

ETHNOLOGY

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GENEALOGIES OF THE SIBERIAN BUKHARANS: THE SHIKHOVS*

This paper focuses on the analysis of historical stories associated with an elite family of Siberian Muslims. Particular attention is paid to verification of the original Arabic-language sources by comparing them with data obtained from population censuses and ethnographic interviews. The existence of genealogy among the West Siberian Tatars refers to the Bukharans who populated the region intensively in the 16th–19th centuries, developing into an ethnic and class group, and then in the 20th century assimilated among the Siberian Tatars. Several versions of the genealogy of descendants of ‘Awwas-Baqi, who arrived from the city of Sayram in the outskirts of Tara in Siberia, as well as the social status of the main members representing the Shikhov family, have been successfully identified.

Keywords: *genealogy, Shaykhs, Siberian Bukharans, elite families.*

Introduction

This research continues the study focused on the elite family clans associated with a Turkic-speaking population in the south of the West Siberian Plain (see, e.g., (Bustanov, Korusenko, 2010)). Most of their founders had migrated to Siberia from different regions of Central Asia and joined the ethnic and class group of the Bukharans. The ethnocultural development of the local Turkic-

speaking population had been influenced greatly by the latter, and their missionary activity became the basis for the Islamization of the Siberian Tatars. We focus on the Shikhov family clan that settled down in the Tara district of the Tobolsk Governorate, but that originated from the city of Sayram located in the middle flow of the Syr Darya River. To date, in the villages founded and populated by the Bukharans during the 17th–19th centuries in the Tara district (the present-day Bolsherechye and Tara Districts in the Omsk Region), the collective memory still keeps legendary narratives recounting the appearance of people related to this family in Siberia as well as milestone events that occurred in the lives of the Siberian Bukharans. The depth of genealogical memory in this case is defined by a long stretch of time during which the Shikhovs preserved the written genealogies referred to as *shajara* (from

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Arabic word ‘tree’), some of which were partially lost for various reasons during the Soviet times. Some members of the Shikhov family migrated to Turkey in the early 20th century and established a separate settlement there, where the family history has been resurrected.

The sources used in this study are divided into three categories, allowing us to provide a comprehensive reconstruction of the Shikhov family history. The first one includes a written record made in the Persian, Arabic and Turkic languages, relating the history of this family in Siberia and Turkey. This material was collected between 2008 and 2012 in the settlements of the Omsk Region (the Ulenkul village of the Bolsherechye District); in the south of Kazakhstan (the cities of Sayram and Turkestan); and in a number of Turkish localities (the city of Konya, the village of Bogrudelik) where the Shikhovs descendants, who immigrated in the first decades of the 20th century, live compactly. Our material includes both genealogical records (a tradition of their compilation is still alive) and verbal information that has been gathered by a local ethnographer, Manviia Kh. Shikhova (1929–2009), a history teacher in the Ulenkul village of the Bolsherechye District, the Omsk Region (Fig. 1).

The second category includes materials obtained in 1975 and 1999–2000 during ethnographic expeditions carried out by Omsk State University and the Omsk Division of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of SB RAS. These are the historical traditions and genealogies of people living in the Tatar settlements of Ulenkul, Yalankul and others (the Bolsherechye District of the Omsk Region), and Rechapovo (the Tara District of the Omsk Region). The legends tell about the time when the settlements had been established, about the first inhabitants and important events. Genealogies drawn up according to methodology developed by the Omsk ethnographers provide data regarding the ethnic identity, place of birth, age, and education of informants and their relatives. At the same time, genealogies reflect ethnogenetic memory of the present-day Tatars who descended from the Bukharans. In Ulenkul, the collection of genealogies was carried out in 1975 and 2000, that is, within one generation. A significant difference can be observed in ethnic self-determination: if in 1975 quite a lot of informants called themselves Bukharan Tatars, then in 2000 there was just a small number of them, and the majority of people identified themselves as Siberian Tatars.



Fig. 1. Manviia Husainovna Shikhova, a local historian, collector, and keeper of data on the Shikhov family history (the village of Ulenkul of the Bolsherechye District of the Omsk Region). Photograph by S.N. Korusenko, 2007.

Archival documents have been used to reveal the reality of events reflected in folk memory, comprising the third category of sources: the Tara Inventory Book (In Russian: *Tarskaya dozornaya kniga*) of 1701 that contains data on the Bukharans (Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts (RGADA). F. 214, Bk. 1199); the primary materials of the 4th–10th revisions (1782–1858) and the 1897 population census; and various administrative documents providing details on settlements, inhabitants, and lands belonging to the Bukharans.

Between the 18th and early 20th centuries, the Shikhov family clan became so prominent that one may write a monograph about them. Since our study is limited by the scope of this paper, only two episodes from the history of this clan will be analyzed below.

Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad in Siberia

The study of the elite groups that included the Siberian Bukharans involves four categories of sacred groups, i.e. those related to the family of the Prophet Muhammad (*sadat*, *ashraf*) and various Islamic saints.

1. Descendants of the Saint Sayyid Ata. This family that settled down in Western Siberia as early as the second half of the 16th century was represented by two branches: the Aitikins and the Imyaminovs (Bustanov, 2009, 2010; Bustanov, 2011). Both family branches wielded significant political and religious authority based on their prestigious origin (either real or alleged), and on

formidable economic power in the form of land ownership and merchant capital. The descendants of Sayyid Ata belonged to the most respected sacred family in Siberia, and held the titles of *Khwaja* and *Sayyid*, i.e. they were considered to be the offsprings of the Prophet Muhammad through his grandson Husayn.

