

**REDEFINING HISTORICAL BUKHARA:  
PROFESSIONAL ARCHITECTURAL VISION OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE IN  
LATE SOVIET UZBEKISTAN (1965 - 1991)**

by

Hanna Rutkouskaya

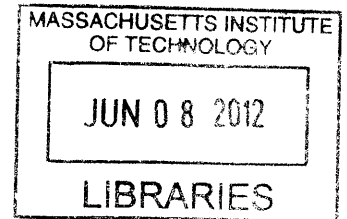
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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis focuses on how Bukhara’s architectural heritage was interpreted and redefined by local architectural professionals between 1965 and 1991, a period characterized by heightened interest in architectural heritage and increased restoration of monuments. Architectural professionals criticized the earlier Soviet “nihilist” treatment of historical Bukhara in the 1920s–1950s and instead framed their work as an attempt to correct earlier mistakes. This thesis analyzes restoration and architectural projects proposed for Bukhara by examining images and text available in the professional Uzbek SSR architectural journal, *Architecture and Construction in Uzbekistan (ACU)*. Using these journals, this thesis illustrates how architectural professionals engaged in creating new meanings for Bukhara’s historical environment, as an important part of the new identity construction shaped in conditions of Soviet nation-building and strengthening Uzbek national sentiment.

Increasingly alienated from the Soviet center, local professionals developed a renewed understanding of Bukhara’s urban heritage in the 1960s-1970s. Marked by almost utopian excitement, their projects envisioned Bukhara as a place of recreation, leisure, and tourism, that spoke to the larger desire to belong to the modern world by matching the modern role assigned to heritage. With tourism finally possible in the 1980s, Bukhara’s historical monuments were subjected to “museum-ification” and prepared for display. The importance of displaying national heritage in late Soviet Uzbekistan was in summary a shy attempt, rehearsal, and preemptor of what was yet to come in the future, when in 1991 trans-republic boundaries were replaced by the contemporary ethnically-defined national borders, and an imaginary other, created as a part of the identity construct in the 1980s, eventually became a real global other.

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## **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

### ***1. The Changing Context of Bukhara in Late Soviet Uzbekistan***

In 1924, Bukhara, a former leading Islamic center from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was included within the geopolitical borders of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. 1924 marks the arrival of the Soviets and the resulting detrimental impact on the city's urban space, which had been continuously developing albeit with some episodic crises from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. By the 1960s, the historical city had largely disintegrated. For this reason, discussion of Bukhara during the Soviet era is a relatively rare topic, almost always centered on the notion of the Soviet state's forceful imposition and subsequent destruction and modification of the historical urban fabric. I aim to enrich the discussion of Soviet Uzbekistan by adding another layer of analysis of Bukhara's built environment. In this thesis, I look at how architectural professionals in Uzbekistan interpreted and redefined their own national heritage in Bukhara between 1965 and 1991, the late Soviet period before the nation's independence.

This question is particularly interesting because I interpret the second half of the 1960s as another major breaking point in the history of Bukhara, following the 1924 arrival of the Soviet state. To be precise, this period marked a major shift in the way this historical city was interpreted and treated. This shift was conditioned by the emergence of new awareness and understanding of architectural heritage in Uzbekistan among professionals, which led to increasing interest in Bukhara's heritage as a historical city. This observation is based on the fact that starting in the 1960s, there is a sharp increase in conservation and restoration of Bukhara's historical monuments. Further evidence lies in the increasing appearance of different types of urban and architectural interventions in the historical fabric between the second half of the 1960s and 1991.

These new projects appeared as a reaction against the previous treatment of Bukhara's historical fabric during the early Soviet time, which was mostly done through literal and crude destruction, primarily manifesting itself as the repurposing and intentional neglect of historical monuments. As a result of such treatment, Bukhara's commercial life is diminished and religious life largely ceased to exist. New spatial configurations, as envisioned by the Soviet state to foster a new system of social relations and norms, slowly replaced the existing ones. That being said, the early practices of conservation and restoration done by a small number of Russian conservation specialists, many of whom were politically "exiled" to

Uzbekistan, were of remarkably high quality and were based on traditional methods and an archeological approach.

This situation started to reverse in the 1960s. Clearly emphasizing the break from the past, local professionals working in Bukhara between 1965 and 1991 criticized the early “nihilist” treatment of the architectural heritage and, instead, envisioned their work as an attempt to quickly “correct” the mistakes of the past, rebuilding historical monuments and the urban fabric. Due to the vastness of this mission set to be accomplished in a limited time, conservation and restoration as traditionally understood were no longer operative, and archeological studies were considered to be too slow. As a result, Uzbekistan’s professionals working in Bukhara during the 1970s and the 1980s employed a different approach to traditional conservation and restoration practices through numerous architectural and urban projects, which were perceived as more effective and efficient in recovering and recreating Bukhara’s historical legacy.

The departing point for the reconstruction of historical Bukhara was dissatisfaction with its condition, a sentiment that professionals during this period inherited from the previous generation. Specifically, they were unhappy with the invasion of “foreign” Soviet buildings from the 1920s and 1930s into the historical urban fabric, the vast open empty spaces left in the place of destroyed monuments, the disappearance of the traditional urban fabric around existing monuments that drastically distorted visual perception; the lack of panoramic views for those approaching the city; the emergence of tall, modern buildings; and the complete disconnection between the old and new parts of Bukhara. Overall, the new generation of architectural professionals regarded Bukhara as dead and ineffective. Thus, they intended to bring the city back to life by giving it a new meaning and function that corresponded to ideals and demands of their time.

Spurred by this ambition, by increasing interest in the historical city, and the by emerging sense of ownership and responsibility for Bukhara’s heritage, local professionals in the late 1960s started to search for new urban solutions to resolve built environment issues that were defined as problematic for Bukhara. Most of these ideas and projects had internal contradictions, and conflicted with one other and with the main proposition they were trying to achieve. Overall, these new projects had a utopian and naive nature. Some of the projects were approved but never realized, while others were offered on purely experimental grounds. Altogether, these projects, as envisioned for Bukhara between 1965 and 1991, present an interesting and insightful narrative about how architectural

professionals attempted to create meaningful new relationships with Bukhara's urban environment.

## ***2. Conceptual framework and thesis statement***

In this thesis I offer a detailed historical account and interpretation of the rise of professional architectural interest in Bukhara's urban heritage. These interests occurred within the wider context of decreasing decentralization, increasing freedom of Uzbekistan from the Soviet center, and the growing nationalist sentiment. The Soviet system, forcefully implanted early on through education, collectivization, industrialization, secularization, new economic and political systems, and other processes of Soviet modernization, gave rise to a new national self-identity in Uzbekistan. This identity, in turn, facilitated a new interpretation of the past and a desire to redefine the material heritage within meaningful new frameworks.

Due to the previously discussed nature of early Soviet practices and the treatment of historical monuments in Bukhara, there is a noticeable disconnect between historical buildings and their pre-Soviet functions and social associations, which led to the formation of a different interpretation of historical monuments and their surrounding areas during the later Soviet time. As a result, restoration and the new urban and architectural interventions in Bukhara were no longer concerned with historical accuracy. By adding to, subtracting from, and fully recreating Bukhara's historical environment, reconstruction and restoration became tools to express and reinforce a new self-perception in late Soviet Uzbekistan.

In this thesis, I interpret restoration and urban and architectural projects envisioned for Bukhara's material heritage between 1965 and 1991 as correlated with the emergence of a new "mixed" Uzbek identity formed under close Soviet guidance. While the Soviet model in Bukhara was forcefully imposed during the early Soviet period, with time, it became deeply rooted in society, and ultimately inseparable from the changing urban identity. Late projects in Soviet Bukhara illustrate how the initially forced interpretation of urban space was first replicated under pressure from the Soviet center; later, with increasing independence from the Soviet state, the urban space was reinterpreted and utilized for the purpose of self-representation. In this manner, Bukhara presents an interesting case for understanding the gradual transformation and subsequent emergence of a new hybrid Soviet-Uzbek identity through the analysis of approaches towards its material heritage during the late Soviet era.

