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ДОНИШКАДАИ ОМУЗГОРИИ
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horses, and delivering it to the finish line all depend on the wrestler's strength and skills. For this reason, kupkari wrestlers approach the game with great responsibility.

As wrestler Zokir from Kushchi village in the Zomin district of Jizzakh region puts it: "First of all, to become a kupkari wrestler, one must have a passion for the game from a young age. He must know how to ride, and possess a temperament that can bond with the animal. A wrestler must regularly train and build physical strength well ahead of the season, and he should manage his diet and routine in a disciplined and planned manner"¹⁶⁴.

As kupkari continues to gain popularity today, changes are also taking place in the field. Horse trainers who specialize in preparing steeds for kupkari have emerged, working with well-bred, game-ready horses. Wrestlers (riders) are also physically training and conditioning themselves for the demands of the sport. The kupkari field has become a point of convergence between the rider and the horse.

Many wrestlers continue to participate in kupkari through dynastic or mentor-apprentice traditions. For example, in the village of Kushchi in the Zomin district, the kupkari tradition is inherited by Zohid and Shodibek Khayitboev from their fathers Zokir and Zoir Polvon, and further back from their grandfathers Salim and Soyib Polvon. A true kupkari wrestler enters the game not for the prize in the center, but for honor (or) and dignity (nomus). A wrestler's mastery brings pride not only to himself, but also evokes the memory of his ancestors and echoes the name of his town, village, or community. This sense of honor and pride is inherited from earlier generations and remains alive today. When you ask modern riders, "What is the most honorable thing in kupkari?" they respond, "Fighting for the wrestler's honor."

In the game of kupkari, when a goat (the symbolic "ulak") is thrown into the center, it becomes the focus of attention for the spectators — a test of the horse's and wrestler's strength and skills. Among Uzbeks, the thrown animal is called "ulak" or "taka" (male goat). According to informant Abdugani Baratov, in ancient times, people would throw one of their own livestock into the center of the game. The male goat — "taka" — became the primary animal used in this role. The weight of the goat would be chosen based on the number and strength of the participating wrestlers. Lighter goats would typically be used in early rounds or for younger riders.

In the Jizzakh region, the animal used in the center is called taka. A well-fattened taka that has been raised for 3–7 years is considered ideal. In earlier times, before the animal was used in the game, its head and legs would be removed and its stomach filled with salt. Today, some adjustments have been made to this process. The internal organs of the goat are removed and the inside is cleaned and filled with salt. Then the intestines are returned and sewn up carefully so that the body retains its shape and the salt does not shift to one side. This preparation ensures a fair and consistent object for competition.

The weight of the taka used in the game is also a key factor. According to Abdugani Baratov, in today's matches, animals weighing between 45 to 75 kilograms are thrown into the field¹⁶⁵. After slaughter, the animal is weighed, then filled with salt according to its weight, and carefully balanced on a scale before being used in the game.

It is worth noting that, in addition to goats, other animals such as rams and calves have also been used in kupkari. Today, in regions like the Fergana Valley and the Kyrgyz Republic, it is still common to use a calf for the game. However, the male goat (taka) remains the preferred choice in most places, mainly because its fur makes it easier for riders to grip and handle during intense physical struggles in the match.

¹⁶⁴ Expedition to the village of Kushchi, Zomin district, Jizzakh region — April 10, 2025. (Informant: Zokir Polvon Khayitboev, born in 1968.)

¹⁶⁵ Expedition to the village of Kushchi, Zomin district, Jizzakh region — April 10, 2025. (Informant: Abdugani Baratov, born in 1964.)

Historically and even today, kupkari games are organized during weddings and large public celebrations (sayil festivals). Each region chooses a location that is suitable for the game — often a natural field surrounded by elevated terrain so spectators can watch safely from a distance. This setup helps ensure that horses do not run into the crowd and that accidents are minimized.

In the case of large-scale alamon ulok games, two scoring zones called marra are established on the field. These are marked as circular areas covered with straw. The distance between the upper and lower marra points usually ranges between 270 to 320 meters, which is considered optimal for both horses and riders.