2. Descendants of Malik Baba. These are known under the family name of Shikhovs (the present paper deals with them). It is important to remember that this family had very close relationships with the descendants of Sayyid Ata in Siberia, trying to intermarry with them. These attempts notwithstanding, the Shikhovs bore the titles of *Shaykh* and *Sayyid*, but never *Khwaja*. It seems to imply that their social status was somewhat lower.

3. Descendants of Ishaq-Baba. These are closely linked to the first group as well, since they came into the region together with the descendants of Sayyid Ata, and also held the title of *Khwaja*, but not *Sayyid*, i.e. they were not recognized as members of the Prophet Muhammad's family. The family played a crucial role in developing the sacred geography of Islam in Siberia. Sharbati Shaykh, a member of this clan, brought with him a Central Asian narrative on Islamization that has subsequently been locally adapted. Their family name was Shikhov as well, but they were not related to the descendants of Malik Baba.

4. The Yan-Khwaja family. Its origin is not quite clear, and it was obviously inferior in significance to those three clans mentioned above; though all the members of this family, which lived after 1692 near Tobolsk, held the title of *Khwaja*. We have a short story

of it (written in 1883) at our disposal, that is preserved in Foat T. Valeev's archive and still remains unpublished. There were a number of other families with similar status and titles, but their existence is are much more sparsely documented.

The first published work dedicated to the history of the Shikhov family is "A Husayni Genealogy of Shaykh Sayyid Battal b. Dawlat Baqi al-Shaykhi", issued by his nephew, Muhammad-Mansur Shikhov, a Sufi scholar, in 1908 in Orenburg—apparently based on the manuscript (Al-Shajarat, 1908). This genealogy was rendered as 'a Husayni', because the members of the Shikhov family associated their origin with Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abu Talib (626–680) (Prozorov, 1991: 285), a grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. According to this narrative, the Shikhovs are the direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. While the general genealogy of the Aitikins and Imyaminovs assigns a special role to the Saint Sayyid Ata, the most important ancestor of the Shikhovs is considered to be the Saint Malik Baba. It is said in the text: "In 750, Sayyid Shah Awliya Malik Baba arrived with the Kamal Husayn's troops from the steppes of Arabistan to Bukhara the Noble. After that, the Bukharan kings, as a reward and as a token of royal favor, appointed descendants of Shah Awliya Malik Baba to be the rulers in the city of Sayram. Following that time, the descendants of Shah Malik Baba became rulers and governors of the Sayram people; [but] the Qalmyqs destroyed the city. Then, Sayram became the inner fortress [of the Kokand Khanate] and [the descendants of Malik Baba] were provided with shelter by the throne of the Kokand ruler, Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Khan. Then, he (the Khan) again granted judiciary to the descendants of the mentioned Shah Malik Bab, the post of Mufti and other amenities and respectable ranks, rewarding and showing his royal favor" (Al-Shajarat, 1908: 23–24).

The story sounds more than plausible and corresponds to independent data. The first investigator of this source, ethnographer Foat T. Valeev, thus found out that the Qalmyqs, under the leadership of Rabtan, seized Sayram in 1684 (Valeev, 1991: 103). Malik Baba or 'Abd al-Malik Bab, who was a "grandfather" in a genealogical chain of Zangi Ata, a central character in the Sufi tradition of Yasaviyya, was known among Islamic saints in Central Asia. In that regard, ethnographer Sergei N. Abashin writes the following: "According to one of the versions, his (Zangi Ata's) father was Taj Khwaja, a pupil of Ahmad Yasavi. The father

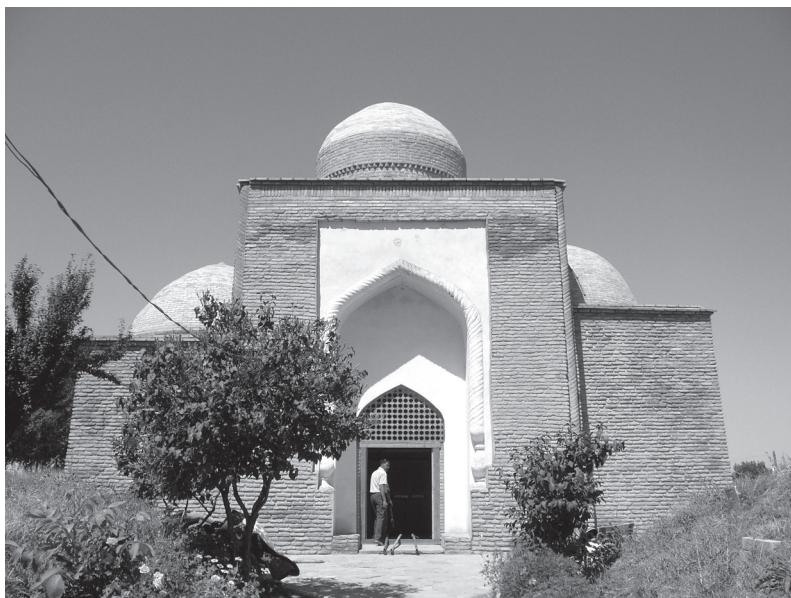


Fig. 2. Mausoleum (kesene) of Mir-'Ali-Baba (the 12th century). Restored in the second half of 19th century (the city of Sayram of the Chimkent administration, the Republic of Kazakhstan). Photograph by A.K. Bustanov, 2010.

