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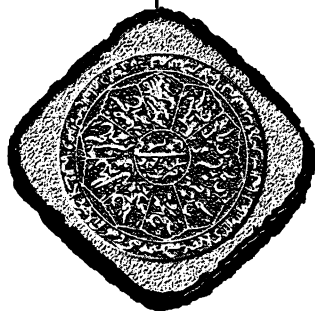


Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia:

**the Legacy of Ishaq Bab in
Narrative and Genealogical
Traditions**

Volume 2

**Genealogical Charters and Sacred Families: Nasab-Namas
and Khoja Groups Linked to the Ishaq Bab Narrative,
19th-21st Centuries**



Almaty–Bern–Tashkent–Bloomington
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ИНСТИТУТ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ ИМ. Р.Б. СУЛЕЙМЕНОВА
МИНИСТЕРСТВА ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И НАУКИ РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН
ИНСТИТУТ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ ИМ. А.Р. БЕРУНИ
АКАДЕМИИ НАУК РЕСПУБЛИКИ УЗБЕКИСТАН
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ КАЗАХСКО-ТУРЕЦКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

Исламизация и сакральные родословные в Центральной Азии:

**Наследие Исхак Баба
в нарративной и генеалогической
традициях**

Том 2

**Генеалогические грамоты и сакральные
семейства XIX–XXI веков: насаб-нама и группы ходжей,
связанных с сакральным сказанием об Исхак Бабе**

Алматы–Берн–Ташкент–Блумингтон
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Critical Editions and Source Studies

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The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions

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Vol. 2

Genealogical Charters and Sacred Families: *Nasab-namas* and Khoja

Groups Linked to the Ishaq Bab Narrative, 19th–21st Centuries

Edited by Ashirbek Muminov, Anke von Kügelgen, Devin DeWeese,

Michael Kemper

Диспуты мусульманских авторитетов в Центральной Азии
(XIX–XX вв.): критические издания и исследования источников

Составитель: Анке фон Кюгельген

Том II

Поддержано *Швейцарским фондом научных исследований*

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Поддержано Отделом научных исследований

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Генеалогические грамоты и сакральные семейства:

насаб-нама и группы ходжей, связанных с сакральным сказанием об

Исхак Бабе в XIX–XXI веках

Составители: Аширбек Муминов, Анке фон Кюгельген,

Девин ДиУис, Михаэль Кемпер

FOREWORD

The present volume follows the narrative and genealogical framework first recorded in the 14th-century work of Ishāq Khwāja into the 19th and 20th centuries, presenting a series of genealogical texts (*nasab-nāmas*) transmitted among kinship groups who are regarded as the bearers of hereditary holiness and, by extension, considerable social and political prestige. If the versions of the narrative explored in the first volume (see below on the contents of the two volumes), and its more distant echoes, recorded from the 17th century to the 20th, situate the origins of the account in the tradition of hereditary Sufi communities of Central Asia, the versions and adaptations of the narrative presented in this volume confirm its ongoing religious and social meaning in more recent times – indeed, down to the present, as the recovery of such texts has accompanied the new and expanded possibilities for religious expression following the collapse of Soviet antireligious efforts.

The *nasab-nāmas* presented here were undoubtedly formulated on the basis of multiple sources, including, certainly, versions of the written material first recorded in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, but also much later genealogical lore and narrative traditions, preserved in oral or written form, and reflecting the political, social, and religious environment of the 19th and early 20th centuries. All the texts presented here share echoes, at least, of the narrative of Islamization that first appears in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, and of the genealogical framework recorded there as well; the texts presented here, all of relatively late provenance, include genealogical elaborations, and typically emphasize a particular lineage not necessarily highlighted (or highlighted in the same way) in the comparatively spare version from Ishāq Khwāja's work. As such they confirm not only the continued resonance of the account explored in the first volume – where echoes and adaptations allow us to follow the narrative, in fits and starts,

from the 14th century into the 20th – but also the remarkable dynamism, vitality, and adaptability of the account, as it was adjusted to fit changing religious, social, and political circumstances.

Some of these texts have been published previously (see below), and it is hoped that additional versions of these families of texts will continue to be discovered, rendering the present volume incomplete; nevertheless, this volume marks the first substantial publication of a large number of these genealogical texts, together and in a classified framework, allowing close comparison of their contents and rhetorical trajectories. Those who have laid the foundations for the present volume in the preface and introduction, and who deserve enormous credit for bringing this volume to completion – from the ‘spadework’ of discovering, identifying, and collecting the texts, through the painstaking work of comparing and classifying and editing them, to the no less demanding task of preparing them for publication – have been kind enough to ask me to contribute a foreword to this volume, to which my other contributions have been quite minimal; it is thus my great pleasure to offer a few remarks that may suggest, from my perspective, not only how the present projects came together to produce these two volumes, but also how and where the study of the materials they present may best advance.

* * *

While there are scattered references, from the late 18th and 19th centuries, to genealogical texts or ‘documents’ belonging to various *khoja* groups in Central Asia (as noted below), the first more detailed discussions of the contents of such texts, and the first actual publications of examples (which are in fact directly related to the *nasab-nāmas* presented here), appeared at the very end of the 19th century, in several reports and brief notices published in the *Protokoly zasedanii i soobshcheniia chlenov Turkestanskago kruzhka liubitelei arkheologii (PTKLA)*, in Tashkent. It is worth noting that the venue for their publication, a periodical devoted chiefly to archeological and architectural antiquities of Central Asia, reflects, ultimately, the connection between the narratives and genealogical traditions reflected in the texts, the families that preserved them, and local shrines of ancestral saints who figure in the genealogies; in this specific case, the texts and descriptions were brought to light in connection with the first published descriptions of two shrines associated with the town then known as Aulieata (i.e., Awliyā Ata, the Ṭarāz of medieval times, Dzhambul in the Soviet period, and now again Taraz), namely the *mazār*

of “Qarā-khān,” called also Awliyā Ata – the town’s namesake – in the town itself, and that of ‘Ā’isha-bībī, located west of the town.

Primary credit for the publication of this narrative and genealogical material goes to V. A. Kallaur, who discussed the shrine of Qarā-khān, and the legend about it, in communications to the society in 1897, and in an article that appeared in 1898¹; the article in fact discussed both shrines, and included material, evidently based on oral tradition, supplied by Col. V. V. Pankov, as well as explanations and identifications (including genealogical data) supplied by the *qāḍī* of the town, Mullā ‘Abdullāh Yūnusov. In the same year, Kallaur published the text, and a Russian translation, of a genealogical account written by a certain “Imām-jān,” identified only as a former *qāḍī* of the village of “Saryām” (i.e., Sayrām), near Chimkent (now Shimkent); with it was published (but without translation) an evidently independent “genealogy” of “Qarakhan” prepared by the same *qāḍī* of Aulieata, Mullā ‘Abdullāh Yūnusov “on the basis of historical books”². Finally, two years later, a similar, but fuller text was published in the same *PTKLA*³, this time with even less information than was supplied in the earlier publications about the text’s provenance; evidently Kallaur

¹ V. A. Kallaur, “Drevniia mestnosti Auliiatinskago uezda na starom karavannom puti iz Taraza (Talasa) v Vostochnyi Turkestan,” prepared for publication in *PTKLA*, 2 (1898), in the *Prilozheniia k protokolu ot 5 maia 1897 g.*, pp. 1–9 [p. 3]; at the session itself, a letter from Kallaur was read in which he repeated his discussion of the tomb of Qara-khan (it included a survey of popular traditions surrounding the tomb of “Aisha-bibi,” supplied by Col. V. V. Pankov, who apparently added remarks on Qarā-khān as well; both are published in the *Protokoly* from 5 May 1897 [pp. 5–9, section 6]). These accounts were summarized by A. A. Divaev in his article, “Iz oblasti kirgizskikh verovanii: Baksy, kak lekar’ i koldun (Ėtnograficheskii ocherk)” (Tashkent, 1899; published separately, from *Izvestiia Obshchestva arkhologii, istorii i ėtnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete*, 15 [1899]), p. 7, notes 1, 2; cf. pp. 26–27, in comments prompted by the invocation of both Awliyā Ata and ‘Ā’isha-bībī among the protective spirits summoned by a Qazaq *baqsı*.

² *PTKLA*, 2 (1898), *Prilozheniia k protokolu ot 29 avgusta 1897 g.*, pp. 13–16 (with two headings, “K rodoslovnoi Auliiatinskago sviatogo Karakhana” [pp. 13–15], and “Rodoslovnaia Karakhana, sostavlennaia kaziem Mulloi-Abdulloi Iunusovym na osnovanii istoricheskikh knig” [p. 16]).

³ “Rodoslovnaia Karakhana, patrona gor. Auliiata,” *PTKLA*, 4 (1899), pp. 87–91. See the Introduction to the present volume, by Ashirbek Muminov and Zikiriya Zhandarbek, for further discussion of this version.

was responsible for this text as well (given its connection with the town, and shrine, of Awliyā Ata).

Following these publications, however, attention to such genealogical texts waned, and no additional versions were published or identified during the entire Soviet era; in general, the scholarly study of religious life in Soviet academic establishments was under rigid constraints, especially with regard to ongoing matters of religious life, but even with regard to historical issues as well, and such texts, as well as the oral accounts that appear likewise to have kept similar traditions alive, were inevitably ignored, not only because they were fundamentally religious in their focus and in their ‘construction’ of history, and not only because positivist historians regarded them as of little value as ‘sources’ on the history they purported to present, but also because the ‘raw material’ for their study – the manuscripts containing the texts – were preserved among families who understood that the religious and social privileges the texts affirmed were intensely problematical in the context of Soviet society.

My own interest in these texts arose initially in connection with my research on the history of Sufi communities in Central Asia; it was in 1984 – at a time when Sufi material, as well, was still largely ignored in Soviet scholarship – while working at the former Institute of Manuscripts in Tashkent, that I came across two copies of the work of Ishāq Khwāja, in which the narrative and genealogies were included. A brief study of the narrative, based on the two manuscript versions available to me, was presented at a conference in 1987, and was published in 1990.⁴ I brought copies of the article to colleagues during another research trip to Tashkent in 1991, which gave me an opportunity to collect additional manuscript versions of this work. It was also during this visit that I had the good fortune to meet Prof. Ashirbek Muminov; the present collaborative work is ultimately the result of that meeting over 16 years ago.

In 1992 I returned to the text, in connection with an NEH-fellowship project on conversion narratives in Islamic Inner Asia; I prepared an edition and translation of the text from various manuscripts of the work of Ishāq Khwāja, and was in the process of further annotating the text and

⁴ Devin DeWeese, “Yasavian Legends on the Islamization of Turkistan”, *Studies in Altaic Civilization III* (= Proceedings of the 30th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistics Conference (PIAC), Bloomington, 1987), ed. Denis Sinor (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1990; Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 145), pp. 1–19.

translation, based on additional versions or echoes of the narrative I had found (including the versions published in *PTKLA*, which had not been available to me earlier, as well as some of the manuscript versions recorded from the 17th-20th centuries, the supplementary texts from the first volume), when I received from Prof. Muminov, in 1993, a text edition of one of the *nasab-nāmas*, which he and Zikiriya Zhandarbek had recently published⁵. From their comments in that work's introduction, I realized that Dr. Zhandarbek had been collecting such genealogical texts since the late 1980s, and that he and Prof. Muminov had already collected many additional versions; it was clear that these texts added an important dimension to the contemporary resonance of the narrative I had known chiefly through the 14th-century work of Ishāq Khwāja, and that the additional versions might be compared profitably both with that earlier version, and with other versions. Another research trip in 1995 gave me the opportunity to meet Dr. Zhandarbek, and Prof. Muminov was gracious enough to share with me copies of many *nasab-nāmas*; through further correspondence and additional publications by both these scholars, I could see the collection and analysis of the *nasab-nāmas* proceeding. In the meantime, in 1999, I published an article exploring several issues in the interpretation of these texts, in connection with my ongoing work on the history of the Yasavī Sufi tradition⁶; for the most part, however, other projects prevented me from returning to the texts and the problems they presented.

In 2001, however, I learned that two German colleagues, Anke von Kügelgen and Michael Kemper, had received funding for a project that would allow for collaborative work, involving also Prof. Muminov and Dr. Zhandarbek as well as other specialists in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, that would result in the preparation of text editions of the *nasab-nāmas* collected so far; the project was then underway, and the participants kindly asked for my comments on the volume, and asked me to supply a foreword. I agreed, and discussed the project further with Prof. von Kügelgen and Prof. Muminov in Tashkent in the fall of 2003; I received the draft in 2004, and by the late winter of 2005, in a series of exchanges

⁵ Safi ad-Din Orīn Qoylaqī, "*Nasab-nama*", ed. Äshirbek Qurbanulī Muminov and Zikiriya Zamankhanulī Zhandarbekov (Türkistan: "Mūra," 1992).

⁶ Devin DeWeese, "The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th-Century Central Asia: Descent Groups linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31/4 (1999), pp. 507–530.

with Prof. von Kügelgen and Prof. Muminov, I outlined some suggestions and recommendations for what was already an impressive work, and also mentioned some additional materials (including the Kabul manuscript of Ishāq Khwāja's work) that had not been known or available to the original project's participants. As a result of these exchanges, the outlines of the present format were established: it was agreed to split the work into two volumes, on a roughly chronological basis, with the version of the narrative from the work of Ishāq Khwāja and subsequent echoes in Sufi sources from the 17th-20th centuries presented in the first volume, and the familial *nasab-nāmas* from the 19th-20th centuries in the second volume. This chronological division served also, on the one hand, to highlight the 14th-century text as a historically-grounded account with an important legacy in Sufi literature (rather than as a simple prologue for the recent *nasab-nāmas*), and, on the other hand, to highlight the remarkable value of the genealogical texts as living reflections of the 19th and early 20th centuries (rather than as mere appendages to, or 'corruptions' of, the earlier historical text).

In March, 2005, I met with Prof. Muminov in Seattle, and we agreed to seek funding for a joint project to complete the work on the first volume, focused on the work of Ishāq Khwāja; by chance a deadline for a new grant program at Indiana University fell soon after our meeting, and I prepared a proposal that received funding. Through the grant, Prof. Muminov was able to spend nearly two months in Bloomington during the summer of 2006, and this, along with our previous independent work, allowed us to nearly complete work on the first volume; the present, second volume was restructured through the efforts of the original collaborators, and its publication is now also supported in part through the grant from Indiana University.

The volumes will appear out of order, with the first volume following the second.

