



# SOME COMMENTS ON THE SETTLEMENT FEATURES OF THE GYPSIES OF BUKHARA OASIS AND THEIR SOCIAL STRATA

**Koryogdiev Zufar Okhunjonovich**

Basic doctoral student of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan

## ANNOTATION

*In this article the ethnographic materials about the settlement features of the gypsies living in Bukhara, one of the ancient oases of Central Asia, and their different social strata are reported. New data on their spread in the area and their individual groups were analyzed on the basis of various historical-ethnographic literatures and author's ethnographic field research and questionnaires conducted in the districts of Bukhara region. There are also given interesting materials on the culture and national traditions particular to the Gypsy, as well as their ethnocultural relations with the local population.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Bukhara gypsies, migration, settlement, social strata, jugikhona, gypsy tribes.*

## INTRODUCTION

Today, the study of the history of different peoples, diasporas, communities and the history of local cultures is of great importance. In this regard, there is a growing interest in the world community, especially to study the culture of gypsies and get acquainted with their lives. Because, the lifestyle and social norms of gypsies have been abstract, controversial and interesting to others. Especially, the relative scarcity of research on their origin and social strata requires conducting research in this field. Particularly, the study of more than 5,000 gypsies living in Bukhara, one of the ancient oases of Central Asia and its integral part of world civilization, is one of the urgent tasks of ethnology and cultural anthropology. Therefore, during 2018-2019, we conducted ethnographic research in a number of districts of Bukhara and studied the social strata and settlement of gypsies. Based on interviews and questionnaires, we were able to determine their spread across the region and their settlement as separate groups.

It is known from history that the Bukhara oasis is not only the history of the past, but also an ancient oasis that includes many national and ethnic groups. Together with Uzbeks, Arabs, Turks, Turkmens, Tajiks, Russians, Koreans, Jews and

Iranians live together in this region. Among them, the gypsies are distinguished by their unique culture and traditions. From this point of view, the main purpose of this work is to study the ethno-social strata of Bukhara Gypsies and their settlement on the basis of scientific literature and field materials.

### *Historical analysis of the problem of Bukhara gypsies.*

Although no special research has been conducted on Gypsies, A.P Barannikov, H. Nazarov, Sh. Atakhanov, B. Karmisheva, I. Oranskiy and other researchers have provided information on their ethnic history, culture and way of life. Particularly, A.P Barannikov put forward the opinion that the Gypsies had spread from India all over the world in the long period of the past. As the confirmation of this view, he refers to Firdausi's work "Shahnama" (XI century). It tells the legend that the Luri (Gypsies), a group of 10,000 singers and dancers, were sent from India as a gift to the Iranian king Bahrom (5th century) by his father-in-law the Indian Raja Shangun. According to A.P. Barannikov, the present-day Iranian and Central Asian gypsies are the descendants of those gifted Luri (2, pp. 33).



Thus, the Gypsies lived in Iran for a long time and then entered Central Asia through the territories of Afghanistan.

The events described in Abulqasim Firdavsi's work "Shahnama" can be considered as a product of artistic story. However, it is not by chance that a similar event was noted by the Iranian historian Hamza Isfahani, who lived in the middle of the X century. The difference is that Isfahani's work states that 12,000 singers "Zotts" were sent as gifts. The ethnonym "Zott" is the Arabic form of the ethnonym "jat"\*, and Hamza Isfahani wrote in this language. Thus, if it is taken into account that Isfahani lived half a century before Firdausi, the historical work was not based on the literary work, but the literary work was based on the historical work. In any case, both facts show that the Gypsies originated in India in the V century AD.

According to H.Nazarov, who specially studied Samarkand gypsies, due to the unfavorable historical conditions in their homeland, gypsies could not find the opportunity to engage in their traditional activities (singing, dancing, etc.) and moved to other countries in search of a suitable place. Of course, in such a situation, it is natural to aspire to developed countries. At that time, Central Asia fully met such requirements. The next wave of Gypsies leaving India and moving to other areas may have taken place in the early second millennium. Because, at this time (X century AD) India was being invaded by Muslim warriors. Moreover, India was going through a difficult historical period such as internal strife and the decline of the power of Delhi Sultanate (16, pp. 7).