of Taj Khwaja was the “saint” Shah (Shaykh) ‘Abd al-Malik Bab or Padishah Malik (died in 1218): at least two of his graves are known: in Sayram, where the mausoleum was built in the 15th century, and in the valley of the Akhangaran River. Tradition has it that the “saint” Mansur Ata (died in 1197), the father of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Malik Bab, was the first murid of Ahmad al-Yasavi. In turn, Mansur Ata was the son of Arslan Bab (Bab Arslan), who was the first teacher of Ahmad al-Yasavi” (Abashin, 2006: 151). Unfortunately, this genealogical chain is not reflected in “A Husayni Genealogy” of the Shikhovs, but the Yasaviyyan heritage is clearly emphasized here. Based on field and archival data, an American Islamic researcher, Devin DeWeese found out that Malik Baba had a son Mir ‘Ali Bab Sayyid (Fig. 2)—who in turn had two sons: Khwaja Nasrullah Farsa and Khwaja Fathullah Majdhub whose graves, according to some reports, are located beside their father’s burial (DeWeese, 2000: 281). The same set of names, excluding Fathullah, is cited in the versions of the Shikhovs’ genealogy. A political background of the genealogy should be noted as well: despite the fact that the descendants of Malik Baba had been granted power in Sayram by the Bukharan Amir, they also proved to be loyal to a new ruler during the seizure of Sayram by the Kokand forces of ‘Alim Khan (1799–1809), and were able to retain the title of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad at a time when many genealogies were called by ‘Alim Khan into question in the course of the well-known tests for “blue blood”, according to Bakhtiyar M. Babajanov (Babajanov, 2010: 486–492).

Further, the text provides that “*‘Awwas Baqi b. Khidir Baqi Shaykh was from the descendants of the mentioned Shah Malik Baba. Pure thoughts came to his mind of moving voluntarily from the city of Sayram to the Russian State, to Siberian region, [in order] to confirm and strengthen the Islamic faith as well as to spread the splendid holy Sharia. They have settled down in the Tara fortress and its surroundings. ‘Awwas BaqiShaykh mentioned above was a father of four sons: ‘AlimShaykh, ‘Ishki Shaykh, BabaShaykh and Faizy Shaykh*” (Al-Shajarat, 1908: 24).

In a letter dated from January 1, 1905, ‘Abd al-Khakim b. Khair Allah, an Imam in the village of Tuskazan, wrote to the Orenburg scholar Rida al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din (1859–1936) that ‘Awwas Baqi, the founder of the Shikhov family, arrived in Siberia for trading purposes (Archives of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS (AV IVR RAN). F. 131, Inv. 1, D. 8, fols. 11–12. “Rodoslovnyie derevni Tuskazan”). The financial power of the Shikhovs is known from various sources. Their religious status cannot be called into question either. Their wealth had been established already in Sayram, obliging them to maintain close relations with the Aitikins (marriages between these

families were not rare and, according to the sources, there was a kind of status competition between them). In order to legitimize their economic conditions, the Shikhovs may have resorted to sacralization of their past and creation of an imaginary genealogy. It is known from other sources that material interests were closely linked to the development of the manuscript tradition related to genealogies (Bustanov, Korusenko, 2010; DeWeese, 1999).

‘Awwas Baqi Shaykh arrived in the outskirts of Tara from Sayram. The exact date of resettlement is not known and it is not provided in the original genealogies either. Further, “A Husayni Genealogy” offers the following genealogical chain: Faizy Shaykh – Mirza Shaykh – Faizullah Shaykh – Dawlat Baqi Shaykh – ‘Abdullah Shaykh and Hasan Shaykh. The descendants of ‘Abdullah Shaykh: Sayyid Battal Shaykh, Muhammad Shah Shaykh, Abu Bakr Shaykh. Hasan Shaykh was the father of Yusuf Shaykh. Muhammad Shah Shaykh was the father of ‘Abd al-‘Alam Shaykh, Muhammadi Shaykh, Zu-l-Karnain Shaykh, and Shah Zada Shaykh. The descendants of Abu-Bakr Shaykh: Muhammad Mansur Shaykh, Muhammad Nasib Shaykh, Muhammad Razi Shaykh, Muhammad Rakhim Shaykh, Zayn al-‘Abidin Shaykh, and Sinan al-Din Shaykh. Thus, this genealogy provides a lineage of Faizy Shaykh, one of the four sons born to ‘Awwas Baqi Shaykh. At the end of their genealogy, the date of its verification is indicated as August 5, 1899 (according to Christian calendar only). It is also said that all the records written inside are correct: the mullah of the village of Aubatkan, Sayyid Battal b. al-Marhum Dawlat Baqi Shikhov, the owner of the genealogical treatise, is a descendant of ‘Awwas Baqi Shaykh, as well as a Bukharan, and belongs to the noble family (*sharif al-nasab*) of the Prophet Muhammad. This genealogy was verified by the following persons: Sayyid Hamza b. Sayyid Mustafa ‘Ataya al-Madani, Imam ‘Abdullah Efendi, Imam Hajji ‘Abd al-Khaliq ‘Imadaddinov, Imam from the city of Zaysan (Eastern Kazakhstan) Ahmad-Zaki b. Ahtam. In addition, “many other” noble scholars and great rulers of Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand, Urgench, and Sayram affixed their signatures and seals to verify this genealogy (Al-Shajarat, 1908: 26). However, “owing to its large extent, the narrative was shortened”, therefore, neither names, nor seals and signatures of these many authoritative persons can be seen in the source, which obviously raises serious concerns about the authenticity of the text.