* * *

The subject of the present volume – the genealogical texts from the 19th and 20th centuries that reflect or elaborate on the narrative and genealogical framework first recorded in the 14th-century work of Ishāq Khwāja – attests to the social and religious resonance of a story of the spread of Islam, and of its central characters, the Islamizing warrior-saints. But it is also closely linked with the phenomenon of 'holy families' or sacred descent groups, generally known by the designation "*khoja*," whose special

social and religious status, understood poorly by scholars during the era of Tsarist rule in Central Asia, was ignored or suppressed during most of the 20th century as a result of the anti-religious policies of the Soviet state. Ironically, now that it is possible to explore, and assert, this special status once again, after years of neglect, there are (at least) two broad constituencies for which information and research on the *khoja* communities is potentially significant: first, scholars who seek to understand their roles (social, religious, etc.) both today and in the past, as part of the religious history and religious present of Central Asia; and second, the *khoja* communities themselves.

What is important to keep in mind is that the goals and interests of these two constituencies may overlap in part, but they will not and cannot coincide entirely. This is only natural. The *khoja* communities, after all, understand themselves as natural communities, bound together not only by kinship, but by a sacred kinship rooted in the likewise sacred origins of the broader society in which they find themselves. Scholars, however, must try to understand the *khoja* communities as they understand all communities – namely, as constructed social groupings bound together by a host of cultural and ideological factors (of which kinship formulations may be one). In the specific terms of the texts presented here, for example, the *nasab-nāmas* are, to the *khoja* communities themselves, their heritage, a hallowed record of their origins and history, with deep roots in that history; to scholars, they are the charters of group identity formulated by the communities, developed over the course of many centuries, always open to adjustment and alteration to reflect new circumstances, and not subject, whether in their particulars or in their overarching vision, to historical verification (some would say, indeed, that they are wholly fictional, although it is in this regard that an appreciation of their ‘mythic’ character – as the category of ‘myth’ is understood in religious studies – is particularly helpful for bridging the outlook of scholarship and the *khoja* communities themselves, though it too is erected first on the side of scholarship).

With this situation in mind – i.e., a partial confluence of interests shared by these two constituencies, but a potentially sharp division of attitudes and approaches as well – and with full awareness that my remarks can properly represent only the scholarly side of the dialogue, it may be helpful to frame some of the issues that I believe should be important for the further study of these texts, and of the social phenomena they reflect.

(I) First, with regard to the textual history of the *nasab-nāmas*, it is undoubtedly significant that virtually all of the recently recorded or iden-

tified *nasab-nāmas* claiming, for contemporary families of Central Asia, descent from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya do so in the context of genealogical and especially narrative material that is clearly connected with the traditions first recorded in the work of Ishāq Khwāja. That is, even when the genealogical details, or the genealogical focus, of the 19th- and 20th-century *nasab-nāmas* differ substantially from the details and focus of the version found in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, they include many elements that link them with that earlier version, confirming that they all may be considered variants and ‘adjustments’ of the same basic tradition (even though in some cases the adjustments may be quite substantial).

It is, of course, within the realm of possibility that these connections reflect the independent use, as early as the 14th century and as late as the 20th, of a stock of written or oral source material, used and adjusted differentially to suit the purposes of the adapters; indeed, the late (i.e., 19th- and 20th-century) *nasab-nāmas* clearly reflect the incorporation of considerable additional material – some genealogical, some narrative – from a variety of sources, including oral tradition, outside the ‘basic’ framework of the narrative known from the work of Ishāq Khwāja. For that ‘basic’ framework, however, we must acknowledge that no other trace of such material recorded between the 14th and 19th centuries has been identified, aside from copies of the work of Ishāq Khwāja, and the echoes of the narrative discussed in the first volume. Thus, while it is not impossible that the late genealogies reflect a purely oral tradition, the similarity of the textual versions (and indeed some oral versions) with the text found in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, published in the first volume, strongly suggests that many versions, if perhaps not all, were formulated on the basis, directly or indirectly, of the narrative and genealogical framework as presented in the text known from the work of Ishāq Khwāja. In short, it is likely that the work of Ishāq Khwāja – or more properly the narrative and genealogical material included in it – was itself the source, direct or indirect, for the many adaptations (both those that model its presentation, and those that counter it) recorded in more recent times, in the various textual ‘families’ of *nasab-nāmas*.

This conclusion means that the dates given, in the *nasab-nāmas* from the 19th and 20th centuries, as the dates of composition of the ‘original’ texts (linked presumably in an unbroken chain of transcription with the extant texts from the 19th-20th centuries) cannot be accepted as authentic indicators of the earliest ‘fixation in writing’ of the genealogical or narrative traditions they reflect. It also means that it is most likely futile to look

in the *nasab-nāmas* for significant variants or correctives to the version of the narrative found in Ishāq Khwāja's work; while that work's author may indeed have made use of previously circulating written genealogical and narrative material in formulating his account, we should not assume that one or another of the existing *nasab-nāmas* can be counted as a reliable record of all or part of that previously circulating written material.

It also means, by extension, that the various separate traditions and 'families' of texts reflect a process of differentiation. That is, in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, the chief character is Ishāq Bāb (even though his is not the lineage followed in greatest explicit detail, reflecting, no doubt, a still earlier process of differentiation), while among the texts presented here are versions that emphasize other figures and in some cases seem consciously to downplay Ishāq Bāb. Other texts, that is, highlight descent from another figure among the three Islamizing heroes, above all Ishāq Bāb's uncle, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, ancestor of a lineage which appears, in the version from Ishāq Khwāja's work, to intersect and overlap with the historical framework of the Qarākhānid dynasty, and which is indeed linked with the figure known as Qarā-khān, and as Awliyā Ata, whose shrine is well-known in Ṭarāz; genealogical material reflecting later generations of this lineage no doubt has been added, on the basis of oral or written traditions that unfortunately cannot be precisely or reliably dated, to a core of narrative and genealogical material originally reflected in the work of Ishāq Khwāja.

At the same time, many of the texts incorporate genealogical and narrative traditions surrounding the enormously important figure of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī; he is of course implicated in the tradition as recorded in the work of Ishāq Khwāja, but the late *nasab-nāmas* provide considerable additional material about him and his family that seems to reflect, likewise, the incorporation of extraneous material into that narrative and genealogical core. The material dealing with Aḥmad Yasavī includes, significantly, both narrative accounts or fragments about his Sufi career, and genealogical elaborations about different members of his family (the abundant Yasavī-related lore is particularly strong in the texts presented here as the Qarā-Āsmān tradition, with somewhat different combinations found in the Ürüng-qūylāqī and Arqūq texts); the Yasavī-related material may itself be divided into a 'core' that is first recorded textually in the 18th-century *Tuḥfat al-ansāb-i 'alavī* (as noted in the first volume), and further additions and identifications that differ from *nasab-nāma* to *nasab-nāma* (and among different recordings of oral tradition as well). Portions of both

the ‘core’ and the additional lore, moreover, may be found in oral and textual traditions unrelated to those presented here.

The comparison of texts such as the *nasab-nāmas* with material recorded from oral tradition presents special problems. It is important, above all, to recognize the potentially fragmentary character of the information we may find in works compiled by earlier scholars or officials, who may not have been in a position to properly assess what they were told, or to filter the significant from the incidental. This applies not only, with particular complexity, to the Yasavī-related lore mentioned above, but more broadly as well. For example, documentary material from the Farghana valley, recently published (and incorporated into the present volume as well), includes interesting variants of the genealogical lore linked with Ishāq Bāb, including his descent from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya and his ancestry of Aḥmad Yasavī and his brother Ṣadr Shaykh; this text includes an account of a certain Yūmalāq Shaykh, evidently implicated in the genealogy traced from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, as a descendant of Ṣadr Shaykh⁷. Meanwhile, traditions recorded late in the 19th century in connection with the famous shrine of the prophet Ayyūb near Jalālābād, in the eastern Farghana valley, refer to a “Iumala-khodzha-sheikh” whose descendants were supported by a familial *waqf* that also supported the shrine; this “Iumala,” whose name clearly reflects the “Yūmalāq” of the document, was regarded as a descendant of Ayyūb; no mention is made of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, much less of his descendants or figures as late as Aḥmad Yasavī and his brother⁸. Does the textual version reflect a divergent account or a later stage in the development of genealogical lore regarding Yūmalāq Shaykh? Or does the Tsarist-era report reflect its author’s familiarity with the figure of Ayyūb and the obscurity, to him, of Aḥmad Yasavī or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya? Either is possible, as are both. The point is that the two accounts appear to be in conflict, but may not in fact be fundamentally at odds with one another; they may, rather, represent different stages in the development of genealogical lore about the saints

⁷ Ashirbek Muminov and Maria Szuppe, “Un document genealogique (*nasab-nāma*) d’une famille de *Ḥwāja* Yasavī dans le khanat de Kokand (XIXe s.),” *Eurasian Studies* (The Skilliter Centre, Cambridge/Istituto per l’Oriente C. A. Nalino, Rome), 1/1 (2002), pp. 1–35.

⁸ M. Brodovskii, “Dve musul’ manskiiia legendy (Iz zapisnoi knizhki),” *Turkestanskii literaturnyi sbornik v pol’zu prokazhennykh* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia A. Benke, 1900), pp. 187–190.

and the shrines, different phases of the appropriation and re-identification of local genealogical lore for purposes of political or economic advantage, or merely different bases of knowledge on the part of those who collected and interpreted the traditions at different times. All these possibilities (and more) must be considered in interpreting these sorts of texts and in comparing them further with material circulated in oral tradition.

In dealing with the texts, then, while recognizing the primacy of Iṣḥāq Khwāja's version, it is important to stress also the fluidity of the manuscript tradition, as well as the potential interplay of both oral and written components of narrative and genealogical transmission in the formulation of the texts now extant; this is clear precisely from the addition of 'new' material and from the occasional suppression of material known from the version of Iṣḥāq Khwāja, in an effort to make his uncle or his brother – and their respective descendants – the central focus. It is also important, moreover, to keep in mind that the texts, too, were not simply 'copied', but were no doubt always subject to alteration and adjustment; that is, the extant corpus of texts – however much it may grow through new collection efforts – is not simply a fragmentary record of a textual corpus that existed in the past – as may sometimes be assumed (or *is* assumed, in any case) with other sorts of works – but a record (no doubt fragmentary) of different stages in the differential development, alteration, and adjustment of multiple textual traditions.

This suggests that efforts to establish a 'critical edition' – certainly for the entire corpus of *nasab-nāmas* linked with descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, but most likely for particular groupings of texts as well (along familial or textual lines) – may in fact be futile; to some degree this depends on precisely what texts are taken together, but it may be argued that what is most valuable in the texts is not their 'descent' from a presumed original tradition, but precisely their differences and divergences. It is thus important to note that the editors of the texts presented here have been scrupulous in retaining 'access' to the variants and allowing the reconstruction, in effect, of the full diversity of the genealogical traditions; they have walked a fine line between identifying and classifying families of texts, on the one hand, and treating each text as an independent 'artifact' of the remarkably diverse development of the textual tradition.

(II) Second, it is important to address the question of the proper comparative framework in which the study of these texts, and of the *khoja* groups, may best be advanced. The *khoja* groups who have preserved the texts presented here live for the most part in southern Kazakhstan and adjacent parts

of Uzbekistan; while it is clear that these texts, and these groups, share specific features that set them apart from other traditions of holy families, and while it is undoubtedly the case that study of these groups should strive for an understanding that highlights local detail and specific groups' particularities rather than broadly generalized theoretical conclusions (and here, perhaps, scholarship and the interests of the *khoja* communities may overlap somewhat more closely), I would argue that at this early stage in the study of these texts and these groups, research will benefit above all from widening the scope of comparative study and looking for parallels elsewhere that help clarify the dynamics of the *khoja* phenomenon. This is especially important in view of the isolation, during the Soviet era, not only of these groups from similar groups elsewhere in the Muslim world, but of ethnographic scholarship in the Soviet Union from such scholarship elsewhere. While there is clearly no 'pure' environment, moreover, other societies in which sacred lineages are prominent historically and at present may not have undergone the same kind of wrenching social, economic, and religious upheavals that have helped obscure patterns of religiously-defined communal identity in the former Soviet world. It is thus important to take stock of both the past and the present of such groups, in other times and in other places, to learn ways to better understand and interpret the *khoja* phenomenon and the oral and written traditions that reflect it.

To begin with, while scholarship specifically focused on the written genealogical traditions preserved among such groups was exceedingly sparse, there was somewhat more attention to the *khoja* phenomenon among the Qazaqs, dating back to the 18th century⁹. Recognition of the

⁹ The *khojas* among the Qazaqs were mentioned already in P. I. Rychkov's *Topografiia Orenburgskaia* (SPb., 1762), and in P. S. Pallas, *Puteshestvie po raznym provintsiiam Rossiiskoi imperii*, ch. 1 (SPb., 1773), pp. 579 (Pallas mentions them as "honored persons of ancient lineage);" see also, from the same period, the work of I. G. Georgi, *Opisanie vsekh v Rossiiskom gosudarstve obitaiushchikh narodov*, ch. 2 (SPb., 1776), pp. 121, and the later discussion of Baron Georges de Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg a Boukhara fait en 1820, a travers les steppes qui s'étendent a l'est de la Mer d'Aral et au-delà de l'ancien Jaxartes* (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré Père et Fils, 1826), pp. 29–30. Qazaq customary law codified under Russian rule in 1824 provided that the fine for murdering a *khoja* was equal to the fine for seven ordinary persons; see Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Customary Law of the Nomadic Tribes of Siberia* (Tientsin, 1938; repr. Bloomington: Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 48, 1965), p. 16; the same point is noted, from a passage in Levshin's *Opisanie kir-*

khojas as a special class of the elite, defined in terms of descent from the Prophet, from one of the first four Caliphs, or from Muslim saints grew during the second half of the 19th century¹⁰, when we find also the first references to traditions, and groups, reflected in the texts presented here¹¹. In Soviet-era scholarship, *khojas* among the Qazaqs were discussed almost exclusively from the perspective of historical ethnography, as communities that were formerly prominent, but not as ongoing, living social groups¹²; virtually no attention was given to the specific traditions of in-

giz-kazach'ikh, ch. III, in *Stepnoi zakon: Obychnoe pravo kazakhov, kirgizov i turkmen*, ed. A. A. Nikishenkov and Iu. I. Semenov (Moscow: Staryi sad, 2000), p. 24. A document from 1852, noting that beyond the 16 tribes of the Qazaq Junior Horde, there were "several tens of thousands of Qazaqs from the *Khodzha* tribe/clan" (*rod*), who were esteemed above all other Qazaq clans/tribes because they belonged to a "clerical order" (*dukhovnyi san*), is cited in: Zhanuzak Kasymbaev, *Gosudarstvennye deiateli Kazakhskikh khanstv XVIII-pervoi poloviny XIX vv.*, vol. 4: *Zhangir Khan (1801–1845 gg.) (Lichnost' vo vzaimodeistvii s nomadnym obshchestvom i sopredel'nymi regionami)* (Almaty: "Nash Mir," 2001), pp. 12.