To organize the game properly, community elders and organizers convene and select judges for the event. According to Abdugani Baratov, these judges are traditionally known as “Doqol” Their decisions are considered final and must be followed by all wrestlers. Individuals chosen as judges are expected to be honest, impartial, and respected within the community.

In addition to judges, commentators are appointed to explain the flow of the game to the spectators. Today, not only in Jizzakh region but across Central Asia, kupkari games are being eloquently narrated by well-known commentators such as Abdugani Baratov, Abdulla Alibekov, Diyorbek Boliev, and Salohiddin To‘ychiyev. According to Baratov, in earlier times, famous figures like Narzulla Hoji, Dilmurod Hoji, and Sottor Polvon were known for their commentaries¹⁶⁶. He himself considers these individuals his mentors and has learned the secrets of kupkari from them.

The commentator’s role goes beyond simple explanation — their vivid descriptions increase audience engagement and can deeply motivate the riders. Hearing the excitement in the commentator’s voice as a wrestler gallops toward the goal carrying the taka gives the competitor a surge of energy, pride, and morale. It intensifies the emotional and spiritual connection between the wrestler and the game.

When the goat (taka) is successfully thrown into the scoring circle (marra), the term “halol” (valid) is announced. If the animal lands outside the boundary, the referee calls “bekor” (invalid), indicating that the attempt does not count.

In organizing kupkari, the efforts of the wrestlers have traditionally been acknowledged and rewarded. This practice dates back to ancient times, where the act of delivering the goat (taka) to the goal was referred to as solim, and the name of the wrestler along with the nickname of his horse would be publicly announced.

As a reward, items such as carpets, sheep, calves, camels, foals, and cash prizes were often presented. However, the wrestler does not participate in the game for the sake of material gain. He enters the field out of a sense of honor and pride. The awarding process is seen as a way of respecting and not letting the wrestler’s hard work go unrecognized.

In conclusion, kupkari is not only a national game of the Turkic peoples but also one that involves significant risk, with potential for serious injury. Historically, the game was less about competition for prizes and more about cultivating the warrior spirit of the wrestler. Although much of its original meaning and function has faded over time, kupkari remains a deeply rooted traditional sport among the people. Therefore, studying and researching the intangible cultural heritage behind this game is an important task.

Фируза Каландарова
БухДУ

¹⁶⁶ Expedition to the village of Kushchi, Zomin district, Jizzakh region — April 10, 2025. (Informant: Abdugani Baratov, born in 1964.)

SOMIY VA SADRIDDIN AYNIIY

Annotatsiya: mazkur maqolada XIX asr birinchi yarmida Buxoro amirligida tugʻilib oʻsgan, uning adabiyoti va tarixining rivojida oʻzining ulkan hissasini qoʻshgan ikki ijodkor haqida bayon qilingan. Ularning qarashlaridagi tafovut va oʻxshashliklar, ayniqsa Somiy hayoti va ijodining oʻrganilishi hamda bizgacha yetib kelishida Sadridin Ayniyning oʻrni koʻrsatilgan.

Kalit soʻzlar: Somiy, Sadridin Ayniy, munshiy, sarmunshiy, ijtimoiy-siyosiy qarashlar, Boʻston, Sektare.

XIX asr oxiri XX asr birinchi yarmiga qadar yashab ijod etgan bu ikki ijodkorni birlashtirib turgan ayrim masalalar borki, ushbu maqolamizda ularni tahlilini amalga oshirishga harakat qildik.

Somiy amir Muzaffar(1860-1885) va bir muddat amir Abdulahad(1885-1910) davrida saroy munshisi sifatida faoliyat koʻrsatgan boʻlib, oʻz davrining taniqli shoiri, xattoti va sarmunshiyi(kotiblar boshligʻi) boʻlgan. Bu ikki ijodkorning tugʻilib oʻsgan makonidan tashqari(Somiy-Buxoro amirligidagi Boʻston qishlogʻi, Sadridin Ayniy- Buxoro amirligidagi Sektare qishlogʻi) oʻzi yashagan davr, ijod qilgan tili, shuningdek, tanqidiy ijtimoiy-siyosiy qarashlari maʼlum bir vaqtda bir xil boʻlgan desak xato qilmaymiz.