According to Sh. Atakhanov, who conducted research on the Gypsies in the Fergana Valley, the Gypsies were the members of the lower caste of Indian society. They had to immigrate to Central Asia in the X and XI centuries as a result of the drastic changes in northwestern India as a result of foreign invasions and the various restrictions of caste, and the rise of migration to Central Asia coincided with this period (1, pp. 34).

Later, the migrations that had been suspended for some time during the Mongol invasion may have been revived during the reign of Amir Temur. Because, at that time special neighborhoods (mahallas) of gypsies were established in Samarkand.

### *A brief history of Bukhara gypsies.*

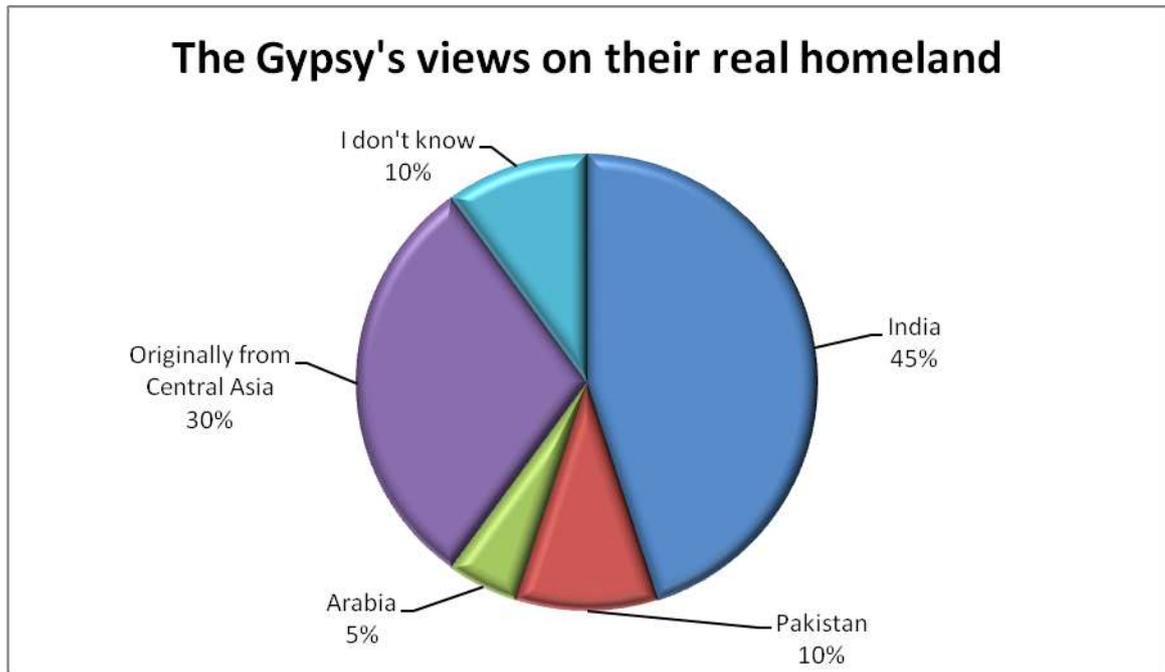
\* Jat – one of the ethnic groups of India having an ancient cultural history. They mainly live in Panjob and Uttar-Pradesh States. They speak in Urdu and Panjabi language which belongs to Indian-oriy language families. They believe in Sikhism and Hinduism religions.

In the late XIX and early XX centuries, there were also some intermittent migrations to Central Asia. These migrations geographically passed through Afghanistan.

In general, the Gypsies lived in Afghanistan for a long time after leaving India. They assimilated into the local population and formed their own ethnic groups. Later, they moved from there to Central Asia. The Gypsies formed ethnographic groups that differed from each other between the two rivers. Because they have not been sufficiently fully studied, the question of whether they have relationship to each other has not been resolved. Some of them can be considered as indigenous population of Central Asia, while others came from Afghanistan at different times (12, pp. 41).