¹⁰ See the brief accounts of *khojas* in N. I. Grodekov, *Kirgizy i karakirgizy Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, t. I, *Iuridicheskii byt* (Tashkent, 1889), pp. 5, 7, and in G. A. Arandarenko, *Dosugi v Turkestane, 1874–1889* (SPb.: Tipografiia M. M. Stasiulevich, 1889), pp. 144–145. See also the discussion of *khojas* in Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780–1910* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 278–281.

¹¹ See A. K. Geins, "Dnevnik 1866 goda. Puteshestvie v Turkestan," in *Sobranie literaturnykh trudov Aleksandra Konstantinovicha Geinsa*, vol. 2 [St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. M. Stasiulievicha, 1898], pp. 1–429 [pp. 57, 279], and Geins, "Upravlenie Tashkentom pri kokandskom vladychestve," *Sobranie literaturnykh trudov*, vol. 2, pp. 430–536 [p. 494]; he mentions descendants of "Mugamet-Khanafie-Aulie," who were known as "Khanafie-Karagans" or as "Karagan-khodzha-Khanafie," terms clearly reflecting the name "Qarākhān" and descent from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya.

¹² The *khojas* among the Qazaqs are briefly mentioned in V. V. Vostrov and M. S. Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav i rasselenie kazakhov (konets XIX-nachalo XX v.)* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1968), and given somewhat longer treatments in S. Z. Zimanov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi kazakhov pervoi poloviny XIX veka* (Alma-Ata: Izd-vo AN KazSSR, 1958), pp. 221–223, and M. Bizhanov, "Sotsial'nye kategorii kazakhskogo obshchestva XVIII veka v trudakh russkikh uchenykh," *Kazakhstan v XV-XVIII vekakh (Voprosy sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii)* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969), pp. 160–170. See also the discussions in such antireligious works as Sh. B. Amanturlin, *Predrassudki i sueverii, ikh preodolenie (na materialakh*

dividual *khoja* communities. To be sure, down to the end of the Soviet era, scholarship was aware of the *khoja* phenomenon, but had described it only in the vaguest of terms, and the full range of *khoja* groups among the Qazaqs remained inadequately described, with many groups left essentially unidentified; it was primarily the contributors to this volume who were responsible for beginning the serious and substantive study of *khojas* in the Syr Daryā basin. Nevertheless, it is obviously important to seek out and incorporate, interpret, and explain the data recorded, in these earlier accounts, about *khoja* groups among the Qazaqs; in some cases, the earlier accounts reflect, from a different perspective, precisely the same period that produced the *nasab-nāmas* themselves. In addition, we may note recent research on *khoja* groups, and their *nasab-nāmas*, published by others, beyond the contributors to the present volumes¹³; while in most cases

izucheniiia sel'skogo naseleniia Kazakhstana) (Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985), p. 120, and K. Shulembaev (*Obraz zhizni, religiia, ateizm (Obshchee i osobennoe v obraze zhizni i religioznykh verovaniiax kazakhov i voprosy ateisticheskogo vospitaniia)* [Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1983]), pp. 260–261.

¹³ See, for example, R. M. Mustafina, *Predstavleniia, kul'ty, obriady u kazakhov (v kontekste bytovogo islama v Iuzhnom Kazakhstane v kontse XIX–XX vv.)* (Alma-Ata: Qazaq universiteti, 1992); M. Mirkhaldarov, *Khojā Āhmād Yāsāviy, Shājārāi sāadāt* (Chimkent, 1992); and a fragmentary genealogical scroll, published in facsimile and described (with many misunderstandings) in a small brochure, by Mūkhamedrakhīm Zharmūkhamedūlī, “Nasab-nama”/“Rodoslovnaia Khodzhi Akhmeta Isavi” (Almatī: Daur, 1995); the latter version was republished, in Qazaq transcription, in Qozha Akhmet Yasauī, *Khikmet zhinaq* (Almaty: Zhalīn, 1998), pp. 617–618, and appeared also in the problematical work of Kemal Eraslan, Mevlānā Safiyyū’d-Dīn, *Neseb-nāme Tercümesi* (Istanbul: Yesevī Yayıncılık, 1996). Additional 19th-century *nasab-nāmas* (including some linked to Ishāq Bāb) are discussed (on the basis of research in the region of Tashkent and southern Kazakhstan), in Ali Abbas Çınar, “Orta Asya Türk Kültüründe İshanlık Geleneği,” *Bilig*, 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 55–59 (without reference to much relevant scholarship). Despite the title, there is material focused on “İsraq Bab” among the narratives published by S. Qūrbanozhaev, “Qozha Akhmet Yāsauī turalī angīz-ānggīmeler,” *Yāsauī tağhilimi* (Turkistan: “Mūra” baspagerlik shaghīn kāsīpomi/Qozha Akhmet Yāsauī atīndaghī Khālīqaralīq Qazaq-Türīk Universiteti, 1996), pp. 132–141. See also the more recent studies of Zylīkha Ōmīrbekqīzī İbadullaeva, *Qazaq khalqīning qūramındaghī qozhalar (tarikhi-ētnografialiq zertteu)*, Tarikh ghīlīmdarīning kandidatī dārezhesīn alu ūshīn dayīndalghan dissertatsiyanīng avtoreferatī (Almaty, 2001), and I. V. Erofeeva, *Rodoslovnye kazakhskikh khanov i kozha XVIII–XIX vv. (Istoriia, istoriografiia, istochniki)* (Almaty: TOO “Print-S,” 2003). In addition

it has not been as systematic as what is presented here, it will be important to take stock of it and to integrate or account for divergent findings.

It is also important to stress, moreover, that *khojas* are found throughout Central Asia – in some cases the very same groups known from the Syr Daryā valley are reported dwelling further south as well (see below) – and a proper assessment of the complex of issues surrounding the historical origins and development of these groups will require an approach that cuts across the new national boundaries of Central Asia, and suspends, in historical terms, the national identities and labels fixed during the Soviet period¹⁴. Of special importance, both because of the prominence of the phenomenon and because of the extent to which Soviet-era ethnographers studied it, is the case of the six ‘holy tribes’ (one of which is called “*khoja*”) among the Türkmens¹⁵; the Türkmen examples suggest

to the rich discussion of *qozhas* among the Qazaqs in Bruce Privratsky’s *Muslim Turkistan*, see also Bruce G. Privratsky, “‘Turkistan Belongs to the Qojas’: Local Knowledge of a Muslim Tradition,” *Devout Societies vs. Impious States? Transmitting Islamic Learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of an International Colloquium held in the Carré des Sciences, French Ministry of Research, Paris, November 12–13, 2001*, ed. Stéphane A. Dudoignon (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004; *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Band 258), pp. 161–212. For a *nasab-nāma* of the Qorasan *khojas*, see *Khorasan qozhalar shezhiresi: Ābdī Zhalil Bab ūrpaqtariniñ shezhiresi* (Turkistan: Mūra, 1994); see also Tinišbek Qongiratbaev, *Ertedegī eskertkışter: Sir boyiniñ ezhelgi tarikhi men mādenietī (Zertteu)* (Almaty: Öner, 1996), pp. 115–117. Further afield, on the Sunaqs, regarding whom classifications vary, see Qongiratbaev, *Ertedegī eskertkışter*, pp. 100–105, and the quite peculiar work of Zh. E. Erzhanov, *Sunaqtar zhāne Sunaq qalasī* (Almaty: Ghilim, 1996).

¹⁴ Most work on these groups was in fact produced during the Soviet era. For an overview of ethnographic treatments of *khoja* groups in Central Asia, with special attention to groups among the Qazaqs, Uzbeks, Qaraqalpaqs, Türkmens, and Tajiks, see R. Ia. Rassudova, “Termin khodzha v toponimike Srednei Azii,” *Onomastika Srednei Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1978), pp. 115–128; see also the same author’s “Semeinye gruppy: Odnā iz form organizatsii truda v oroshaemykh raionakh Srednei Azii (XIX–pervaia polovina XX v.),” *Strany i narody Vostoka*, 25 (1987), pp. 68–88. *Khoja* groups among the Uzbeks and Tajiks are discussed in B. Kh. Karmysheva, *Ocherki ètnograficheskoi istorii iuzhnykh raionov Tadzhikistana i Uzbekistana (Po ètnograficheskim dannym)* (Moscow: Nauka, GRVL, 1976), pp. 64, 69, 131, and esp. pp. 148–153.

¹⁵ See S. M. Demidov, *Turkmenskie ovliady* (Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1976); V. N. Basilov, “O proiskhozhdenii Turkmen-Ata (prostonarodnye formy sred-

interesting possibilities with regard to the origin of such ‘holy families,’ and the broader phenomenon of *khojas* in Central Asia likewise suggests particular links between such groups and the structures and traditions of Sufi communities.

It is not only the broader world of Central Asia, however, that offers potentially instructive parallels to assist in our understanding of the *khoja* phenomenon. The origins of the Ismā‘īlī “*khojas*” of South Asia – who are, incidentally, the only “*khojas*” represented by an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, suggesting the primitive state of our knowledge of the title, its application, and the groups it came to designate – are likewise poorly understood, and have been studied in the context of sources and suppositions quite comparable to those known in the case of Central Asian *khoja* groups; the Ismā‘īlī *khojas* as well possess genealogical and legendary traditions, oral and written, about their familial origins, but their history has been discussed, since colonial times, both in terms of their supposed “foreign” origins (a concept administratively meaningful in the 19th and 20th centuries, but hardly earlier), and in terms of their connections with the process of conversion to Islam¹⁶. Further afield, and without the

neaziatskogo sufizma),” in *Domusul'manskie verovanii i obriady v Srednei Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), pp. 138–168; and Basilov’s “Honour Groups in Traditional Turkmenian Society,” *Islam in Tribal Societies: From the Atlas to the Indus*, ed. Akbar S. Ahmed and David M. Hart (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 220–243.

¹⁶ See the discussion of Michel Boivin, “New Problems Related to the History and Tradition of the Agakhani Khojas in Karachi and Sindh,” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 46/4 (1998), pp. 5–32; and see further Ali S. Asani, “The Isma‘ili *gināns*: Reflections on Authority and Authorship,” *Mediaeval Isma‘ili History and Thought*, ed. Farhad Daftary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 265–280, reprinted in *India’s Islamic Traditions, 711–1750*, ed. Richard M. Eaton (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 285–310, Asani’s “The Khojahs of Indo-Pakistan: The Quest for an Islamic Identity,” *Journal: Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 8 (1987), pp. 31–41, and Raj Kumar Han’s, “The Legitimation of the Agha Khan’s Authority over the Khojas of Western India under Colonial Dispensation in the Nineteenth Century,” *Islamic Culture*, 71/3 (1997), pp. 19–35. As in the case of the Russians in Central Asia, the British in the subcontinent appear to have interpreted these groups’ claims of sacred ancestry (whether in terms of descent from *sayyids* or Caliphs or Muslim conquerors or saints) as indicative of particular “national” (e. g., “Arab”) origins, but also entertained conjectures that they reflected a particular caste group and its adoption of Islam.

shared label “*khoja*,” a host of anthropological studies of the social roles of saintly lineages elsewhere in the Muslim world – above all, North Africa – may help us better delineate what, among the *khojas* of Central Asia, is truly local, and what reflects much broader, perhaps universal, patterns of the genealogical domestication of sainthood in Islamic societies¹⁷; in any event, these and other examples should caution us against insisting too firmly on the distinctiveness of the *khoja* phenomenon among the Qazaqs, or among nomads, or in Central Asia, etc., even if we still have much to learn about the local and the particular in these contexts.

Of special and direct relevance for the study of the traditions presented here is evidence that *khoja* groups elsewhere in Central Asia appear to have retained consciousness of specific links to *khoja* communities among the Qazaqs, or along the middle Syr Daryā valley (including the region of Tashkent and other parts of present-day Uzbekistan), even after the Russian conquest. Material on *khoja* groups dwelling in the Zarafshan valley, in Mawarannahr, recorded soon after the Russian conquest, shows not only the prominence of these communities, but their close connections with groups reflected in the *nasab-nāmas* presented here; it shows that

¹⁷ See Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), a seminal, if somewhat positivistic, discussion of the roles of saintly lineages; Vincent Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), of relevance to the healing functions often assumed by *khojas*; Allan Christelow, “Saintly Descent and Worldly Affairs in Mid-Nineteenth Century Mascara, Algeria,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 12 (1980), pp. 139–155; Raymond Jamous, *Honneur et baraka: Les structures sociales traditionnelles dans le Rif* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981), esp. pp. 191–219 (of interest for its focus on the genealogical formulation of sacrality and on specific functions, above all healing and mediation, with attention also to the role of “l’ancêtre fondateur” [pp. 194–196], reminding us that in other cases too, the pivotal figure in the descent line claimed by the *khojas* is often not the Prophet or some other familiar early figure [i.e., a Caliph], but the intermediate saint who gives the lineage its name); and Rahal Boubrik, *Saints et société en Islam: La confrérie ouest saharienne Fādiliyya* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1999), exploring the complex of sacred family, Sufi lineage, and tribal formation, followed into the colonial era as well (with a good discussion of genealogical prestige, pp. 65–84). Of special value for comparative purposes is the study of Mondher Kilani, *La construction de la mémoire: Le lignage et la sainteté dans l’oasis d’El Ksar* (Paris: Éditions Labor et Fides, 1992; “Religions en perspective,” ed. Henry Pernet, No. 5), with its discussion of sacred lineages in an oasis community with close ties to neighboring nomads.

these *khoja* communities traced their lineage to figures such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, Awliyā Ata, Khurāsān Ata, and Aḥmad Yasavī, and that several groups recalled their move to the Zarafshan valley from their original homelands near Turkistān or in the Dasht-i Qipchāq¹⁸. It is less clear whether these groups' consciousness of such ties has survived the new political and 'national' borders drawn in Soviet times¹⁹, but when dealing with a phenomenon so self-consciously opposed to the modern, 'national' and 'ethnic' modes of defining communal identity, we must

¹⁸ See A. D. Grebenkin, "Melkiia narodnosti Zaravshanskago Okruga," in *Russkii Turkestan: Sbornik, izdannyi po povodu Politekhnikheskoi Vystavki* (Moscow, 1872), vyp. 2 (Stat'i po ètnografii, tekhnike, sel'skomu khoziaistvu i estestvennoi istorii), ed. V. N. Trotskii, pp. 110–119 (the *khojas* are discussed on pp. 117–119, with disparaging comments about the authenticity of claims by the *khoja* groups mentioned); Grebenkin's material was summarized in a survey of the Zarafshan district by L. N. Sobolev, "Geograficheskii i statisticheskii svedeniia o Zeravshanskom Okruge s prilozheniem spiska naselennykh mest Okruga," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva po otdeleniiu statistiki*, 4 (SPb., 1874), pp. 163–454 + *prilozheniia* [p. 311]. Among the *khoja* groups found in Zeravshan *okrug* outlined by Grebenkin and Sobolev are (1) the *Ak-siak-khodzha*, descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, who came from Khodzhen; (2) the *Ak-siak-khodzha-kazak*, descendants of Awliyā Ata, who came from Qarnāq, near Turkistān; (3) the *Khodzha-bakhshaish*, descendants of "the saintly Khorosan-ata," who came from the Dasht-i Qipchāq; and (4) the *Khodzha*, descendants of "Khodzha-Akhmed-isavi," who came from the environs of Turkistān.