Further, the published genealogy provides brief biographical data of Shaykh Sayyid Battal, who apparently was the owner of the document. He was born in 1840, in the village of Aubatkan of Tara district in Tobolsk Governorate. Today, this settlement no longer exists. When Sayyid-Battal grew up, he went to the city of Semipalatinsk to Hazrat ‘Abd al-Jabbar and for three

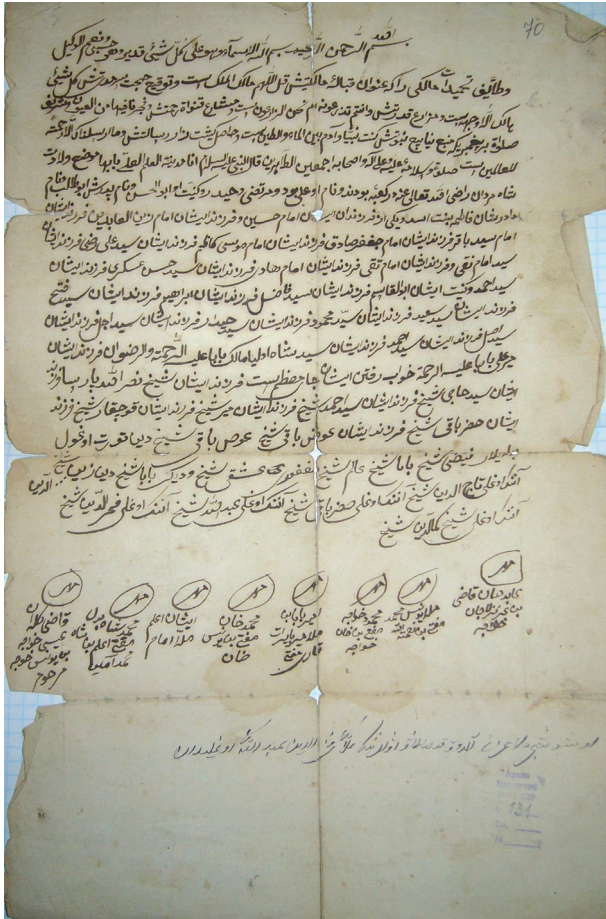


Fig. 3. A genealogic record of the Shikhov family from the collection of Fakhr ad-Din b. ‘Abdallah. The late 19th–early 20th centuries. (AV IVR RAN. F. 131. Inv. 1, D. 5, fol. 70a).

years diligently studied with him religious teachings and Islamic ethics (*akhlaq*). He got married there and stayed for a while. When the book was published, Sayyid Battal did not have any children. The final part of the genealogical treatise is of particular interest: “The teachers [of Sayyid Battal] on the [Sufi] path: Halil Ishan from the village of Turbin in the Tobolsk Governorate and the famous teacher Zayn Allah Ishan” (Ibid.). Halil Ishan (1866–1931) was a pupil of Zayn Allah Rasuli (1835–1917) and followed the Sufi brotherhood of the Naqshbandiya-Khalidiya. The fact that in the early 20th century students from Tara visited Halil Ishan suggests that his school in the village of Turby (Turbin) was an important Sufi center in Western Siberia.

The publisher of the genealogical treatise, Muhammad Mansur Shikhov, reports of himself: “I was born in 1881 in the mentioned village of Aubatkan. When I was seventeen, I went to Semipalatinsk to Sayyid Battal Shikhov and studied with him for five years, then studied for two years with ‘Abd al-Aziz Hazrat in Petropavlovsk. Now, it is already the fourth year that I am engaged

in gaining knowledge in madrasa of Hazrat Hayrullah ‘Usmanov in the city of Kargaly”* (Ibid.: 28).

Another important source that has been preserved in the archive of Rida al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din is the Shikhovs genealogy dated from the late 19th–early 20th centuries. This document previously belonged to Mullah Fakhr al-Din b. ‘Abd Allah from the village of Kozatovo presently located in the Bolsherechye District of Omsk Region (AV IVR RAN. F. 131, Inv. 1, D. 5, fol. 70a). Linguistically, the text of the genealogical treatise consists of three parts: an introduction written in Arabic, the main part in the Persian language, and a postscript inscribed in the Tatar. The document appears to be a torn, yellowed sheet of paper with a size of 22.5 × 35.0 cm, triple-folded (apparently for mailing). The paper refers to the late 19th century, revealing no signs of filigrees and postmarks. At the bottom right corner, there is a blue-colored seal affixed by the Archive of Orientalists of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, AS USSR. The text, containing 18 lines, is written only on one side. It is stamped with the eight imitations of seal (*muhr*) specifying the names of their owners. Just below comes the postscript written in pencil by the hand of Rida al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din in Tatar: “This genealogy list was taken from the Mullah of the Kozatovo village, Fakhr al-Din, the son of ‘Abd Allah” (Fig. 3).

The translated document looks as follows:

- 1 *In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful! In the name of Allah—all the names. And He is capable of doing all things. He is sufficient for me and He is the best protector.*
- 2 *True praise belongs to God, who possesses His own power. Say: “O, Allah, the Possessor of power”, and a seal is the proof of all His commands. Say: “Everything will perish,*
- 3 *save His Face”. The tilth is at His control. And is that you who grows the seeds or that is us who sow? All our prayers are only about His mercy. We produced a generous spring in the earth.*
- 4 *Blessing be upon the Prophet whose high rank is defined by His prophecy. I was a Prophet when Adam was between water and clay. The seeds were sown by the bitterness of His Message. And we sent you only as mercy*
- 5 *for the worlds. Blessing and a good prayer for Him (the Prophet) and His family and all His purest associates. The Prophet said, may peace be upon Him: “I am the city of high knowledge whose gates are the birth place of*
- 6 *Shah-i Mardan, may Allah Almighty be pleased with him”, were in Ka’aba; and his name was ‘Ali,*

*This is the village of Kargaly near Orenburg, the present-day Tatar Kargaly. It was the largest Islamic educational center in the Russian Empire during the 18th–19th centuries.

