

# Social-Religious Classes in the Society of Central Asia

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**ABSTRACT**--- *Twenty-five years after its independence, Uzbekistan is looking for a new social model byintegrating old traditions, Islam and Modernity. Following a series of interviews conducted among Uzbeks in areas of South Kazakhstan and in some regions of Uzbekistan, the authors offer an indepth analysis of traditional social structures. After seventy years of the one-party system, “Western style” political parties are not as representative of social life as the khodjasare. Leadership in Uzbekistan is more social than political.*

**Keywords**- *Uzbekistan, Social model,Shajara,Khodja, Sayyids.*

## I. SHAJARA

"Shajara" means "tree" in Arabic and is a set of human origins, ancestors and blood ties. From ancient times there was an interest in the genealogy of kings, rulers, legendary heroes, but in the middle ages, with the emergence of privileged classes and the growing interest in the formalization of their ancestors, the tree became more important. The trees given to high-ranking holders have been passed down from generation to generation in several cases. The genealogies bestowed on high-ranking officials have been passed down from generation to generation in a number of cases. When the periods were passed the occupied position in society from generation to generation directly lineage of the social status of a family member than at the sides rose to the level of a recordable status.

"Human society emerged when rich, wealthy people (rulers, those who considered themselves superior or superior) tried to leave information about their ancestors, that is, to create a dynastic history" [1; 9]. Those who made a name for themselves in history understood very well the importance of a document about a dynasty.

Sahibkiran Amir Temur narrates the following story in his "Tuzuklari": "In hijriy 762 (1360-61 A.D) Tughluq-Temurkhan came with his troops to Movarounnahr for the second time and sent a letter to me. I [agreed] to go out into his prospect and met him. He broke the covenant between us and handed over Movarounnahr to his son Ilyaskhoja, and appointed me as a commandant. Seeing that I was not overreacting to this matter, my grandfather

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Kochuvli-bahodir and his grandfather pointed to the treaty of the Kabulkhans. The agreement signed on a steel board reads: "The khanate should be in the hands of the Kabulkhan dynasty, and the commandership should be in the hands of the children of Kochuvli-bahodirkhan, so that they do not quarrel with each other." After reading this, I accepted the commandership to keep the covenant of the elders" [2; 19-20].

True to his word, Sahibkiran remained with the title of "Amir" until the end of his life. Amir Temur was well aware of the impossibility of artificially introducing the high status of his time for his descendants, and, taking into account the customs of the time, paid special attention to the relationship of kinship with the ancestors of the "khans".

In the past, documents related to the history of generations were often kept secret. In particular, Rashididdin's Collection of Chronicles states: "For centuries, the original history of [the Mongols and the Turks] was written in the Mongol language and the Mongol script, but was not unified and regulated; the incomplete parts were [kept] in the treasury of the [khans] in an incomplete, idol-free state. It was kept secret and kept secret so that strangers and [even their] good people would not read it; they did not trust him [anyone], but when [those who read it] learned [all the events written in it], they became aware of everything" [3; 67].

Most of the genealogies or genealogies were written on leather or paper and ranged in size from 0.5 meters to 3-4 meters in length and 30-45 centimeters in width. Some of these documents, which bear witness to the history of the generations, are inscribed in gold-plated golden letters, and some are drawn on paper in plain ink. From this it can be concluded that the family tree has not only passed down the name of the ancestors from generation to generation or legalized, but also the tree has risen to the level of an example of folk applied art.

There are also genealogies and genealogies of stone and wood. For example, at the "Hazrat Sultan" shrine in the Kasbi district of Kashkadarya, we came across a genealogy of a saint whose name is mentioned. Researcher Alisher Bek mentions that in Bazar-Kurgan district of Kyrgyzstan there is a wooden tree in the hands of the daughter of Khansoyibkhan Pasha Sayyid Avliyakhon Tora [4; 30].

Note also that the above-mentioned agreement was written on a steel board by Amir Temur. The genealogies of present-day in Central Asia, particularly in Uzbekistan, are divided into "shajarai sayyid," the sayyid tree of the Prophet, the "seed genealogy tree" of the Turkic peoples, and the "ordinary genealogy tree" of seven generations. The previous two series of genealogies are preferably the governing institutions of each period (khanate, qazi, ulamo) in the presence of witnesses gathered at the meeting of the council and the seeds). There are also fingerprints of genealogies or genealogies.

