the Tatarstan authorities deliberately registered it as a Muslim Board *in*, not *of*, the Republic of Tatarstan, demonstrating their reluctance to support Gabdulla. In February 1994 he created the so-called Supreme Coordinating Council of the Muslim Boards in Russia and declared himself its chairman. Speaks Tatar, Russian and a little Arabic.

HAJ: 130 Muslims made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1993. In 1994 the figure dropped to 90, despite a subsidy from the President of Tatarstan which cut the 1994 travel costs from US\$1300 to US\$715.

### ***Kazan'***

POPULATION: 1,300,000.

FACTS: The city was founded by the Bulgars in the twelfth century. From 1438 it was the capital of the Kazan' Khanate. After 1552 it was the third largest city in the Russian Empire. A big industrial centre with a mixed Russian–Tatar population (approximately 45 per cent each).

MOSQUES: By early June 1994 there were 13 functioning mosques in the city: Marjani, Burnai, Zabannaya (Yubileinaya), Nurulla, Azimovskaya, Soltan, Ramazan, Rajab, Maulid (Zalesnaya), Bulgar, Nur Islam, Iske Tash, Derbyshka. Seven further mosques were under construction or restoration.

### ***Marjani***

1. Its first name was Efendi; later it was renamed Yunusovskaya in honour of the local merchant Yunusov who financed the construction works. Subsequent names were first Pervaya Pridhodskaya and eventually Marjani. The current name commemorates the famous Tatar historian and theologian Shigab ed-Din Marjani, who at the end of the nineteenth century became the fifth imam of the mosque since 1767.

2. Russia, Republic of Tatarstan, Kazan', Kayum Nasyri St 17. Tel. (8432) 374253, 329035.

3. Two imams officiate. The chief imam is a blind elder, Zakihazrat (born in 1899); in fact the mosque is headed by its second imam, Abdulhaq Samatov, who leads the daily prayers. Abdulhaq was born in 1930 in Staroye Ibraikino village (Aksubai region of Tatarstan). Taught by his father. After three years of obligatory military service (1951–4) returned to Kazan'. Married in 1955; has 2 sons and two daughters. Over seven years (1957–64) he vainly submitted applications to study at Mir-i Arab. Later he studied the first two years of the course privately and was then permitted to enter Mir-i Arab for the third year in 1966, together with Talgat Tajuddin. After graduation he continued to educate himself. In February 1982 on the recommendation of Talgat he was elected imam-khatib of Almet'yevsk Friday mosque. In 1986 became imam-khatib of Orenburg Friday mosque. In 1988 took the place of the dismissed imam-khatib of Christopol Friday mosque, Nurullakhazrat, who had been under pressure from the KGB and the Muslim Board. In 1989 became a kazi and a member of the Muslim Board presidium. A year later was nominated the chief muhtasib of Tatarstan, his main function being to supervise mosques and their imams in the name of the mufti of Ufa. Since 1991 the second imam of the central Kazan' mosque, Marjani. Speaks Russian and Tatar. Has made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice: in 1988 and 1990. Both his sons now work as imams (the elder, Tahir, has



recently been elected imam-khatib of Surgut Friday mosque, which is under construction; the younger, Khali, succeeded his father in 1991 as imam-khatib of Christopol' Friday mosque).

4. The construction was begun in 1767 on the orders of Catherine the Great in reply to a petition from a group of merchants and clergy on her visit to Kazan'. Completed by 1768. Rebuilt several times, though it was never closed or destroyed even under Soviet rule. Until 1985 it was the only functioning mosque in the city.

5. The prayer halls occupy over 400m<sup>2</sup>. About 40 worshippers at daily prayer; about 400–500 at Friday prayer and up to 4000–5000 at Qurban-bairam.

### *Burnai*

1. Also Burnayevskaya. Named after the merchant Burnayev, who built it.

2. Kazan', 420022, Akhtyamova 7. Tel. (8432) 329738.

3. Imam-khatib: Zafa Galiullin. Born in 1957 in Kazan'. After secondary school worked at the local radio factory. Some years later graduated from Kazan' branch of Leningrad Institute of Culture with the diploma of theatre director. From 1989 to 1992 studied at Mir-i Arab Academy in Bukhara. On his return from Uzbekistan was elected imam-khatib of Burnai mosque. Since he works there without any remuneration he has to work as a guard at the radio factory in order to support his family. Speaks Tatar, Russian and Arabic.