- Murtada and Haydar, and his kunya—Abu-l-Hasan, and his father's name—Abu Talib, and their mother's name—Fatimah, the daughter of Asad; and one of his sons—Imam Husayn, and his son—Imam Zayn al-'Abidin, and his son—
- 8 Imam Sayyid Bakir, and his son—Imam Ja'far Sadiq, and his son—Imam Musa Kazim, and his son—Sayyid 'Ali Razi (=Rida), and his son—
- 9 Sayyid Imam Naqi, and his son—Imam Taqi, and his son—Imam Hadi, and his son—Sayyid Hasan 'Askari, and his son—
- 10 Sayyid Ahmad, and his kunya—Abu-l-Qasim; and his son—Sayyid Fazil, and his son—Ibrahim, and his son—Sayyid Fat[i]h,
- 11 and his son—Sayyid Sa'id, and his son—Sayyid Mahmud, and his son—Sayyid Haydar, and his son—Sayyid Ajall (=Ajil?), and his son—
- 12 Sayyid Asall (=Asil?), and his son—Sayyid Ahmad, and his son—Sayyid Shah-i Awliya Malik Baba, [may] peace and blessing be upon him!—and his son—
- 13 Mir 'Ali Baba, [may] peace be upon him; his shrine is an exalted place; and his son—Shaykh Nasrullah Parsa, and his son—
- 14 Sayyid Hajji Shaykh, and his son—Sayyid Ahmad Shaykh, and his son—Mir Shaykh, and his son—Kuchkar Shaykh, and his son—
- 15 Hizr Baqi Shaykh, and his son—'Awwas Baqi Shaykh*. 'Awwas Baqi Shaykh had four sons:
- 16 Faizy Shaykh, Baba Shaykh, the late 'Alim Shaykh, 'Ishki Shaykh, and also Baba Shaykh had the son—Zayn al-Din Shaykh;
- 17 his son—Taj al-Din Shaykh, his son—Safar (=Sagir? Hizr?) Baqi Shaykh, his son—'Abdullah Shaykh, his son—Fakhr al-Din Shaykh,
- 18 his son—Shaykh Kamal al-Din Shaykh.

This family tree reaches the descendants of 'Awwas Baqi Shaykh by the lineage of his son, Baba Shaykh. Despite the low level of “authenticity” revealed by the source, conditioned by the imitation of seals and the postscript written in the Tatar language at a later time (lines 15–18), its data generally correspond both to the names cited in “A Husayni Genealogy” and to genealogy written by Manviia Kh. Shikhova based on information obtained from the descendants of 'Awwas-Baqi in Turkey. The point is that the available archive data show that the majority of people related to this family lived in the village of Aubatkan, and in 1908 immigrated with the others to the Konya region in the Ottoman Empire, having practically established there the monoethnic settlement of Rishadiyya (subsequently renamed to Bogrudelik). In spite of the harsh conditions associated with the movement, they brought along the genealogical records

*Next comes the text written in the Turkic language by another hand.

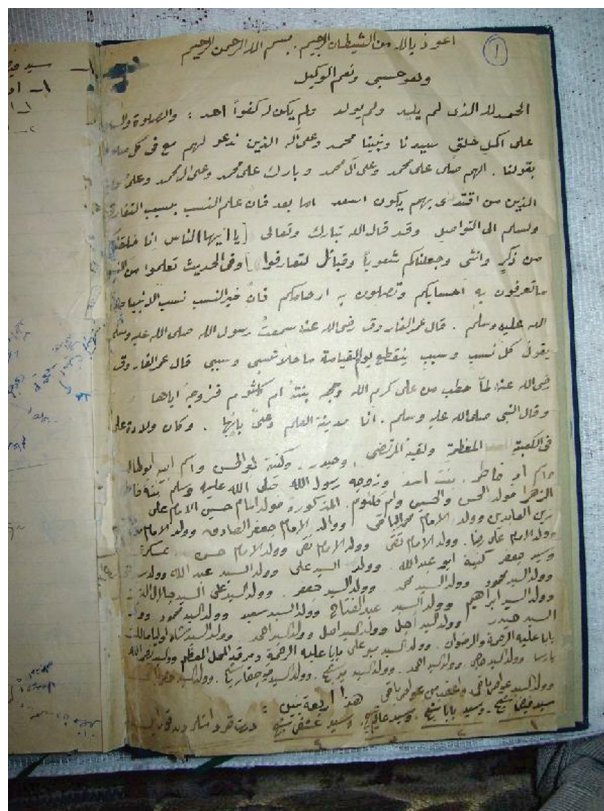


Fig. 4. A genealogic record of the Shikhov family from the private collection of Adnan Cengiz (the village of Bogrudelik in the Wilayah Konya, Turkey). Photograph by A.K. Bustanov, 2010.

and even some works on the local history (some of them were likely recovered from memory*. Not only did the text of the genealogical treatise serve as the support for a group identity of immigrants from Central Asia, but also as evidence for their rights and privileges.

The former chief of the Bogrudelik village near Konya (Turkey), Adnan Cengiz (born in 1950), preserved yet another version of the Shikhovs genealogy (Fig. 4). It is written in Arabic language and most likely reveals signs of a slightly changed translation from the Persian original. The genealogy begins with an autobiographical essay entitled “Shākhsemā gayat kecherdegem häyättäge ezlärem” and dedicated to the history of migration of the Shikhovs to Turkey. The copyist of the manuscript

*Obviously made before the Russian Revolution, the owner's notation inscribed on the book “Al-Kafiya” by 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, which was printed in St. Petersburg in 1890, suggests that the religious literature was transported from Siberia to Turkey: “This noble grammar-book has come into the possession of 'Abd al-Fakkar b. 'Ismat Allah b. Imam al-Din b. Nur Muhammad b. Ahmad Shikhov, may Allah make it useful”. The book derives from the private collection owned by an inhabitant of the village of Bogrudelik.

was the owner's grandfather, Muhammad Yuvanbash. The manuscript itself is a notebook containing 85 pages bound in a cardboard cover, with a size of 32 × 21 cm. Both end-leaves are stamped with a seal indicating in Turkish that the book was manufactured in Konya. The text (fol. 1a–10b) was compiled in Istanbul in 1949 (fol. 1a). Black inks were used; the style of handwriting is *naskh*. Qur'anic quotes are cited without diacritic marks, punctuation (periods between sentences) is irregular.