In the middle ages, there was a growing interest among the upper classes to formalize the generation to express their identity in the region. This in turn led to the emergence of witnesses to the marital relationship between the trees from the 15th century onwards. From this period onwards, the compilation of genealogical records of members of a dynasty or several closely related clans began. "In order to prevent these genealogies from being forgotten from ancient times, every effort was made to preserve all kinship ties and to preserve it by interfering with unworthy generations. In return for such behavior, noble seeds were formed. In order to permanently commemorate the glorious days of their ancestors, the ancestors wrote the name and title of each tribe in the family chronicle; especially those who considered themselves to belong to the line of the Prophet paid special attention to this" [5; 7].

Today, copies of the original family tree are copied in families with religious titles and distributed to other members of their own generation. Some of the Sayyids visited Arab countries to find out whether the genealogies were more reliable, and compared the genealogies of the local descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids) to verify their authenticity. They are also formalizing their names (we mean formalization by belonging to the 'sayyid').

To ensure that the continuity of generations is fully reflected in the documents, the names of the descendants are now re-stamped on the inscriptions. When we talked about their ancestors and the genealogy associated with them in the house of Sayyidazamkhan, a resident of Osh, Kyrgyzstan (interviewed on March 12, 2014 by the author and researcher G. Babadjanova), the tree in the hands of this generation is in three languages, in Arabic. That is, it was written in Arabic, Persian, and Old Uzbek (Chigatay). Our interlocutor, who is the owner of the tree, did not deny that the tree was written in three languages, and it was acknowledged during the conversation that other experts who read this genealogical document also expressed the same opinion.

### ***1.1. Khodja***

Another important point is that as the names of today's generations are written on the trees, women's names are now written on them. Naturally, this is due to the fact that women are actively involved in the social life of society. During the interviews with the respondents, it was also found that in order to continue the family tree (especially in the descendants of "khoja", often - "hoja"), the leader of the generation, the leader of the generation, at the elder person's family on a particular period of the particular day (for example, every ten years) in the family of the elder activists gather and enter the names of new members of the generation into the tree. In particular, our research in the Chimkent (now Turkestan) region of Kazakhstan provided similar information.

All of the examples we cite are related to the post-independence period. After independence, the word was also used in nouns as a suffix (e.g. Bilal + khoja) to denote the generation to which they belonged.

It has been pointed out that since most of the genealogies we have encountered belong to the Khusainiy sayyids, they date back to the Prophet Muhammad or his descendants, Ali and Fatima. For example, consider the genealogy of Mahdumi A'zam, a descendant of Khusainiy Sayyids: Mahdumi A'zam (died in 1542) - Burhonuddin Khol - Muhammad - Jaloliddin - Mir Muhammad Divona - Burhonuddin Qilich (late 12th century - 1230s) - Kamoliddin - Jaloliddin - Hasan - Hussein - Muhammad - Ahmad - Abdulla - Abdulla Afzal - Abdulla Aroj - Talib (died in 850 or in 900) - Hasan Askari (died in 873-874) - Muhammad Pakk - Muhammad Taki - Ali bin Musa (died in 818) - Musa Kozim, Jafar Sadiq, Muhammad Bakr - Zayn al Obidin - Hussein-Ali (died in 661) [5; 232-233].

What we focused on during the field research was that the family tree documents were drastically different from each other. There were also many differences between the seals and the Arabic writing methods. Homeowners who were document owners provided inconsistent information when quoting names and information. In our opinion, the fact that the owners of the documents did not know the Arabic alphabet, did not have sufficient knowledge of genealogy, did not know when, by whom, in what century the tree was written, would lead to many misunderstandings. Some of the genealogies were not very ancient. Naturally, this raised certain questions.

O. Akimushkin, a well-known orientalist who was one of the first to analyze the list in the genealogy of Mahdumi A'zam, is skeptical of its reliability. He cites a number of details as an example. For example, "Although the period between Burhonuddin Kilich, the ancestor of Mahdumi A'zam and his ancestor, was more than 300 years, they are separated by only four generations. The period between Burhanuddin Kilich, a descendant of Ali bin Musa ar Rido (died in 818), was 400 years, and they are divided into nine to ten generations. Finally, although Ali bin Musa's "real" ancestor, Caliph Ali (died in 661), had lived 150 years before him, they are separated by five generations. The first generation, the period between the last offspring, is more than 70 years for each generation, the second part is 40 years, and the earliest periods are 30 years. Without denying the degree of absolute reliability of the third part in the genealogy of Mahdumi A'zam, it can be said that the second and especially the first parts seem far from the truth. However, these contradictions did not put Mahdumi A'zam's followers in a precarious position, on the contrary, the fact that he was mentioned in the genealogy as a descendant of Burhanuddin Kilich fully guarantees his recognition as a representative of the noble lineage "[5; 234].