The next section underscores the importance of asking why the conservation of material heritage in Bukhara is important in the study of Islamic art and architecture. Where does Uzbekistan fit in the analysis of traditional Islamic cities? While not much literature exists (especially in English) about the history of Soviet Uzbekistan or the politics of preservation practices in Central Asia, the next section reviews a representative sample of scholarship on the subject.

### ***3: Literature Review***

Within the wider field of Islamic art and architecture, the region of Central Asia is largely absent. Even in academia, it is considered to be an obscure place. In contemporary scholarship, it possesses historical fame mainly as the location of Samarkand, the land of the legendary ruler Timur, the Silk Road, and several iconic buildings like the 10<sup>th</sup> century Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara.

There is a general lack of contemporary scholarly interest in the region, on the part of both Western and Russian scholars. During the years of Soviet rule, the exchange of knowledge, Soviet scholarship on the region, and the geographic location itself were largely inaccessible to Western scholars, which led to bifurcating Western and Russian scholarship on the region (e.g., with the former pursuing historical interpretation and the latter more analytical approaches). This situation started to change only when Uzbekistan and the rest of the Central Asian republics gained their independence in 1991. A short-lived wave of excitement over new scholarship possibilities as a result of opening borders emerged in the early 1990s but soon declined after. With the new authoritarian regime and tightened political restrictions in Uzbekistan in the 2000s, it became increasingly harder to conduct research, hold open dialogues with local scholars, and gain access to the State Archives in Tashkent, which has numerous unexplored and valuable field materials. All of these factors diverted scholarly attention away from Uzbekistan and other former Soviet Central Asian republics.

Literature on Uzbekistan's architectural heritage and its conservation during the Soviet time is extremely scarce. Existing Western and Soviet scholarship, which still intersect only briefly, mainly center on archaeological and historical studies of ancient and medieval urban centers of Central Asia (Golombek and Wilber 1988). Further, most Western scholars, like Golombek and Wilber (1988) and O'Kane (1987) tend to focus on the Timurid period, often in relationship to the Persian civilization, which illustrates the narrowness of scholarship that exists about Central



Asia. Further research in this field, and more extensive treatment in survey works like Blair and Bloom (1994), focusing especially on individual histories of Central Asian cultural areas, is needed to complement existing scholarship.

Soviet scholarship on Central Asia is far more extensive than Western scholarship but is rarely studied. Galina Pugachenkova (1976), the founder of the archaeological school of fine arts in Uzbekistan, is renowned for her depth of scholarship in Central Asian archaeology. Throughout her career she published a great number of works, largely between the 1960s and 1980s, in different languages, bringing Central Asia into historical scholarship on global Islamic art and architecture. She has left a lasting academic legacy. Archeologists like G. Nemzova (2003), who works mostly on Samarkand, and E. Nekrasova (2000), who works on Bukhara's monuments are her students, and they continue to broaden research in this field.

Russian scholars like Rempel (1881) and Sukhareva (1962) have attempted to write narratives of the history of Bukhara from its origins as a historical city in the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the 1950s. Much of this scholarship focuses on Bukhara as an Uzbek city and does not delve too deeply into the urban history of the city itself, as divorced from its national context.

As for sources specifically on Soviet Bukhara, I have found only two short articles dealing with Bukhara during the Soviet time. *Bukhara From the Russian Conquest to the Present*, by Annette Gangler (1996) looks at Bukhara's urban development and Soviet ideas of urbanism. The other article on conservation of historical monuments in Bukhara, by Maunira Azzout (1996) is entitled *The Soviet Interpretation and Preservation of the Ancient Heritage of Uzbekistan: The Example of Bukhara*. Azzout talks about the progression of Soviet ideology regarding Bukhara's historical monuments and concludes that tourism was one of the main reasons for Soviet restorations in the city.

The other useful source of information that is largely unavailable today is the Uzbekistan State Central Archive in Tashkent, which has numerous technical manuals and official reports on restoration, maps, and management plans of historical cities such as Bukhara. These reports are insightful in terms of understanding the methodological approach and techniques used while restoring and reconstructing historical cities. During my visit to the archives as part of the Aga Khan Travel Grant in 2011, I had access to the *2011 Management Plan of Bukhara's Historical Center*, to which I refer in the conclusion when describing continuities of past practices into the present.

Although these archival reports are not publicly available, UNESCO's reports on Bukhara, although not very detailed, shedding some light on the post-independence management of the Uzbek cultural heritage. Bukhara was nominated for the UNESCO list of World Heritage in October 1990. In November 1991, an ICOMOS representative visited Bukhara to evaluate the authenticity of the historical center and the adequacy of the management plan and the buffer zone. In December 1993, the historical center of Bukhara was officially inscribed in the World Heritage List as "the most complete and unspoiled example of a *medieval* Central Asian town which has preserved its urban fabric to the present day . . . and that had a profound influence on the evolution and planning of towns in a wide region of Central Asia."<sup>1</sup> In UNESCO reports, Bukhara is listed as "a museum under open air,"<sup>2</sup> a term used during the Soviet 1980s era. The UNESCO's reports highlight two important points: first, even in the 1990s, Bukhara was valued for its medieval urban fabric, and second, the attitude towards conservation in Bukhara relied on the "museum-ification" of the city.

Since 1990, UNESCO has issued several reports on the general state of Bukhara's historical heritage, which include management plans, historical zoning plans, tourism development projects, and the listing of restoration works done since independence. In the first report of 1990, while the overall status of Bukhara was evaluated as satisfactory, there was some concern over the lack of continuous inspection and preventive maintenance and the presence of an adequate mechanism for preventing offences by State and City authorities.<sup>3</sup> Major restoration works have been done in Bukhara for the 2500th anniversary of the city in 1997 under the guidance of UNESCO. The outcome of these restorations was reflected in the 2003 UNESCO report on the violations of replacing traditional architectural elements with inappropriate modern materials while continuing restoration on Bukhara's historical monuments.<sup>4</sup> This situation gradually escalated into a series of violations, neglect, and undocumented action in Bukhara's historical center, reflected in the UNESCO reports of 2010 and 2011.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> UNESCO "Advisory Body Evaluation" report (1993) on World Heritage List: Bukhara," October 4, 1990. Accessed May 5, 2012. [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory\\_body\\_evaluation/602.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/602.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/apa/cycle01/section2/602.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO "Advisory Body Evaluation" report (1993) on World Heritage List: Bukhara," October 4, 1990, p74. Accessed May 5, 2012. [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory\\_body\\_evaluation/602.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/602.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO "Periodic Reporting" 2003. Accessed May 5, 2012.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/APA/cycle01/section2/602-summary.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> UNESCO convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, thirty-fourth session, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July – 3 August 2010. Accessed May 5, 2012.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-7Be.pdf> and UNESCO convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, thirty-fifth session, Paris, UNESCO

An additional contribution to this field by UNESCO (1992)<sup>6</sup> is the six-volume edition entitled *The History of Central Asia*, an epic work that covers Central Asian history from 700 B.C. to the present and examines Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Northern India, western China, Mongolia, and the former Soviet central Asian republics. This project started as early as 1970s to promote the cultural identity of Central Asia. This work focuses on the diversity of ethnicities and histories in Central Asia as a whole and is useful in contextualizing the larger historical and socioeconomic trends in play in Bukhara over the years.

This literature review on Bukhara, Uzbekistan, and Central Asia reveals that while some works concentrate on the historicity of the material heritage in Bukhara and the larger narratives of history in Central Asia and Soviet Uzbekistan, there is very little information on how the built environment was modified during Soviet control. Specifically, not much scholarship exists on how the pre-Soviet heritage was treated by architectural professionals during the late Soviet period, and how new urban interventions were added to the existing urban fabric in pre-independence Soviet Uzbekistan. Importantly, the shifts in methodology and the rationale behind changing conservation practices reflect the evolution of Bukhara, and largely Uzbekistan, from a historic Islamic city to one that reflects its status as a post-Soviet Central Asian city with a unique cultural identity. This thesis fills some of the important gaps in the narrative of Soviet Uzbekistan and the quest to shape a national identity both politically and through the built environment.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this thesis.