The translated genealogy (fol. 10b) looks as follows:

- 1 *I appeal to Allah for help against the cursed Satan. In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.*
- 2 *He is sufficient for me and He is the best protector.*
- 3 *Praise be to Allah, He begetteth not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like unto Him*. Blessing and peace*
- 4 *to the best of creation, to our Lord and Prophet Muhammad and His family—to those who are mentioned in our every prayer.*
- 5 *Lord, bless Muhammad and His family and grant blessings to Muhammad, His family, and associates,*
- 6 *to those who followed the true path and [hence] were happier. And then [the following]: truly, genealogical science ('ilm al-nasab) is the reason for the reunion of separated families.*
- 7 *And Allah, the Blessed and Almighty, said: "Oh Mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another", and the Prophet also said in the Hadith:*
- 8 *"Learn to increase [your knowledge] and pray to improve your relationship [with Allah and people]". Truly, the best of family trees is the Prophet's family tree,*
- 9 *may Allah bless him and greet him. 'Umar al-Faruq said, may Allah be pleased with him, that he heard as the Prophet, may Allah bless him and greet him,*
- 10 *said: "All relations (kinship and friendly ties) would be canceled on the Last Day except for His reasons and His ties". 'Umar al-Faruq said,*
- 11 *may Allah be pleased with him,*
- 12 *When I asked for the hand of 'Ali's daughter, may Allah praise him, Umm-Gulsum, and married her, the Prophet, may Allah praise Him and save Him, said: "I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is its gate". The place of 'Ali's birth—*
- 13 *the glorious Ka'aba, and his surname (lakab)—Murtada and Haydar, and his kunya—Abu-l-Hasan. His father's name—Abu Talib,*
- 14 *his mother's name—Fatimah bint Asad. Her husband—the messenger of Allah, may Allah praise him and greet him.*

*Quran, 112: 3–4.

- 15 *She gave birth to al-Hasan, and al-Husayn, and Umm-Gulsum. The aforementioned Imam Husayn was born of Imam 'Ali.*
- 16 *Zayn al-'Abidin begat Imam Muhammad al-Baqi, who begat Ja'far al-Siddiq. He begat Musa Ka[zym].*
- 17 *He begat Imam 'Ali Rida. He begat Imam Taqy. He begat Imam Naqy. He begat Imam Hasan 'Askari*
- 18 *and Sayyid Ja'far, and his kunya was Abu 'Abdallah. He begat Sayyid 'Ali. He begat Sayyid 'Abdallah. He begat Sayyid Razi.*
- 19 *He begat Sayyid Mahmud. He begat Sayyid Muhammad. He begat Sayyid Ja'far. He begat Sayyid 'Ali, Sayyid Jalal al-Din,*
- 20 *he begat Sayyid Ibrahim. He begat Sayyid 'Abd al-Fattah. He begat Sayyid Sa'yd. He begat Sayyid Mahmud. He begat*
- 21 *Sayyid Haydar. He begat Sayyid Ajal. He begat Sayyid Asal. He begat Sayyid Ahmad. He begat Sayyid Shah Awliya Malik-*
- 22 *Baba, may His mercy and contentment be upon him. He begat Sayyid Mir-'Ali-Baba, may His mercy be upon him and may his shrine (markad) be honored. And Sayyid Razi Allah*
- 23 *Parsa. He begat Hajji. He begat Sayyid Ahmad. He begat Sayyid Mir Shaykh. He begat Sayyid Kuchkar Shaykh. He begat Sayyid Khidir Baqi.*
- 24 *He begat Sayyid 'Awwas Baqi Shaykh. These four sons inherited from him:*
- 25 *Sayyid Fayzi Shaykh, Sayyid Baba Shaykh, Sayyid 'Alim Shaykh, Sayyid 'Ishki Shaykh. They were four brothers*.*

Now, it is difficult to judge about the reasons for drawing up the genealogies and editing them, but it can be stated unequivocally that these manuscripts were important for the legitimization of the social status of their owners, and gaining privileges by them. For the authors of the genealogies, it was essential to provide associations both with the images of the saints protecting those cities from which their clan had originated and with the Islamic characters (the Prophet Muhammad, the righteous caliphate 'Ali, the imams). High ranks and references to the cult of the saints in Central Asia suggest that at the time of arrival in Siberia, Din 'Ali Khwaja and 'Awwas Baqi Shaykh had high social status based on the religious and economic resources.