The close historical and ethnic relationships between the inhabitants of the right and left banks of the Amudarya, the geographical peculiarities of these regions, enabled to establish mutual ancient trade and cultural relationships. It facilitated the migration of this or that ethnic group of the population. Over the past centuries, a number of Arab tribes entered Central Asia from the left banks (or through the left banks) of the Amu Darya. In the process of such migrations, gypsy-like ethnic groups such as Kavol, Chistoni, and Parya also came to Central Asia from Afghanistan (or through Afghanistan). The representatives of this group have retained memories of the settlement of their ancestors. The local people also consider them to be the Afghan origin and call them "Afghans." Among them Gypsies and sogutaroshs believe that their ancestors have lived in Central Asia for centuries, as a result of which their entrance to Central Asia dated back to a very long time (17, pp. 23).

The origin of the Gypsies and how long they have lived in the region of Central Asia, particularly Bukhara, is a controversial issue. A survey was conducted in order to compare the opinions of the Gypsies about it with the information provided in the historical materials. According to the survey, their views on their ancient homeland are reflected in the following diagram.



As it can be seen in the diagram, the majority of Gypsies claim that their ancient homeland is India. Besides, some Gypsies claim that their ancestors were originally from this area and deny that they migrated from another area. There are also those who associate themselves with Arabia and Pakistan. Another group of respondents said they had no idea about it. Perhaps this ignorance is due to the fact that there are different views among the people regarding the ancient homeland, and the inability to come to a firm consensus among the various interpreted legends and myths.

On the basis of the results of the study of historical literature and the conducted research, it can be concluded that the Gypsies did not enter Uzbekistan, especially the Bukhara oasis, at the same time. Perhaps migration waves took place at different times and in different ways. Most researchers have suggested that the way of migration of the Gypsies was in the India-Afghanistan-Uzbekistan route or in the Iran-Afghanistan-Uzbekistan route. It is impossible to deny that this interpretation is consistent with historical truth. However, the Gypsies entered via the India-Afghanistan-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan route too. The inhabitancy of a large number of gypsy communities in Surkhandarya, Kashkadarya, Samarkand, and Jizzakh regions of Uzbekistan, which border on Tajikistan, indicates that they have crossed the Gissar Valley, Qurghonteppa, Panjikent and Khojand regions of Tajikistan.

As the time passed, the linguistic characteristics of the gypsies changed, and some elements of material and spiritual culture were assimilated by the surrounding nations. Gypsies

speak two languages, Uzbek and Tajik, and Tajik is the main language of their way of life. In the past, gypsies did not have the right to own land and they had to move from one place to another. Later, the Gypsies began to have permanent staying places near towns and villages. In Bukhara and nearby, such staying places, residences and quarters of gypsies began to be established. It is noteworthy that most of these settlements are located only in the south-eastern part of Bukhara region. This is due to the fact that the gypsies living in Bukhara today entered mainly through Kashkadarya and settled in this border area.

#### ***The settlement features of gypsies in Bukhara.***

The gypsies who entered the oasis began to take a direct part in the various social processes that took place in society. It can be seen in the historical data mentioned by the Bukhara gypsies. This gives the impression that they entered the area being studied many centuries ago and are firmly settled. For example, the historian Mir Muhammad Amin Bukhari's book "Ubaydullanoma" gives information about the financial official Mehtar Shafi, who belonged to the Gypsy tribe during the reign of Bukhara khan Ubaydullah II (1702-1711). He was a major financial official in his time and was the main initiator of monetary reform in the khanate. Although the monetary reform initiated by this gypsy had made life difficult for the common people, Ubaydullah's reputation remained high (15, pp. 226). So, from the 18th century, the Gypsies settled in Bukhara and could find their place in society.