#### **4. Methodology and Chapter Overview**

I examine the restoration, urban, and architectural projects proposed for Bukhara between 1965 and 1991 through an analysis of images and text available in the professional Uzbek SSR architectural journal, *Architecture and Construction in Uzbekistan (ACU)*. The *ACU* is the only architectural journal for Uzbekistan and the region of Central Asia. It was published between 1965 and 1991<sup>7</sup> in Tashkent by the

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Headquarters, 19-29 June 2011. Accessed May 5, 2012.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-7B.Adde.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO Collection of History of Civilizations of Central Asia Accessed May 5, 2012.

<http://www.unesco.org/culture/asia/index-en.html>

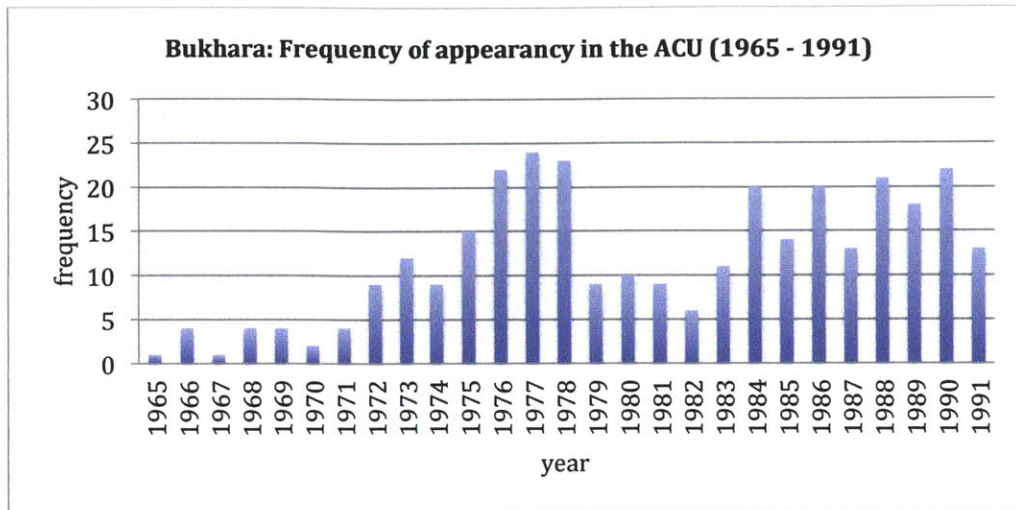
<sup>7</sup> From 1956 to 1982/4 the journal was entitled "Stroitel'stvo i Arkhitektura Uzbekistana" [Construction and Architecture of Uzbekistan]. From 1982/5 to 1991 the journal was entitled "Arkhitektura i Stroitel'stvo Uzbekistana" [Architecture and Construction of Uzbekistan].

UzSSR communist party and was issued by the UzSSR Ministry of Building. The articles published in the *ACU* are written by architects, historians, conservation specialists, professors, archaeologists, and engineers practicing in Uzbekistan. As such, this journal presents a valuable professional body of work helpful in understanding the attitudes of professionals towards the built environment. It is the only source that opens up the range and nature of debates, the diversity of architectural and planning projects; the issues in preservation, planning, and reconstruction of historical cities; and the development of the national style discussed in Uzbekistan from 1965 to 1991.

This journal is especially valuable in bringing together the different types of scholarship noted in the literature review because of its diversity of contributions. It presents a cohesive view of Bukhara's material heritage to the study of its architecture and in contributing to the expansion of Central Asian scholarship in the analysis of global Islamic architecture.

The chapters in this thesis explore the changing attitudes towards conservation in Bukhara from 1965 to 1991. The second chapter is devoted to the general understanding of the professional field in Uzbekistan during this period. Graphs created from a frequency analysis of keywords in the journals illustrate the trends of conservation during this period as well as the relationships between different cities, like Tashkent and Bukhara, and the changing importance of each city, conservation practices, and urban planning through time.

Based on the findings in the first chapter, Chapters 3 and 4 are divided into two time periods, 1965 – 1970s and 1980s – 1991. This organization reflects the pattern of frequency in appearance of the *ACU* articles featuring Bukhara. (Fig. 1)



**Figure 1: Chart showing the overall increase in the interest to Bukhara in the ACU during the mid-1970s and relatively high and consistent interest during the 1980s. This chart includes both: topics on Bukhara’s historical heritage and topics related to industrial and technical aspects.**

According to Figure 1, there is a sharp increase in professional interest in the architecture of Bukhara during the second half of the 1970s, and relatively high and consistent interest during the 1980s. Discussing each time period separately reveals the internal dynamics of each period and how the appearance of new ideas, methods, and interpretation of Bukhara’s heritage have changed from one period to the other, based on the shifts in Uzbek national identity. Each period is represented by several architectural and planning projects to demonstrate how local professionals working within the larger framework of the Soviet system were developing their own understanding and interpretation of their national heritage.

The third chapter concentrates specifically on the journals discussing the restoration of Bukhara’s monuments and new interventions in this historical city during the second half of the 1960s and 1970s. It analyzes the reasons for the sharp increase of professional interest in Bukhara and the nature of the projects.

As the quantity of restoration increased, the quality of work decreased. I argue that these trends are inter-related. Starting with the second half of the 1960s, restoration became a part of the larger national campaign directed at rehabilitating the historical character of Bukhara. Undocumented full restoration of historical monuments went hand-in-hand with proposals for the full reconstruction of the whole city, and both the reconstruction and restoration were increasingly carried out by the same method and were united by the same final goal: the remaking of the city to leverage its cultural capital. This increasing rate of restoration was

complemented by an increasing desire to bring new interventions into Bukhara's historical fabric. Judging by the proposed projects in the 1970s, the interventions were mostly destructive for the traditional environment. This chapter explains the reason for the coexistence of these two conflicting aspirations by the appearance of different understandings of Bukhara's historical environment. Chapter 3 discusses how architectural professionals attempted to make sense of Bukhara's traditional environment by imbuing it with new meaning and function. What was the ultimate goal of full restoration and reconstruction of Bukhara's architectural heritage?

Based on the different set of projects proposed for Bukhara in the 1980s, Chapter 4 discusses how professional attitudes to Bukhara's architectural heritage changed since the 1970s in the context of increasing decentralization and growing national sentiment. During the second half of the 1980s, local professionals started to openly criticize and distance themselves from previously popular Soviet and Western principles of urbanism and reconstruction of historical cities. Instead, they sought inspiration in traditional spatial elements, morphology and spirituality of Islamic cities. They were especially influenced by new architectural theories entering Bukhara after the opening up of Uzbekistan; Post-Modernism and regionalism, for example, gained prominence with local professionals during this time.

In the second half of the 1980s, by contrast, restoration of historical monuments noticeably reduced, but the overall quality of the work continued to decline. Besides, the continuity of the methodological approaches that started to develop during the 1960s and 1970s and became a norm by the 1980s, restoration was increasingly incorporated into the general area of architectural and urban design. Reflecting on these two major trends in the 1980s, Chapter 4 discusses how the increasing search for a unique urban identity, the emerging interest in regional, national and traditional styles, and the hybridization of organizations dealing with architectural heritage and historical cities, impacted the restoration and reconstruction of Bukhara's urban heritage.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes by summarizing how architectural practices in late Soviet Uzbekistan gradually shaped and developed a new set of meanings, relationships, and functions of Bukhara's historical environment that was reflective of society. This thesis concludes with insights into the impact of the continuity of late Soviet conservation practices on contemporary Uzbek identity construction.

