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**ABOUT THE SYMPTOMS OF STUDYING  
TRADITIONAL KHOREZM SETTLEMENT IN THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY  
(HISTORIOGRAPHIC VIEWS)**

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**Abstract:** The article made a historiographical analysis of the traditional Khorezm settlement in the twentieth century.

**Keywords:** Khorezm, traditional settlement, Gurlen, Hanka, Mangyt, Yangi-Aryk, Astana, Bagyt, Ishan Bazaar, sedentary farmers, artisans

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**1. Introduction**

The study of the traditional Uzbek settlement still remains an important research task. Its implementation allows not only registering and reflecting on the development of settlements as a historical, cultural, social and economic phenomenon, but also identifying interdependent and closely related factors that directly or indirectly affect the traditional way of life of the people, the development of national culture in a historical context .

The twentieth century in the ethnographic science of Uzbekistan was noted by very great attention of

scientists to the theoretical problems of the typology of the material culture of the Uzbek people, which was associated with the need to carefully study the settlements, housing, traditional way of life and customs.

However, despite the well-known intensity of scientific understanding of this problem, not all elements of material culture in the past century have been studied.

This primarily concerns traditional settlements. Of course, this cannot be blamed for scientists, authors of publications, since the research process cannot be regulated

and, especially, limited by any chronological framework.

## 2. Literature Review

In this research, "On some reasons for the survival of the remnants of the Uzbeks of Khorezm" by G.Snesarev, "Protocols of meetings of the members of the Turkestan Circle of Archeology Lovers" by A.Kalmykov, "The lower reaches of the Amu Darya, described by their own research in 1873" by A.V.Kaulbars, "From Khiva to Kungrad and the culture of the oasis of the lower reaches of the Amudarya" by A. Kuhn, "Turkestan Territory: Russia: A complete geographical description of our fatherland" by V.I.Masalsky, "Rural dwelling in Khorezm" by E.Nerazik, "Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion" by V. Barthold, "Description of the Khiva Khanate" by G.I. Danilevsky, "Karakalpak of the Khorezm Oasis" by T.A.Zhdanko, "Traditional settlements of the Khorezm oasis (XIX - beginning of the XX centuries)" by A. Zhilina, "Deciphering the 34th Daftar from the Khiva Khans' Archives" by M.Yu.Yuldashev and other works are used as main sources.

## 3. Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research using the content analysis approach. About thirty scientific works are used to explain the symptoms of studying traditional Khorezm settlement in the Twentieth Century. Besides that, the researcher had used journals and articles to collect data related to the research.

## 4. Findings and Discussion

It should be noted that one of the first works summarizing the ethnographic material on the problem of the traditional Central Asian settlement was the article published in 1982 by O. Sukhareva and N. Tursunov "From the history of urban and rural settlements of Central Asia" [26, p.10-48]. The authors of the publication made an attempt to develop a typology of rural and urban settlements in the region, which they carried out taking into account the archaeological and geographical classifications.

It is in favor of the authors that they have defined criteria that contribute to distinguishing the types of settlements to which cities, trade villages, craft villages, villages of irrigated agriculture, rainfed, mountainous, steppe regions, semi-nomadic populations, etc., are assigned. This classification is interesting and useful in that, by and large, it can serve as the basis for developing a typology of settlements in a particular region of Central Asia.

If we talk about the characteristics of the settlements of the Khorezm oasis, it was important for researchers to formulate them that in the territory of Khorezm archaeological work was carried out for a long time, the result of which was the accumulation of valuable information that allowed to identify the genesis of specific traditional settlements [7].

Thus, E.Nerazik, in a number of her works, drawing on historical,

archaeological, ethnographic and other data, considered the process of the formation of settlements, taking into account the combination of many factors - geographical, socio-economic, ethnic, cultural and other - over a long period - from antiquity to XII-XVI centuries [21].

According to A.Zhilina, the Khorezm oasis, located on the north-western outskirts of Central Asia [9], includes mainly the lands of the lower reaches of the Amudarya, which is an important factor influencing the formation of traditional material culture [7, p.98].

