

THE HISTORY OF LAND AND WATER RELATIONS IN THE KALOBOD DISTRICT OF BUKHARA AT THE END OF THE 19TH AND BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

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Annotation: This article provides a detailed analysis of the water structures, water supply system, forms of land ownership, and issues related to waqf properties in the Kalobod district, which took shape at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and has been preserved to this day. It also highlights the types and amounts of taxes during this period, as well as the distinctive architectural and social characteristics of the neighborhoods and the unique features of the local environment they created.

Keywords: Kalobod, jarib, guzar, garden, cultivated fields, peasants, cemetery, graveyard, pilgrimage site, waqf, Shohrud, mirab, rais, tazar, pond, canal, irrigation ditch.

Introduction. The history of land and water relations in the city of Bukhara is a broad and complex subject of research. Although many studies have been conducted on this topic, it still remains only partially explored. Each part of the ancient city had its own unique system of land ownership, taxation, and water supply. For example, different neighborhoods and areas of the Old City had distinct characteristics: the southern parts were mainly specialized in crafts (the old rabot), the western areas featured groves and cemeteries, while the central shahristan zones experienced water shortages (with the only source being the Havzi Qozi Kalon pond). The eastern section, which we will focus on, consisted of the Kalobod jarib (the term jarib comes from Arabic and is a land measurement

equal to one tanob [1. 210]). The urban quarters, or dahas, of Bukhara were organized under this name.

Main Body. A distinctive feature of land and water relations in the Kalobod jarib was that the neighborhoods (guzars) located there had more picturesque gardens and orchards, flower beds, cultivated lands, a favorable climate, and better water supply compared to other parts of the city [5. 245]. As an example, it is worth mentioning some guzars that earned their names based on their natural climate and conditions, such as Ko‘cha bog‘ (“Street Garden” or “Garden Street”) and Dilkusho.

Most of the guzars in the Kalobod area had a semi-rural appearance [5. 245]. This was due to the reconstruction of the city fortress walls in the 16th century. As a result, this area, which had once been located within the city, was left outside the walls but later became an internal part of the city structure again [3. 119]. This transformation contributed to the streets and neighborhoods taking on a more rural character.

Taking into account the favorable living conditions in the jarib, it naturally attracted wealthy nobles as well as migrant populations who were not originally adapted to the environment of Bukhara. For example, in several guzars of this area—particularly in Zomucha, Oybinoq, Dilkushoyi Darun, Qaro Kamol, Fathullo Khoshbegi, and others—these groups made up the majority of the population. As evidence of this, one can mention the Mullo Sulton madrasa. This structure, extremely small in size with only two cells, was built about ten years before the revolution by Mullo Sulton, a native of Tashkent [5. 249]. Additionally, the Muhammad Nabi madrasa, built by a resident of this guzar who was originally a peasant from Denau and engaged in bringing and selling palos (a type of silk fabric) from the city of Karshi, was also active [5. 250]. Furthermore, in the Qaro Kamol guzar, various representatives of Uzbek tribes resided, and in the Dilkushoyi Darun guzar, Persian-speaking peoples lived. In the latter guzar, there were also people from Kholab who, for various reasons including seeking employment, earning a living, and pursuing education, visited the area. However,

after not adapting to the conditions of Bukhara, they were forced to seek shelter in this region [5. 245].

If we examine the history of the jarib in terms of its land and water relations, it can be classified into three main groups:

1. The land located within the jarib, its types, and issues related to their use.
2. The water structures and water supply issues of the jarib.
3. The unique taxation system of the jarib.

First, when discussing the lands in the guzar and their types, they can be further divided into several groups (as classified by the author):

1. Lands under the control of the Amir.
2. Private lands owned by the local population.
3. Lands specifically allocated for public use.
4. Protected and abandoned lands.
5. Gardens, fields, and orchards.
6. Waqf lands.
7. Lands where cemeteries, shrines, and pilgrimage sites are located.

First, when discussing the lands belonging to the Amir, their number was relatively small, with only one of them located in one of the guzars of this jarib. This land was a large house (courtyard) belonging to the Amir, located in the Fathullo Khoshbegi guzar (the courtyard of the house was called havliyi poshogi). No one resided there; the house was well-maintained and kept in a clean, tidy condition, and it was overseen by specially appointed individuals, though there were no guards present. Typically, this house was used to accommodate special guests who wished to visit the Amir [5. 252].

The second group of lands, that is, the private property belonging to the local population, was the most common type of land. These lands included residential houses where the population resided, as well as buildings for businesses. The lands in the third group mainly consisted of markets, such as Bozori Xoja located in the Fathullo Khoshbegi guzar, and the covered market (sobot) in the Mehtar Anbar guzar. Among public buildings, there was also a shelter for the poor, known as

gadoyxona, located in the Fathullo Khoshbegi guzar. This building was large and resembled a house. Homeless, poor people lived there, receiving food and provisions, likely funded by the "state treasury" (possibly derived from waqf income) [5. 253]. Such structures, as they did not directly fall under waqf property, have been classified as a separate group.