In earlier times, it was considered obligatory for people to know the "seven fathers" (especially at the highest level in Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Karakalpak), in addition to what class they belonged to. Even in nomadic peoples, the need for a tree must have been fully realized in the fifteenth century. As a proof of our opinion we can cite the following confession in the study of Z.Z. Jandarbek "Ethnic history of the population of Yassaviy and Dashti Kipchak (based on the materials of Kazakh genealogies)": "According to Kazakh genealogies, many tribes that existed before the Mongol invasion were later divided into tribes and remained in different clans" [5; 328].

After independence, there is a growing interest in genealogy in Central Asia. It is now customary to pass on the genealogy to generations on the basis of a single system, sometimes associating it with the names of the seven sprouts. This can be recognized as a sign of the current process of self-awareness. Because one of the most common expressions among the people is the term "seven strangers." R. Mirzaev, a researcher from Surkhandarya, who conducts specific research on this issue, writes about the appearance of the "seven buds" known among the population: 1) parents, 2) children, 3) grandchildren, 4) great-grandchildren, 5) great-great-grandchildren, 6) dubora, 7) novora, 8) begona [6; 28].

If the dynastic networks are analyzed from a comparative point of view, it can be observed that it passed easily in Christianity. It is well known that marriage is recorded in a church-specific book according to Christian custom. There was no need for them to have a special genealogy because a Christian could have information about their ancestors at any time.

In the Muslim world, on the other hand, it is not surprising that ordinary people have paid great attention to remembering the names of their ancestors, as marital relations are described orally in the presence of witnesses and there is no written tradition. The order of genealogy may be due to the need to legalize the lineage of privileged classes, to preserve the duration of their rights.

The first major genealogical works in Central Asia appeared in the XV-XVII centuries. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the famous works of Abulgazi Bahodirkhan "Shajarai Turk" and "Shajarai tarokima". The following information of the well-known orientalist A.Semenov is also important: "I found out a manuscript depicting the life

of the Sheibani contemporaries, was written in good calligraphy on thick horse skin on July 18, 1576. It mentions the names of Ubaydulla khan and Abdullah khans, known as "Joybor khojalari", Sheikh Khoja Muhammad Islam "[1; 7].

The term "Khodja" was borrowed by Ottoman Empire from Persia and meant "scribe, clerk, copyist, literate, private tutor" and "sorcerer", but is also referred to a person who works in a madrassa or more exactly in a zouia. Nonetheless, "khodja" is usually referred to Khodja Ahmet Yesevi, founder of the Yeseviye Sufi School, the first Turkic tariqah (order). But in this article is referred to a lineage, a social class in Central Asia, linked to Yesevi. But, more generally, Khodja is associated to the term "imam" –so Imam Khodja—, just to say Ulema, as explained in the following text:

"Those inhabitants of Crimea who were unable to escape have been exposed to a continuance of insupportable miseries. The principal aim of our oppressors is to root us out. The following are some of the means employed to effect this object: — Our Ulemas, as is well known, are doctors whose office is to preach the law in our Mosques, and teach to all, and especially to our children, the duties they owe to their creed. In order to diminish the number of these pillars of our faith, the Russian Government has assumed the right to limit the privilege of furnishing Ulemas to our entire nation to a single family of the Dohomi; to the end that (this family being far from numerous) religious instruction should be always inadequate, and that the nation should be without leading men. No Imam Khodja, or Ulema, is tolerated, who is not conversant with Russian; and all students, aspirants to these degrees, must speak Russian in order to be admitted to the education prepared for them by the Russian Government—nay, in all the schools, even those founded and supported by Mussulmans, professors are forced on us, and placed over us to teach the Russian language to all the students, with or without the consent of the parents. The Mussulmans pay these professors liberally. Should any inhabitant be incapable of paying his contribution, all that he possesses is sold; and this is the penalty imposed in respect of the other very heavy taxes by which we are ground down. If the party rendered liable have no possession, or if they die, his neighbours are compelled to pay for him. Every child, who studies the Russian tongue as a foresaid, is driven, by the nature of the books placed in his hands and by his teachers, chosen expressly from among orthodox fanatics, to scorn the religion of his parents, and relinquish it for the Christian religion."

Analysis of scientific research of Soviet period on the study of social, cultural, religious and ethnic processes in Central Asia, in particular on the territory of Uzbekistan show the absence of due attention to the study of special socio-cultural group of people having religious titles. With the exception of some mentioning on this subject in the encyclopedic collections, few scientific publications doesn't exist practical works considering this issue. At the same time it worthwhile to state that after the invasion of the Uzbek khanates by Russian empire some scientists and officials of the latter made some efforts to study the issues of origin and social status of the group of people belonging to the higher religious classes and having religious titles.