## **CHAPTER II: ANALYSIS OF THE *ACU* JOURNAL AND THE OVERVIEW OF THE PROFESSIONAL FIELD: 1965 - 1991**

### ***1. Approach and conceptual framework for the ACU analysis***

The *ACU* journal, published under the Uzbekistan's Central Communist party in Tashkent, had to comply with a certain ideological framework prevalent at that time in late Soviet Uzbekistan. For this reason, all *ACU* articles were standardized to some degree and heavily overlaid with the late Soviet ideological propaganda. It was almost mechanically transferred from one article to the other without seemingly carrying much meaning or impact. This empty late Soviet ideological framework was particularly noticeable during the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s. With greater political freedom and decentralization in the second half of the 1980s, this trend disappeared and the *ACU* content became more focused and openly critical of the Soviet center as well as of some of the previous practices in conservation of architectural monuments and reconstruction of historical cities.

What is peculiar about this professional architectural criticism is that it was not directed at the methodological and conceptual underpinning of some of the prevailing practices at that time. For example, departure from the traditional materials and techniques while restoring monuments was not criticized, nor was the new methodology of undocumented full restoration based on analogy and copying questioned. Instead, the criticism mostly centered on the general deterioration of the quality of restoration work, while the new methodological approach was undeniably reinforced and propagated throughout the 1980s with the ever stronger reassurance of its appropriateness for the Central Asian conditions. Even more interesting is that this criticism was present only during the 1970s, a time when some of the articles were voicing shy disagreement with newly introduced practices.

Such an unexpected development of professional architectural discourse on conservation in late Soviet Uzbekistan from the late 1960s to 1991 seems anachronistic, considering the fact that in the 1980s Uzbekistan's intellectuals had more opportunity to develop a social and intellectual network with peers around the world as well as overall greater freedom of expression. This reversed progression is quite telling about the professional architectural environment and indicative of much larger processes influencing formation and progression of the

professional mentality of that period. It also raises a question about the nature and the conditions of the development of the existing frame of reference, set by the late Uzbekistan's cultural elites, for what the relationship should be between the architectural professionals and the national heritage. As Adams argues, this frame of reference, initially introduced by the Soviet state, served as an important channel for transferring readymade cultural forms into the post-Soviet Uzbekistan, influencing contemporary cultural production.<sup>8</sup> In this light, the possibility of existing continuities in the professional architectural environment brings analyses of the *ACU* professional architectural journals a new importance.

In this thesis, I attempt to take an analytical approach to understanding the overall way of thinking prevalent in the architectural field in late Soviet Uzbekistan and, most importantly, its progression from 1965 to 1991. By discussing the appearance of certain thematic propositions on conservation and their continuous and discontinuous development over time, this work contributes to the larger understanding of how the architectural professional field and the practices of conservation of heritage in Bukhara were built up over the late Soviet era in Uzbekistan. This analysis, in turn, can aid the future understanding of how this initially established professional discourse and mentality eventually evolved into the present, influencing understanding and treatment of the historical environment in Uzbekistan today.

## ***2. Methodology of the ACU analysis:***

This chapter is based on general quantitative analyses of the content presented in the *ACU* journal. Developed for this purpose, categories and classifications are meant to reflect main currents and trends in the professional architectural field as they are presented in the journal. Two of my main goals of such analyses are to look at the field in general in order to understand Bukhara's role as a historical city within the larger geopolitical landscape of late Soviet Uzbekistan; and to position the field of conservation and the level of importance of architectural heritage in their broader historical and professional context.

For this purpose, several geo-political categories prove useful. Based on the frequency of appearance in the titles of the *ACU* articles, these categories are

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<sup>8</sup> Adams, "Post-colonialism, and Theatrical Form in Uzbekistan," *Slavic Review*, vol. 64, no.2 (Summer 2005), p 335.



represented through the charts that show their progression and development over time between 1965 and 1991.

The first category represents a group of historical cities and includes Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khiva. This category reflects a separate concept in the journal and helps to understand whether all historical cities were featured equally, and if not, how their presentations differed. The second category is devoted to Tashkent and helps to understand the socialist capital–historical city relationship in terms of the hierarchy and importance assigned to both categories. The third and fourth categories are newly constructed geo-political unit of Uzbekistan and the larger region of Central Asia. Both categories are collective and reflect the priority of building a collective image of the country or the bigger region as opposed to featuring separate modern Soviet cities or pre-existing historical centers. The “all-Union” category assesses the level of presence of the Soviet center and changes in this level over time. The next two categories, entitled “other cities in Uzbekistan” and “other cities in Central Asia,” are devoted to the cities other than Tashkent and historical Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khiva. Both categories illustrate dynamics between general and specific, capital and periphery, historical cities and other cities as well as the priority given to the development of other cities as opposed to the obviously dominant agenda to develop Tashkent.

The other classification developed for the analysis of the *ACU* journal is “modernization vs. heritage.” Each geographical category is characterized based on the ratio of articles featuring it either from the perspective of a modernizing agenda or in terms of referencing its architectural heritage and conservation. This sort of analysis allows for better understanding of the way Bukhara is interpreted as a historical city within the larger modernizing agenda of late Soviet Uzbekistan.

The last classification developed for the *ACU* analysis is a thematic one. It helps to illustrate and define a broader thematic scope of the journal. The *ACU* was issued by multiple governmental agencies concerned with different aspects of construction, industrial and economic production, urban and rural planning, and conservation of Uzbekistan’s historical cities.<sup>9</sup> Thematic classification was intended to reveal the role of Uzbekistan’s architectural heritage and its conservation in the broader architectural profession of the time.

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<sup>9</sup> The *ACU* journal was issued by the Ministry of Building of Uzbek SSR, Gosstoy Uzbek SSR, Union of Architects of Uzbekistan, Ministry of Construction Materials Production of Uzbek SSR, Ministry of Rural Construction of Uzbek SSR, Ministry of Construction Work of Uzbek SSR, Glavtashkentstroy, Uzkolhozstroj, and Republic Industrial department.

Finally, images and Russian terms used in the *ACU* journal comprise a very important part of this thesis. The professional architectural language of the 1960s and the 1970s articles can be generally characterized as naïve and very idiosyncratic, which was largely due to the isolation of late Soviet Uzbekistan from the rest of the world and its increasing alienation from the center starting with the 1960s. During the 1980s, when Uzbekistan increasingly opened up to the world's influences, the language and terminology used in the journal became more grounded and in accord with wider architectural discourse in the world. The same observation equally applies to the illustrations in the *ACU* journal.

Beside its naïve and convoluted terminology, the content of the *ACU* articles is marked by numerous internal contradictions and ambiguities lasting through the whole length of a given issue. This observation is worth mentioning because this ambiguity, too, is an important part and parcel of the professional architectural field, and, most importantly, reflects the unstable political direction prevalent in late Soviet Uzbekistan.

### ***3. The ACU analysis: main findings and conclusions***

This section has three main sets of findings from the *ACU* analyses that cover the full period of study from 1965 to 1991. The first set concerns the role of Bukhara as a historical city within the broader geopolitical context of late Soviet Uzbekistan. The second set concerns the changing role of conservation of architectural heritage in the professional field. The last group of findings addresses some of the thematic representation of Bukhara in the *ACU* journal.

*A: Positioning Bukhara in the ACU broader geographic context: Spatial ideology and role assigned to Bukhara as a historical city within the larger geopolitical landscape of the Soviet Uzbekistan.*

Although within the larger geopolitical context in the *ACU* journal Bukhara was given very minor attention, its significance grew over time. (Fig. 2) Discussion of Bukhara became the most intensive in the mid - 1970s, which coincided with the Gazli<sup>10</sup> earthquake and the period of the most intensive restoration work done in late Soviet Uzbekistan. Throughout the 1980s Bukhara was discussed fairly consistently. (Fig. 3)

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<sup>10</sup> Gazli is a small place in the Bukhara region.

