

THE KHOJA ESTATE IN THE FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY OF THE KASHKADARYA REGION

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Abstract. This study examines the Khoja estate as reflected in the funerary epigraphy of the Kashkadarya region from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The research aims to reconstruct the social, religious, and genealogical status of the Khojas through the analysis of funerary inscriptions, historical narratives, manuscript genealogies, and local traditions. Particular attention is given to the role of the Khojas as a privileged hereditary estate closely associated with the religious, political, and intellectual elite of Mawarannahr. The study identifies numerous previously undocumented tombstones and epitaphs bearing the title Khoja and records the names, genealogies, and social affiliations of their owners. These epigraphic materials demonstrate the wide geographical distribution of Khoja families throughout the Kashkadarya region and provide evidence of their connections with prominent Sufi brotherhoods, especially the Naqshbandiyya and 'Ishqiyya orders. The inscriptions also reveal close genealogical and social ties between the Khojas, the Sayyids, and the ruling dynasties of the Shaybanid, Ashtarkhanid, and Manghit periods. The article further explores the continuity of local traditions surrounding sacred burial sites, showing that many mausoleums and cemeteries remain places of pilgrimage maintained by descendants who preserve genealogical records and religious practices. The findings indicate that the Khojas occupied a distinctive position within the social hierarchy of Central Asia, combining religious authority, hereditary prestige, and political influence. Funerary inscriptions constitute an important historical source for reconstructing the genealogy, settlement patterns, and institutional role of this estate, while also contributing to a broader understanding of the social organization and religious landscape of pre-modern Mawarannahr. The study demonstrates the significant potential of epigraphic evidence for investigating the historical development of privileged religious estates in Central Asia and highlights the importance of the Kashkadarya region as a key center of Khoja history and cultural heritage.

Key words: Khoja estate, funerary epigraphy, Kashkadarya region, Mawarannahr, Naqshbandiyya, genealogies.

Introduction

The Khoja estate occupied a distinctive position within the social and religious hierarchy of medieval Central Asia. Alongside the Sayyids, the Khojas constituted one of the privileged hereditary estates of Mawarannahr (Transoxiana), enjoying a special legal status, economic privileges, and considerable religious authority. Owing to their claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs, or locally venerated saints, they played a significant role in the religious, intellectual, and political life of the region. Members of the Khoja estate frequently served as leaders of Sufi brotherhoods, spiritual advisers to rulers, and influential participants in the administration of Central Asian states.

Despite the importance of the Khojas in the historical development of Central Asia, many aspects of their social organization, genealogy, settlement patterns, and regional distribution remain insufficiently studied. Previous scholarship has primarily focused on the major political and religious centers of Mawarannahr, whereas peripheral regions have received considerably less scholarly attention. Among these, the Kashkadarya region represents one of the most promising areas for investigating the historical development of the Khoja estate owing to its rich concentration of medieval cemeteries, sacred sites, mausoleums, and funerary inscriptions.

Funerary epigraphy constitutes one of the most valuable categories of historical evidence for reconstructing the genealogy, social status, religious affiliation, and geographical distribution of privileged estates. Tombstone inscriptions preserve personal names, titles, genealogies, honorific epithets, and chronological data that frequently complement or even surpass the information preserved in written historical sources. At the same time, they provide insight into the relationship between local religious communities, Sufi networks, and ruling dynasties, thereby allowing a more comprehensive reconstruction of the social structure of medieval society.

The present study examines the Khoja estate through the funerary epigraphy of the Kashkadarya region dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The research is based on the analysis of epigraphic monuments, manuscript genealogies, historical chronicles, and field materials collected from cemeteries, mausoleums, and sacred sites throughout the region. Particular attention is devoted to identifying individuals bearing the title Khoja, reconstructing their genealogical affiliations, tracing their connections with the Naqshbandiyya and 'Ishqiyya Sufi orders, and assessing their role within the political, religious, and social life of Mawarannahr. By introducing previously unpublished epigraphic evidence into scholarly circulation, the study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the history of the Khoja estate and demonstrates the value of funerary epigraphy as a primary source for investigating the social history of pre-modern Central Asia.