Formation of peculiar social classes in local conditions began from the times of expansion of Islam on the territory of Central Asia along with the development of Muslim culture among local population. As it was common to all structures of the society, people in these regions, members of separate social groups who actively participated in the wide-scale dissemination of Islamic ideology, were encouraged by the ideologists of Islam and awarded the status necessary in their social life. Having such a status they could strengthen their level in the society and many additional

rights as well. It was very important that this status, obtained according to special decrees and resolutions, created the basis for having it from generation to generation as an unofficial label (tamga) . Later it was found out that the status obtained by one or the other family gave great opportunities to the owners and it was very important for the wide use in political, economical and social spheres of the life. Owners of such titles stand out as an individual social-cultural group representing particular social estate.

As a result of peculiar stratification in Central Asia among the local population with religious-social point of view some people began to be distinguished and claim to have the title of “white bone” (oqsuyaklar). The representatives of the socio-cultural group belonged to this class were “sayyid”, “khodja”, “ishan”, “amir”, “tura”, “khabib”, “makhdum” (often “makhzum”), “mirza”, “musa”, “sho” or “shokh”. Ordinary people were called as “koracha” (“black people”), “citizen” (“ordinary people”), “khalkiya” (“people of the nation”), “avom” and “raiyyat” (“crowd”, “mass of people”). Mainly in the region which was fit for the community life, groups originated in the result of stratification of people were addressed as “kavm”, “toifa”, “generation”, “urug”.

People belonging to the higher social and religious estates consider themselves as descendents of the Prophet Mohammed, or his four righteous caliphs, or fellows of the Prophet (askhob). As the researcher A. Muminov states “It is known that in the early years of Islam “accepting Islam” meant “becoming Arab”, involvement of neophyte into tribal structure of Arabs. That’s why the local inhabitants of the first regional group in Central Asia accepting Islam became the mavals (clients) of famous Arabs or Arabic tribes living in this territory. Islamisation of distant urban and mountainous regions of Mavarunnakhr took place in absolutely another way”.<sup>1</sup>

Other researcher E. Belyaevthinks that “... neomuslims who became famous by the name “maula”, or “mavla” (in plural mavlas) were people from local population that accepted Islam. But acceptance of Islam, religion of conquerors, couldn’t place them in the equal position with Arab-Muslims”<sup>2</sup>. Thus, non-Arabic population from conquered regions after the Islamic campaign began to be called “mavalo”. This population was formally under the protection of Arabs.

Unlike the “ordinary” nomadic and settled population the process of stratification among the social-religious layers went on otherwise. For instance, to the question “Who are you?” (“Sizkimsiz?”), representative of this stratification usually answer stating “We are from sayyids” (“Biz sayyidlardanmiz”) or “We are the descendants of khodjas” (“Biz khujalaravlodidanmiz”), and so on. This question sounds otherwise in the nomadic population of Central Asia “What kin are you from?” (“Sizqaysiurugdansiz?”). Answer – “I am from the kin of naymans” or “I am from the kin of kangli” (“Men naymanurugidanbulaman”). This question sounds like this in settled population: “Where are you from?” or “What place are you from?” (“Sizasliqayerliksiz?”), and answer is “I am from Margelan” (“AsliMargilonlikbulamiz”), “I was born in Bukhara” (“Bukhorodatavalludtopganmiz”), or “he is considered to be pure by origin” (“nasl-nasabitozakishilardansanaladi”), “he is of humble origin” (“aslzoti past avlodan”), “people from his kin had a features of holiness” (“buqavmdanutganodamlaravliyosifatlargagabulganlar”), “honorable and great people were in our kin” (“bizningajdodlarimizelugvabuyukkishilarutgan”).

Generally, adherence of the person to this elite strata except the feeling of pride from the early ages had the certain responsibilities as well, which was necessary to protect his status. This could be seen in choosing the name of

the child, his friends, teaching the rules of behavior, in the realization of his place and status, receiving religious knowledge, learning canons of Islam. The kin that could save the purity of traditions and values had a right to be proud of this status. That's why from the moment of perception by the child his "I" the kin instills such feelings as "recognizing the kin", "respecting the holy traditions of the kin", "faithfulness to his kin". The essence of all these ideas is in undertaking by the bearer the status of great spiritual and moral responsibility, just because every action and deed of the member of the kin is considered foreshortened in the honour and dignity of "holy" ancestors of this kin. How "good" or "bad" the person belonging to the kin depends on the level of perfection of obtained by him education. That's why from the moment of appearing of child into light members of the kin regularly discuss the wide spectrum of questions in their meetings connected with the noteworthy upbringing of the child, including even the following: peculiarities of breast-feed of the child, giving him worthy name and others. Later the child begins to receive a knowledge not only about the behavioral rules, ethics of wearing the clothes, but also learns how to connect dominating in the society national, common to all values harmonically according to the norms and regulations determined by the state.