It is known that the Gypsies spread to different regions and territories and formed tribes distinguished by such characteristics as culture,



anthropological appearance, lifestyle and occupation. Nevertheless, they retained a sense of identity as representatives of the same culture. Particularly, in early XIX century, the Gypsies of the oasis consisted of several ethnic groups. As N. Khanikov noted, in the Bukhara Khanate there were three tribes of Gypsies with different names. They were called "Jogi", "Mazang" and "Gypsy" due to their face appearance and lifestyle. In the Bukhara khanate, most of them believed in Islam. The settled Gypsies of Bukhara were mainly engaged in applying leeches and fortune-telling. The nomadic ones, on the other hand, lived in tents made of white cotton fabric and were allowed to put up tents near all the lakes and rivers of the khanate and move freely if those lands were not occupied by the Uzbeks. That is why most of the Gypsies are settled in the Zarafshan oasis and the rest in the Karakul district (13, pp. 73). At that time, the population of Bukhara was 2.5 million, and more than 2,000 gypsies lived in the region (14, pp.30). It is obvious that in the XIX century a large number of gypsies were able not only to find a new place for themselves, but also to enjoy a number of privileges of the khanate.

From the second half of the XIX century, many destinations of Gypsies consisting of mud and straw houses were established in Bukhara. An association of local Gypsy musicians was mentioned in the copy of the Emir's decree in 1863. Also, a neighborhood of Gypsies called "Kofirobod" (meaning neighborhood with non-believers) was described. In addition, a few years later (1876) information was recorded about the settled gypsies of Bukhara. According to it, until recently, local gypsies of Bukhara inhabited in the "Jogi-Gosha" neighborhood near the farmers' market called "Somoni". The area was not far from the city center (Old City), and the price of land began to rise accordingly. As a result, many gypsies sold their homes and left Bukhara. They made Tutkunda, a newly formed settlement near Kagan, the satellite town of Bukhara, as their new home. Local Uzbeks were also building their own houses here (14, pp. 35).

#### ***Is there a tribal division in the Gypsies?***

There are reports about "long-headed Afghan gypsies", a nomadic tribe in the early XX century in Eastern Bukhara (17, pp. 24). At the same time, during the reign of Said Alimkhan (1910-1920) the ethnic group "Jochi" (ie, Jogi - Z.Q), originally from the north-eastern Gissar principality came to the Miyankol area of Zarafshan district (11, pp. 117). It seems that there is some connection between the ethnic groups mentioned in both data. Because both tribes are of Afghan origin and later migrated to the Gissar Valley. From there they came to the south-eastern regions of Uzbekistan.

In the middle of the XX century, the Chistoni tribe, which is considered to be ethnically related to the Gypsies, also lived as separate families throughout the Bukhara region. The ethnonym "Chistoni" may be derived from the name of the Seystan province of Iran. The main occupations of this tribe were begging and basket making. Regarding themselves as Tajiks, they have also established close kinship relations with Tajiks and Uzbeks. However, they did not consider it appropriate to marry a gypsy (14, pp. 13).

There are reports about the "Pokaroch" tribe with 150 families lived in Bukhara in the 1960s, and in Samarkand and Shakhrisabz as well. This tribe was genetically related to the Balujs\* (14, pp. 12). B. Karmisheva also mentioned about the Pokaroch people in her work. It was called "Indian gypsy" by the locals (12, pp. 253). However, the Pokarochs or Balujs have connection with the Indians, either linguistically or genetically. They are Iranian peoples. Probably, because they were anthropologically similar to the Indians, they were so called by the locals.

However, nowadays, most of the above ethnic groups exist only in the sources. Because, this group was absorbed into the local population in the process of assimilation.

Nevertheless, in modern society, the Bukhara Gypsies are divided into different ethno-social groups, and reflect cultural diversity. Their classification, their similarities and differences, is an important aspect of the problem of complex coverage of the settlement feature across the regions.