Materials and methods of research

The present study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that combines historical, epigraphic, genealogical, and field research methods. The primary source base consists of funerary inscriptions preserved on tombstones and stelae dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, located in cemeteries, mazārs (sacred shrines), and architectural complexes across the Kashkadarya region. The investigation covered a number of historically significant sites, including Katta Langar, Iski Langar, Khoja Imkanagi, Khoja Ilgar, Aktuya Ata, Dashti Qahraman, Mir Jandi Ata, Qurgancha, and several other settlements where representatives of the Khoja estate were identified through epigraphic evidence.

The study also draws upon a wide range of written historical sources, including medieval chronicles, manuscript genealogies (shajaras), biographical dictionaries, waqf-related documents, and published collections of inscriptions. These materials were critically compared with the information preserved in funerary epigraphy in order to verify personal names, genealogical affiliations, dates, social titles, religious ranks, and the historical distribution of the Khoja estate.

Field investigations constituted an important component of the research. During the surveys, tombstones were documented through photography, measurements, and detailed descriptions of their form, material, decorative elements, and inscriptions. Damaged or partially illegible texts were deciphered by comparing parallel inscriptions, genealogical records, and written historical sources. Particular attention was paid to personal names, honorific titles, nisbas, genealogical formulas, and chronological data preserved in Arabic and Persian inscriptions.

The collected materials were analyzed using historical-comparative, historical-genetic, and epigraphic methods. Prosopographical analysis was employed to reconstruct family relationships and social networks among the Khojas, while genealogical analysis facilitated the identification of hereditary lineages and their connections with the Sayyids, Sufi brotherhoods, and the ruling dynasties of Mawarannahr. The interpretation of the epigraphic evidence was supplemented by comparative analysis of published scholarly literature on the social history, religious institutions, and funerary culture of Central Asia.

Results and its discussion

Like the Sayyids, the Khojas [1; 2, 10] constituted one of the privileged estates of Central Asian society. The study of these social groups provides an important basis for reconstructing the socio-stratificational structure of the religious, spiritual, and social life of the region. In the historical sources of Mawarannahr (Transoxiana), they are identified as a privileged estate endowed with a distinct legal status and enjoying a number of economic exemptions. Originating from ancient local and Arab aristocratic lineages, and in particular claiming direct genealogical descent from the descendants of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs [3, 184], the Khojas gradually acquired the status of a sacred estate. In this context, the term Khoja denotes a local, endogamous social estate whose members claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad as well as from locally venerated saints [4, 276]. During the period of the Uzbek khanates, while preserving certain hereditary estate privileges in several regions of Mawarannahr, the Khojas became increasingly integrated with the Sayyids. Nevertheless, throughout the medieval period the Khoja estate did not exercise the political influence that it would eventually attain by the end of the XVIII century. During this period, when the struggle between the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs was unfolding, the Khoja estate briefly exercised de facto

political authority in the Fergana Valley [4, 275].

Undoubtedly, there is considerable scholarly interest in the history of this social estate in Uzbekistan and across many of the republics of Central Asia. Suffice it to recall the events that took place in Eastern Turkestan, where, for eighty years (1679–1759), representatives of the Khoja estate ruled in accordance with Islamic law (Sharīʿa), exercising legitimate political authority based on their claim of descent from the Prophet Muhammad [5, 135].

The aforementioned social estate, which possessed hereditary rights and obligations established by customary practice or law, remains insufficiently studied. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the studies published in recent decades have sought to broaden the scope of research beyond the traditionally investigated centers to the less explored regions of Mawarannahr. In this respect, the Kashkadarya region constitutes a particularly suitable subject for such an investigation. It should be noted that, in this region, the term Khoja denoted a distinct privileged and endogamous estate that historically remained relatively separate from the main body of the population and tribal communities. Over time, particularly during the Soviet period, this estate underwent partial transformation. In different districts and settlements of the region, the Khojas are variously identified either with particular ethnic groups or with the descendants of the aristocratic elite of Uzbek tribal lineages, although such identifications are not always historically accurate. Traditionally, the majority of the Khojas of Kashkadarya, as in other regions of Mawarannahr, served as leaders of Sufi brotherhoods (ṭarīqas), relying on the support of their murīds (disciples), among whom were rulers, military commanders, and wealthy patrons. Like their counterparts in other regions, they consistently constituted the highest stratum of the Muslim religious establishment. It was also from this estate that many high-ranking political, religious, and public figures of their respective periods emerged.