Somiyning hayoti va ijodiga oid malumotlar zamondoshlarining tazkiralari uchraydi. Ammo u haqida boshqalarga nisbatan batafsilroq maʼlumotlarni taqdim etganlardan biri Sadridin Ayniy(1878-1954) boʻlib, u oʻzining “Намунаи адабиёти тоҷик” asarida Somiy bilan buxorolik maʼrifatparvarlardan biri Sharifjon Mahdum Sadr Ziyo uyida bir necha bor uchrashganini yozadi. Shuningdek, u Somiyning shaxsiy hayoti haqida va uning qalamiga mansub asarlarning roʻyxatini keltirib oʻtadi[1.232].

Bundan tashqari Sadridin Ayniy oʻz asarlarini yozishda Somiy ijodiga bir necha marotaba murojaat qilgan. Jumladan, uning mangʻitlar davri tarixiga bagʻishlangan “Taʼrixi amironi mangʻitiya-i Buxoro” nomli asarining manbaviy asosi boʻlib Somiyning “Tarixi salotini mangʻitiya” asari hisoblanadi. Dastlab Sadridin Ayniy asarning parchalarini Buxoro inqilobi (1920 y.) munosabati bilan “Shuʼlai inqilob” jurnalida nashrdan chiqarib turgan. Keyin esa Buxoro Respublikasi nashriyoti va Buxoro Xalq Maorifi vazirligi ushbu tarqoq hujjatlarni toʻplash va tartib berishni soʻraganligi sababli muallif maʼlumotlarning baʼzilari tuzatish, qoʻshimcha va tafsilotlar bilan boyitilgandan soʻng kitob 1923-yilda, eski yozuvda Toshkentda nashr ettirilgan[2]. Asarda muallif mangʻit hukmdorlarining hokimiyat tepasiga kelishidan, to amir Olimxonning Afgʻoniston hududlariga ketishigacha boʻlgan voqea-hodisalarni yozgan. Ayniy asarni yozishda boshqa koʻplab mahalliy manbalardan foydalangan boʻlsa-da, uning Rossiya istilosi davriga tegishli boblari Somiy asaridan olingan. “Amir Muzaffar va Rusiya” bobida u – “Bu bob boʻyicha bizda mufasssal maʼlumot yoʻq. Qoʻlimizda tanho Mirzo Azim Somiyning tarixi bor..... Shuni unutmasligimiz kerakki, ruslar nuqtai nazaridan bu voqealar oʻz tarixiga ega. Ushbu kitobning ahamiyati shundaki, undagi voqealarda buxoroliklarning nuqtai nazari va munozaralari koʻrsatilgan”- deydi[3.47]. Ikki muallifning mangʻit hukmdorlaridan amir Abdulahad davrigacha boʻlgan qismi deyarli bir xil. Hatto Sadridin Ayniy voqealar bayoni jarayonida –“ushbu maʼlumotlar Somiyning asarida quyidagicha bayon etilgan”- deb taʼkidlab oʻtadi[3.319].

Sadridin Ayniy oʻz asarining salmoqli qismini tashkil etuvchi quyidagi boblarni Somiyning asari asosida yozgan. Bular;

- Amir Muzaffar va Rusiya;
- Jizzaxning bosib olinishi;
- Mullolar isyoni va ularning qatli omi;

Amir Muzaffar va ruslarning Samarqanddagi muhorabasi;
Rusiya davlatiga Samarqandning berilishi;
Abdumalikxon isyoni, Pandshanbe va Kattaqo'rg'onning egallanishi;
Zirabuloq jangi va sulh;
Amir Muzaffarning Abdumalik to'rani jazolash uchun lashkar tortgani;
Siddiq to'ra huruji va amirning Buxoroga qaytishi;
Amir Muaffarning to'ra qo'zg'olonini bostirish uchun Rusiyadan yordam so'ragani;
Abdumalik to'ra ishining tugashi;
Yoqubbacha kim edi?;
Amir Muzaffarning Sherobod va Hisori Shodmonga qo'shin yuborishi;
Rusiya askari yordamida Shaxrisabz va Kitobning egallanishi.