¹⁹ The "Qarakhan" *khojas* (the "Karagan" mentioned by Geins) clearly retained this designation into the Soviet era; Karmysheva (*Ocherki*, pp. 113, 151) mentions groups by this name dwelling in villages of the Zarafshan valley, and among "Tajik-speaking Arabs" of the region of Kulab in Tajikistan (their "Arab" identity evidently reflects their understanding of their genealogical heritage). Another Uzbek ethnographer writes that "Karakhani" groups dwelling in the middle Zarafshān region, in the Bukharan oasis, and along the upper Qashqa Daryā, but concludes, from their self-designation, that they must be "the remainder of the multiracial population of the Karakhanid period (tenth to twelfth centuries);" see K. Shanijazov, "Early Elements in the Ethnogenesis of the Uzbeks," *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes*, ed. Wolfgang Weissleder (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1978), pp. 147–155 [p. 149]. Karmysheva likewise mentions a group called "Khojadevana" among the "Tajik-speaking Arabs" dwelling in the vicinity of Kulab in Tajikistan (*Ocherki*, p. 113); on the "Duana" *khojas* of the Syr Daryā basin, see Muminov, "Die Qoʻzas," pp. 196–198.

avoid the tendency to view the study of *khoja* groups in ethnic or national terms; we must also expand our notions regarding where material relevant to and helpful for our understanding of the *khoja* phenomenon, and of particular *khoja* traditions, may be discovered.

(III) Third, study of the *khoja* groups and of genealogical texts such as those presented here inevitably raises a host of problems associated with their classification. The first and most obvious, perhaps, is the basis for a classification: should it be based on texts, on social groupings, or on some combination? In principle, the two bases should coincide, with textual ‘branchings’ reflecting familial branchings, but in fact this is not always the case, and quite independent groups may appeal to the same generational branching in textual terms. If we consider that, in 1930, the number of *families* of “shaykhs” who regarded themselves as relatives of Aḥmad Yasavī alone was estimated at around 200²⁰, we may appreciate just how many versions of such *nasab-nāmas* might still be preserved (or reconstituted) among the still broader body of *khoja* groups appealing to different sources of hereditary sanctity; classification is thus essential in order to make sense of the material.

Classificatory schemes may vary, to begin with, from informant to informant, and different versions (or fragmentary versions) of the same ‘family’ of genealogical texts may suggest different classifications; as in the case of editing texts, researchers must walk a fine line between imposing a single classificatory scheme, however well-founded and well-reasoned on the basis of the best evidence, upon all data regarding the *khojas*, on the one hand, and approaching each and every tradition as entirely independent and *sui generis*. In addition, there are clearly multiple traditions about how many ‘basic’ *khoja* communities may be identified, and where particular groups stand with regard to one another, both in terms of simple relationship and in terms of classificatory ‘hierarchy’ (i. e., independent groups vs. sub-groups, etc.). More important, perhaps, are the inevitable historical changes in the understanding of *khoja* identity and classification; ways of classifying the *khoja* groups have no doubt changed along with ways of explaining precisely what constitutes *khoja* identity (see below), and the classifications developed today on the basis of oral and textual accounts should not be approached as fixed, age-old structures, but as evolving traditions reflecting both older lore and more recent understandings of kinship, ‘ethnicity,’ and religiously-defined communities.

²⁰ M. E. Masson, *Mavzolei Khodzha Akhmeda Iasevi* (Tashkent: Syr-Dar’inskoe otdelenie Obshchestva izucheniia Kazakstana, 1930), p. 19, n. 3.

In any case, it must be acknowledged that there is still no reliable and authoritative classificatory scheme for the *khoja* groups or for the *nasab-nāmas*; the present volume advances the classificatory project, but the discovery of previously unknown texts may reveal the need for revision, and it is important to acknowledge that classifying the groups and the texts is a work in progress. Earlier publications by the contributors have made this clear²¹, but other studies have advanced different specific classifications and groupings²². The uncertainties involve not only broad groupings, but specific interrelationships, and it is not uncommon for oral and written material to differ. This applies not only to well-recognized (but still poorly understood) groups (e.g., are the Sunaqs themselves *khojas*, or a separate group entirely?), but is especially problematical for the smaller groups and those less well-represented by textual traditions.

The latter point suggests another broader classificatory issue that is of special relevance for the texts in the present volume, namely the depth – in historical and social terms – of the distinction that may be drawn between *khoja* groups defined, evidently, in terms of descent from Islamizing heroes such as Ishāq Bāb and his brother and uncle, and *khoja* groups defined (to judge from their designations alone) from other types of saints, above all Sufi shaykhs, who in historical terms may be dated well after the time of those Islamizing warrior-saints (however mythically their time may be understood). What should we conclude, for instance, from the fact that certain groups, formally similar to those classed as *khojas*, trace

²¹ In his most extensive account prior to this volume, Muminov distinguishes nine major groups (several with further subdivisions), as well as other, smaller groups; see Aširbek K. Muminov, “Die Qožas: Arabische Genealogien in Kasachstan,” *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998; *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Bd. 216), pp. 193–209. Earlier works include somewhat different groupings.

²² See, for example, the ten groups identified by Mustafina, *Predstavleniia*, pp. 52–53 (on the basis of particular region), and the curious presentation, integrating *qozha* groups into and among the Qazaq tribes and *zhüzes*, in Zharı̇lqap Beysenbayüli, *Qazaq shezhiresi* (Almaty: Atamūra, 1994), pp. 95–101 (much in this work, in particular its account of its ‘sources’ [pp. 92–93], has an improbable ring, but it may become ‘authoritative’ nonetheless, even among some *khoja* groups themselves). Both these accounts include specific reference to groups and lineages reflected in the present volume.

their natural descent to the family of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī, without also stressing (or hiding, for that matter) his descent from Ishāq Bāb, while for other groups the focus is, rather, the earliest generations (Ishāq Bāb or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya), with Aḥmad Yasavī ignored or simply not highlighted, and for still other groups, Aḥmad Yasavī may be mentioned as another illustrious descendant of the lineage that produced the contemporary (or 19th-century) family, without being highlighted as somehow an ‘ancestral’ figure?

In some cases, that is, as with the texts and groups reflected here, the focus is clearly on the earliest figures, in terms of the ‘source’ of sacralization and of the focus of group identity. Yet in other cases, it seems equally clear that the ancestral ‘focal point’ of a sacred genealogy for a particular family was a saint of the 13th or 14th century, for example, even though that saint’s further descent from some earlier hallowed figure (a Caliph, the family of ‘Alī, etc.) might be mentioned; to be sure, some observers noting such traditions might highlight the earlier, better-known figure rather than the later saint, but usually the group’s focus of identity can be determined by other means, without the ‘distorting’ influence of such an observer’s report (based as it was on “a little learning”). Yet the fact remains that sacred descent is cumulative, and that a 13th-century Sufi saint may well have claimed (or had claimed for him) descent from one of the first four Caliphs; how then should we understand the significance of traditions that emphasize, respectively, the Caliph or the Sufi saint as the central factor in their sacrality?

The question is only complicated by the seeming predominance of traditions emphasizing descent from a particular Sufi saint. Indeed, groups identified in terms of such descent are well represented among early discussions of *khoja* groups. Writing in the latter 19th century, for instance, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khoja Tāshkandī noted the prominence of *shajaras* or *nasab-nāmas* among many “clans” (*ūrūgh*) in the vicinity of Tashkent; the specific examples he mentions, naming particular descent-groups, are the descendants of four well-known saints of Tashkent with prominent shrines, namely “Shaykhāvand-i Ṭahūr” (somewhat garbling the name of a 14th-century figure), Imām Qaffāl Shāshī (a 10th-century jurist), “Shaykh Zayndīn Kūh-i ‘Ārifān” (13th century), and the famous Zangī Ata (probably 13th century as well)²³; family traditions linked to each of these figures are still prominent today²⁴.

²³ *Tārīkh-i jadīda-yi Tāshkand*, MS IVANUZ 7791, f. 935b.

²⁴ See, for instance, the genealogical texts discussed for the third of these figures in V. A. Levina-Bulatova, “K istorii mavzoleia Zein-ad-Dina,” in *Arkhi-*

Yet another glimpse of particular *khoja* and *sayyid* families (see below on this distinction) is offered, from the mid-19th century, by the famous Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, who outlined the major groups of prominence in the khanate of Khoqand. The six groups he mentions include one, of ‘Umarī descent, linked to the family of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī; another is the “Kāshghar *khojas*,” descendants of the famous Makhdūm-i A‘zam; a third he lumps together as the “Turkestan *khojas*,” whom he regarded as belonging to “a pure line of *sayyids*,” and who he says dwell in the town of Turkestan or are “dispersed among the Qazaqs,” with whom “many of them nomadize, and because of their ignorance they have lost the respect of settled Central Asians.” Two other groups he identifies in terms of a specific locality (and in one case he links a group with a ‘medical’ occupational specialty); the sixth Valikhanov identifies as the descendants of Shaykh Khāvand-i Ṭahūr, and he adds, “Aside from these, there are also many other insignificant families who claim the title ‘*khoja*’”²⁵.

From still later, and from yet another region, we find frequent discussion of *khoja* groups in the memoirs of the famous Soviet Tajik writer Sadriddin Aini (1878–1954), in connection with his native village, near Bukhara. Aini first refers to *khojas* collectively, as a “community” on a par with three others (Tajiks, Arabs, and Urganjīs) who together comprised the population of his native town, and then subdivides the *khojas* into four “tribes” whose designations link them with specific ‘medieval’ figures (rather than with Caliphs or with ‘Alids); among the four are the Sayyid Atā’ī and Sāktaragī *khojas*, the former linked to a prominent Yasavī saint, the latter implicitly with a lineage of Kubravī shaykhs known from the 16th century. Members of the *khoja* groups, moreover, were regarded as healers, and employed the recitation of Sufi litanies and prayers in their curative efforts, suggesting again that the *khojas* described by Aini had

tekturnoe nasledie Uzbekistana (Tashkent, 1960), pp. 75–84, and in Amanulla Sāyyid Fāyzullakhoja-oghli, “Shāykh Zāyniddin Baba shājārāsī,” *Fān vā turmush*, 1991, No. 10, pp. 16–17, 21.

²⁵ Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, “O sostoianii Altyslara ili shesti vostochnykh gorodov kitaiskoi provintsii Nan-lu (Maloi Bukharii) v 1858-1859 godakh,” in his *Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh* (Alma-Ata: Glavnaia Redaktsiia Kazakhskoi Sovetskoi Ėntsiklopedii, 1985), vol. 3, pp. 97–218 [pp. 180–184; cf. pp. 49–51, from his journal].

more in common with the *khojas* whose traditions are presented here than simply their collective designation²⁶.

Similar problems are posed by linking groups, and group names, registered in earlier historical sources with groups and appellations known still today. This is clear in the case of the group, well-recognized historically, known as the “Awliyā-yi Qarākhān,” a designation that clearly connects them to the “Qarākhān” *khojas* identified in the traditions presented here with the lineage of Ishāq Bāb’s uncle ‘Abd al-Raḥīm; individuals identified as belonging to the “Awliyā-yi Qarākhān” are mentioned from the 17th century onward, but no genealogy recorded that early has survived that could confirm for us a confluence of modes of identifying and classifying the group (i.e., did they define themselves in terms of such descent in the 17th century?). When we turn to groups evidently linked with less prominent or poorly known Sufi figures of the past, these problems are compounded. We know, for instance of *khoja* groups named for, and descended from, saints such as “Baqsayīs Ata” or “Qawghān Ata,” two appellations clearly reflecting the names of historical shaykhs of the Yasavī order known (if poorly) from 17th- and 18th-century sources; yet there is quite conflicting data regarding the “Qaughandīq” *khojas*²⁷, for instance, and none collected so far explicitly links the group with Ibrāhīm Qawghānī, while traditions and classifications of the Baqsayīs *khojas*, and both oral and written traditions they preserve, appear to conceal any links to the 16th-century figure of Bakhshāyish Shaykh. A different sort of problem arises, finally, in connection with divergent traditions linked seemingly with a single Sufi figure; the celebrated Makhdūm-i A‘zam is the ancestor of several well-known and historically attested lineages (based near Samarqand, near Kāshghar, and elsewhere), but is also connected with *khoja* groups bearing different labels (e. g., Makhdūm *khojas* or Qīlīshtī *khojas*).

²⁶ Sadridin Aynī, *Yoddoshtho*, vol. 1 (Dushanbe: Adib, 1990), pp. 8-9 (and see pp. 37-40, 142-143); cf. the Russian translation, Sadridin Aini, *Bukhara (Vospominaniia)*, I (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1980), pp. 3-4 (and pp. 24-25, 110-112); *The Sands of Oxus: Boyhood Reminiscences of Sadridin Aini*, tr. John R. Perry and Rachel Lehr (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1998), pp. 31-34 (and pp. 58-61, 161-162).

²⁷ See Qūrbanoqzhaev, “Qozha Akhmet Yāsaui turalī angiz-anggimeler,” p. 134, and Muminov, “Die Qoʻzas,” p. 196.

What is important to keep in mind, in connection with these and other references to various kinds of descent groups, is that any particular formulation of the identity, character, or origin of a specific group may reflect only a single moment in a series of shifting genealogical focuses (or other types of focuses for framing social identity); our classifications may still be useful, even if they reflect such a limited regional or temporal perspective on a given group or tradition, but we should be wary of assuming that they are definitive or unchanging.