Today, gypsy groups live in Bukhara and around neighborhoods. In the general picture, the gypsies, who all seem to be one nation, are divided into clans and have connection in some degree. The results of the study show that today there are more than 10 clans throughout Bukhara region, all of which use the word "grandfather" before the ethnonym. That is, *Bobo Abdurayim*, *Bobo Oymahmad*, *Bobo Begmat*, *Bobo Yormat*, *Bobo Gulomi*, *Bobo Yuldashi*, *Bobo Shahrizabzi*, meaning that their origin goes back to some of their ancestors. These tribal names can often be without the word "grandfather". Each gypsy associates his or her ethnicity to one or another tribe. Although they are divided into clans, the relationship is very close, mixed marriages are the normal and well-preserved. In turn, the above clans are further divided into smaller branches. For example, the clan of the

---

\*Balujs – the population of present Beligistan province of Pakistan bordered on Iran. They speak in the dialect belonging to northern-western Iranian languages.



*Yuldoshi* itself is divided into *mallagi*, *karagi*, and *utagi*.

The Abdurayim tribe is a branch of the Niyaz Urganji clan. According to the legend given by the reporters, the old Jogi man had six daughters. A Turkmen man named Niyaz Urganji fell ill while passing through the village and spent the night in the old man's house. Later, he married to one of the grandfather's daughters. The child born from their marriage was named Abdurayim. The Abdurayim clan in the gypsies is recognized as the descendants of this tribe (8). Hence, the tribe of Abdurayim is considered to be the tribe of Turkmen and jogi. There is also an Uzbek on the mother's side and a gooseberry on the father's side. There is also the Balkhi tribe, which is said to have originated in Afghanistan and is anthropologically distinguished from other gypsy tribes by its relatively dark skin color. Another of the clans is the Karacha clan, who claim that their ancestors came from Karachi.

There is a separate Gypsy tribe that differs from all the ethno-social groups mentioned above, which we have conditionally called *the local Bukhara jogis*. The reason for saying "local" is that they came to the oasis in very ancient times. Since the locations are also located in the central part of the city, the level of consolidation to the local population is relatively high, but not assimilated. That is, it mixed with the surrounding population, but did not absorb them. In this sense, their identity is different from other gypsies. They try to separate themselves from the Gypsies by keeping them in a narrow circle. With the rise of the standard of living, the Gypsies abandoned begging, which was their traditional occupation, and engaged in other occupations, the rise of material life, and in general, they consolidated to the local population by striving for a higher social status and class. Of course, this process is a product of a social phenomenon that has occurred not in the recent past, but over a long historical period. Today, they regard themselves as Uzbek or Tajik, and differ significantly from other Gypsies, both anthropologically and in terms of economic types and material and spiritual culture. In short, admitting that they are Gypsies, they regard themselves as civilized and developed native peoples of this place.

Bukhara gypsies were formed as a result of long ethnocultural processes on the basis of their local peculiarities. Although they seemed to be a single nation at first sight, the representatives of the ethnos, which formed ethnic groups different from each other, actively established socio-cultural relationships with the surrounding population. As a result of this relation, it is clearly seen that today Gypsies live side by side with other peoples, in contrast to their isolated lifestyle of the past.

## SETTLEMENT OF GYPSIES IN BUKHARA

In the villages and neighborhoods of Bukhara, the Gypsies have established good-neighborly relations with Uzbeks and Tajiks. During the field ethnographic research it has been revealed that there are two neighborhoods of Gypsies in the territory of the city. One of them is "Chorbakhossa" neighborhood near the Central Farmer's Market. There are about twenty families of Gypsies or more than 100 people in the neighborhood. Those who live in this neighborhood are local Bukhara gypsies. These "local gypsies" (some of them regard themselves as Arabs or Arab gypsies) did not retain the memories of when and where they came from to Bukhara. They claim that their ancestors have lived here since ancient times. The level of consolidation to Uzbeks and Tajiks is quite high, and mixed marriages are wide spread. They have a specific reason why mixed marriages with the surrounding population are higher than those of other Gypsies. This is because begging has not survived in the lifestyle of these local gypsies. Other gypsies have begging at a certain degree. This factor determines whether there will be mixed marriages with the surrounding population or not. They are mainly engaged in trade, applying leeches, healing, tightrope-walking, cradle-making and box-making. They do not deal with begging. The standard of living is much better and they live materially sufficient. And because of the above factor, even though they themselves are an ethnic group belonging to Gypsies, they do not have blood relations and close ties with other descendants of the gypsies retained begging.