Bundan ko'rinib turibdiki, Sadriddin Ayniy Somiy haqida dastlabki ma'lumotlarni beribgina qolmay, uning hali nashrdan chiqmagan va faqat tor doira vakillarigagina ma'lum bo'lgan "Tarixi salotini mang'itiya" qo'lyozma asari va uning mazmunini keng xalq ommasiga taqdim etishga hissa qo'shgan¹⁶⁷.

Ularning ijtimoiy-siyosiy qarashlari haqida gapiradigan bo'lsak, Z. Radjabov "Развитие общественной мысли таджикского народа во второй половине XIX в и начале XX в" risolasida Turkiston, Xiva va Buxorodagi ijtimoiy fikr rivoji haqida gapirib, bu davrda mahalliy milliy burjuaziya g'oyalari tashqari, marifatparvarlik va demokratik g'oyalar ham shakllanganini yozadi. Uning ta'kidlashicha, agar Ahmad Donish, Ajziy, Asiriy, Sadriddin Ayniy o'z asarlarida demokratik xarakterga ega taraqqiyparvar g'oyalarni ilgari surishgan bo'lsa, Somiy va jadidchilik harakati namoyondalarining asarlari milliy burjuaziyaning diniy mafkurasini ifoda etgan[4.3]. Chunki Somiy saroydan chetlatilgandan so'ng, dastlabki yillarda saroy ahli va hukmdorlarga nisbatan keskin fikrlari uncha kuchli bo'lmagan. Ammo umrining so'nggi yillarda uning muxolifatchilik kayfiyati kuchadi, qaysiki Sadriddin Ayniy ijodida yaqqol ko'zga tashlanadi.

I.S. Braginskiy esa o'zining "Sadriddin Ayniy" nomli risolasida Somiy haqidagi o'z fikr va mulohazalarini keltirib o'tadi. U XIX asr oxiri XX boshlaridagi marifatparvarlik harakati haqida gapirar ekan, Mirzo Somiy Bo'stoniy, Sadri Ziyo va uning atrofida gilarini amirlik tuzumiga tanqidiy munosabatda bo'lishda Ahmad Donishdan ortda qolganliklarini ta'kidlaydi[5.20].

Suningdek, Sadriddin Ayniy Mirzo Somiy bilan shaxsan tanish bo'lib, uni ko'p marotaba o'zi xizmat qiladigan Sharifjon Mahdumning uyida ko'rgan. Sadriddin Ayniy o'zining esdaliklarida Mirzo Somiy haqida shunday yozadi: "Somiy past bo'yli, uncha pishiq bo'lmagan va qorachadan kelgan bo'lib, kichkina iyagida qora soqollaridan ko'ra oqlari ko'proq edi. Shu paytda u 60 yoshni qarshilagan edi. U Sharifjon Mahdumning topshirig'iga binoan o'z she'rlari va boshqa nodir asarlarning to'plamini tayyorlash bilan mashg'ul edi. Bu ishlardan oladigan maoshi katta oilasini qiyinchilik bilan boqishga yetar edi. U kuniga 15-16 soatlab qo'lyozmalarni ko'chirish bilan shug'ullanardi. Qarigan chog'ida Somiyning ko'zlari bunday mayda ishlardan charchab, oxir-oqibat ko'r bo'lib qoldi. Umrining oxirgi 4-5 yilini Somiy juda og'ir sharoitda kechirdi va 1907-yili 72 yoshida vafot etdi. Sharifjon Mahdum ham o'zining she'rlar to'plamida Mirzo Somiyga bag'ishlab bir qancha misralar yozgan. Somiy Ahmad Donishning (1827-1897) yaqin do'sti bo'lgan va uning hayotligi paytida kamida haftada bir marotaba uning uyiga tashrif buyurib turgan"[6.18].

Bundan tashqari Sadriddin Ayniy o'zining "Намунаи адабиёти тоҷик" asarida Somiy va uning hayotiga to'xtalar ekan, shoirning tanqidiy fikr va mulohazalaridan misollar keltiradi.