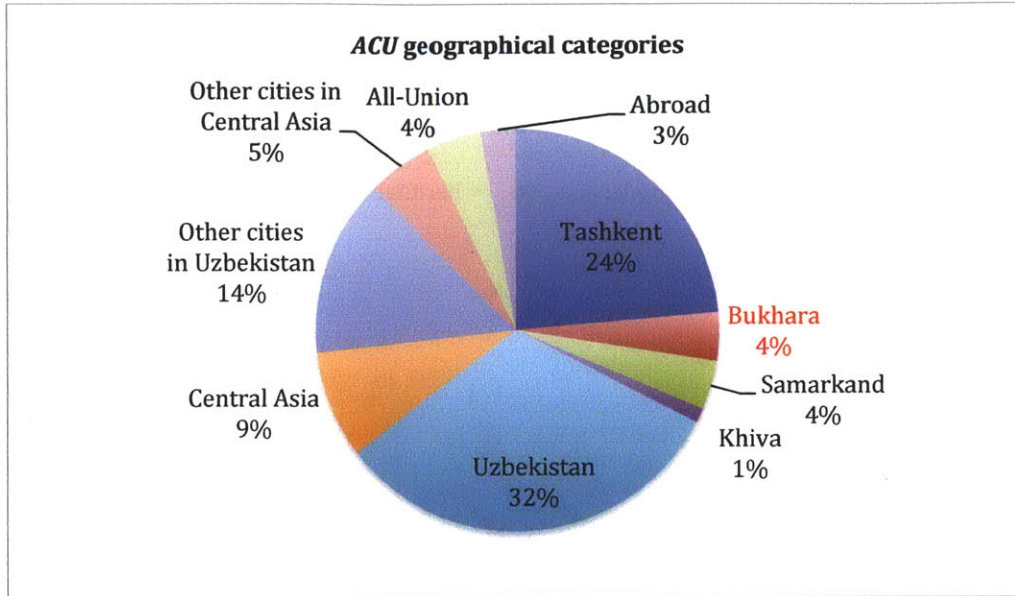


Figure 2: Geopolitical categories featured in the ACU journal.

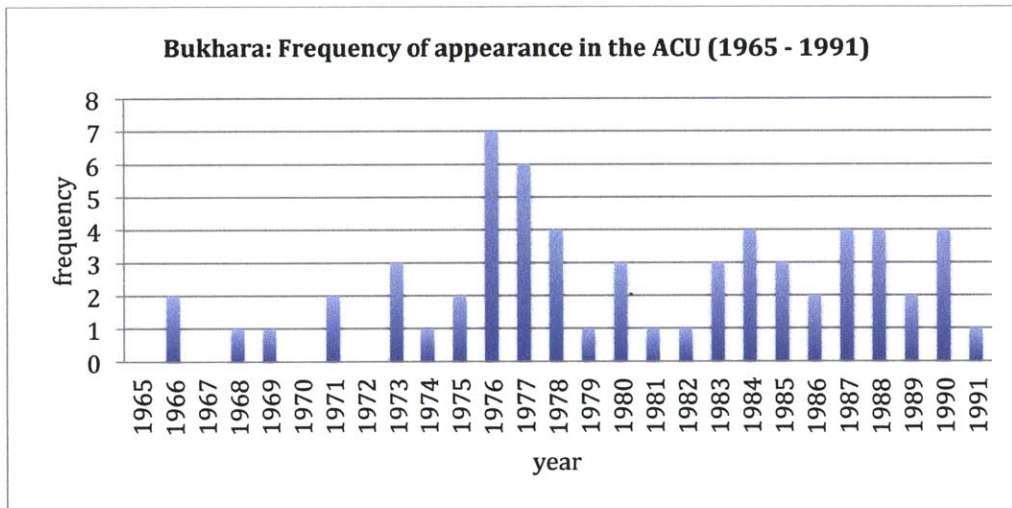


Figure 3: Progression of articles on Bukhara based on the frequency of their appearance in the ACU journals from 1965 to 1991.

The frequency of cities featured largely depended on the degree of modernization and industrialization of a particular city. The higher the level of modernization, the more frequently a city was featured. (Fig. 4) Historical cities, such as Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khiva, were scarcely discussed throughout the journal and were given disproportionately smaller attention compared to Tashkent, the capital and the most modernized city in Soviet Central Asia. (Fig 5) Samarkand was the second

largest industrial city in Uzbekistan and featured more than other historical cities. Khiva, the least industrial city, was featured least of all. (Fig. 6)

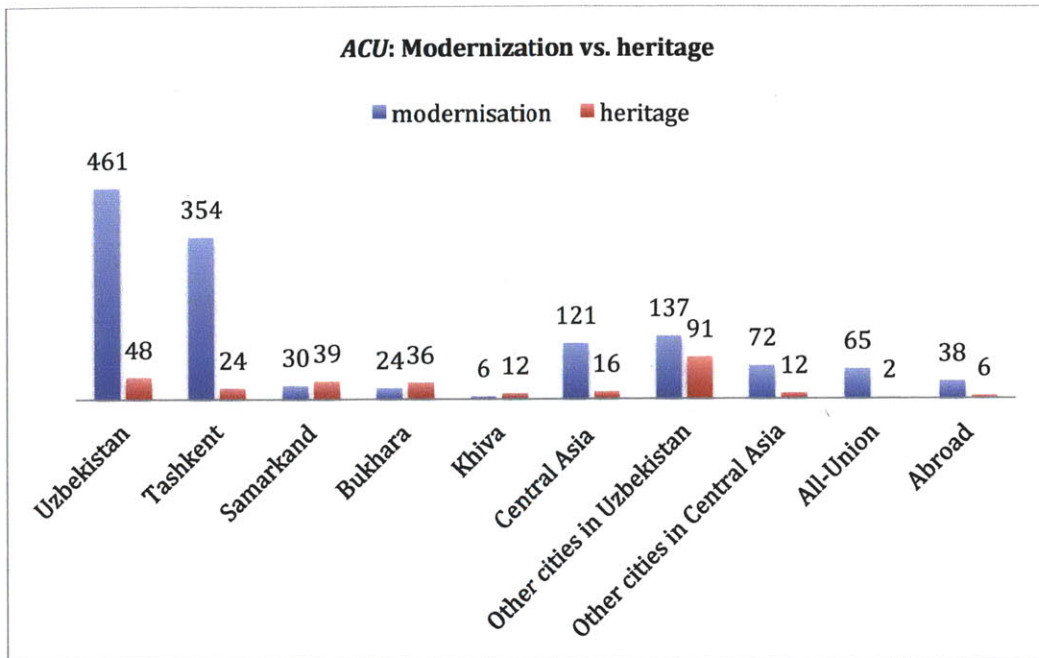


Figure 4: Correlation between the level of modernization and frequency of the appearance of a city or region in the ACU journal.

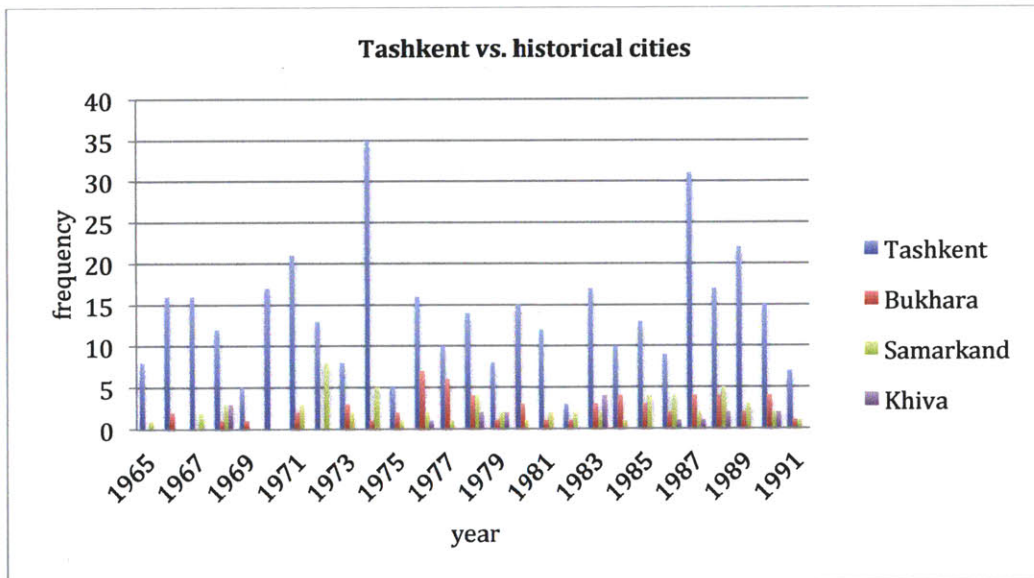


Figure 5: Disproportionately high level of articles featuring Tashkent in the ACU compared to other historical cities.