The second and relatively large neighborhood in which Gypsies live in the territory of Bukhara is "Kyzylkum" neighborhood. The Gypsies, who live in this neighborhood, which is called "jogikhona" (the place where jogi live) by the locals, call their descendants the jogis of "bobo Yormat". The Gypsies with forty families and more than 200 people have their Uzbek and Tajik neighbors. According to Panji Bobo Azamatov, an elderly from the same neighborhood, they moved from different parts of Bukhara in the 70s of the XX century (7). They have forgotten their memories about their ancestors. The lifestyle is relatively low and the main occupations are picking up by-products and partly begging. The peculiarity of their occupations is that they try to live separately from the surrounding population as a result of which some elements of their traditional lifestyle have been preserved. Therefore, mixed marriages with Uzbeks and Tajiks are rare, mainly endogamous marriages are common.

If the location of the oasis gypsies is considered, most of them did not inhabit the interior



of the city or, conversely, remote villages. That is, they settled in the areas close to the city. The reason for this is explained as follows: *firstly*, the lands located in the city area were relatively expensive. The Gypsies economically couldn't afford to buy land and housing in this area. In the nearby districts, however, the land property was much cheaper and is considered a convenient area in terms of closeness to the city. *Secondly*, the main activities of the population in remote districts and villages are farming and live-stock. It cannot be a suitable place for other labor activities, such as picking up by-products, trade, and begging. Suburban areas, on the other hand, were preferred by the Gypsies because of the possibility of being engaged in such activities. *Thirdly*, subsistence farming (exchange) predominated among the livestock or peasants class. The gypsies were more interested in money. So they tried to move towards the suburbs, which were shopping centers. In particular, 1,000 gypsies live in the Sadridin Ayni neighborhood in Bukhara district, which is adjacent to Bukhara. They call themselves "karacha" or "karachi" gypsies. According to the chief of the neighborhood, their ancestors came here from the city of Karachi in Pakistan during the reign of Amir Temur. It is believed that the name of the clan is related to the name of this city. In addition, there are about a hundred families in this neighborhood, the descendants of "Ziyakobul", whose ancestors came from Margilan. Neither clans joins with the city's "local gypsies". The reason is that while the majority of the population is engaged in trade, handicrafts and other fields, begging is still preserved (3). Therefore, the local gypsies who do not have begging have relationships with them.

Kogon has the largest number of gypsy neighborhoods, and even today there are places called "Said-obod", "Furkat", "Mevazor", "Khoja Bargi", "Istiqbol", "Beklar". Uzbeks and Gypsies live together in the "Said Obod" neighborhood in the "Decha-Obod" settlement. The gypsies of this neighborhood belong to the "bobo Shahrizabzi" clan. The neighborhood consists of about a hundred gypsy families and about 500 gypsies live there. According to the information given by Nutfullo Pardae, the chief of the this neighborhood, his ancestors have been "barons" since the time of Amir Temur. The word "baron" is used in the Gypsy's internal relations to mean "elder of the neighborhood" or "chief." They claim to be descendants of Gypsies who moved from Kitab, Shakhrisabz and Samarkand (5). Neighboring relations have been established with Uzbeks and Tajiks in the neighborhood, as well as mixed marriages are common.