4. Built in the late nineteenth century with the donation from the aforementioned Burnayev. Closed in 1918. Subsequently used as a hospital, later as a hostel and finally as a ballet school. The latter is still there, although thanks to the Ministry of Culture (which supervises the ballet school) restoration works began in the mosque in 1990. The mosque was partly returned in October 1992 to a mutawalliyat set up earlier that year. A summer Islamic educational camp functions under the auspices of the mosque. It is considered a fundamentalist mosque since the few fundamentalists in the city prefer to gather there.

5. Main prayer hall (which is at the same time the ballet rehearsal hall) is 100m<sup>2</sup>. Some 10–15 people at daily prayer, between 100 and 300 at Friday prayer. The latter include a good many of the 200 or so Arab students who study at Kazan' University; this is their preferred mosque in the city.

### Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> In some cases in Central Asia the term *jami* is used as the official name of a Friday mosque: for instance, in Andijan and Kokand.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'clan', used by the author, is understood as a particular ethno-tribal origin which is associated by Central Asians with certain cultural or psychological characteristics. The clan interests are expressed and defended by a few most authoritative and influential families, those who either constitute the ruling elite or head a given pressure group. In everyday life the clan approach is manifested in personal matters in establishing family ties. The relationship pattern within a particular clan cannot be easily assessed.

<sup>3</sup> Igor' Yermakov and Dmitri Mikulsky (eds), *Islam v Rossii i Srednei Azii* (Lotus, Moscow, 1993), p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> With certain reservations, the number of people taking part in prayer on Friday should be considered a good index of religious feeling in a particular area. The average figures for some major cities are as follows: Kazan': 13 Friday mosques with an average of 150 worshippers on Fridays; Tashauz: 3/223; Bukhara: 11/540; Baku: 6/600; Samarkand: 13/635; Osh: 8/980; Kokand: 7/1235; Andijan: 9/1260; Margilan: 11/1500; Namangan: 9/2675. Such cities as Almaty, Bishkek, Shymkent, Urgench and Khiva have only one Friday

mosque each and thus cannot provide appropriate representative average figures.

<sup>5</sup> In October–November 1993 money was being successfully raised for the Tajik Islamic opposition in the Friday mosques of Namangan. This action was interrupted by the arrest of the two most authoritative imams – the head of the city imams Umar-khan (imam-khatib of Mahdum-Ishan Friday mosque) and the head of the Namangan region imams Abdo Rauf-khon (imam-khatib of Imam Aazam Friday mosque). It is noteworthy that both were then dispatched for interrogation to Khojent (Tajikistan), a fact that demonstrated President Karimov's support of the Khojent clan and the new Tajik regime as a whole.

<sup>6</sup> Numbers of mosques in the countries covered by the survey.

	Jan. 1987	Jan. 1991	Jan. 1993	mid-1994
Uzbekistan	87	300	–	about 3000
Kazakhstan	25	63	–	over 500
Tajikistan	17	75	300	–
Turkmenistan	4	54	115	204
Kyrgyzstan	34	58	–	about 1000
Azerbaijan	18	84	300	about 600
Tatarstan	28	–	–	310

In Kyrgyzstan more than 60 per cent of all Friday mosques are in the two southern regions, Osh and Jalal-Abad, and many of them remain unfinished. There has been no relevant information on the number of Friday mosques in Tajikistan since late 1992.

Sources: Interviews with the mufti of Kazakhstan, Ratbek Nasynbai-oly (26 November 1993), the mufti of Kyrgyzstan, Kimsanbari-adjii Abdurrahman (2 December 1993), the Muslim Board of Maverannahr (July 1993, October 1994), the vice-chairman of the Muslim Board of the Caucasus, Salman Musa-ogly (24 March 1994), the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs (Cabinet of Ministers, Republic of Tatarstan), Ilgizar Khabibulin (1 June 1994), and the kazi of Turkmenistan, Nasrullakh Ibn Ibadullakh (1 November 1994).