We suppose that there can be objections from several representatives of today's auditorium on the last point but our opinion is based on the historical practice where the members of the higher religious strata were repressed by ruling systems as a result of change or replacement in the political powers or predominant ideology. The October overturn of 1917 and following its Bolshevistic repressions can serve as a striking example of it. Glancing over the tragic pages of the history one can find the proof of the social groups and social communities which got spiritual trauma not long ago. We can name the considered by this report classes as well. That's why the representatives of this class due to their high moral features, which was formed as a result of developed system of education, can adopt (socialize) to practically all ideology or political system. This feature was considered as mostly important for surviving and saving the kin.

In the course of time this status received as a result of social-biological processes was passed on from generation to generation and achieved the level of set status in the evaluation of social status of family member. For instance, the child was born in the family of "khodja". If he is Uzbek according to ethnic origin, then he is considered as "Uzbek khodja" ("Uzbek khojalaridan"), if from the family of khodja belonging to "boy tupi", he is "boy tupikhodja" ("boy tupikhojilaridan"). If his ancestors are from the Prophet (if there is genealogical document and it is proved) then he is considered to be from the generation of the Prophet. If he is from some direction (e.g. yassaviy) or from some other place then he is considered as an appropriate khodja, e.g. Juybarskikhodja, Salavotkhodja, Khodjikhodja, Turkestan khodja, Shakhimardankhodja.

It is worthwhile to state that the people belonging to the higher strata, including khodjas tried to prove their status in the Muslim world with the help of genealogical documents so called "shajara", "nasabnoma" ("family tree" or "pedigree").

Such pedigree bound its owners with his ancestors up to seven knees and such tradition is in wide use up to day. One can consider it as one of the forms of person's self-knowledge. It is notable that the composition of such

genealogical tables among the wide strata of population was conducted according to the principle “Yettiyotbegona” (“After the seventh kin - next is a stranger”). This scheme of such principle looks like this way:

1. Parents ( <i>ota-ona</i> )	5. Great-great-grandson ( <i>evara</i> )
2. Child ( <i>farzand</i> )	6. Greatest-grandson ( <i>dubora</i> )
3. Grandchild ( <i>nevara</i> )	7. Greatest-great-grandson ( <i>novora</i> )
4. Great-grandson ( <i>chevara</i> )	8. Stranger ( <i>begona</i> )

The importance of this principle, in the opinion of the number of respondents, lies on the fact that it played an important role in conjugal-congener relations because it prohibited all conjugal contacts of the people having common relatives, i.e. could regulate conjugal relations in the kin or social group. However, we don't observe the strict adherence to this principle today, especially among the representatives of social-religious classes.

However, not all the khodjas or ishans had the documents proving their pedigree. On the basis of collected data and information, received from the respondents, we created a table of stereotypes existing among the wide strata of population regarding the representatives of each social group belonging to social-religious class.

### **1.2. Stereotypes on Khodja.**

In general, khodja in Arabic, Turkish and Persian means the variety of the class and community. This term was used even in the times of khuns regarding to the well-known and rich people. Khodjain Persian is written as “khvodja” means “Sir, Mister, Monsieur” . In the early years of Arabic conquer (VIIIth century) this word was spread as “khuzayna” (“master” or “lord” – “khujayin”), in the literature of the late period – as “khodja”. And in the encyclopedic dictionary “Islam” (1991), we can find the following determination to this term:

1. In the States of Samanids (IX-X centuries) and Gaznevids (X-XIII centuries) great (buzurg) khodjas – is a title of the minister. But in the Osman empire, the term khodja was also used to designate the tutor of sultan, the guardian of the library in the palace and the eunuch. In the modern Turkey, khodjas addressed to the people professionally dealing with religion and form of addressing the teacher. In the number of modern Arabic countries, khavadja (khuvadja) means merchants, firstly non-Muslims, and also the polite form of addressing non-Muslims.

2. In Central Asia until the beginning of XXth century khodjas – honorable nickname of people claiming for the origin from four “righteous” caliphs – Abu Bakr, Umar (mainly), Usman and Ali (with an exception of the latter from the marriage with Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed).



3. Determination for the member of Sufianbrotherhoodkhodjagon (khvadjagon) established by Abd al-Khalik al-Ghyzduvani, later (until XIX century included) – several dynasties of emperors genetically connected with this brotherhood.