The population of the Khorezm oasis in the late nineteenth - early twentieth centuries was extremely heterogeneous. It consisted of Uzbek-speaking Sarts, Uzbeks with tribal division, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks. According to A.Zhilina, Persians, Arabs, Tatars and other nationalities also lived here, albeit in small quantities.

Attention is drawn to the fact that the censuses in the Khiva Khanate were practically not conducted. There were only household lists of farms, and then in the central regions.

Information about the size of various population groups is found in the works of some authors of the colonial period. For example, according to G. Danilevsky, the number of residents of the Khiva khanate at the end of the XIX century. equaled 300 thousand people [4]. In other sources, the figure 713 937 is found, which included both residents of the Khiva Khanate itself and the Amudarya

department [2, p.116]. M. Yuldashev also adhered to the number of about 800 thousand people [28, p.17].

Researchers of different years indicate that the Sarts, speaking the Uzbek language, in the nineteenth century, lived mainly in the southern areas of the Khorezm oasis. G. Danilevsky believed that their numbers by the mid-1850s. was about 80-100 thousand people [4, p.111]. Next to them lived the Deshetkipchak Uzbeks, whose total number in the 1870s. equaled 200 thousand people [19, p.111].

According to Girshfeld and Galkin, the second largest ethnic group after the Uzbeks were Turkmen - 139,640 people [2, p.106-107]. Most of the territory in the north of the Khorezm oasis, as well as in the steppe and desert regions of the Aral Sea region were occupied by Karakalpaks and Kazakhs. According to some information, to the beginning of the twentieth century. the number of Karakalpaks was 116 125 people [5, p.494], Kazakhs - up to 77 thousand [27, p.58,61].

From the point of view of A.Zhilina, the resettlement of these ethnic groups in the territory of Khorezm was extremely uneven: "along with the densely populated southern areas of ancient agriculture, there existed vast steppes with a rare scattered population" [7, p.100]. Therefore, it can be concluded that different types of settlements took shape in different natural and socio-economic conditions.

The basis for the typology of Central Asian cities and villages of O. Sukharev and N.Tursunov was "laid down": a) occupation of the population; b) the value of a particular locality for the entire region or its specific part [26, p.32].

E.Nerazik believed that by the number of cities, the number of urban artisans, as well as the degree of development of trade and productive forces, "one can judge the economic development of the region" [22, p.226]. At the same time, according to the researcher, the era of Khorezmshahs reign was a favorable period in the history of city life, when economic and cultural prosperity was noted, and when the cities received the final design and features of the Central Asian city that reached the end of the 20th century [22, p.224-226] .

The most detailed list of cities and villages of Khorezm (regarding the period of the tenth century) is given in the work of V.Barthold, the number of which is determined by the author in 32 [1, p.202-225 ].

In the literature it is noted that in the XVIII century. Khorezm was called Besh-Kala, which became widespread in foreign sources describing the conquest of Khorezm by Nadir Shah [15, p.334]. The authors of the collection *Our Neighbors in Central Asia*, with reference to Vamberi, determined the number of cities of the Khiva khanate by the end of the nineteenth century. at 32, saying that "they are all very small." At the same time, Gryshfeld and Galkin were singled

out at the beginning of the twentieth century. 25 cities and urban settlements [2, p.117]. From the point of view of A.Zhilina, such discrepancies are connected "with a different approach to understanding the essence of the city and commercial settlements, between which (with the exception of Khiva and New Urgench) in the nineteenth century. the differences were very minor " [7, p.101].