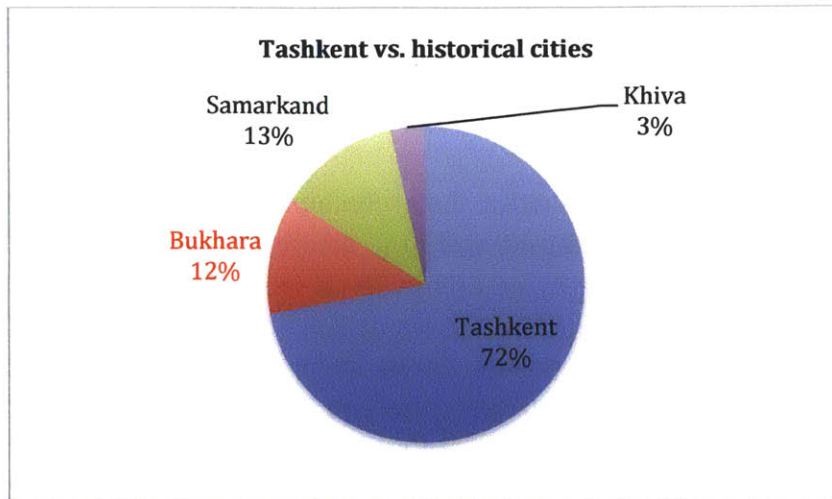
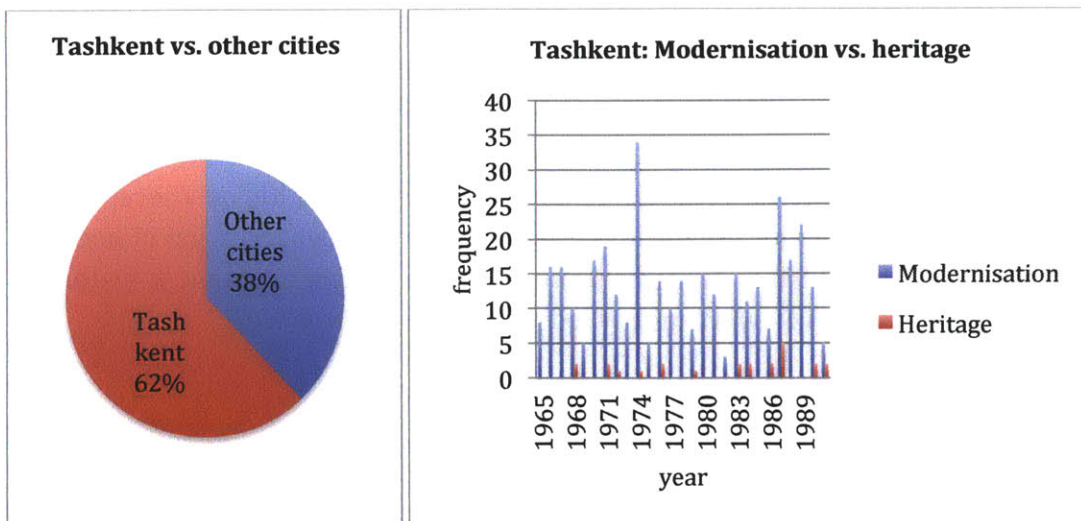


Figure 6: Tashkent vs. historical cities.

In the *ACU* journal, Tashkent was featured most consistently. It was the fourth major center within the Soviet geography and as such played an important role illustrating rapid achievements of the Soviet state’s modernizing program in the region. (Fig 7) It has always reflected changes in Uzbekistan and Central Asia in general. During the 1960s and the 1970s, all new architectural typologies were introduced through Tashkent. The *ACU* journals also featured Tashkent as a creative laboratory for experiments on the architectural and urban production of Uzbek national style and as the center of debates on modern Uzbek architecture as both “national in form and socialist in context,” to use the Soviet slogan of the time. The great Tashkent earthquake of 1966 made the issue of reconstruction and the search for appropriate architectural style in late Soviet Uzbekistan reverberate throughout the whole country.



**Figure 7: Left: In the *ACU* journal, Tashkent featured more than all other cities together. Right: Tashkent is mostly discussed in terms of projects that have to do with modernization and industrialization. Tashkent's architectural heritage, largely ignored in the *ACU*, was discussed only in the second half of the 1980s.**

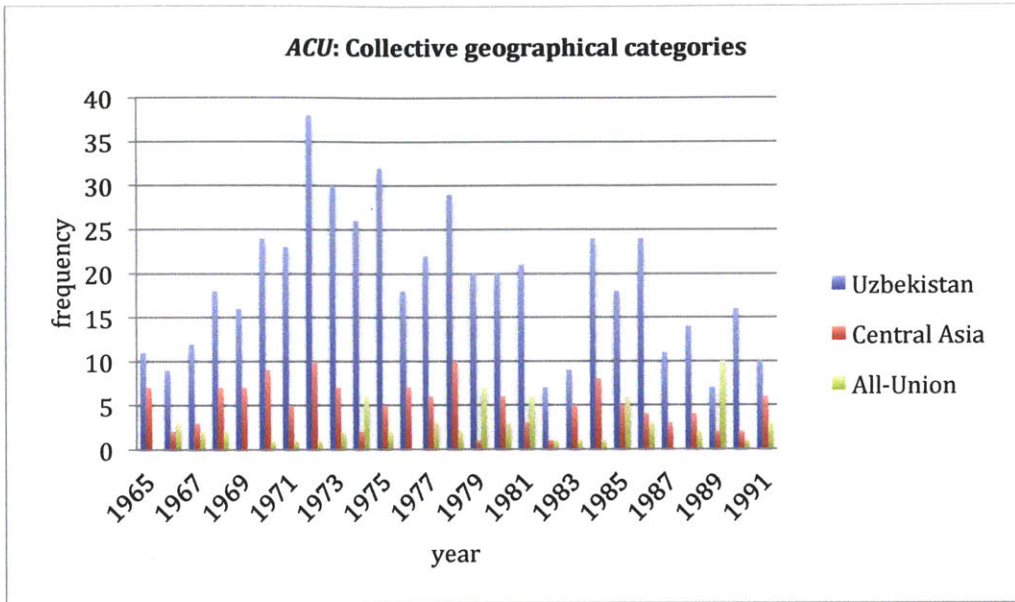
As opposed to featuring separate cities, the predominant geographic categories used in the early issues of the *ACU* journal were the greater regions of Central Asia, and later, Uzbekistan. (Fig. 8) In fact, the architectural journal preceding the *ACU* was entitled *Architecture and Construction of Central Asia*. It existed for a very short time and was eventually renamed first as the *Construction and Architecture of Uzbekistan*, and in 1982, renamed again as *Architecture and Construction of Uzbekistan*. This slight shift in the title reflects the end of Khrushchev's complain against excess in architecture, and the construction of low-cost cement-paneled public housing extensively unfolded during the 1960s.