In Bukhara and Khivakhanates this title was used in relation to the representatives of higher religious class, imam khatibs, administrators of religious organizations, representatives of authoritative religious dynasties having different privileges from the state, including the privilege in tax immunity. As an example of providing by the state the tax immunity I want to introduce the Decree (label) of khan of KhivaMukhammadAbulgozi V (end of the XVIIth century) about granting to the family of khodja exemption from all types of taxes. This document is kept in the funds of Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan and it was kindly given to me and translated by colleague-historic AbdurasulovUlfatbek. In this document khan gives the order to exempt the whole number of khodjas (their names are listed) as well as their children brothers from all types of taxes and obligations in their work (there are listed in the document). It was also mentioned in the document that all these khodjas have genealogical documents (nasabnoma) ascending to the Prophet. Besides, khan is only reaffirms the decree which was adopted by the previous emperors. Such system – providing the tax immunity to the families of the representatives of social-religious classes was widely spread in Central Asia in the period of development and late Middle Ages. Taking into account the abovementioned, it is worth while to state that the title khodjas was also used regarding to the people related to well-known kin, holy people and descendants of holy people.

As it was stated above, some researchers considered “khodjas” who lived on the territory of Central Asia as descendants chariyors (or four caliphs) and divide them into the following groups by origin: 1) Descendants of caliph Abu Bakr Siddik, called “Siddikkhodjas” (“siddiqykhujalr”). Ancestors of this kin came to Maveraunnakhr in XIIth century under the leadership of Umar Kurayshin the personality of whom, in the opinion of respondents, was sacred by the name Arslanbab in future. Subsequently his descendants lived mainly in Ferghana Valley and on the territory of Tashkent.

2) The other kin of khodjas takes its pedigree to the Khazrat Umar bin al-Khattab, called as “farugkhodjas” (“forugkhujalar” or “miyon”, which means “middle class”). Russian orientalist N. Likoshin used the term “miyon” in relation to ishans as well. At present descendants of “miyonkhujalar” live on the territory of Chirakchi district of Kashkadarya region, and also in Samarkand and Navoi regions. Famous spiritual leader Imam Rabbaniy also claims to be from this kin.

3) Descendants of Khazrati Usman bin Affonare called “zunnurkhodjas” (“zunnuriykhujalar”). In the source from the end of XIX century “Manokib-I DukchiEshon” it was said that caliph Uthman after the marriage to two daughters of Muhammad –Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthum— got the nickname of Zun-Nurayn (DhunNurayn), which means “owner of two pharos”.

4) Descendants of Ali Ibn Abu Talib (except the descendants from the wife BibiFotimaiZakhro). They are called “Shakhimardankhodjas” (“Shokhimardonkhujalari”). Majority of them live in Tashkent, Margelan, Shakhimardan.

Besides such division of kins of khodjas respondents, questioned by us, from Tashkent and South Kazakhstan conducted the following division of khodjas by origin – lhodjas, descendants of Arslanbab, descendants of

Lochinbobo, descendants of Kargabobo, descendants of Kiskichbobo. Thus, they connected the founders of their kins with the cult of animals which were popular among the nomadic population of deserts: Arslan – lion, Lochin – falcon, Karga – raven, Kiskich – lobster.

In the process of research we paid attention to the titles by which khodjas and other strata of population called these or those kins of khodjas. For instance, our interlocutor from Balikchi district of Andijan region called his kin as “korakhodjas” (“black khodjas”). Besides, he cited the fact of existing “oppoqkhujalar” (“white khodjas”) and “mallakhodjas” (“yellow khodjas”). Facts set forth by the respondents allowed us to make the following conclusions. Khodjas played an important role in propaganda of Islam among the nomadic tribes and ordinary population. That’s why khodjas moving to the new place with missionary purpose became the founder of new generation or kin of khodjas. Some part of such khodjas had the copies from main pedigree where there was an information about who were they and where they were from.

## II. RESULTS

However, in other parts of the region there were no such documents among the kins of khojas. In this case, the main proof of this fact was only their behaviour and a letter of attorney issued by the local emperors. That’s why local population often not knowing what kin the new arriving to them khodjas belong called them by nicknames according to their actions, behaviour and type of activity. For instance, “khurmachkhujalar” (“khodjas making jars”), “sariqpustinkhujalar” (“khodjas wearing yellow robes”), “qilichkhujalar” (“khodjas with swords”), “devonakhujalar” (“strange khodjas”). Families of sayyids usually lived in the places with the majority of settled population where kin of khodjas carried out energetic activities among the settled and nomadic population. That’s why representatives of the first we mostly meet among Uzbeks and Tajiks, as for the representatives of the second – equally among all Muslim countries of Central Asia.