The sacred Khoja estate was closely intertwined with the social order and worldview of the hereditary aristocracy. Like other noble lineages, its members were appointed to the highest offices in the states of Central Asia [3, 185]. Some representatives of this estate relied on the support of the common people, particularly the poor, extending patronage to them and providing opportunities to earn their livelihood. The Khojas who headed Sufi orders fulfilled their social responsibilities without regard to personal interests or material gain, thereby fostering social cohesion among the population and their murīds (disciples), while reinforcing loyalty to both religion and the state. Referring to the eminent Khoja Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Ahrār, Bābur wrote that, owing to his influence and mediation, the inhabitants of Samarkand lived in prosperity and peace [6, 48]. Another illustrative example is provided by the reign of the Shaybanid ruler ʿAbdullāh Khān II, for whom one of the most effective means of consolidating central authority was reliance on the Juybari Khojas, whose influence over both the rural and urban population of the country was exceptionally significant [7, 143].

The tombstones documented in the Kashkadarya region, dating from the XVth to the XIXth centuries, particularly those bearing the title Khoja, were specifically commissioned and erected for representatives of Khoja dynasties and members of their families.

Field surveys and research have demonstrated that these gravestones and funerary monuments are frequently maintained and venerated by the descendants of this social estate, who customarily visit the burial sites, perform ziyārat (pilgrimage), and recite prayers and duʿā (supplications). This practice is especially evident in localities where, for centuries, families claiming descent from the saints interred at these sites have continued to reside, preserving family relics and genealogical records. From time to time, they also undertake minor repair and conservation work on the historic structures associated with their revered ancestors. These sacred sites are likewise visited by hereditary murīds (disciples), who continue the devotional traditions inherited from their forebears.

Within the Kashkadarya region, there are a number of settlements, particularly mountainous villages such as Iski Langar and Katta Langar, where access to the Khoja community was historically restricted for members of other social estates owing to their relative isolation. Today, many of their descendants continue to reside as separate family groups in specific settlements, including Khoja Asfarozi, preserving the tradition of murshidship, maintaining certain hereditary privileges, and enjoying exceptional respect among the local population. Several Khoja families also reside in the city of Qarshi and its surrounding areas; however, reliable information regarding their history and

genealogy remains limited. The presence of a separate funerary stele in the Qurgancha complex, erected for a representative of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order, suggests that a distinct family of descendants of the Dehbid Khojas may have lived in this quarter during the nineteenth century. Both historically and at present, the region has contained urban quarters, villages, settlements, *mazārs* (saints' shrines), and cemeteries bearing the designation Khoja—such as Khoja Ilgar, Khoja Asfaro, Khoja Imkanagi, and Mir Jandi Ata—which provides evidence for the historical presence of revered Khoja families in these localities.

Several Khoja families of Kashkadarya continue to reside in the city of Shahrisabz, in the administrative center of Chiroqchi District, and in the village of Patron in Kasan District. During the twentieth century, some families migrated to the territory of Samarkand Region. For example, members of the family of *īshāns* living in the village of Pangat in Koshrobat District regard themselves as descendants of the Khojas of Kashkadarya. The inscriptions on elongated funerary slabs and stelae preserve their genealogy, tracing their ancestral lineage back to Abū Bakr, thereby providing grounds for identifying them as Khoja *Ṣiddīqīs*. By contrast, the ethnic Arab population of the region does not claim the title Khoja, identifying themselves instead simply as Arabs according to their place of origin and residence. Likewise, no genealogical or kinship ties between them and the Khoja estate have been observed.

Another group of descendants of the Khojas resides in the foothill villages of Kitab and Chiroqchi Districts, including Khoja Asfaro, Khoja Imkanagi, and Iski Langan. Individuals belonging to the Khoja estate have been identified in the epitaphs of the Aktuya Ata cemetery as well as in the cemetery of the village of Qahraman. The Khojas buried at Aktuya Ata lived during the period of Shaybanid rule. Tombstone No. 3, erected for Baba Khoja, preserves a brief genealogy extending to the third generation. Another tombstone records the name of *ʿĀdal* (*ʿĀdil*) *Shāh*, son of *Valī* Khoja, who apparently belonged to a different branch of the Khoja estate, although this hypothesis requires further investigation. The sacred *mazār* of Aktuya Ata is of particular interest because the site also contains a tombstone dating to the Timurid period, as well as the remains of an architectural structure, now lost, which was most likely erected in honor of revered Khojas. Another significant monument in Chiroqchi District is situated on the right bank of the Kashkadarya River. The Dashti Qahraman cemetery, located on the outskirts of the village of Mehnatabad and extending over a vast area, preserves funerary epigraphic materials dating from the reigns of Timur, the Timurids, the Shaybanids, the Ashtarkhanids, and the Manghit dynasty. Tombstones Nos. 9 and 10, discovered and deciphered during the present study, bear the names of Khoja Muḥammad Kabīr and Khoja Muḥammad Katta Bay. Owing to the poor state of preservation of the marble slabs, the dates of their deaths could not be established.