(IV) The latter discussion, regarding *khoja* groups defined in terms of descent from more or less well-known Sufi shaykhs, may be of particular interest with regard to the final issue addressed here, which is also one of the most complex and difficult: how should we understand the origins of the *khojas*, both in general and in terms of specific groups? Here the answer is most likely that different groups reflect different sorts of origins and different paths of social and conceptual development, and that a process of convergence has been at work in reducing various modes and sources of sacralized social cohesion and group identity to the single rubric of *khoja* status (which is then further reduced to the status of a ‘universal’ marker of a particular kind of descent, i.e., descent from the Prophet or from ‘Alī or from one of the first four Caliphs, etc.). Yet here again, while the reductionist process has proceeded along one path, we may presume, among the *khoja* communities themselves, scholarship on these groups has added another layer of reductionist essentialism, with sweeping definitions of what a *khoja* is. It is thus important, I believe, that those interested in this question of origins, and in the specific investigation of the material presented in the present volume, be conscious of the heavy tendency toward reductionism and essentialism in both contexts. Understanding the *khoja* phenomenon and its genealogical traditions will be best served if we examine such material carefully and critically, informed both by historically observable patterns and by sociological phenomena similar to the *khoja* groups elsewhere, and if we avoid approaching it with fixed assumptions about what *khojas* were or are.

There is, of course, a long tradition of making such sweeping definitions, and of making fine distinctions between what “*khoja*” signifies and what other terms signify²⁸; a particularly common distinction, for instance,

²⁸ For early discussions of the *khojas* with explanations of their origins, see Rychkov, *Topografiia Orenburgskaia*, and the excerpt of his account in A. I. Dobrosmyslov, *Goroda Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti. Kazalinsk, Perovsk, Turkestan, Au-*

is between the descent implied by the title *khoja* vs. that implied by the title *sayyid* (though this is belied by many explanations, such as a 17th-century account of one of the Jūybārī shaykhs of Bukhārā, which refers to him as a *sayyid*, and then explains, “in that country, they call a *sayyid* ‘*khwāja*’,” affirming a simple, direct equivalence²⁹). While there may be some degree of truth in all such identifications, to explain the term *khoja* simply as referring to “local Arab descendants of the Prophet” or of the first four Caliphs, etc., already presumes that we know clearly what the term means and that it has always meant the same thing; in fact neither is the case, in all likelihood, and in any event, it seems wrong, or at least premature, to privilege such an understanding.

It is also important to consider the proper social framework for situating the origins and identities of the *khoja* communities, insofar as these communities have overlapped, historically, with a wide range of other modes of communal identification, of which the current national modes are only the most recent. On the one hand, it is important to recognize that the *khoja* phenomenon took shape well before the national identities that solidified during the Soviet era took shape, and that it took shape on the basis of social principles quite unlike the ‘ethnically’ and linguistically-framed notions of communal identity privileged in the Soviet era; the *khoja* groups, with their religiously-framed genealogical approach to communal identity, are of particular interest, indeed, precisely because they cut across ‘national’ boundaries and posed an implicit challenge to

lie-ata i Chimkent (Tashkent: Tipo-litografiia O. A. Portseva, 1912), p. 112 (*khojas* are descendants of the Prophet); E. F. Timkovskii [E. Timkovski], *Voyage a Péking, a travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821*, ed. J. Klaproth (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré Père et Fils, 1827 [translated from the Russian original published in St. Petersburg in 1824]), II, p. 385 (*khojas* are descendants of the Companions of the Prophet); N. V. Khanykov, *Bokhara: Its Amir and its People*, tr. Clément A. De Bode (London: James Madden, 1845), pp. 234–235 (*khojas* are descendants of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, or of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī by wives other than the Prophet’s daughters, with *sayyids* being descendants of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī by the daughters of the Prophet); Valikhanov, “O sostoianii Altyskhara” (*khojas* and *sayyids* are both descendants of the Prophet, and are distinguished from “*shaykhs*,” who are descendants of the Caliphs and of “various holy men,” though with some other applications of the titles). The Soviet-era references to *khojas* noted above include similar brief definitions.

²⁹ Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Muḥsin Najī Naṣrābādī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Asāṭir, 1378/1999), I, p. 93.

Soviet (and post-Soviet nationalist) modes of framing group identity and solidarity. On the other hand, it is important also not to pretend that the social frameworks in which the *khoja* groups developed can somehow be reconstituted today, or that the relatively new ‘national’ framing of *khoja* identities will not itself have a major impact on *khoja* self-conceptions. Nevertheless, as identities harden, and are reshaped to reflect the new national borders in Central Asia, it will be important to remain conscious of other historically-grounded social processes that may have given rise to these groups.

Regarding the character and origin of the *khoja* identity, finally, it should be clear that from the standpoint of the *khoja* communities themselves, traditions such as those reflected in the texts presented here are themselves sufficient explanation of their origins and identity. Not unexpectedly, scholars cannot take these traditions at face value, and there have been a few earlier efforts to suggest plausible origins for these groups in other types of social processes. Some may be readily dismissed on various grounds (such as explanations that seek to make the *khojas* distant descendants of some ancient favored ‘ethnic’ group, or at least the distinctive bearers of some cultural feature that has ‘survived’ through centuries of changes). More appealing, for various reasons, are those that link the fundamentally religious character of *khoja* identity with religiously-defined communities, above all various groups linked in some way with Sufism; such explanations are of particular interest also in view of the Sufi environment in which the earliest known versions of the narrative, and of the genealogical framework, that lie at the heart of the present volumes.

One such explanation was offered by the Soviet ethnographer Karmysheva, who noted the phenomenon of exclusive tribal affiliations to particular Sufi *īshāns* or *pīrs*, and suggested that *khoja* groups were linked with this process³⁰. To be sure, her description of such communal attachments was quite vague, and she did not offer any explanation for the communal attachments themselves; it may be suggested that greater historical depth might provide some answers in this regard, through historical patterns of communal affiliations with Sufi shaykhs in the framework of the Islamization of nomadic communities in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions. Another, related explanation was offered by V. N. Basilov in his studies of

³⁰ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, pp. 152–153; see also her “Ètnograficheskaia gruppa ‘tiurk’ v sostave uzbekov (Istoriko-ètnograficheskie dannye),” *Sovetskaia ètnografiia*, 1960, No. 1, pp. 3–22 [p. 14, n. 46].

the Türkmen ‘holy tribes;’ Basilov suggested that these ‘tribes’ had their origins in Sufi communities, through the transformation of groups defined in terms of the bonds of Sufi organizations, into communities understood as linked by kinship, hereditarily. We need not share Basilov’s pejorative characterization of this process (which remains hypothetical, of course) as indicative of the ‘debasement’ of Sufism, to appreciate the potential value of this explanation as a guideline for future research.

Such theories are especially attractive with regard to *khoja* groups whose namesakes can be identified with historically identifiable Sufi shaykhs. These may include, ultimately, even those linked to warrior-saints credited with Islamization (after all, the groups reflected in the texts presented here clearly honor the legacy, if not strictly speaking the direct ancestry, of Aḥmad Yasavī, while a Sufi figure such as Bakhshāyish is known also to have been assigned an Islamizing role in certain narratives). In any case the wide reach of Sufism and Sufi communities in Central Asia from the 13th through the 19th centuries, and the close ties between Sufi communities, shrines, sacred lineages, and the sacralized labor of craft organizations, provides multiple avenues for the impact of Sufi organizational frameworks upon broader social structures. In this connection, the specific direction of the transformation – i.e., the natural descendants of a Sufi shaykh maintaining, or claiming to maintain, his legacy, or the spiritual heirs of a shaykh, belonging to a community defined in terms of adherence to a Sufi tradition through a chain of initiatic transmission, coming to be understood as a group bound by natural descent and kinship – is perhaps less important than the simple confluence of organizational frameworks. In any case, the organizational role of religiously-defined social bonds is a common phenomenon, and it should not surprise us – or be excluded from plausible theories of the origins of the *khoja* groups – to find a community originally defined on religious or sectarian grounds developing into a community defined along more ‘natural’ lines, including above all the lines drawn with the idiom of (fictive) kinship and natural descent.

In the end, uncertainty regarding a suitable strategy for explaining *khoja* origins, and potential discrepancies between scholarly explanations and those of the *khoja* groups themselves, also require us to keep in mind that ‘origins’ are not always keys to identity. That is, exploring the historical processes that produced the *khoja* groups may at times conflict with the self-perception of those groups, and scholarship must take account of this as well. The *khojas*, after all, are what they say they are today, and what they say they are will inevitably have a ‘historical’ component, but

that component may or may not have anything to do with the historical origins or process of development we can explore or suggest in scholarly terms. Those historical processes are still worth exploring, however, not by way of challenging these communities' own notions of their identities, but by way of understanding broader patterns of historical development with regard to social and religious groups; such an understanding will itself be incomplete, of course, if it pretends to ignore contemporary *khojas*' notions of self-identity as one part of that historical development.

Devin DeWeese

Bloomington, August 2007

PREFACE

The present volume contains six important genealogical texts from the Qozhas (*khwājas*) of Southern Kazakhstan, which are presented here in the Turkic and Persian originals as well as in Russian translation. These texts link the origin of the Qozha families in Kazakhstan to the Arab conquest of Central Asia, and especially to the activities of Ishāq Bāb and other saintly figures, about whose historical personalities we have little information; and they put special emphasis on the supposedly uninterrupted bloodline going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya (d. around 700–701), a son of the fourth Caliph ‘Alī (d. 661).

Genealogy has been of utmost importance for Kazakh societies, for the blood line determines the social, legal and political position of a given family or clan. To be sure, today much genealogical knowledge has been lost, and not all Kazakhs will be able to enumerate their patrilineal ancestry down to the seventh generation, as was common under the customary law of *zhetī-ata*. Nevertheless Kazakh identity is still defined by “one’s place in the ancestral kinship network”, as Bruce G. Privratsky noted in his excellent study on Kazakh religion and collective memory¹.

The Qozhas of Kazakhstan are culturally as well as socially part of Kazakhstani society. As a distinct descent group, however, they regard themselves as standing outside the traditional tribal structure of the three former Kazakh hordes and are therefore often referred to as “non-Kazakhs”². While the Kazakh tribal confederations of the Great, Middle, and Junior Hordes are regarded as the “Black Bone” (*qara süyek*), the Qozhas (as well as the *Töre*, the offspring of Chingīz Khān) are considered honor groups belonging to the “White Bone” (*aq süyek*)³. Accordingly, the Qozha groups are not included in the numerous Kazakh genealogies (*Qazaq shezhīresī*) which have been published in the last decade⁴.

¹ Bruce G. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan – Kazak Religion and Collective Memory* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001), pp. 115ff., 61–62.

² Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 34–35, 38.

³ Abdizhappar Abdakimov called them the “Noble Bone” (*asil süyek*) in his *Istoriia Kazakhstana s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* (Almaty: Qazaqstan, 2003), p. 428.

⁴ See for instance *Qazaqrularıńıń shezhīresī (ush tarau dan quralghan zhinaq)*, “Qalamger” shıgharmashılıq alqası (Tselinograd qalası, 1991); Z. Sädibekov, *Qazaq shezhīresī* (Tashkent: Özbekistan, 1994); Kh. Arghınbaev, M. Mұқанov, V. Vostrov, *Qazaq shezhīresī khaqında* (Almaty: Atamūra, 2000).

The genre of genealogical charters and historical narratives on Qozha families in what is now Kazakhstan goes back at least to the late 17th, and most probably even to sources from the 16th century. These oldest available Central Asian manuscripts of this genre are currently being edited by Devin DeWeese, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, and Ashirbek K. Muminov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Almaty, Kazakhstan and will soon appear as Volume One of this publication. The texts collected here, by contrast, all stem, in their present redactions, from the 19th and early 20th centuries, and are thus little helpful for establishing the historical origins of the Qozhas and the emergence of that genre. However, they reveal interesting information about how Qozha families presented their origin, and thus legitimized their spiritual, social and political power, in the 19th century, when the Russian Empire and the Khanate of Khoqand competed for the area of Southern Kazakhstan, as well as for our understanding of the Qozha groups under Russian rule. It should be noted that similar genealogies of saintly families of supposedly Arab descent are known from many other regions of Central Asia as well as from India, where they played similar roles in Muslim society.

In pre-Soviet times, Qozhas fulfilled eminent religious and social duties in Kazakh society and were held in very high esteem. They performed the religious services at ritual celebrations, acted as healers, and were addressed to settle disputes⁵. Accordingly, the relationship between Qozha families and Kazakhs of “Black Bone” descent can be described as one of patron and client. In addition, the “Kazakh” Qozhas have been the caretakers of Sufi shrines, including of Kazakhstan’s most renowned mausoleum, that of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasawī (a Sufi shaykh mostly attributed to the 12th century) in the city of Turkestan⁶. As a result of these functions

⁵ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 74–113, 141–146, 193–202, et passim; DeWeese, Devin, “The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th Century Central Asia: Descent Groups Linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters,” in: *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 31 (1999), pp. 507–530, pp. 527–528, № 44.

⁶ DeWeese, “The Politics of Sacred Lineages,” pp. 514–518; A.K. Muminov, “Die Qoʻzas – Arabische Genealogien in Kasachstan,” in: *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998), pp. 195–199. In pre-Soviet times, local rulers and their courts regularly performed pilgrimages to this mausoleum, and some of them chose the vicinity of the shrine as their burial site [A. K. Muminov,

and the ensuing prerogatives, many Qozhas possessed large properties⁷. In Soviet times, the Qozhas were persecuted (especially between 1927 and 1937) and expropriated. In addition, Qozha members had to deny their genealogical identity, since the Soviets did not recognize them as a distinct group. In consequence, Qozhas had to declare themselves as “Kazakh” or “Uzbek” in their passports⁸.

Since the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1991, the Qozhas have recovered some of their former prestige, not at least with the help of these genealogies. Many Kazakhs still believe that Qozhas possess a spiritual “gift” (*darin*) to cure and protect people, and that they are the guardians of “the clear or pure way” (*taza jol*), i. e. of the Kazakh way of Islam. “Doing Qozha-ness” (*qozhaliq qiladi*) comprises recitation of the Qur’ān, the production of amulets, the performance of spiritual healing, the saying of blessings for the client population, and to make one’s living from these occupations; and some Kazakhs still take Qozhas as their spiritual masters⁹. However, the Qozhas are no longer the unchallenged guardians and teachers of sacred knowledge. With the post-Soviet development of Islamic education in mosques and madrasas and the influx of Islamic interpretations from abroad, the teaching of Islam is no longer restricted to the private transmission of knowledge, and the Qozha interpretation of Islam faces severe criticism from more scriptural and legally oriented trends of Islam¹⁰. Also,

“Veneration of Holy Sites of the Mid-Sīrdar’ya Valley: Continuity and Transformation”, in: *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, [Vol. 1], ed. by Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), pp. 364–365]. The shrine is well described by the art historian Nagīm-Bek Nurmukhammedov, *Mavzolei Khodzhu Akhmeda Iasevi* (Almaty: Izdatel’stvo “Öner,” 1980).