Another neighborhood where Gypsies lived in, 15 km far from Bukhara, is called "Furkat", and covers a large area behind the Kogon railway station. In the course of ethnographic field research, it was

found that about 1,000 gypsies live here in more than a hundred families. According to 91-year-old Urgenji bobo, who has lived in the neighborhood for more than half a century, their ancestors have lived in the territory of Uzbekistan since long times. Until the beginning of the XX century, they lived nomadic life by setting up tents in Khorezm and Karakalpakstan. Later they entered the territory of Bukhara region. Their descendants such as "oymahma", "abdurahim", "niyozquli", "bekmat", "yormat" live in this village. The living standards of the residents of this neighborhood, who are mainly engaged in labor migration in other countries and partially begging, are much lower. The skills of farming, handicrafts and live-stock have not been developed.

More than 600 Gypsies live in "Mevazor" neighborhood of Uba Chuli settlement of Kagan district too. In the 60s of the XX century, 10 families from Kashkadarya region moved here. These neglected areas have become a prosperous village now, and the gypsies belonging to "Bobo Yuldoshi" clan live in the 3.20 hectares area. Some of the later settlers moved to Bukhara and Vobkent districts and established new settlements. The inhabitants of this place used to move from one place to another depending on the season. During the summer, 5-10 families lived in the houses of local Uzbeks in the villages and helped with farming and animal husbandry. With the arrival of winter, they returned to their places again. According to Nutfullo Yomgirov, who has been an elderly chief in the village for 50 years, his parents were originally Uzbeks from Shafirkan. In 1941 Nutfullo's father Toshpulat Bobo went to the war and died. His mother, Zulfiya momo, married a gypsy Yomgir Bobo, a brigadier on the same collective farm. So, Zulfiya took her son Nutfullo and his brother and sister and moved to the gypsy neighborhood with her husband. Nutfullo Yomgirov married to a gypsy girl and settled there (9). There are also gypsies in the village of "Beklar" in the district, where about 300 people live, whose descendants were from Yormat and Yuldoshi clans. Some families originated in Samarkand and settled in Bukhara in the middle of the XX century, first in Gijduvan and then in the village of Furkat in Kogon district. They came to this village in the early 2000s. Now they are building new buildings here and engaged in farming and trade. Most Gypsies go to work in Russia.

30 families of gypsies live in "Khurram" street of Ponob village in Vobkent district. They are more than 200 people. The inhabitants of this place are from "Yormat" clan, originally came from Karshi. They moved to Bukhara in the first half of the XX century. Until 2005, they lived in the "Kyzylykum" neighborhood in Bukhara. Later, lands were allocated in Vobkent district and relocated here. Their main occupation is mobile trading, from which they make



a profit. One can also meet those who are engaged in farming and animal husbandry.

Although there is a small number, Gypsies live in the village of “Khalajion” in Shafirkan district too. There are about 10 families consisting of about 100 gypsies in this village, they came to this area from the former “Zarafshan” collective farm of Gijduvan district, which is now the village of “Pinjuvon”. In the middle of the XX century the locals lived here were engaged with bricklaying. Later, a brick factory was built by the government in this area. All the gypsies worked in this brick factory (10). Long-term cultural processes, the development of social life in harmony with the surrounding population, led them to get rid of the practice of begging. As a result, they have economically and socially developed and comprehensive relations with the local population have been strengthened.

There are more than a hundred families with 400 gypsies live in the village of “Pinjuvon” of Gijduvan district, 50 km far from Bukhara. The villagers could not keep memories of what tribe they belonged to. According to Dilmurod Kholmurodov, the chief of the neighborhood, the gypsies are now mixed with Uzbeks (4). Observations show that the living standards of the Gypsies in this neighborhood are much higher. They are actively involved in agriculture, live-stock breeding and business. There are also teachers and police officers with higher education, in small numbers. They have not been engaged in begging for the last thirty or forty years.

**Conclusion.** In conclusion, the collected scientific data show that the migration wave of Gypsies to the Bukhara oasis took place in different ways in different historical periods. There are reports that their migration route was mainly through the India-Afghanistan-Uzbekistan and India-Afghanistan-Iran-Afghanistan-Uzbekistan routes.