During the final decades of Timurid rule and throughout the period of the Uzbek khanates, the Kashkadarya Valley became renowned for the shaykhs of the *ʿIshqiyya* Sufi order [8, 22]. One of its most prominent representatives, Muḥammad *Ṣādiq al-ʿIshqī* (d. 1545), exercised such spiritual authority that even the Shaybanid rulers acknowledged him as their spiritual guide. According to the Manghit-period historian *Mīrzā Salīmbek*, his descendants—the local Khojas—were custodians of the Prophet's sacred *khirqā* (cloak), which had reportedly been brought and presented to them by Timur. Once each year, pilgrims from various regions gathered at the site and, over a period of four weeks, offered sacrifices to the local Khojas, recited prayers, and performed *ziyārat* (pilgrimage). If *Mīrzā Salīmbek*'s account is accepted, the local Khojas possessed *waqf* lands endowed by *Mīrzā Ulugh Beg*, who granted them irrigated and rain-fed agricultural lands in five *amlāks* [9, 96-97]. The XVIII century witnessed the activities of *Mīrim Shaykh* and his descendants in another settlement situated in the foothills of the Zeravshan Range—Iski Langan. The *ʿIshqiyya* order was introduced to the people of Kashkadarya by Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 1491).

Another prominent spiritual guide and successor of the brotherhood during the period of the Uzbek khanates was the above-mentioned *Mīrim Shaykh al-ʿIshqī*, a direct descendant and great-grandson of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khwārazmī, the spiritual mentor of *Khudāy Qulī Shaykh* [10, 308-312]. *Mīrim Shaykh* traced his lineage to *Muḥyī al-Dīn Shaykh*, a grandson of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khwārazmī. *Muḥyī al-Dīn Shaykh* was the son of *Shaykhzāda Maḥmūd*, who, in addition to him, had two other

sons: Muḥammad Amīn Shaykh and Aḥmad Shaykh. According to a manuscript genealogy (shajara) preserved by his descendants, Mīrim Shaykh «was the foremost among the great shaykhs, the quintessence of the noble estate, and the leader of the scholars». One of the ancestors of the Manghit rulers of Bukhara and the head of their tribal confederation, Khojam Birdi Biy, was Mīrim Shaykh's most devoted disciple. Following the advice of his spiritual master, he migrated together with his *il-ulūs* (tribal community) from Kuruk Kan-i Gil in the Samarkand region to Chiroqchi [11, 219].

Closer to Kesh, there existed another, more influential Sufi brotherhood - the Naqshbandiyya, whose center was the large settlement of Khoja Imkanagi, located in the present-day Kitab District. Information concerning Shaykh Khoja Imkanagi remains scarce, although considerable scholarly interest has been devoted to his biography and personal life. Fragmentary accounts are preserved in manuscript works composed after his death. Nevertheless, his name occupies a distinguished place among the shaykhs of the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*. The Ashtarkhanid-period historian Sayyid Rāqim wrote that Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā (i.e., Khoja Imkanagi), owing to the education and guidance provided by his father, «became a shaykh before reaching the age of thirty, and all those who sought knowledge—including amirs and rulers—came to him in order to benefit from his guidance in matters of governance» [12, 23]. At his initiative, Muḥammad Bāqī Billāh was sent to provide spiritual instruction to Imām Rabbānī. Khoja Imkanagi's father, Mawlānā Darvīsh, was a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Muḥammad Zāhid, a khalīfa who, in turn, was a follower of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār [13, 145].

Another noteworthy example is the tombstone erected for Mawlānā Ḥāfīz, son of Khoja Bahrām (XV th century), which suggests that representatives of the Khoja estate also resided in the settlement of Yakkabagh and may have maintained kinship ties with other estates constituting the religious and spiritual hierarchy of society during that period.