There is such an information that the representatives of the kin of khodjas belonging to the descendants of AkhmadYassaviy live on the territory of modern Kazakhstan, in some regions of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. As the researcher from Kazakhstan Z. Jandarbekstates they consider themselves from the origin of the son of the fourth righteous caliph Ali ibn Abu TalibMokhammed ibn al-Khanafy. Khodjas from Akkurgan, Duvan, Kharasan and Karakhan belong to this kin. All the representatives of listed kin of khodjaswere considered as hereditary spiritual mentors of kin-tribe unions. In every Kazakh village were several houses where khodjas lived and were engaged in enlightening and religious activities. Khodjas, as the researcher from Kazakhstan states, didn’t constitute (and will not constitute) separate ethnic group and didn’t put themselves against the people among which they lived in ethnic terms. That’s why there is a proverb among Kazakh people: Khodjajilip el bolmas (which means “gathering together khodjas will not make up a nation”). At the same time it is worthwhile to state that khodjas always were and will remain as a peculiar socio-cultural group among the nomadic population.

We think that it is necessary to explain in detail the meaning of the terms “khodjas” and “khvadja”. Nowadays, a good number of specialists are studying the social-religious kin of Central Asia. There are different opinions as to the term khodjas among the specialists. The term khodjasis given in many scientific works –monographs, books,

articles—. As it was stated earlier the term “khvodja” (“khoja”) was used in regard to the descendant of the Prophet and his close fellows, as well as in regard to famous and highly educated people. In this case the question “Why the local population in regard to this social group uses the term “khodjas” (“khuja”)?” arises here. Is it phonetic peculiarity of Uzbek language? There are some explanations about that based not on philology research but on the data of sociological investigations.

On the territory of Central Asiakhodjas comprise the majority in number in comparison with the representatives of other social-religious layers. As it was mentioned above, they were awarded this title because they belonged to the respectable and famous kin, heritage of the estate, relations to some holy person. Respondent Turgunkhodja who worked for several years as imam khatib in the mosque “Ismoilota” and originally being khodjas from the village Turbat of South Kazakhstan region gave the following information about the local khodjas: Together with the famous holy person (avliyo) Ismoil-ota (descendant of AkhmadYassavy) forty families arrived to Turbat. They began to live here permanently and together with their teacher began “praying”. Later, population began to call the representatives of these forty families’ khodjas though they had no documents proving their relation to this class. They were called this way because they were fellows of great holy person Ismoil-ota.

It is interesting that our respondent Turgun-khodja uses the term “khodjas” in relation to the descendants of Ismoil-ota and his fellows as well (e.g. Ergashkhodja, Azlarkhodja, etc.). Thus, this proves our opinion about the fact that not only descendants of the Prophet and his fellows, famous and educated people, but also ordinary people who was at that moment by the side of famous people or holy people or historical personalities dealing with the propaganda of Islam in certain periods had an honour to be called khodjas.

Academician Y. Gulyamov gives the following information from his work: “In the feudal system khodjas considered themselves belonging to the higher Islam kin – Arab luminaries, and even recorded this fact in the document and certified it with the stamp of the state powers. The most part of khodjas were exempted from all taxes, according to the rules of Islam paid only part of taxes (one of ten)”.

The expression given in this article by the famous researcher deserves the respect “uribbolmaskhujani, sukibbolmaskhujani, khudo ursine khujani” (that means “don’t beat the khodjas, don’t swear at the khodjas, let God punish him”), and is widespread among the people.

People belonging to the considered kin played an important role in social, economical, political, legal, spiritual, religious spheres of life, including the development of the system science and education on the territory of Central during all the period of history of their existence. One of our interlocutors considering himself as sayyidKhamidulla from Andijan, stated the following: “In the families of khodjas, unlike in the families of sayyids, not only men but also women were attracted to the sphere of modern science and technique and administration. That’s why we can meet such last names as Khodjaeva, Fazilkhodjaeva, Sharifkhodjaeva in all spheres. Among sayyids it is rare case”. We could watch the proof of it during all the period of investigation. Families of sayyids made efforts to save the centuries-old traditions and values and their transfer to the next generations. However, khodjas are not so conservative in this respect.

In all documents, investigated by us, we meet the writing “khvodja”, which is read as “khodja”. Hence, in the historical documents bearer of the title “khodja” meant the representatives of higher religious class. But, at the same time, our respondents in relation to the same people used in their conversation only the term “khodja”. The term “khodjas” was used in relation to the people accomplishing “khadj” (e.g. “khodja-aka”, “khodja-bobo”, “khodja-ona”). Famous researchers-orientalists – B. Babadjanov and A. Muminov recommend to use in relation to the representatives of this religious class the term “khodja” which is read as “khvodja”. 12