⁷ DeWeese, “The Politics of Sacred Lineages,” pp. 511, 528, № 44; Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 101, 162–167; Muminov, “Veneration,” pp. 365–366; Muminov, “Die Qo’zhas,” pp. 195–196.

⁸ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 2, 37, 39.

⁹ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 186, 187, 194, 199, 74ff., 98–99, 102.

¹⁰ A. Sh. Nurmanova, A. K. Izbairov, “Islamic Education in Soviet and Post-Soviet Kazakhstan (1917–2003),” in: *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States*, ed. by Michael Kemper, Raoul Motika, Stefan Reichmuth (London: Routledge, forthcoming); Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Popular Literature in Kazakhstan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Springfield, Virginia: Dunwoody Press, 2007).

new Kazakh “saints” are emerging who adopt New Age theologies or Soviet parapsychology to attract an audience¹¹.

The Qozhas also lost much of their social prestige and economic power when they lost control over the shrine of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasawī to the state, which turned this architectural monument into a museum. The significance of Yasawī’s fame as a Turkic Muslim saint is still increasing. The shrine attracts some 200.000 pilgrims yearly, constituting a “Second Mecca” for the local population¹². The state controls the shrine by appointing the director of the mausoleum complex, and it uses the shrine as a symbol for Kazakh national identity, for example on Kazakh banknotes. In addition, a huge International Kazakh-Turkish University bearing the name of Aḥmet Yasawī, as well as a *Centre of Yasawian Studies* (*Aḥmet Yasawi Ortaliği*) for the study and spread of “Yasawian culture”, have emerged in the direct vicinity of the shrine itself, laying claim to the legacy of Yasawī.

Aḥmad Yasawī figures as an ancestor of the Qozha families in almost all genealogies published in this volume, the only exception being the *Tarjuma-yi nasab-nāma* (text No. 4). However, other persons – be they legendary or historical – are described by the genealogical lore in much more detail. The prestige of most Qozha families is derived from their assumed descent from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya (Muḥammed Änäpiya in modern Kazakh). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya was a son of the fourth caliph ‘Alī, who was the cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and the husband of Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima. However, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya was born by another wife of ‘Alī, called al-Ḥanafīya (Khawla); accordingly, the Qozhas of his descent are no direct descendants of the Prophet himself, although they sometimes consider themselves *sayyids* as well¹³. ‘Alī is thus central to the Qozhas’ genealogies, but this does not imply Shī‘ī tendencies; the

¹¹ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 182ff.

¹² Muminov, “Veneration,” p. 365; Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, pp. 3, 31, 53ff; see also Muminov, “Die Qožas,” p. 197.

¹³ Sayyids are sometimes subsumed under the label of Qozhas (DeWeese, “The Politics of Sacred Lineages,” p. 528, № 46; Muminov, “Die Qožas,” pp. 199–200; Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, p. 99; idem, “‘Turkistan Belongs to the Qojas’: Local Knowledge of a Muslim Tradition,” in: *Devout Societies vs. Impious States? Transmitting Islamic Learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Stéphane A. Dudoignon (Berlin; Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004), pp. 161–212.

Qozha groups regard themselves as Sunnīs. In addition to the twelve (out of some seventeen) Kazakh-speaking Qozha communities claiming to be the offspring of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, others claim descent from the three other “rightly guided caliphs” Abū Bakr (d. 634), ‘Umar (d. 644) or ‘Uthmān (d. 656), or from the Prophet Muḥammad himself. What all these Qozha groups have in common is their assumed Arabic origin¹⁴.

This claim of Arabic origin is intrinsically linked to legends of the Islamisation of Central Asia. All genealogies gathered here tell, in slightly different ways, how the Qozhas’ presumed ancestors ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bāb and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Bāb, Ishāq Bāb and ‘Abd al-Jalīl Bāb led the Arab-Muslim armies from Syria to Central Asia, where they defeated the local pagan or Christian and Zoroastrian rulers. These military expeditions are presented as holy campaigns (*ghazā, jihād*). The ancestors of the Qozhas fought side by side with the *tubba’ at-tābi’in*, the venerated generation of Muslims who had been in touch with the followers of the companions of Muḥammad. Accordingly, the Qozhas enjoy not only a sacred genealogy, but also the glory of victorious fighting for the sake of God as well as proximity to the earliest Arab Muslims. Some of the cities which the Qozha ancestors allegedly conquered for Islam, or which they newly founded in Central Asia – for instance Qarā-Āsmān, see text No. 5 – were known as centers of Qozha families for long periods. Some of the genealogies provide depictions of the shrines of Qozha ancestors, thus marking what may be labeled a “sacral topography” of Central Asia.

Another element adding to the prestige of the Qozhas is their good relationship with two legendary figures, Khidr (al-Khaḍir) and Elias (Ilyās). Khidr is probably the most popular saint in the whole of the Islamic world. He is believed to visit people in order to assist them in their hour of need¹⁵. The prophet Elias is often found together with Khidr in Islamic tradition, or even considered to be his double. Sufis are regarded as possessing special blessing if they are honored by a visit of Khidr or Elias. The Qozha genealogies depict almost all important Qozhas as maintaining conversations with

¹⁴ DeWeese (“The Politics of Sacred Lineages,” p. 528, № 46) discusses this assumed origin and points to respective studies (*ibid.*, № 45). Oral materials can differ significantly from the written genealogies. In his “‘Turkistan Belongs to the Qojas’”, Privratsky expounds on several living Qozhas whose knowledge of their ancestors and of other Qozha-groups is not mainly based on written genealogies.

¹⁵ For Khidr see now the study of Patrick Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr – Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut, 2000).

them; conversations with Khidr could last up to seventeen or even ninety years (as described here in texts No. 3 and 4)¹⁶.

The genealogies are written on paper scrolls, which are occasionally more than eight meters long. These texts have been regarded as holy relics; in one case the text of the genealogy itself describes how the manuscript (here: the *Ta'rikh-nāma*, text No. 3) was transmitted from generation to generation together with other legitimizing objects, like the traditional Sufi cloak and the prayer rug.

Many of the genealogical manuscripts are still in private possession of Qozha families, while others are kept in manuscript collections of State libraries in Central Asia. Our publication aims at making these texts available to a broader academic public as well as preserving them for the Qozhas themselves, for without their support this publication would not have been possible. The gathering of the manuscript copies, their collation and editing as well as their scholarly commentaries have been performed by Prof. Dr. Ashirbek Muminov (Almaty) and Dr. Zikiriya Zhandarbek (Turkistan). They were assisted by Dr. Durbek Rahimjanov and Dr. Shavasil Ziyadov (both Tashkent). Dr. Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Assal Abbasova (Tashkent) have made valuable contributions to this publication in their function as scientific editors. Prof. Dr. Devin DeWeese had the excellent idea to combine our work on the *nasab-namas* and found a sponsor for the publication. We would like to thank all of them for their immense efforts. The work has been carried out as part of the international research project “Disputes on Muslim Authority in Central Asia” (2000–2002), which enjoyed the generous support of the *Swiss National Science Foundation*¹⁷. Publication of this volume was supported through a grant from the *Office of the Vice-Provost for Research* at Indiana University.

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¹⁶ These constant conversations over years constitute a rather untypical form of contact in the written and oral accounts about Khidr and Elias in Islamic tradition; they deserve further investigation.

¹⁷ For other published results of this project see *Manāqib-i Dūkchī Īshān* (Anonim zhitiia Dūkchī Īshāna – predvoditel'ia Andizhanskogo vosstaniia 1898 goda), introduction, transl., and commentaries by B. M. Babajanov, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen (Tashkent-Bern-Almaty: Daik-Press, 2004); B. M. Babajanov, A. K. Muminov, A. fon Kiugel'gen (eds.), *Disputy musul' manskikh religioznykh avtoritetov v Tsentral'noi Azii v XX veke* (Almaty: Daik-Press 2007).

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

«Благородные» семейства в Центральной Азии

Часть населения в составе мусульманских народов Центральной Азии (казахов, каракалпаков, киргизов, таджиков, туркмен, узбеков и уйгуров) выделяется из остальной массы людей своим сакральным, благородным происхождением. Ее наиболее обобщенное название – *ақ-суйак* (от тюрк. – «белая кость»)¹. Она обычно противопоставляет себя основной массе народа – *қара*². Круг избранных, благородных семейств разнообразен и слабо изучен (см. выше раздел «Foreword»), среди них можно выделить следующие группы: *х*аджа*, саййид, *тұра*, *шāх*, *амір-зāда* (амір, мір), *худāванд-зāда* (*х*āнд*, *х*āн*, *хāн*), *йшāн*, *маҳдūм* (*маҳзūм*, *маҳсūм*, *магтым*), *ата* и другие. Эти семейства претендуют на происхождение от самого Пророка Мухаммада (ум. в 632 г.), его сподвижников и местных святых. Есть немало людей, которые, называя себя «избранными», тем не менее, не могут определить своей группы, перечислить конкретных имен своих предков. Такая тенденция резко усилилась в годы советской власти, когда сословия как бы были забыты. Однако большинство семей сохранили самосознание, реликвии (письменные источники, материальные артефакты) и устные традиции.

По использованию в быту арабского языка «благородные» семейства отличаются от этнографической группы «среднеазиатские арабы»³ тем, что они практически не владеют языком предков.

¹ *Абашин С. Н. Ок-суяк // Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи. Энциклопедический словарь / Под ред. С. М. Прозорова. Т. I. М.: Восточная литература РАН, 2006. С. 318–319. Среди казахов к ақ-суйек принадлежат также потомки Чингиз-хāна (1204–1227).*

² Другие варианты: «қāрача», «қāралар», «қāра халқ», что дословно переводится как «черни», однако это слово на самом деле идентично *‘амм*, *‘амма*, *‘авāмм* – «основной народ», «широкие массы», т. е. оно является антиподом понятия *хāсс*, *хавāсс* – «избранные», «элита».

³ О среднеазиатских арабах см.: *Волин С. Л.* К истории среднеазиатских арабов // Труды Института востоковедения. Вып. 36: Труды второй сессии Ассоциации арабистов. М.-Л., 1941. С. 111–127; *Кармышева Б. Х.* Среднеазиатские арабы // Народы мира. Т. II: Народы Средней Азии и Казахстана. М., 1963. С. 582–596; *Амирьянц И. А.* Этническое развитие среднеазиатских арабов // Этнические процессы у национальных групп Средней Азии и Казахстана. М., 1980. С. 213–226; *Barfield T.* The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan. Pastoral

Наличие традиционных оседлых и кочевых обществ в Центральной Азии обуславливает разнообразные формы проявления феномена священных семейств в них.

Кочевое общество и *ақ-суйак*

Авторитет *ақ-суйак* выражается по-особому в среде кочевых народов с их родо-племенной структурой, где принадлежность человека к какому-либо роду превращается в один из реальных факторов при определении места личности в социуме. Именно такая общественная психология позволила *ақ-суйак* в условиях долговременного доминирования кочевников в Центральной Азии организоваться в отдельные рода, племена и сохранить свое привилегированное положение. Нужно отметить, что родо-племенной строй создавал благоприятную почву для сохранения самосознания и собственных культурных традиций ассимилированных кочевниками-тюрьками разнообразных устойчивых этнических и религиозных меньшинств путем их выделения в отдельное племенное образование. Например, среди казахов известны отдельные племена, которых принято называть «казахами, не вошедшими в состав трех жузов» («үш жүзге жатпайтын қазақ рулары»). В их число знатоки казахских устных генеалогий чаще всего включают 15 племен (ру): *х*аджа* (по-казахски – «қожа»), *төре*, *сунақ*, *көлеген*, *төленгіт*, *қараша*, *құрама*, *қалпақ*, *қырғызәлі*, *ноғай-қазақ*, *шала-қазақ*, *қатаған*, *қотан*, *қарақойлы*, *созақ*⁴. Из их числа

Nomadism in Transition. University of Texas, 1983; *Мадамиджанова З.* Арабы Южного Таджикистана (историко-этнографические очерки). Душанбе, 1995. Правда, в последние годы, по словам информантов, среди кашкадарьинских арабов, особенно среди обогатившихся в результате либерализации экономики в начале 1990-х годов, появилась тенденция самоидентифицировать себя с «знатного происхождения арабами», чего не было прежде.

Об их языке см.: *Буркина Н. Н., Измайлова М. М.* Некоторые данные по языку арабов кишлака Джугары Бухарского округа и кишлака Джейнау Кашкадарьинского округа Узбекской ССР // Записки Коллегии востоковедов. Т. V. Л., 1930. С. 527–549; *Церетели Г. В.* Арабские диалекты в Средней Азии. Т. I. Тбилиси, 1956; *Ахведиани В. Г.* Бухарский арабский диалект. Тбилиси, 1985.

⁴ *Сайдаққожа Жүсіпұлы.* Жүзге кірмейтін қазақ рулары // Қазақ шежіресі. Алматы: Атамұра-Қазақстан, 1994. С. 95–107; *Сәдібеков З.* Қазақ шежіресі (Жауапты редактор Шымыр Құрымбайұлы). Ташкент: Өзбекстан, 1994. С. 132–133. Имеются также более мелкие группы – потомки Бабә Туктй Шаш-

особого статуса «белой кости» (ақ-сүйек) в казахском обществе удаивались чаще всего *төре* и *қожса*. Их права и привилегии среди остальных казахских родов защищены нормами обычного права. Согласно обычному праву «Жеті жарғы», за убийство *төре*, являвшегося *хāном* или *султāном*, и *қожса*, являвшегося *пйром* какого-либо рода (*ел*), на родственников убийцы налагался штраф, превышавший в семь раз сумму штрафа за убийство обычного человека. За убийство рядового *төре* или *қожса* налагался двукратный штраф⁵.

В традиционном кочевом обществе за *төре* признавалось их право на высшую светскую власть, а за *хәаджа* – на духовную власть. В связи с этим возникают вопросы: насколько традиционно явление *хәаджа*, когда оно начало формироваться и где находятся очаги этих процессов? Проведенные исследования показывают, что данное явление широко распространено среди туркмен и казахов. Наоборот, киргизам, основные массы которых перекочевали в горы Тянь-Шаня только в XVI в., оно почти не известно⁶. По идентичности названий каракалпакских и казахских *хәаджа* можно предположить, что это явление было заимствовано каракалпаками в пору их нахождения в присырдарьинских районах и имеет древние корни и региональные особенности.