Resettlement of the Shikhovs in Siberia

Data resulting from the expedition contain In our expeditions we have collected several stories that are still kept preserved in the collective memory of the Shikhovs descendants (now they have different family

*The last phrase is written in the Turki language.

names, as before the 1920s only the father's name was indicated in the documents). The main story tells of narrates about the resettlement of 'Awwas Baqi with his sons 'Alim Shaykh, 'Ishki Shaykh, Baba Shaykh and Faizy Shaykh from Central Asia to Siberia. According to Manviia Kh. Shikhova, who has devoted considerable energy to gathering information related to the history and genealogy of Tatar villages, the resettlement of 'Awwas Baqi in Siberia was associated with establishing the village of Ulenkul, the present-day center of the village administration. Shikhova related us two versions regarding the time when this event occurred. According to the first one, repeated by most interviewees, Ulenkul was established in 1651 (in 2001, the 350th anniversary of the village was celebrated); and, according to the second one, in the 1580s, during the reign of Kuchum Khan (Museum of Archeology and Ethnography of Omsk State University (MAE OmSU), F. 1, Fol. 144-6, K. 380). The family history recorded by Manviia Kh. Shikhova based on the stories told by her grandfather, begins with the arrival of 'Awwas Baqi in Siberia in 1572. This genealogical tree has been published in a series of research works (Korusenko, 2006: 50; Seleznev, Selezneva, Belich, 2009: 49). Manviia Kh. Shikhova has also reported different versions of the reasons for which the village was established: 1) 'Awwas-Baqi with his four sons was sent there to spread Islam; 2) 'Awwas Baqi and his family lived in Isker, the capital of Kuchum Khan, and "escaped from someone, apparently from Yermak". According to Manviia Shikhova, the fact that the settlement was established in the midst of thick forest and off the road supports the second version. Thus, it was the arrival of 'Awwas Baqi that entailed the establishment of Ulenkul (as well as the neighboring villages, such as Yalankul, Aubatkan, Chernaly and others, populated by the Bukharans). At the same time, data resulting from the 4th–10th revisions (1782–1858) do not provide any information regarding this locality; it is reported only by the 1897 census. In other sources, the earliest reference appears in the reports of the 1828 yasak commission (State Historical Archives of the Omsk Region (GIAOO). F. 3, Inv. 1, D. 620, fols. 288–293), where the Ulenkul yurts are specified among other localities.

Various studies suggest another date for 'Awwas Baqi's arrival in Siberia (Bakhrushin, 1959: 208; Tomilov, 1992: 84): the late 17th–early 18th centuries. The authors base their conclusion on the work by G.N. Potanin, in which he wrote about the places where the Siberian Bukharans appeared and gave an example of the resettlement of 41 persons guided by Zhurbaev from Bukhara in 1709. "It is likely that at the same time as Zhurbaev, Avaz-Bachqi Shaykh, who founded the Tara family of the Shikhovs, left the city of Sayram" (Potanin, 1868: 71). In this case, it is more plausible that 'Awwas Baqi appeared in Siberia in the early 18th century. How can this be confirmed?

The Shikhovs are not mentioned in the Tara Inventory Book of 1701 (RGADA. F. 214, Bk. 1199), in which a census of all the Bukharans is taken. This source reflects a very important event, such as involving the Bukharan immigrants in the fiscal system of the Russian Empire. This book, like other sources of that kind, provides census data regarding the numbers of the male population inhabiting each settlement (and homesteads within it), and tillage, grassland and other lands possessed by males, location of the settlements and lands, forms of land ownership, and information about the presence or absence of documentary evidence for the ownership of land. Therefore, the government represented by the Moscow nobleman Ivan Rodionovich Kachanov sought to take a full census of all the Bukharans. Among 25 localities inhabited in the early 18th century by the Turkic-speaking population of the Tara region of the Irtysh River basin, which were reported in two inventory books of 1701, Tara Book and Inventory Book of the Tara district (RGADA. F. 214, Bk. 1199, 1182), only seven provide census data for the Bukharans: from one family living in the yurts of the Baituganovs (the present-day village of Sebelyakovo in the Tara district) and the Aitkulovs (the village has vanished in the early 21st century) up to 23 families living in the Shikov Yurts (also known as Rechapovo). These six settlements were inhabited by the serving and dependent Tatars, and only the Shikhov Yurts were occupied exclusively by the Bukharans (except for one family of the serving Tatars). Description of a common pasture given in the Tara Inventory Book provides another name of this locality, namely Rechapovo. It appears in subsequent documents dating to the late 18th–20th centuries. The village of Rechapovo is called by its inhabitants Shyklar (Шәәхләр). According to the tradition of local Tatars, this settlement was founded by the descendants of Shaykhs who arrived from Central Asia to preach Islam in Siberia: "We are the Sart (Sartlar) who came from the [land of] Uzbeks in the south. The leader of this people was a Shaykh who had a lastname Rechapov. The village was previously named Shaklar-aul" (MAE OmSU. F. 1, Fol. 113-2, K. 139). According to census data recorded in the inventory book of 1701, Bakhmurat Rechapov, whose father had settled down here in the mid-17th century (as provided by the land records mentioned above), was registered in this locality (RGADA, F. 214, Bk. 1199, fols. 48v–49v). It is quite unlikely that he was related to the Shikhovs who were not mentioned in this book. The name of the village recorded in the source as the Shikhov Yurts remains a mystery.

The genealogies recorded in these manuscripts reveal two lineages coming from two sons of 'Awwas Baqi: Baba Shaykh and Faizy Shaykh. According to revisions, the descendants of all the four sons have been recognized. Ethnogenealogical approach that enabled identification of the time when this family appeared in

the Tara region of the Irtysh basin and when a cluster of settlements inhabited by the Bukharans was founded in the Bolsherechye District of the Omsk Region (Aubatkan, Karakul, Ulenkul, Yalankul and others); as well as to consider the resettlement pattern of the Shikhovs.