In the course of the ethnographic field research it was revealed that the Gypsies living in the Bukhara oasis had more than 10 social groups and about 5,300 population. In its turn, each of the Gypsies was socially diverse. In particular, the gypsies living in the cities and suburbs of Bukhara have low level of education. And the gypsies in remote villages of the region, on the contrary, are more active in social life and have higher levels of education and employment. The main reason for this is that the townspeople live in separate neighborhoods without being mixed with Uzbeks and are mainly engaged in begging and collecting by-products. The Gypsies in rural areas are scattered, and mixed marriages with Uzbeks are more common. Therefore, they have established active relationships with Uzbeks in social life. As a household activity, they are mainly engaged in farming and live-stock breeding, they do not deal with begging. Thus, during

the research 14 settlements of gypsies were identified in Bukhara, mainly in the suburbs and partly in urban areas.

It was found that the tribal division of Bukhara gypsies was associated with the name of a person or a place. That is, they called themselves "shahrisabzi", "karacha (or karachi)", "balkhi" to indicate that they were from the same region from which they moved. The next generation continued under the same name. The ethnonyms associated with place names have been somewhat stable. However, the ethnonyms associated with the name of the person ("yormat", "begmat", "abdurayim", etc.) are also relatively unstable. That is, anthroponyms have actively changed, and new communities have emerged from them. Over time, patriarchal families increased, expanded and separated from the community, and formed their own separate clans. The next generation named themselves under this new name.

So, all of these social communities (except the “local gypsies” in the city) regard themselves as a general ethnos and keep their relationships strong. This diversity is one of the local features of Bukhara gypsies, which is not observed in the gypsies of other regions.

## LIST OF REFERENCES

1. *Ataxanov Sh. Gypsies of Central Asia // Echoes from history. Tashkent: 1. (25) .2005.*
2. *Barannikov A.P. Gypsies of the USSR (a short historical and ethnographic sketch). Moscow: "Tsentrizdat", 1931.*
3. *Field materials – Bukhara District, 2019. Reporter: Amin Gadoev, 56 years old, the chief.*
4. *Field materials – Gijduvan District, Panjuvan neighborhood, 2019. Reporter: Kholmurodov Dilmurod, 37 years old, the chief.*
5. *Field materials – Kogon District, Decha obod neighborhood, 2019. Reporter: Nutfullo Pardaev, 53 years old, the chief.*
6. *Field materials – Kogon District, Zirabod neighborhood, 2019. Reporter: Urganji Baba 91 years old, the chief.*
7. *Field materials. Bukhara city, Otbozor neighborhood, 2018, Reporter: Panji Azamatov, 85 years old, the chief.*
8. *Field materials. Kogon District, Beklar neighborhood, 2019, Reporter: Tursun Jalilov, 73 years old.*
9. *Field materials. Kogon District, Mevazor neighborhood, 2019. Reporter: Nutfullo Yomgirov, 87 years old.*
10. *Field materials. Shafirkan District, Khalajion neighborhood, 2019. Reporter: Marziya Murtazoeva, 57 years old.*
11. *Grebenkin A.D. Small peoples of the Zaravshan district // Russian Turkistan. Collection. Issue II. Moscow: University Printing House (Katkov and K), 1872.*



12. *Karmysheva B.Kh. Essays on the ethnic history of the southern regions of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan / according to ethnographic data. Abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Historical Sciences. Moscow: 1977.*
13. *Khanykov N. Description of the Bukhara Khanate. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences. 1843. [www.twirpx.com/file/1252617/](http://www.twirpx.com/file/1252617/)*
14. *Marushiakova E., Popov V. Gypsies in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.*
15. *Mir Muhammad Amin-i Bukhari. Ubaydullaname. Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR. T.: 1957.*
16. *Nazarov Kh.Kh. Influence of the October Revolution on the situation and life of Central Asian Gypsies. Moscow: 1970.*
17. *Oranskiy I.M. Tajik-speaking ethnographic groups of the Gissar valley (Central Asia). Ethnolinguistic research. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, 1983.*