Казахские *хәаджа*

Об особом месте *хәаджа*, например, в религиозной истории казахов свидетельствуют слова отца известного поэта Абая (ум. в 1904 г.) – Құнанбая Ыскенбаева (ум. в 1885 г.), которыми он охарактеризовал

ты ‘Азйз «Ихләс-ātā» (был женат на дочери Исхәк-бāба – Бйбй Марййа-āнā; бāбā-қожса, қожса-туқлас, ноғай-қазақ, манғытай, санғыл), той-қожса, думбымылтық-қожса (қуйрықты-қожса, мылтық-қожса, сүйір-қожса, сарт-қожса, қарнақтық, қарашықтық, шобанақтық), мәді-қожса, занимающие близкое положение к собственно *хәаджа*.

⁵ Артықбаев Ж. О. «Жеті жарғы» – мемлекет және құқық ескерткіші (зерттелуі, деректер, тарихы, мәгіні). Оқу құралы. Алматы: Заң әдебиеті, 2004. С. 101.

⁶ Семейство Шāкир-ходжаевых (‘Алим-хāн-тұра Шāкиров, Йўсуф-хāн-тұра ибн ‘Алим-хāн-тұра Шāкиров и известный теолог Центральной Азии, родной брат первого ‘Али-хāн-тұра Сағўйи-Шāкиров), представлявшее Кыргызстан в САДУМе (1943–1992), происходит от ферганской ветви саййидов-потомков Бурхāн ад-дйна Қилича. По роду *хәаджа* – *чала-қазāқ*, проживавших в районе Тарāза и кооптированных в состав киргизских племен *ичкилик*, требуются дополнительные исследования.

свой народ во время *хаджжа* в Мекке (в 1879 г.) на приеме у шерифа города: «В нашей мирской жизни все решают чингизиды, в религиозной – *х^ааджа*» (Тіріміздің билігі – төреде, өліміздің билігі – қожада)⁷.

Если общее количество казахов, не вошедших в состав жузов, оценивается примерно в 300 тыс., то казахские *х^ааджа* вместе с *төре* и *сунақ* составляют около 40 тыс. человек⁸.

Казахские знатоки генеалогий называют всего 17 крупных родов казахских *х^ааджа*: *аққорған*, *ақ-қожа*, *бақсайыс*, *хорасан*, *дуана*, *сейіт*, *қылышты*, *сабылт*, *қылауыз*, *жүсіп-қожа*, *қарахан*, *керейіт*, *шәріп-қожа*, *қырық-садақ*, *түрікпен-қожа*, *сунақ* и *смай-қожа*⁹. Из них представители 12 родов считают себя потомками Мұхаммада ибн ал-Ханафийа (ум. в 81/700–01 г.). Если восемь из них однозначно называют своим предком вышеупомянутого имама (*аққорған*, *ақ-қожа*, *бақсайыс*, *хорасан*, *дуана*, *жүсіп-қожа*, *қарахан*, *түрікпен-қожа*), то остальные четыре рода имеют и другие версии о своем родоначальнике (*сейіт*, *қылышты*, *сабылт* и *қылауыз*)¹⁰.

Сакральная история потомков Мұхаммада ибн ал-Ханафийа

В среде казахских *х^ааджа* бытует сакральная история (*Насаб-нāма*), рассказывающая о происхождении их рода и о том, как этот род переселился в Центральную Азию. Она же частично бытует также в среде узбекских, уйгурских, каракалпакских *х^ааджа* и туркменских *аулад*.

⁷ Көпейұлы, Мәшһүр Жүсіп. Қазақ шежіресі. Өзірлеген Сәрсенбі Дәуітұлы. Алматы, 1993. С. 10. Фраза буквально звучит так: «Этой нашей (светской) жизнью ведает *төре*, а нашей смертью (религиозной жизнью) ведает *х^ааджа*».

⁸ Абдурахманов (*х^ааджа* из рода *хорасан*, живущий в г. Караганде). [Об истории саййидов или ходжей]. Рукопись Международного Казахско-Турецкого университета. Тетрадь первая, лист 20 (на каз. яз.). Имеется мнение, что количество *қожа* достигло 500 тыс. чел. (устная информация Сейітомара Саттарова. Алматы, 2008).

⁹ Там же, лист 34. Также известны мелкие роды *мүслім-қожа*, *құтайбан-қожа*, *садат-қожа*, *қонақ-қожа*, *барғана-қожа*, *шайбан-қожа*, *сауыт-қожа*, *шәмші-қожа*, *сыық-қожа*, *қосым-қожа* и др.

¹⁰ Между прочим, известный казахский историк и этнолог Чокан Валиханов (ум. в 1864 г.) был с рождения наречен Мұхаммад-Ханафийа, что было отмечено в текстах его надгробия, установленного по приказу генерал-губернатора Туркестана фон Кауфмана (Центральный государственный архив Республики Узбекистан. Ф. И-1. О. 20. Д. 4119. № 6).

Одними из первых на бытование этой сакральной истории на территории Центральной Азии обратили внимание члены Туркестанского кружка любителей археологии (ТКЛА), которые и осуществили издание одной из ее многочисленных версий (*Родословная Карахана*)¹¹. В ходе наших исследований нам удалось обнаружить в фонде И-71 «Туркестанский кружок любителей археологии (1895–1917 гг.)» в Центральном государственном архиве Республики Узбекистан (ЦГА РУз) оригинал рассказа, на основе которого было выполнено вышеупомянутое издание. Сличение этого списка с издаваемыми в данной книге шестью текстами показало, что рассказ является сокращенным переводом на *турки* авторского сочинения ‘Абд ал-‘Азиза ибн Кātта-х‘āджа (XIII/XIX в.) «Насаб-нāма-йи манзūма», вероятно, сделанным неким Ёрāз-Муҳаммадом (см. подробно Раздел № VI). Однако активно начатые исследования российских краеведов, связанные с обнаружением, публикацией уникальных текстов сакральных историй и изучением мира культовых мест, вскоре пошли на убыль¹². Этот процесс, видимо, был непосредственно связан с громкими успехами в деле изучения мусульманского периода истории Центральной Азии на основе данных авторитетных письменных источников. Эти нарративные источники во многом противоречили той картине исламизации Центральной Азии, рисуемой сакральными рассказами, а в большинстве случаев даже наотрез отвергали ее.

Научное забвение и молчание в этой области были прерваны американским исследователем Д. ДиУисом¹³. Возрождение массо-

¹¹ Родословная Карахана, патрона гор. Аулията // Протоколы Туркестанского кружка любителей археологии (далее – ПТКЛА). Ташкент, 1899, год 4-й. С. 87–91. Близкое отношение к этому тексту имеют и другие публикации ПТКЛА, отражающие устное бытование рассказа на территории Аулиятинского уезда: «К родословной Аулиятинского святого Карахана» // ПТКЛА. 1898, год 2-й. Приложение к протоколу от 29 августа 1897 г. С. 13–15; «Родословная Карахана, составленная казим Муллой-Абдуллой Юнусовым на основании исторических книг» // ПТКЛА. 1898, год 2-й, Приложение к протоколу от 29 августа 1897 г. С. 16.

¹² Андреев М. Исторические заметки о Ходженте // Справочная книжка Самаркандской области. Вып. 4 (1896). С. 22–27; Каллаур В. А. О Карахане и мазарах Аулията и Айша-биби // ПТКЛА. 1897, год 2-й. С. 6–8; Легенда о Хорасан-ата // ПТКЛА. 1901, год 6-й. С. 79–82; Колосовский В. В Каратавских горах Чимкентского уезда (Археологическая заметка) // ПТКЛА. 1901, год 6-й, Приложение к протоколу № 3. С. 89–97 и др.

¹³ DeWeese D. «Yasavian Legends on the Islamization of Turkistan», Denis Sinor (ed.): *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III: Proceedings of the 30th meeting of the permanent international Altaistic conference, Indiana University, Bloom-*

вого интереса к истории Центральной Азии в 1990-х гг. привлекло внимание читателей и исследователей к «Насаб-нāма». Усилиями группы любителей истории, в большинстве своем невостоковедов, стали выявляться новые списки *Насаб-нāма* из ранее не известных науке частных собраний. Некоторые из них были опубликованы вместе с факсимильными текстами¹⁴, другие – только с переводом/переносом на кириллицу¹⁵. Таким публикациям свойственны общие недостатки: отсутствие оригинального критического текста, ограничение публикацией адаптированного перевода оригинального текста на современные языки (казахский, узбекский) на кириллице, полное отсутствие кодикологического описания списков, частые пропуски трудночитаемых мест или же неверное чтение оригиналов из-за отсутствия профессиональных навыков у издателей.

По такому же сомнительному пути пошел турецкий исследователь К. Эраслан, осуществивший перевод *Насаб-нāма* на современный турецкий язык без составления критического текста (см. выше Foreword)¹⁶. Из четырех фотокопий, взятых К. Эрасланом в качестве «основы» для турецкого перевода, два текста (копии С и D, с. 139–144) никакого отношения к *Насаб-нāма* не имеют. Копия «В» (с. 123–137) при сличении нами в Казахстане с ее оригиналом оказалась дефектной: в ней из существующих 355 строк имеются в наличии только 287 (при копировании оригинала были утеряны строки 251–270, 308–355). В самом тексте перевода встречаются многочисленные ошибки и искажения при чтении имен (например, «Уҳшўб» вместо «Иҳшїт», с. 58), названий населенных пунктов (например,

ington, Indiana, June 19–25, 1987. Bloomington, 1990. P. 1–19; ibidem. «The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th Century Central Asia: Descent Groups Linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters» // International Journal of Middle East Studies. № 31/4 (1999). P. 507–530.

¹⁴ *Maṭlānā Ṣaḥīḥ ad-dīn ʿUrūnğ-қўйлақй*. Насаб-нāма. Введение, транскрипция, индексы А. К. Муминова и З. З. Жандарбекова. Түркістан: Мұра, 1992; [Жандарбеков З.]. Хорасан қожалар шежіресі (Әбдіжеліл баб ұрпақтарының шежіресі). Түркістан: Мұра, 1994.

¹⁵ *Мирҳалдār оғли М. Хўжа Аҳмад Йассавий*: Шажараи саāдат, карāматлари, ҳикматлари. Чимкент, 1992; Аҳмад Йассавий аждāдлари шажараси. Аҳмад Йассавий ва Амир Темур. Табдил ва нашрга таййārлаган: Расулмуҳаммад ҳāжи Абдушукуров Ашурбай оғли. Тāшкент: Ҳазина, 1996.

¹⁶ *Mevlānā Safiyyū 'd-dīn*. Neseb-nāme tercümesi. Hazırlayan Prof. Dr. Kemal Eraslan. Istanbul, 1996.

«Чал-терса» вместо «Чахър-Тарсāk», с. 60), на основе неверно понятого фрагмента издателем делается попытка датировать составление рассказа 540/1146 г. (с. 18, 26) и т. д.

Наши полевые исследования показали, что неучтенных наукой списков *Насаб-нāма* очень много. В ходе поисковых работ, ведущихся нами с 1988 г.¹⁷, были выявлены всего 33 рукописи (из них одна рукопись содержит списки двух текстов), имеющие отношение к *Насаб-нāма* – сакральной истории *х'аджа*-потомков Мухаммада ибн ал-Ханафийа. Из них – 10 рукописей были обнаружены во время шести экспедиций (2000–2001 гг.), организованных при содействии *Swiss National Science Foundation* в отдаленные районы Қызылординской, Южно-Казахстанской, Жамбылской областей Казахстана и Ташкентской области Узбекистана. Бывали случаи, когда копии одной и той же рукописи приносили 2–3 человека, и каждый из них утверждал, что это его рукопись. Поэтому в ходе этих экспедиций также были проведены опросы-интервью с владельцами этих списков у них дома с осмотром рукописей на месте и со знатоками устных традиций семейств *х'аджа*. Из 33 рукописей – пять были обнаружены в государственных фондах, а 28 – в частных собраниях.

Редакции *Насаб-нāма*

В ходе камеральной обработки этих списков нами были установлены шесть редакций сакральной истории. В целях расширения источниковой базы ее дальнейших исследований было решено издать тексты каждой из них с переводом на русский язык. На основе десяти списков, представленных в девяти рукописях, были составлены шесть опорных текстов:

I. *Вағйят-нāма-йи Маулāнā Сафӣ ад-дйн Ўрӯнг-қўйлāқӣ* (текст составлен на основе уникального списка).

II. *Насаб-нāма* (редакция «Арқўқ»; к составлению критического текста привлечены два списка).

III. *Та'рих-нāма* (редакция «Қайāлиқ»; текст составлен на основе уникального списка).

IV. *Тарджума-йи насаб-нāма* (редакция «Тāшканд»; текст составлен на основе уникального списка).

¹⁷ Первую родословную 13 февраля 1988 г. обнаружил один из авторов этих строк – З. З. Жандарбек. В 1991 г. к этой работе подключился А. К. Муминов.

V. *Насаб-нāма* (редакция «Қарā-Āсмāн»; критический текст составлен на основе двух списков).

VI. ‘Абд ал-‘Азиз ибн Катта-х^вādжа. *Насаб-нāма-йи манзūма* (к составлению критического текста привлечены три списка).

24 рукописи представляют собой перечни предков заказчика документа, восходящих к Муḥаммаду ибн ал-Ḥанафīйа. Эти документированные генеалогии, как правило, содержат в себе фрагменты, а иногда целые абзацы, извлеченные из *Насаб-нāма*, которые нами были использованы для комментирования перевода текстов на русский язык. Все отличное от упомянутых в оригинальном тексте: варианты персональных имен, географических названий, религиозных терминов, последовательности событий, детали и всякая новая информация в дополнение в основным текстам было учтено в комментариях к переводу. Цитаты из Корана, *хадисы*, *ривайаты*, приведенные с целью показать особый статус ‘алидов в Центральной Азии, а также древо (шаджара) владельцев каждого из 19 документов и список печатей с именами лиц, заверивших генеалогии-документы, специально вынесены в отдельные разделы «Приложения». Индекс составлен только к переводам текстов.

Четыре редакции *Насаб-нāма* составлены на *туркī*, две – на персидском языке. В четырех тюркоязычных редакциях упоминаются даты их составления: 14 *раджаб* 680/29 октября 1281 г. (редакция «Қайāлиқ» – «Та’рīх-нāма») и 690/1291 г. (*Вақīйат-нāма-йи Сафī ад-дīн Ўрўнг-қўйлақī*). Из данных текстов генеалогий узнаем, что ее письменная фиксация была осуществлена в разных регионах. В ней приняли участие локальные кланы х^вādжа в Қарā-Āсмāне, Арқўке, Қайāлике, Ўрўнг-Қўйлаке и Турбате (х^вādжа Исмā’ил-ātā’и). Все заинтересованные группы и кланы в различных редакциях особо подчеркивали свое родство, с одной стороны, с героями сакрального сказания и, с другой, с эпонимом братства Йасавīйа – Х^вādжа Аḥмадом Йасавī (ум. в 562/1166–67 году).