I want to bring also several elements of national folklore which helps us in some extent to understand the etymology of the word “khodja”. Addressing the people with a title khuja, such sayings are spread among the people: “khujalarobeddankeyinayniydi” (“khodjas loose their senses in the afternoon”), or “uribbolmaskhujani, sukibbolmaskhujani, khudo ursine khujani” (“don’t beat the khodjas, don’t swear at the khodjas, let the God punish him”). After the comparison of collected by us facts we came to the following conclusion. The term “khodja” was used in relation to high standing, rich people and not all the people were satisfied by their widespread opportunities. Possibly, the reason for this is that the term “khodja” is associated among the local population with the term “khujayin”, i.e. master (owner). Further the term “khodja” was tightly consolidated by the representatives of this religious class. Perhaps, these expressions widely spread among the people soundly: mood of the master regarding the work and the people often changes, he can fail to keep his word because of some new circumstances or the change in his mood. There is also Kazakh expression: “Khodjajilip el bolmas” (“gathering together khodjas will not make up a nation”), which is interpreted among the people in the meaning of “when the masters (owners) were the friends of people?” (“khujayinlarqachonodamg el bolgan?”), for example.

In accept the terms “khodja” and “khuja” considerable role was played by the soviet tradition to write the names of people in the documents. And such last names as “Fazilkhodjaev”, “Fayzullakhodjaev”, “Khodjaev” appeared at that time. Later this brought to the change of names “FayzulloKhodja” and “FozilKhodja” into “Fayzullakhodja” and “Fozilkhodja”. Or meanings of names changed, e.g. “SolikhKhodja” into “Solikhuja”, “AzizlarKhodja” into “Azlarkhuja”, “RizkliKhodja” into “Rikhsikhuja”. The words “khodja” and “khuja” merged and began to mean one and the same in essence. As a result of such merging the expressions “asilkhuja” (“real khodja”), “chalakhuja” (“dubious khoja”) and “aldmchikhuja” (“pretending khoja”) was developed.

Let’s see other aspects. We can often hear such expressions from the local population in regard tokhodjas as: “aslkhujalar” (“real khodja”), “chalakhuja” (“dubious khoja”) and “aldmchikhuja” (“pretending khoja”). On this subject the respondent Ziyovutdin brings interesting information, which he heard from his father: “... some people became khodja cutting the ox, some - becoming khakim (mayor), and some performing “khadj” in Mecca (“khoji”). In fact, real khodjas had a sign (belgi). Other respondent named Ergashkhodja has the same opinion. What do they mean by this sign? Maybe the pedigree or the adherence to some holy person or emperor, maybe – this is a craving of khodjas for the knowledge?

Most of khodjas living in Samarkand and Kashkadarya regions are considered to be the descendants of Daniyar-shaykh . Daniyar-shaykh lived in modern village Daniyar-shaykh in Kitab district of Kashkadarya region. Modern khodjas are originated from the ancestors of sons of Daniyar-shaykh – Iskhak, Yusuf and Madali. There was the fourth

son also, the ancestors of whom had no more than one son. According to the old men once upon a time Daniyarata asked his elder son to come and bring to him felled branches of young tree. But the elder son didn't want to break the tree and reassigned to his younger brothers. At the beginning his brothers also refused to accomplish this task, however soon the youngest brother being a young cut the plant and thus couldn't pass the exam of his father. Knowing about this his father being in anger cursed him with these words: "There will be no more than one son in your descendants" ("bittanovdangikkitolmasin"). He asked his elder sons to take care of the youngest brother and provide all necessary things for him. In future his sons fulfilled this will and provided their relative convicted to be the father of only one son .

### III. CONCLUSION

Serious contradictions took place in family relations of khodjas. Aziza originally from Margelan, at present living in Tashkent, who introduced herself as a descendant of "real khodja" told us the following: "sayyids and khodjas never married their daughters to the people from halkiya (from the ordinary people; in Ferghana Valley people of ordinary class are called "halkiya"), that's why majority of their daughters remained unsettled. They could marry only educated fellows". There are different interesting opinions among the people, for instance if the boy from the ordinary class marries the girl from khodjas or sayyids, then during the first marriage night the groom goes into bed after the bride, besides that he lies beginning from the bottom side of the bed accepting the superiority of wife's social status. Part of the respondents stated that this ceremony was obligatory during all the period of their joint life. For instance, our interlocutor from khodjas named Nazira stated that her husband – originating from "ordinary people" (meningerimkorachalardan) follows this tradition every day. But at the same time she said that in other family this tradition was accomplished formally only the first night". Thus, as conclusion we can state that khodjas as an individual social group traditionally played an important role in social-cultural life in Central Asia. In spite of efforts of isolating of representatives of this class from ordinary population, number of owners of this title increased as a result of different social processes in the society. Due to the increase of the quantity of representatives of this class the terms "khodja" expressing the descendants of the Prophet, his four caliphs and fellows was mixed with the term "khodja", initially used in regard to famous and high rank people.

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