The distinctive feature of unused and abandoned lands is that settlements that arose due to natural conditions were included in this category. For example, in place of the Qaro Kamol guzar, there had previously been a swampy lake. About a hundred years ago (referring to the 18th century), the city territory expanded, and measures were taken to artificially drain the swamp area [5. 261].

In the next group, when we include gardens, fields, and orchards, such places are among the most common forms in the jarib area. Among them, although not suited to the city environment, extensive use of agricultural lands was made. One of the guzars of the jarib, in the Fathullo Khoshbegi guzar, was inhabited by small shopkeepers who profited from their lands. They hired seasonal laborers, known as chorikorlar (farm workers), to work on their land. Some farmers, during the summer, would go to their lands with their families, doing this only to check on the crops and harvest [5. 251].

The Peskhona neighborhood, which was discriminated against by the population, was also located in the northeastern corner of the city. It bordered gardens and orchards to the north and east, and was considered to be one of the most picturesque and pleasant places [5. 254]. The Dilkushoyi Darun guzar was considered the most beautiful and prestigious among them. The name of the guzar is related to its favorable and pleasant climate ("Dilkusho" – delightful, captivating for hearts), which refers to the availability of water, the location of gardens and orchards, and fertile lands for farming, making the area quite cool and less dusty. In this place, primarily, members of noble families had their homes and would come here to relax during the summer. This area was mainly inhabited by people who were not accustomed to the conditions of Bukhara, including officials from the mountainous regions of present-day Tajikistan ("from the az Khulob area") [5.

254]. Since the area functioned as a resting resort, the local population also adapted their professions to the favorable environment, and a service oriented towards relaxation developed. Seven families prepared tents (shom'yona, tammuk) for the gardens and orchards. There was a great demand for these, and wealthy individuals would either host guests in their gardens or set up the tents during outings. [5. 255].

The population of Xoja Tabband guzar was mainly engaged in farming. Therefore, part of the population lived off the income from the land and were referred to as "farmers" (dehqonlar) [3. 122]. As mentioned earlier, Qaro Kamol guzar was originally a swamp, but later transformed into a garden, as reported.

Waqf lands also constituted a significant part of the area, and this situation is characteristic not only of the jarib but also of the entire city. As a result of the artificial drainage of the natural lake located in Qaro Kamol guzar, gardens, orchards, and new guzars were formed. Later, Uzbek clans migrated to this guzar and settled there. The area of the guzar included waqf lands, such as the Ja'far Khoja (in A. Jumanazar's research, Ja'far Khoja Naqib) madrasa and mosque in Chorjoy, and the annual taxes paid by the newly arrived population were linked to these lands [2. 265-266]. In the remaining guzars, some of the most famous include the Oybinoq mosque, the madrasa of Isteza, Xoja Tabband mosque, Chor Minor, Fathullo Qo'shbegi xonakoh, Abdullo Qo'chqor mosque, the madrasas of Domullo Hasan and Domullo Sher, as well as many other types of buildings such as mosques, madrasas, xonakohs, pools, ablution rooms, and baths. Another distinctive feature of the Bukhara guzars was that each guzar had at least one or three mosques, madrasas, guzar schools, pools, and its own mazor (shrine).

The distinctive feature of the houses in Qaro Kamol and Mir Taxuri Devona guzars, mentioned in several sentences, is that they were located on waqf land and collected taxes for the benefit of the waqf property each year. For example, the annual tax amount for the inhabitants of Qaro Kamol guzar was initially 5 tiyin (kopeyka – according to the USSR standard) – 1 miriy (one miriy) in Bukhara currency, and during the last years of the reign of the amirs, it increased to 15 tiyin

– 1 tanga (one tanga) [5. 262]. Mir Taxuri Devona guzar is also among them, but the amount of taxes collected from it has not been determined. All of this money was spent for the benefit of the mosque and madrasas located in the guzar – mainly for lighting lamps and candles.

In terms of mausoleums, Kalobod is considered one of the largest pilgrimage complexes. Cemeteries, tombs, and shrines, like the buildings of waqf property, are located in each guzar and have remained an inseparable, symbolic part of them. Among the most famous of them are Khodja Zomucha, Khalifa Niyozqul, Kalobodiyar Marqadi, Du Dodaron, Eshoni Ustod, Khodja Tabband, Imam Qozikhon, Avliyo Namadposh, Haji Piyoda, Khodja Hofizi Turob, and other shrines, which are considered the most visited places of pilgrimage. Among them, Ahli Namadposh, Imam Qozikhon, and Shaykh Ali Haji Piyoda shrines stand out particularly [8., 9]. A part of the Khodja Nurobod cemetery extends into this guzar area [3. 124], but it is considered part of another jarib (Iskandarxon).