The name of Ākhūnd Jān Khoja Ṣadr al-Ushrūsānī al-Aṣlī, son of Ākhūnd Sayyid Shāh Khoja Ṣadr, was identified in the funerary complex of Mir Jandi Ata. In addition to its hagiographic elements, his name includes the title Ākhūnd, denoting a teacher or learned religious scholar; the academic-religious rank Ṣadr; and the nisba al-Ushrūsānī, indicating his association with the historical region of Ushrūsana. The official titles of Ākhūnd Jān Khoja Ṣadr appear to have been hereditary, as they are also found in the name of his father. It may therefore be assumed that both he and his father, as members of the Khoja estate, were influential figures in Guzar.

The names of several members of the Khoja estate have been identified in the funerary inscriptions of Katta Langar, including Nūr Khoja b. Chingīz (d. 816/1413), Sayyid Muḥammad Khoja (d. XVI th century), Badī' al-Dīn Khoja (d. 949/1542), Muḥammad Ma'rūf Khoja (d. 950/1543), and Bābā Khwājagī b. Turdī Muḥammad Khwājagī (date of death unknown). Additional examples have been recorded at Khoja Ilgar, including Khoja Muḥammad Sharīf b. Khoja Qāsim (d. 973/1565), Yūsuf Khoja Qara Kōz (d. 845/1441), as well as in other cemeteries and funerary complexes.

The Khojas maintained close kinship ties with the ruling elite and other privileged estates, particularly the Sayyids. As a result of these genealogical connections, the title Khoja also appears among certain Sayyid families. Consequently, some members of Sayyid lineages simultaneously bore both the hereditary title Khoja and the estate designation Sayyid.

Conclusion

The analysis of the funerary epigraphy of the Kashkadarya region demonstrates that the Khoja estate occupied a prominent position in the social, religious, and political structure of Mawarannahr between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The epigraphic evidence confirms that the Khojas constituted a privileged hereditary estate whose representatives exercised considerable spiritual authority, maintained close ties with ruling dynasties and the Sayyids, and played an important role in the activities of the Naqshbandiyya and 'Ishqiyya Sufi brotherhoods. The funerary inscriptions examined in this study preserve valuable information on personal names, genealogies, social titles, honorific designations, and religious affiliations, thereby substantially expanding our understanding of the historical geography and social organization of the Khoja estate. The identification of numerous previously unpublished epitaphs and tombstones from sites such as Katta Langar, Iski Langar, Khoja

Ilgar, Khoja Imkanagi, Aktuya Ata, Dashti Qahraman, and Mir Jandi Ata makes it possible to reconstruct the distribution of Khoja families across the Kashkadarya region and to trace their historical continuity over several centuries.

The study further demonstrates that funerary epigraphy represents an indispensable historical source for reconstructing the genealogy, settlement patterns, and institutional development of privileged religious estates in Central Asia. The integration of epigraphic evidence with manuscript genealogies, historical chronicles, and field observations provides a more comprehensive understanding of the religious and social history of the region than reliance on written sources alone.

The results of this research contribute to the historiography of medieval and early modern Central Asia by introducing new epigraphic materials into scholarly circulation and by clarifying the historical role of the Khoja estate in the religious and social life of Mawarannahr. Future research should focus on the systematic documentation, digital preservation, and comparative analysis of funerary inscriptions from other regions of Uzbekistan in order to reconstruct more fully the historical development of the privileged religious estates of Central Asia.