Some researchers, adhering to the classification of O.Sukhareva and N.Tursunov, referred to the rank of cities settlements with a population of at least 10 thousand people [7, p.101]. As a rule, they were administrative, economic and cultural centers, and had constantly functioning markets, specialized handicrafts, various types of trade [30, p.35]. In Khorezm, A.Zhilina named such cities Khiva, Kungrad, New Urgench, Khazarasp [7, p.101]. However, in terms of the number of inhabitants, these cities were significantly inferior to the cities of the central regions of Central Asia: by 1873, Khiva had only about 4 thousand people, New Urgench - 2 thousand inhabitants [19, p.128,129]. O.Sukhareva and N.Tursunov believe that by the beginning of the twentieth century (1910), the population of Khiva has increased dramatically and reached 20 thousand, which "is one of the most important indicators of the development of urban life in the region" [26, p.27]

The authors of publications about the Khorezm settlements, giving

them a characteristic, considered, for example, Gurlen, Hanka, Mangyt towns, while Yangi-Aryk, Astana, Bagyt, Ishan Bazar and others - trade and craft villages, "bazaars", which were administrative centers of agricultural areas [26. p.26-27].

A very detailed description of these settlements is contained in the works of almost all travelers and historians of the Khiva khanate, for example, A.Kalmykov wrote about one of them: "This is a small fortification with a jagged wall, inside a covered street with benches on both sides. In addition to shopkeepers and artisans, there are no other residents" [11, p.55] V.Masalsky noted that the center of the village was usually occupied by the hakim's house, which stands out among the surrounding buildings with its height and size; "The covered bazaar, a mosque, houses of merchants and craftsmen were located nearby" [7, p.750]

Researchers emphasized the extremely high role of trade and craft villages. The main bazaars were drawn into the chain of trade routes along the Amudarya River and located along the caravan road leading to Bukhara [ 14, p.102].

According to the authors of publications, since ancient times the cities and large villages of the Khiva Khanate were trading centers where products were exchanged between settled farmers and artisans of Khorezm, on the one hand, and the semi-nomadic population of deserts and steppes, on the other. The main product that Kazakhs, Turkmen,

and partly Karakalpaks bought on the Khiva markets was bread. Home-made bathrobes, which were bought up by merchants from Merv and Ashgabat, and then sold in other areas of Turkmenistan, occupied a large place in trade with the Turkmen [25, p.113].

According to U.Shalekenov, the main subject of sales of the steppe Kazakhs and nomads-Turkmen were cattle (sheep). In addition to small cattle, the Turkmen supplied horse horses to the Khiva army, since only under the condition of Nuker service in the Khan army, they, as a rule, received land on the western outskirts of the Khorezm oasis [17, p.523].

Girshfeld and Galkin reported that the number of large urban centers and trade and craft settlements in the region was insignificant. So, at the beginning of the twentieth century. the urban population of the Khorezm oasis was 4.7% of the total number of inhabitants (713 937 people); in the south of the Khanate, a little more - 10-25%, which was explained by the presence in such areas of such cities as Khiva and New Urgench [2, p.116-117].

The bulk of the population of Khorezm (95.3%) lived in the villages of the so-called. "Scattered planning" [7,p.103], which O.Sukhareva and N.Tursunov attributed to one of the subtypes of the "old agricultural villages of the irrigated agriculture zone" [ 26, p.30]. Settlements in the form of separate groups of houses, resembling farms,

were located along irrigation canals throughout the oasis [7, p.103]. G.Danilevsky wrote: "The environs of all cities consist of cultivated fields, among which houses are scattered, one standing apart from the other" [4, p.102]. A.Kun gave a similar description: "There were no densely cohesive villages anywhere from Khiva to Gazavat itself" [13, p.203] and A.Kalmykov: "Khiva people do not live in villages, but as individual estates. Each house stands alone in the middle of its field [11, p.50].

The authors of works on the Khiva settlements in order to study the issue of the number and size of villages used documentary data from the archive of Khiva khans of the nineteenth century. In particular, P.Ivanov, studying the data of the household census of the reign of Khan Sayyid Mohammed, noted that they contain nominal lists of homeowners by which the number of yards in each village can be established [10, p.32-50]. Studying this question further, M.Yuldashev established that in the areas covered by this census (not including Gurlen, Kipchak, Mangyt, Nukus, Kungrad and some other localities) there were 1,183 mosques (villages) that included 37,603 farms. The sizes of the villages were different - from more than 90 to 10 yards; there were also smaller ones with 5-6 farms [29, p.66-71].