<sup>7</sup> If not otherwise indicated the population figures are based on the all-Union census of 1989. It should be noted that there have been major demographic changes since then, particularly in Kazakhstan, owing to the exodus of large numbers of representatives of the non-titular peoples and to the high birthrate of the indigenous population.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with the vice-chairman of the Muslim Board of Maverannahr, Yusup-khan Shokirov, 20 October 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Abdulla Abdurasulov, 28 October 1994.

	<b>Name of the city/town and population (latest data)</b>								
	Almaty 1,118,000	Andijan 321,000	Baku 1,300,000	Bishkek 675,000	Bukhara 210,000	Dashhowuz 120,000	Ferghana 235,000	Gijduvan 30,000	Kazan 1,300,0
No. of jami mosques (no. of those examined if different)	1	9	6	1	12 out of 13	3	2	1	13
<b>Age of local imams</b>									
> 70	–	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	5
> 60	–	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	2
> 50	–	–	–	1	2	–	1	–	2
> 40	–	3	3	–	4	1	1	–	1
> 30	1	2	1	–	1	2	–	1	3
> 20	–	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
<b>Imams' education and skills</b>									
Those who have official religious education	1	1	6	1	8	3	1	–	4
Those who have non- religious professions	–	1	1	1	7	1	1	–	8
<b>Languages</b>									
<i>Mother tongue</i>									
Uzbek	–	9	–	–	4	3	–	–	–
Tajik	–	–	–	–	7	–	–	1	–
Kazakh	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Kyrgyz	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Azeri	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Uighur	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Tatar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
Persian	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–
Turkish	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>Proficiency in Arabic</i>									
Fluency	–	5	3	–	3	1	–	–	1
Working Knowledge	1	4	3	1	4	1	1	–	6
No Knowledge	–	–	–	–	5	1	1	1	6
<i>Proficiency in Persian</i>									
Fluency	–	–	5	–	5	1	2	–	–
Working Knowledge	–	2	1	–	2	1	–	–	–
No Knowledge	1	7	–	1	5	1	–	1	13
<i>Proficiency in Russian</i>									
Fluency	1	9	3	–	10	3	2	1	13
Working Knowledge	–	–	1	1	2	–	–	–	–
No Knowledge	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of imams who have the title of 'haji'	–	6	3	–	2	3	–	–	3
Numbers of worshippers at Friday sermon									
<100	–	–	2	–	6	–	–	–	8
100–500	–	–	3	–	2	3	–	–	4
500–1000	–	7	1	1	3	–	1	1	1
>1000	1	2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–

Khiva 50,000	Kokand 220,000	Margilan 168,000	Mashtagi 60,000	Namangan 345,000	Nardaran 7,500	Osh 230,000	Samarkand 650,000	Shymkent 418,000	Tashkent 2,100,000	Urgench 135,000	Zabrat 15,000
1	7	11	1	8 out of 9	1	8	10 out of 14	2	8 out of 74	1	1
—	2	1	—	2	1	—	2	—	—	—	1
—	3	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	4	1	—	—	3	3	1	4	—	—
1	2	5	—	3	—	4	2	—	2	1	—
—	—	—	—	3	—	—	2	2	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
1	1	1	1	1	—	4	6	2	6	1	—
1	3	4	1	2	1	5	5	1	1	1	1
1	7	10	—	8	—	7	3	2	8	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
—	2	4	1	3	—	4	2	1	5	1	—
1	5	4	—	3	1	3	4	1	3	—	1
—	—	3	—	2	—	1	4	—	—	—	—
—	1	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	1
1	6	10	—	8	—	5	5	2	8	1	—
—	6	6	1	4	—	7	9	2	8	1	1
1	1	3	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
—	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	4	3	1	4	1	5	5	1	5	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	1
—	5	1	1	—	1	4	1	—	5	1	—
1	—	4	—	2	—	2	1	—	2	—	—
—	2	6	—	6	—	2	3	2	1	—	—