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ҚАШҚАДАРИЯ ОБЛЫСЫНЫҢ ЖЕРЛЕУ ЭПИГРАФИКАСЫНДАҒЫ ҚОЖА СОСЛОВИЕСІ

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада XV–XIX ғасырларға жататын Қашқадария облысының жерлеу эпиграфикасы негізінде қожа сословиесі зерттеледі. Зерттеудің мақсаты – құлпытас жазбаларын, тарихи деректерді, қолжазба шежірелерді және жергілікті дәстүрлерді талдау арқылы қожалардың әлеуметтік, діни және генеалогиялық мәртебесін реконструкциялау. Зерттеуде қожалардың Мауераннахрдың діни, саяси және зияткерлік элитасымен тығыз байланысты артықшылықтарға ие мұрагерлік сословие ретіндегі орнына ерекше назар аударылған. Зерттеу барысында «қожа» титулы кездесетін бұрын ғылыми айналымға енгізілмеген көптеген құлпытасар мен эпитафиялар анықталып, олардың иелерінің есімдері, генеалогиясы және әлеуметтік мәртебесі айқындалды. Эпиграфикалық материалдар Қашқадария облысында қожа әулеттерінің кеңінен таралғанын және олардың, әсіресе нақшбандийа мен ишқийа сопылық тариқаттарымен тығыз байланыста болғанын көрсетеді. Сонымен қатар, жазулар қожалардың саййидтермен және шайбанидтер, аштарханидтер, манғыттар әулеттерімен генеалогиялық әрі әлеуметтік байланыстарын дәлелдейді. Мақалада қасиетті қорымдарға қатысты жергілікті дәстүрлердің сабақтастығы қарастырылып, көптеген кесенелер мен зираттардың бүгінгі күнге дейін ұрпақтары тарапынан күтіп-бапталатын, шежірелік дәстүр мен діни рәсімдер сақталған зиярат орындары ретінде қызмет атқарып отырғаны көрсетіледі. Зерттеу нәтижелері қожа сословиесінің Орталық Азияның әлеуметтік иерархиясында ерекше орын алғанын, олардың діни беделді, мұрагерлік артықшылықтарды және саяси ықпалды өз бойына тоғыстырған әлеуметтік топ болғанын айғақтайды. Жерлеу эпиграфикасы қожа сословиесінің генеалогиясын, қоныстану ерекшеліктерін және қоғамдық институт ретіндегі қызметін реконструкциялауда маңызды тарихи дереккөз болып табылады. Сонымен қатар, ол ортағасырлық Мауераннахрдың әлеуметтік ұйымдасуы мен діни өмірін тереңірек түсінуге мүмкіндік береді. Зерттеу эпиграфикалық материалдардың Орталық Азиядағы артықшылықтарға ие діни сословиелердің тарихи дамуын зерделеудегі ғылыми әлеуетін айқындап, Қашқадария облысының қожа тарихы мен мәдени мұрасының маңызды орталықтарының бірі екендігін көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: қожа сословиесі, жерлеу эпиграфикасы, Қашқадария облысы, Мауераннахр, Нақшбандийа, генеалогия.

СОСЛОВИЕ ХВАДЖА В ПОГРЕБАЛЬНОЙ ЭПИГРАФИКЕ КАШКАДАРЬИНСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ

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Аннотация. В статье исследуется сословие хваджа, отражённое в материалах погребальной эпиграфики Кашкадарьинской области XV–XIX вв. Цель исследования заключается в реконструкции социального, религиозного и генеалогического статуса хваджей на основе анализа надгробных надписей, исторических источников, рукописных родословных и местных традиций. Особое внимание уделено хваджам как привилегированному наследственному сословию, тесно связанному с религиозной, политической и интеллектуальной элитой Мавераннахра. В ходе исследования выявлены многочисленные ранее не изученные надгробия и эпитафии с титулом «хваджа», содержащие сведения об именах, генеалогии и социальной принадлежности их владельцев. Эпиграфические материалы свидетельствуют о широком распространении семей хваджей на территории Кашкадарьинской области и подтверждают их связи с крупнейшими суфийскими братствами, прежде всего накшбандийя и ‘ишкийя. Надписи также отражают тесные генеалогические и социальные связи хваджей с саййидами и представителями правящих династий эпохи шайбанидов, аштарханидов и мангытов. В статье рассматривается преемственность местных традиций, связанных со священными захоронениями, многие из которых до настоящего времени остаются объектами паломничества потомков, сохраняющих родословные и религиозные обряды. Полученные результаты свидетельствуют о том, что хваджи занимали особое положение в социальной иерархии Центральной Азии, сочетая религиозный авторитет, наследственный престиж и политическое влияние. Погребальная эпиграфика рассматривается как важный исторический источник для реконструкции генеалогии, расселения и институциональной роли сословия хваджа, а также для более глубокого понимания социальной организации и религиозной жизни средневекового Мавераннахра. Исследование демонстрирует высокий научный потенциал эпиграфических материалов при изучении истории привилегированных духовно-религиозных сословий Центральной Азии и подчёркивает значение Кашкадарьинской области как одного из важнейших центров историко-культурного наследия сословия хваджа.

Ключевые слова: сословие хваджа, погребальная эпиграфика, Кашкадарьинская область, Мавераннахр, Накшбандийя, генеалогия.