According to the materials on the regionalization of Uzbekistan and the whole of Central Asia, collected in the 20s of the twentieth century, in the southern regions of Khorezm

there were 1,355 villages with a total number of farms - 54,529 (1926) [15, p.17-19]. As noted by G.Snesarev, these were mainly small settlements, which united from 20 to 40 farms [3].

Speaking about elats G.Snesarev, as well as some other authors wrote that the land plots of inhabitants of one elat were located along one aryk, which flowed through their territory. This was due to the water use conditions characteristic of Khorezm [24, p.24]. Irrigation of land was carried out mainly with the help of Chigir, and only farms of the upper reaches and partially of the lower reaches of the canals, which had a small number of Chigire, irrigated by gravity [7, p.104-105].

Dwellings of rural residents were placed on the edge of the plot, which was associated with saving the area under crops. Using the example of the village of Durgadik, Y.Nerazik concluded that, along with the well-known hauli of southern Uzbeks, there was another (other) type (s) of rural dwellings that had many similarities with the variants of the Central Asian lowland dwelling [23, p.177-178].

As for the settlements of such groups of the population of the Khorezm oasis as the semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Turkmen, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs, for example, Girshfeld and Galkin noted that these groups in the overwhelming majority (95.3%) were among the residents of the khanate who lived outside cities and large trade and craft villages [2, p.123].

K.Zadikhina writes that Deshkipchak Uzbeks in the nineteenth century. they were not homogeneous in their economic appearance and were divided into southern and northern ones settled in the Amu Darya delta [8, p.354-355]. Other authors (Danilevsky, Kun, Girshfeld, Galkin, and others) did not make a clear separation between the settlements of Sarts and Uzbeks when describing the economy and life of the population of southern Khorezm [13, p.250].

According to the characteristics of G.Danilevsky, in the north of the Khorezm oasis, the Uzbeks retained semi-nomadic traditions for much longer. However, here in the first half of the nineteenth century. they gradually turned into farmers and settled in separate estates along irrigation canals [4, p.92]. And who visited at the end of the nineteenth century. the northern regions of Khorezm A.Kaulbars testified that "the Uzbeks-Aralians own permanent parcels of land, enclose them with fences, cultivate dense gardens in them and generally adopt a completely settled way of life" [12,p.568].

The authors of the studies also noted the presence of small fortified settlements in the Uzbeks of the Amu Darya delta, most of which were temporary and served, as a rule, to defend against the raids of the Turkmen and other nomads [16, p.143].

The settlements of the Turkmen on the territory of the Khorezm oasis

[18] were studied in great detail. For the bulk of the Karakalpaks, the "farm" type of settlements was typical [6], and for the Kazakh cattle breeders - aul [27].

### **5. Concluding Remarks**

In general, according to authors of different years, in the late nineteenth - early twentieth centuries. in the vast territory of Khorezm, with the steppe and semi-steppe areas adjacent to it, the predominant form of settlement for both the original inhabitants of the oasis and those who had passed to farming were semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Turkmen, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs, "farm" type of settlements [7.p.109].

The rich and diverse material obtained, in particular, by E. Nerazik as a result of a survey of rural settlements and dwellings of Khorezm, makes it possible to conclude that the dispersed settlements of the rural population acquired stable forms, starting from ancient times. At the same time, as the author emphasizes, not the farm of a small family, but the farm of patronymic groups or large families was the main economic unit in Khorezm. The reasons for the sustainable preservation of family-related groups until the XIX-early XX centuries. they are rooted in the characteristics of the water regime and the land use system based on it [22, p.224-230].

These are, if we speak briefly of the main symptoms of historical and ethnographic literature, illuminating the content side of the study during

the twentieth century, traditional Khorezm settlement. This work should undoubtedly be continued today, taking into account the expansion of both the chronological framework of the study and the substantive aspects of this research problem.

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