Soviet uniform all-union topologies of city planning, housing, administrative and cultural buildings were introduced in the journal as the "Central Asia topology" or "Uzbekistan topology." Only in the mid-1970s was there a shift from collective geography to specific cities, as well as from generic urban and architectural topologies to more specific examples. The diversity and frequency of different Central Asian cities featured in the *ACU* increased over time. (Fig. 9)

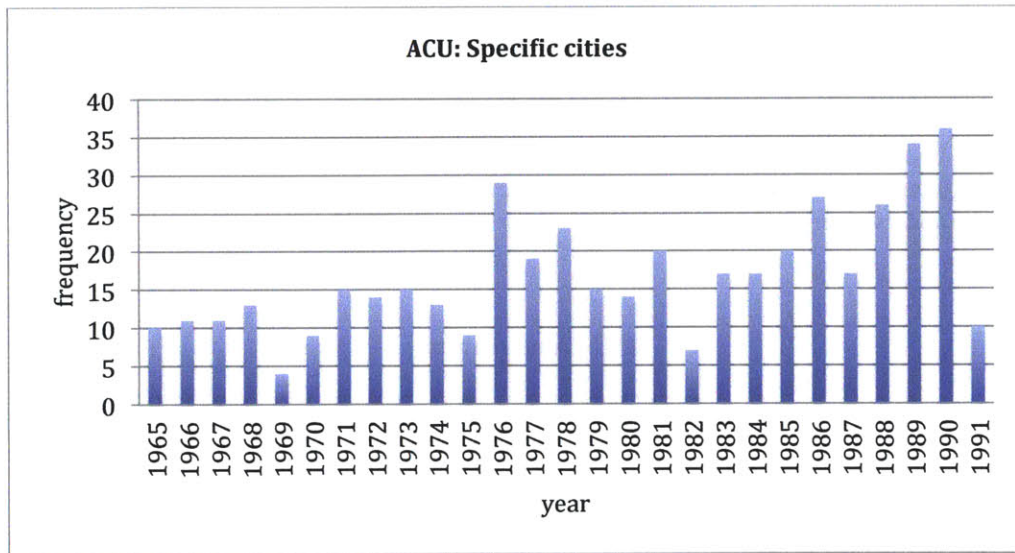
A theme of "building the Union together" was also particularly popular in the late 1960s *ACU* articles. Competition between the Soviet republics for the fastest modernization and industrialization and discussion of Uzbekistan in the background of cross-comparison between other Soviet republics with the center (Moscow) as the basis for the highest achievement composed the general framework of the early *ACU* articles.

Uzbekistan was always a tastemaker and was an exemplary case for the whole region of Central Asia. Tashkent was not the only city to be heavily invested in; according to the Soviet delineation, Uzbekistan also happened to have the most important historical centers, such as Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khiva. Therefore the *ACU* journal itself and major organizations dealing with the conservation of heritage were centered in Uzbekistan. Archeological expeditions and restoration of historical monuments in Central Asia were mostly led from Uzbekistan as well.





**Figure 8: Development of the collective categories “Uzbekistan,” “Central Asia,” and “All-Union” throughout time. Uzbekistan as representative of the whole Central Asian region was discussed in the ACU the most.**



**Figure 9: Increasing discussion of specific cities in the ACU as opposed to the generic geographies of “Central Asia” and “Uzbekistan.”**

*B: Overview of the ACU broader thematic context: locating the field of conservation.*

In the professional architectural field, conservation was a very minor topic. Thematically, the majority of the articles in the ACU journal were dedicated to the

issues of modernization, industrialization, and overall technical aspects of construction. General topics on traditional craft and the history and archeology of historical monuments were also given very minor attention in the journal. (Fig. 10) That being said, the interest in heritage and its conservation exponentially increased over time, while technical articles dealing with industrialization continued to decrease. (Fig. 11, 12, 13)

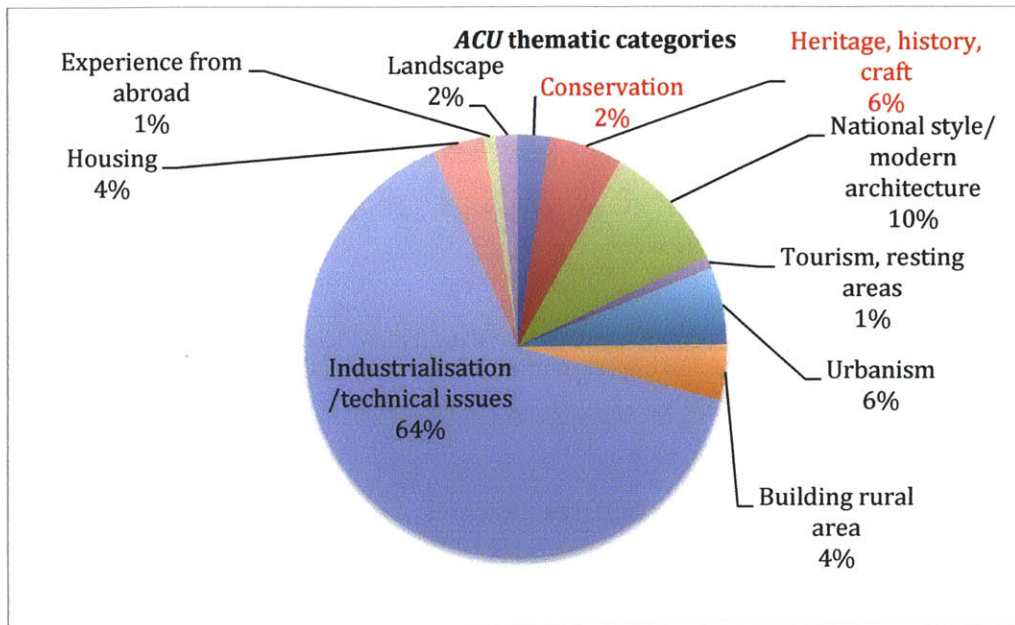


Figure 10: Analysis of the ACU journal based on the thematic categories, and the minor role of heritage and its conservation in the professional architectural field.

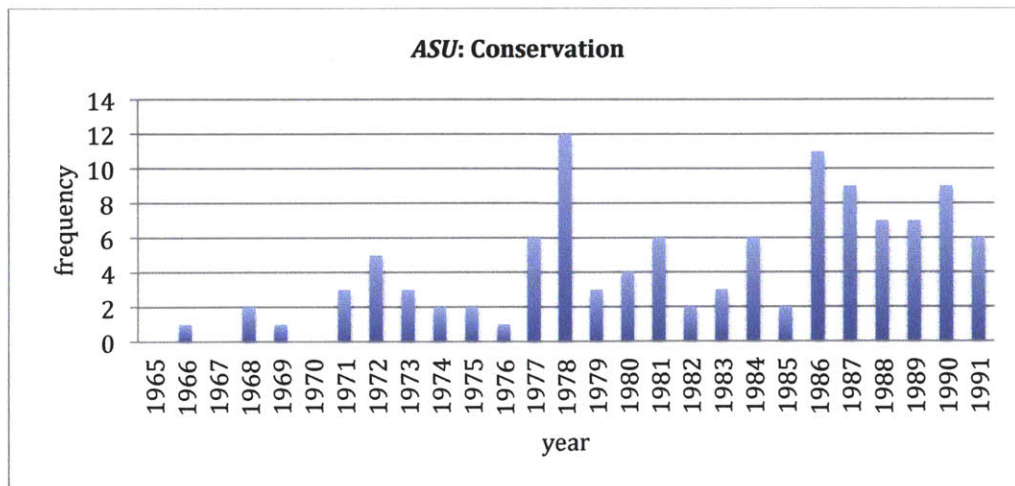


Figure 11: Gradual increase of importance of conservation in the professional architectural field.