The fact that the founder of the Shikhov family, ‘Awwas Baqi, appeared in Siberia can be considered a controversial issue. The Shikhov’s descendants tell in their stories that he arrived with four sons in 1572. In reality, the fact that the Shikhovs appeared in Siberia in the early 18th century, which was hardly mentioned in the work by G.N. Potanin (1868: 71), is confirmed by archival sources, particularly by census records. As we know from our sources, ‘Awwas Baqi arrived in Siberia with his sons: Baba Shaykh (1692–1782, as reported by census records, the village of Rechapovo); ‘Alim Shaykh (born in 1699, reported in the records of the 4th revision made in 1782, date of death is unknown owing to the absence of the records of the 5th revision made in 1795 with regard to the village of Sebelyakovo, where he lived with his family; in the records of the 6th revision made in 1811, his five grandsons reported as the heads of the families); Fayzi Shaykh (1700–1772, the village of Sebelyakovo); and ‘Ishki Shaykh (1704–1791, the village of Rechapovo).

Data provided by the 5th revision (1795) with regard to the village of Rechapovo report two sons of ‘Awwas Baqi and their descendants: Ashka Shikhov* (1704–1791) and deceased Baba Shikhov’s wife, Asna Bakhmeteva, born in 1728, with her three sons—one of whom, Zaynitdin Babin, moved out to the village of Aubatkanskaya, and there remained Neirubik and Zilyutdin Babins with families registered in Rechapovo. The descendants of ‘Alim Shaykh and Fayzi Shaykh have been found in the village of Sebelyakovo. In census data of 1811 (the 6th revision), Idris Feizullin (1744–1808), who had died by that time, is reported as the head of the family, and information about his sons, his brother, Murza, as well as about Murza’s sons, is provided. Idris Feizullin resettled in the village of Aubatkanskaya for tillage, according to the decree as of 1799 (State Institution of Tyumen Region. Tobolsk State Archives (GUTO GAT). F. 154, Inv. 8, D. 306). The same records included the grandsons of ‘Alim Shaykh (their descendants can be traced through the records resulting from the subsequent revisions made in Sebelyakovo), Mametey Murzaliev Shikhov, born in 1775, and Murvaley Shikhov (1757–1802), as the heads of the families. Another three of his grandsons with their families were registered in 1811 in the village of Aubatkanskaya. Four of the first twelve families that appeared in Aubatkanskaya were the Shikhovs, and another five were related directly to this

*The names and family names taken from the archival sources are cited as recorded.

family, but were registered by the fathers’ names (e.g., Mullah Feizulin, the son of Fayzi Shaykh, etc.). Thus, the village of Aubatkanskaya was founded by the Shikhovs from Rechapovo and Sebelyakovo. Consequently, the village appeared between 1782 and 1795, and in 1799 another Shikhovs resettled there as well (though, some descendants of ‘Ishki Shaykh and ‘Alim Shaykh remained to live in Rechapovo and Sebelyakovo).

The arrival of ‘Awwas Baqi Shaykh with his sons in Siberia in the first decades of the 18th century is confirmed by the data resulting from survey of the Bukharan lands in the Tara region of the Irtysh basin in the mid-19th century, providing information as to when, where and based on what documents the lands were purchased by the Shikhovs (GIAOO. F. 3, Inv. 1, D. 3, 562). Here it should also be taken into account that the Bukharans who arrived in Siberia, particularly the wealthy ones, acquired the agricultural lands without further ado. Thus, “a remote Ibeyskyi Island, the only property owned by the Bukharans of Aubatkanskaya”, was allotted to them “according to the excerpt from the former Tara province chancery as of June 13, 1738, issued in the name of the present owners, the forebears Baba and Faizy Shikhovs, to own the estate referred to as the Ibey Island in the Tara district” (Ibid. D. 3, fols. 13v–14). From the same documents, it appears that the lands were purchased by the Shikhovs in 1745, 1766, 1776, and 1832. The land, where the Sebelyakovo yurts were located, and that surrounding the settlement, was owned by the Shikhovs, according to the excerpt from the former Tara province chancery as of December 9, 1745 that was given to “the forebear of the present Bukharan owners, Alim Avazbaqi Shikhov” (Ibid. Fols. 16–17).

Another record that appeared in 1854 describes the Shikhovs who lived in Sebelyakovo as follows: “The owners of the Sebelyakovo yurts, the Shikhovs, who belong to the Bukharans, reside in the city of Tara without being involved in agriculture and vegetable farming: they purchase the food for their needs in Tara, hire freelancers to work at hayfields, and provide for themselves by conducting a trade all year round in the Siberian and Great Russian Governorates; they are very prosperous, and as for the other Bukharans... these are very poor” (Ibid. D. 562, fols. 64v–65).

More facts yet that confirm the arrival of the Shikhovs in Siberia in the early 18th century. The members of this family represented trading, landowning and religious elite of the Siberian Tatar society, they fulfilled governmental assignments and expressed the interests of the West Siberian Tatars and Bukharans. The original records of the 1897 census indicate that most of the Shikhovs were taught in various Islamic educational institutions.

Thus, in studying the appearance and resettlement of the Shikhovs in Siberia, it can be concluded that initially they settled down and began to acquire lands on the right

bank of the Irtysh River, upstream and downstream from the city of Tara, i.e. where the main agricultural areas and settlements of the local Tatars were situated. At the same time, agricultural activity has prompted people to develop lands on the left bank of the Irtysh River as well, resulting in the foundation of the cluster consisting of the Bukharan settlements. Reconstruction of the genealogical charts based on data provided by revisions has allowed identification of the descendants of all the four sons of ‘Awwas Baqi Shaykh. However, only some of the descendants related to ‘Alim Shaykh and Fayzi Shaykh had an already well-established surname of Shikhov and a three-part name basis. The other members of this family clan had surnames in each generation derived from the father’s name, therefore they had different family names, which were established only in the 20th century. Further studies are expected to focus on other stories associated with the Shikhov family that had a significant influence on the ethnic development of the indigenous Turkic-speaking population in the middle part of the Irtysh basin (including the northern areas of the present-day Kazakhstan).

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