¹⁶⁷ Чунки 1923 йилда "Тарихи салотини манғития"нинг тошбосма ёки таржима варианты бўлмаган. Мирзо Сомий ва Садриддин Айний асарлари ёзилган вақт орасидаги тафовут 16 йилни ташкил этади.

Qo'shimcha qilib uning she'rlaridan bir nechtasini ilova qiladi. Somiy o'zining bu she'rlarida o'z zamonasining illatlari va kamchiliklari, amir amaldorlarining razilligi va o'zining bu holatlarni ko'rishga toqati yo'q ekanligini aytadi. Sadriddin Ayniy Somiyning dushmanlari, saroydagi sobiq xizmatdoshlari uning qarilikdagi nochor va notavon ahvolini ko'rib, "ko'rnamak oxir ko'r shud (ko'rnamak oxir ko'r bo'ldi)" deyishganini yozadi[1.232].

Sadriddin Ayniy Mirzo Somiyning vafoti 1907-yilda deb belgilasa, L. Yepifanova uning fikrini rad etib, Somiy 1914-yilda ham hayot bo'lgan deb aytadi¹⁶⁸. Ammo keyingi davrda olib borigan tadqiqotlar Sadriddin Ayniy ma'lumotlarining tog'riligini tasdiqlaydi.

Sadriddin Ayniyning yuqorida aytilgan fikrlaridan shuni anglash mumkinki, Buxoro amirligida amaldor o'z paytida qanday muhim davlat lavozimida ishlagan bo'lmasin, o'z lavozimidan chetlashtirilgandan so'ng har qanday davlat va ijtimoiy ta'minotdan mahrum bo'lgan. Ammo Somiyning shaxsiy kolleksiyasi tarkibida mavjud o'z maktublaridan uning ahvoli Sadriddin Ayniy aytganchalik nochor bo'lmagani va oilasi ham uncha katta bo'lmaganini bilib olish mumkin.

Somiy shaxsiy kolleksiyasidagi bir maktubning mazmuni muallifning hayotiga oid shu paytgacha bor bo'lgan ma'lumotlarga oydinlik kiritadi. Jumladan, Somiyning amir Abdulahad nomiga yozgan bir maktubida o'zining bir g'aribona uyda yashayotgani, bir ayoli va ikki farzandi borligini aytadi¹⁶⁹[7.7]. Davlatxonai oliydan hadya bo'lgan bir tanob hovlichasi bo'lib, uni ham ish jarayonida undan tortib olishgan. Somiy hayotining so'nggi yillarida, Sadriddin Ayniy aytganidek, kuz nuridan judo bo'lgani ham mubolag'adir. Somiy avlodlari bergan malumotlarga va uning umrining so'nggi yillarida yozgan asarlari davriga e'tibor qaratadigan bo'lsak u hech qachon ko'z nuridan ayrilmagan.

Shunday bo'lsada, Somiy ijodi va hayotini o'rganishda unga zamondosh va vatandosh bo'lgan Sadriddin Ayniy ma'lumotlarining ahamiyati katta.

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Камолова Садафмоҳ,

омӯзгори кафедраи биология, химия ва географияи Донишқадаи омӯзгории Тоҷикистон дар шаҳри Панҷакент, 735500, Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон, ш.Панҷакент, Тел:929321414, E-mail: zulik.zul@bk.ru

МУҲОФИЗАТИ РАСТАНИҲОИ ГУЛДОРИ НОДИР ВА НЕСТШУДАИСТОДА, КИ БА КИТОБИ СУРҲИ ҶУМҲУРИИ ТОҶИКИСТОН ДОХИЛ КАРДА ШУДААСТ

¹⁶⁸ Muallif - Epifanova Mirzo Somiy "Tarixi salotini mang'itiya" asarini tarjima qilgan, unga kirish va izoh yozgan.

¹⁶⁹ Ularning biri Mirzo Fayzullo ibn Mirzo Azim Somiydir. Mir'ot ul-yaqin. – №70. – Б. 7.