Также в текстах *Насаб-нāма* упоминаются различные монархи, утверждавшие генеалогии-документы (которые при этом устранили из текстов «новшества», интерполированные в них прежними «неправедными» правителями) – Амīр Тīmūr (771–807/1370–1405), Муḥаммад Шайбāнī-хāн (906–916/1500–1510), ‘Абдаллāх-хāн (991–1006/1583–1598) и др.¹⁸ Однако кодикологическое изучение списков

¹⁸ Сообщаются и другие факты выдачи грамот (йārлїқ) служителям *мазāра* Х^вādжа Аḥмада Йасавī Амīр Тīmūr, ‘Убайдаллāх-хāном (940–946/1534–

Насаб-нāма показывает, что они составлены и заверены в большинстве своем в XIX – начале XX века. Что касается оттисков печатей сюзеренов более ранних династий (Тимуридов, 771–913/1370–1507; Шайбāнидов, 906–1007/1500–1599), то они являются поддельными (см. Приложение № 7: Список печатей).

Как видно из этого, сакральная история является сложным источником. Видоизменение сакрального сказания, его «плавание» продолжались на протяжении всего периода его существования и особую остроту приобретало в периоды глобальных геополитических изменений. Именно такой период, например, наступил в XIX в., когда началось соперничество Кокандского ханства и Мангитов Бухары за Туркестан. Две персоязычных редакции относятся к этому периоду. Первая из них – *Тарджума-йи насаб-нāма* (редакция «Ташкент») была составлена по заказу потомков Абӯ-л-Қасим йшāна (ум. в 1892 г.), х̣ʿādжа из рода қарāхāн, известного организатора сопротивления русским войскам при завоевании Ташкента в 1282/1865 г. Вторую – стихотворное переложение *Насаб-нāма* на персидском языке («Насаб-нāма-йи манзӯма») – нам удалось атрибутировать: оно принадлежит перу ‘Абд ал-‘Азйз-х̣ʿādжа ибн Кāтта-х̣ʿādжа, жившему в Бйш-Арйқе, недалеко от Коканда (см. подробно Раздел VI). Эти редакции *Насаб-нāма* на персидском языке могут во многом пролить свет на малоизученный аспект политики Кокандского ханства (1213–1293/1798–1876), старавшегося использовать влияние кланов х̣ʿādжа среди кочевых племен завоеванных территорий для поисков оптимальных вариантов управления¹⁹.

В планах Коканда по укреплению своих позиций в регионе большое место отводилось влиятельным кланам и семействам местных х̣ʿādжа.

1539), ‘Абдаллāх-хāном в 977/1569–70 г., Саййид Муҳаммад-‘Умар-хāном (1225–1238/1810–1822) в 1232/1816–17 г., Саййид Муҳаммад-‘Алй Бахāдур-хāном (1238–1258/1822–1842; Мӯсā Сайрāмй. Та’рих-и амййнйа. Казань, 1904. С. 288–289). См. подробно: *DeWeese. The Politics*, pp. 507–530.

¹⁹ О других попытках, предпринятых Кокандским ханством в этом направлении, см.: *Muminov A. Die Erzählung eines Qoʻzas über die Islamisierung der Länder, die dem Kokander Khanat unterstehen // Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia. Vol. 3: Arabic, Persian and Turkic Manuscripts (15th–19th Centuries) / Ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Aširbek Muminov, Michael Kemper [Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 233]. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000. S. 385–428; Muminov A., Szuppe M. Un document genealogique (Nasab-nāma) d’une famille de ḥwāja yasawī dans le Khanat de Kokand (XIX^e S.) // Eurasian Studies. I (2002). P. 1–35.*

Для реализации политических замыслов ключевым лицам хāны стали предоставляться со стороны ханства имущественные и сословные привилегии, в подтверждение чего им выдавались документированные родословные с оттисками печатей хāнов и других высокопоставленных лиц ханской администрации. Оппоненты реагировали на это по-своему: в ход были пущены множество родословных с оттисками (скорее всего, подделанными) печатей известных правителей предыдущей эпохи, вплоть до Амīра Тīmūra. Процесс «противоборства документированных генеалогий», происходившего между сторонниками и противниками власти Кокандского ханства, требует накопления дополнительного материала и дальнейших исследований.

Перспективы изучения *Насаб-нāма*

Главной целью настоящего издания являются введение в научный оборот новых источников и создание надежной источниковой базы для дальнейших исследований. Издатели отнюдь не исключают возможности обнаружения в будущем новых списков *Насаб-нāма*, которые могут внести коррективы и дополнения к издаваемым текстам²⁰.

Перспективным направлением может стать издание и сравнительно-сопоставительное изучение генеалогий потомков таких святых этого региона, как Зангйātā и Арслāн Бāб. Недавно стало известно о новом источнике схожего типа – документе-генеалогии потомков йасавийского шайха Қусам-ātā (VIII/XIV в.), учителя Х^аджа Бахā' ад-дина Нақшбанда (718–791/1318–1389). Согласно этому документу х^аджа-шайхов святого места в селе Пудйна (Фудйна), что находится в 15 км к северо-востоку от города Қарши (Кашкадарьинская область Республики Узбекистан), Қусам-ātā был потомком второго (после 'Абд ал-Фаттāха) сына Муҳаммада ибн ал-Ханафййа – 'Абд ал-Маннāна. Этот документ был утвержден в 1214/1799–1800 г. Амйром Хайдаром (1215–1242/1800–1826)²¹.

²⁰ У нас уже имеется информация о существовании схожих текстов у потомков Мир 'Али Бāба (в Сайрамском районе Южно-Казахстанской области), Йалāнг Айāқ-х^аджа (в Ташкентской области), Исхāқ-хāна 'Ибрата (в городе Тўрақўрғāн Намангāнской области), у братьев Зияуддина и Мансура Аймухамедовых (два текста), проживающих в Ақālтынском тумане Сирдарьинской области, Кāмил-хāна Калāнова (в Ташкенте, из села Турбат) и др.

²¹ Усмāнов И., Аҳмедов Н., Эшпoлатов Н. Шайх Қусам āта йāхуд Бахāуддин Нақшбанднинг устāзи ҳақида. Қарши: Насаф, 2001. С. 19.

В текстах *Насаб-нāма* встречаются любопытные сведения о других местных кланах *х̣ʿāджа*, связывающих свое происхождение с Абӯ Бакром ас-Ѕиддйқом (632–634; *бакрй̣/ѕиддйқй̣*) и ʿУмаром ибн ал-Ҳаттāбом (13–23/634–644; *ф̣āṛyқй̣/ʿумарй̣*). Интерес для сравнительных исследований вызывают сбор и издание генеалогий родов казахских *х̣ʿāджа* – *қылауыз* (*бакрй̣*), *шәмшй̣-қожа* (*бакрй̣*), *сунақ* (*бакрй̣*), *қырық-садақ* (*ʿумарй̣*) и др.

Мы выражаем искреннюю признательность всем, кто помогал нам в подготовке этой книги и ее издании: прежде всего – проф. Мекметасу Мырзахмету, проф. А. П. Абуову, проф. Д. Т. Кенжетаю, в разные годы возглавлявшим подразделения йасавийских исследований в Международном Казахско-Турецком университете им. Х̣ʿāджа Аҳмада Йасавй̣. Исследования и экспедиции в 2000–2001 гг. в рамках проекта «Диспуты мусульманских авторитетов в Центральной Азии (XIX–XX вв.): критические издания и исследования источников» стали возможны при поддержке *Swiss National Science Foundation*. В экспедициях 2000–2001 гг. и всех подготовительных работах приняли участие д-р Д. О. Рахимджанов и д-р Ш. Ш. Зиядов. Издание книги было осуществлено благодаря совместному казахско-американскому проекту «Исламизация и сакральные родословные в Центральной Азии: наследие Исх̣āқ Бāба в нарративной и генеалогической традициях», осуществленному совместно Университетом Индиана и Институтом востоковедения им. Р. Б. Сулейменова Министерства образования и науки Республики Казахстан. Оно было поддержано *Отделом научных исследований Университета Индиана*. Общая редакция была осуществлена проф. Анке фон Кюгельген, проф. Д. Ди-Уисом, проф. Михаэлом Кемпером. В научной редакции русского текста приняли участие д-р Б. М. Бабаджанов и д-р Асаль Аббасова. Особо отметим ценные консультации, предоставленные во время работы над переводом персоязычных текстов научными сотрудниками ИВ АН РУз, иранистами Г. Каримовым, д-ром Н. Тāшевым, д-ром Х. Мадраимовым и д-ром Сафаром Абдулло.

*Аширбек Муминов (Алматы),
Зикирия Жандарбек (Туркестан)*

Түйін

Бұл кітапқа ХІХ–ХХІ ғғ. жазылған «Насаб-нәманың» алты редакциясының мәтіндері мен олардың орыс тіліне аудармалары кіріп отыр. Ол редакциялардың төртеуі түркі тілінде, екеуі парсы тілінде жазылған. «Насаб-нама» қазақ қожаларының 12 әулеті мен Қазақстанмен көршілес аймақтарға таралған қожа әулеттерінің киелі тарихы болып табылады. Соңғы табылған қолжазбалар «Насаб-нәманың» алғашқы редакциялары ХV–ХVІ ғғ. жататынын көрсетеді. «Насаб-нәманың» алты сыни мәтіні он қолжазбаның негізінде жасалып, олардың аудармаларының түсінігін жасауға жеке кісілердің қолынан алынған 24 қолжазба пайдаланылды. Кітапқа кісі аттары мен жер, су атауларының, термин сөздердің көрсеткіші мен қолжазбалардан алынған, ауызекі әңгімелесу кезінде жинақталған тоғыз түрлі материалдар тобы беріліп отыр. Олар: шежірелер, хронологиялық көрсеткіштер, мөрлер тізімі, т. б.

Summary

This book presents the text of six redactions of the «Nasab-nāma» from the 19th–21st centuries, along with translations into Russian; four of the original texts are in Turkic, while two are in Persian. The «Nasab-nāma» represents the sacred genealogy of 12 clans of khojas among the Qazaqs and in neighboring regions, and, as the most recently discovered manuscripts show, its earliest redactions go back to the 15th–16th centuries. The critical texts were prepared on the basis of ten copies, with an additional 24 copies consulted for the commentaries to the translations; the copies were found mostly in private collections. Also included in the book are indexes and nine groupings of material gathered from the manuscripts and from oral sources, such as genealogical and chronological tables, a list of seals, and so forth.

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Вступление (<i>Девин Ди Уис</i>)	6
Предисловие (<i>Анке фон Кюгельген, Михаэль Кемпер</i>)	34
Введение (<i>Аширбек Муминов, Зикирия Жандарбек</i>)	40
Раздел I. Вақййат-нама-йи Маулāнā Сафй ад-дин Ўрўнг-қўйлақй	51
Раздел II. Насаб-нама (редакция «Арқўқ»)	82
Раздел III. Та'риҳ-нама (редакция «Қайāлиқ»)	120
Раздел IV. Тарджума-йи насаб-нама (редакция «Ташкент»)	140
Раздел V. Насаб-нама (редакция «Қарā-Āсмāн»)	156
Раздел VI. 'Абд ал-'Азйз ибн Кātга-ҳ'ādжа. Насаб-нама-йи манзўма	235
Приложения	
№ 1. Генеалогическая таблица основных продолжателей линии Муҳаммада ибн ал-Ҳанафййа	277
№ 2. Потомки Исҳāқ Бāба	278
№ 3. Потомки 'Абд ар-Раҳйм Бāба	286
№ 4. Потомки 'Абд ал-Джалйл Бāба	291
№ 5. Указатель коранических цитат, <i>ҳадйсов</i> и <i>ривāйатов</i>	295
№ 6. Список информантов	300
№ 7. Список печатей	303
№ 8. Список владельцев рукописей	309
№ 9. Хронологическая таблица	313
Литература. На кириллице	315
На латинице	324
Указатели	328
Тўйин	364
Summary	364

CONTENTS

FOREWORD (<i>by Devin DeWeese</i>)	6
PREFACE (<i>by Anke von Kügelgen and Michael Kemper</i>)	34
INTRODUCTION (<i>by Ashirbek Muminov and Zikiriya Zhandarbek</i>)	40
CHAPTER I. Vaṣīyat-nāma-yi Mawlānā Ṣafī al-Dīn Ūrūng-qūylāqī	51
CHAPTER II. Nasab-nāma ('Arqūq' version)	82
CHAPTER III. Ta'rīkh-nāma ('Qayāliq' version)	120
CHAPTER IV. Tarjuma-yi nasab-nāma ('Tashkent' version)	140
CHAPTER V. Nasab-nāma ('Qarā-Āsmān' version)	156
CHAPTER VI. 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Kāṭṭa-khwāja. Nasab-nāma-yi manẓūma	235
APPENDIX	
Appendix № 1: Genealogical Table of the Chief Descendants of the Lineage of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya	277
Appendix № 2: Descendants of Ishāq Bāb	278
Appendix № 3: Descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bāb	286
Appendix № 4: Descendants of 'Abd al-Jalīl Bāb	291
Appendix № 5: Qur'ānic Citations, Ḥadīths, and Rivāyats	295
Appendix № 6: List of Informants	300
Appendix № 7: List of Seals	303
Appendix № 8: List of the Manuscripts' Holders	309
Appendix № 9: Chronological Table	313
Works Cited in Cyrillic Script	315
Works Cited in Latin Script	324
Index	328
Түйін	364
Summary	364

И 87 Исламизация и сакральные родословные в Центральной Азии: наследие Исхак Баба в нарративной и генеалогической традициях / Отв. ред.: А. Муминов, А. фон Кюгельген, Д. ДиУис, М. Кемпер; сост., пер. на рус. яз., коммент., прилож. и указ.: А. Муминов, З. Жандарбек, Д. Рахимджанов, Ш. Зиядов. – Алматы: Дайк-Пресс, 2008.

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В книге представлены тексты шести редакций «Насаб-нама» XIX–XXI веков с переводом на русский язык, четыре из них были на турки, две – на персидском языке. «Насаб-нама» является сакральной генеалогией 12 родов ходжей казахов и соседних регионов и, как показывают последние найденные рукописи, ее ранние редакции восходят к XV–XVI векам. Критические тексты составлены на основе десяти списков, к комментированию переводов привлечены еще 24 списка, обнаруженных в большинстве своем в частных коллекциях. К книге приложены индексы и девять групп материалов, собранных из рукописей и устных источников – это генеалогические и хронологические таблицы, список печатей и др.

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наследие Исхак Баба в нарративной и генеалогической
традициях**

Том 2

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