To summarize the information about the land and its types in the Jarib area, it can be stated that the majority of the groups mentioned above existed in this area. As highlighted earlier, the appearance of the Jarib neighborhoods differed significantly from the rest of the city. While the shahriston (city center) was entirely devoid of greenery, the area we examined was relatively rich in gardens and orchards. The neighborhoods in this area also housed the most visited pilgrimage sites, with numerous graves and shrines. Additionally, in all the neighborhoods, various forms of waqf (endowment) properties were present.

The water supply of the area also stood out compared to the rest of the city. In the neighborhoods, all types of water infrastructure were present, including pools, reservoirs, canals, ditches, wells, and others. This ensured a consistent and efficient water supply, further distinguishing the area from other parts of the city.

Outside the city of Bukhara, the supply of water to the land was overseen by the mirob, while the portion of the water flowing inside the city walls was monitored by the deputy of the rais. His observation point was located near the Mozor (Mozori Sharif) gate. From this point, he would monitor the flow of water

into the city, ensuring it reached the pools and gardens within [4. 144]. The canals outside the city merged into the Shohrud (formerly Zarirud) canal, which provided water to the city. The Shohrud canal, in turn, supplied water to various locations along its route, including the Qazi Nuriddin, Attor, Oybiy Inoq, Fathullo Qo'shbegi, Nodir Devonbegi, Gavkushon, Arbob, Jilavxona, Mavlonov Assiri, Muddao, and Takiya pools. All these pools were filled with water through short passages connected to the Shohrud canal [4. 145]. The Shohrud canal, in some places, was open, while in others, it took the form of a tazar, which was an underground channel with a covered top. Despite the Shohrud canal spreading across many parts of the city, we will focus only on the sections relevant to the Kalobod district.

In Bukhara, various legends and myths related to water infrastructure also formed. Among the canals, the "Jo'yi chappa" canal in the Qaro Kamol district became the subject of various local legends. According to O.A. Sukharev's information, the legend tells that the canal was once owned by a donkey who gained a reputation among the locals. During the canal's use, when it was the donkey's turn to be used, it became angry and reportedly shouted "qayt" (meaning "return"), and from that moment on, the canal began to flow in reverse [3. 124].

The Shohrud canal, as it flowed through the city, split into several branches, with the majority of these branches passing through the region's territory. The first branch flowed through the northeastern parts of the city — Kalobod, Faziaddin Maxsum (a name possibly miswritten due to a mistake in L.I. Rempel's work), Qaro Kamol, Dilkushoi Darun, Pesxona, Olimxo'ja, Ja'far Xoja, and Ko'cha-bog' reservoirs, providing them with a constant water supply. The remaining sections of the canal passed near the shahristan area, eventually entering the tazars [4. 145].

The second branch of the canal flowed outside the Kalobod Jarib region, to the south, but did not reach the inner parts of the area. However, it did supply water to the Xalifa Husayn and Shayx Rangrez reservoirs, which were located near Kalobod. The third branch continued to provide water to the inner Kalobod neighborhoods, reaching the Xoja Tabband, Kushuki, and Chor Baqqoli reservoirs

in the form of a tazar. The fourth branch only supplied water to the Domullo Sher reservoir in this region, while the fifth flow did not enter the area at all and reached the western limits of the Shahrison district, supplying water to the Xoja Zayniddin and Lesak reservoirs [4. 145-147]. The sixth and final branch did not enter the Kalobod area either. In addition to the major reservoirs mentioned above, other notable ones in this region included the Hauzi Gungak, Sharifboy Bindi, Chor Minor, and others. The Xoja Hasan (Mulloxon) reservoir, which was part of the Fathullo qo'shbegi neighborhood, was among the reservoirs mentioned [7] and was originally formed based on the madrasa of the same name [3. 120]. The Kalobod neighborhood's reservoir was also a large one, and nearly all of these large reservoirs were filled in and buried in the 1930s due to the rise of the rishta disease [6].

In **conclusion**, it can be stated that the Kalobod district was one of the best-watered and most well-supplied parts of Bukhara's old city, with an uninterrupted network of canals and many reservoirs. In places far from or sparsely located from water resources, water supply was also ensured by a special group of workers called mashkobs. Especially in the Imom Qozixon neighborhood, mashkobs formed the majority [3. 122]. In these areas, wells were also operational, the majority of which were located near the cemeteries. In short, the Kalobod district is one of the parts of the city that has left an indelible mark on Bukhara's history. Various forms of land-water relations existed in this area, and many of these still maintain their original form to this day. Currently, restoration work is underway on these structures, with efforts to restore their initial conditions. Architectural monuments that were once lost are being reconstructed, and special attention is being given to pilgrimage tourism, which connects the cemeteries and sacred sites.

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