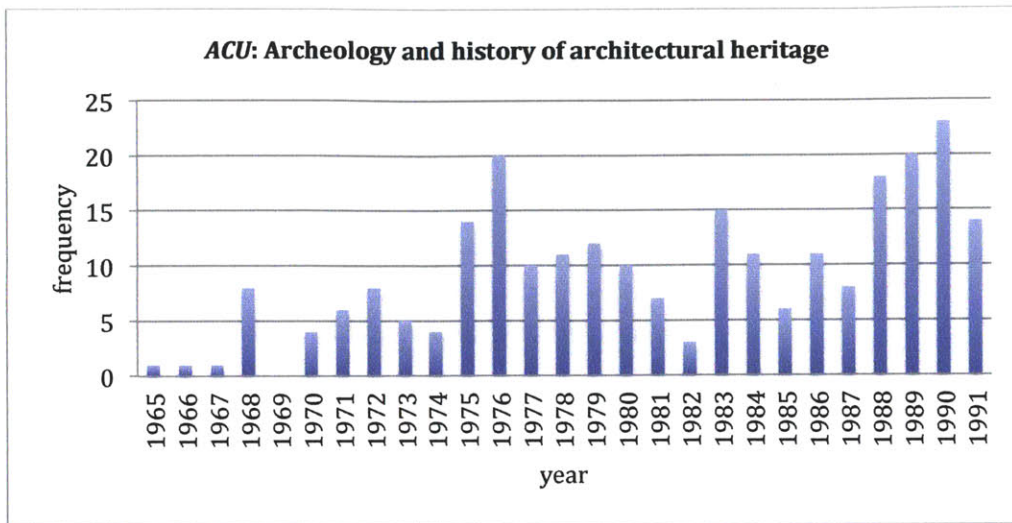


Figure 12: Gradual increase of the interest in heritage, traditional craft, and past history over the year.

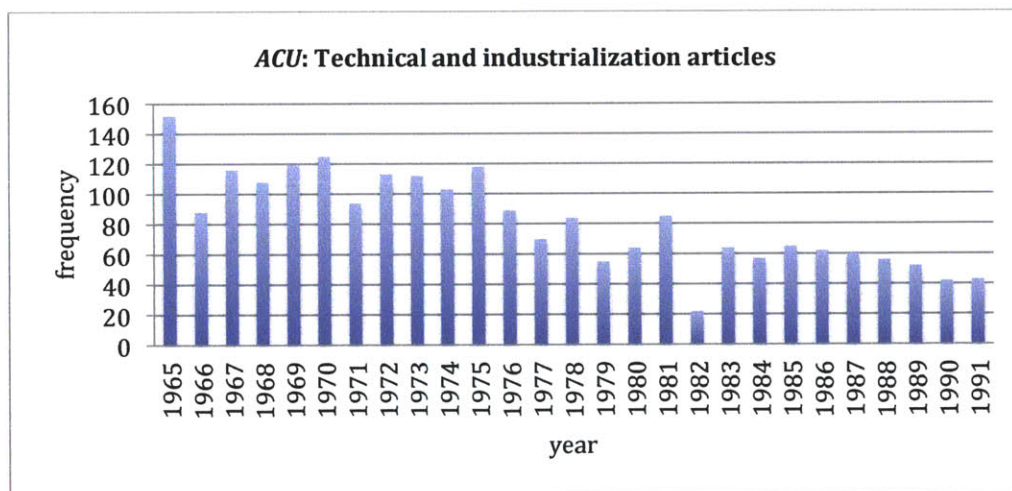
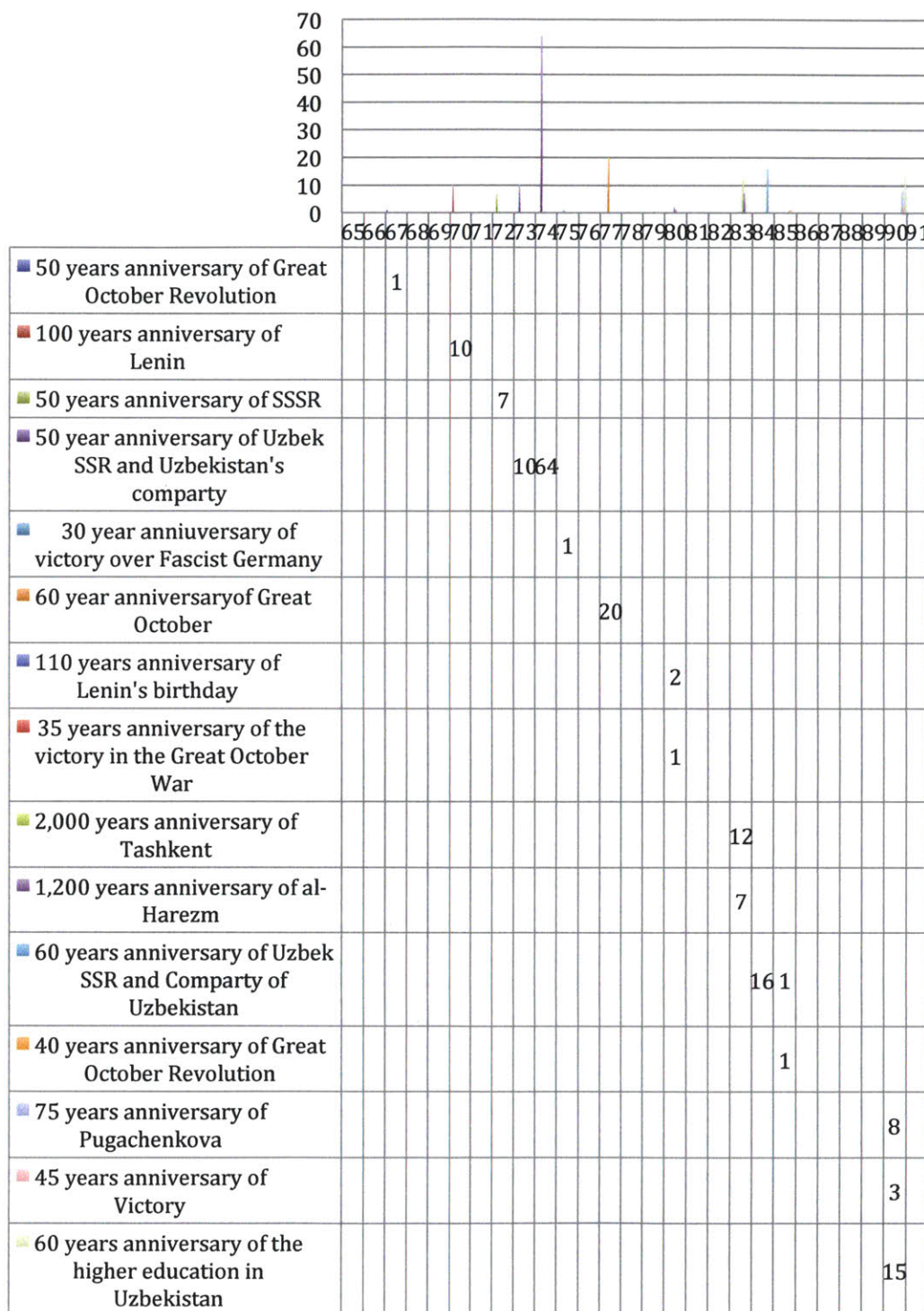


Figure 13: Gradual decrease of the articles that have to do with industrialization and technical aspects of construction.

Soviet national anniversaries in Uzbekistan served as an important incentive for restoration of historical monuments. Such anniversaries were widely and consistently celebrated in late Soviet Uzbekistan throughout the 1960s-1980s. (Fig. 14) Restoration and “beautification” of Bukhara were particularly intensive on the eve of these ideological celebrations.

**ACU: National anniversaries in Uzbekistan during the Soviet time**



**Figure 14: Chart of the Soviet national anniversaries celebrated in Uzbekistan between 1965 and 1991. These anniversaries served as strong incentives for restoration of historical monuments in Uzbekistan.**

Early projects that had to do with urban and architectural unifying topologies were gradually replaced in the *ACU* journal by projects searching for an urban identity and architectural style unique to Uzbekistan. Articles on national expression in architecture and city planning became increasingly popular in the 1980s. (Fig. 15)

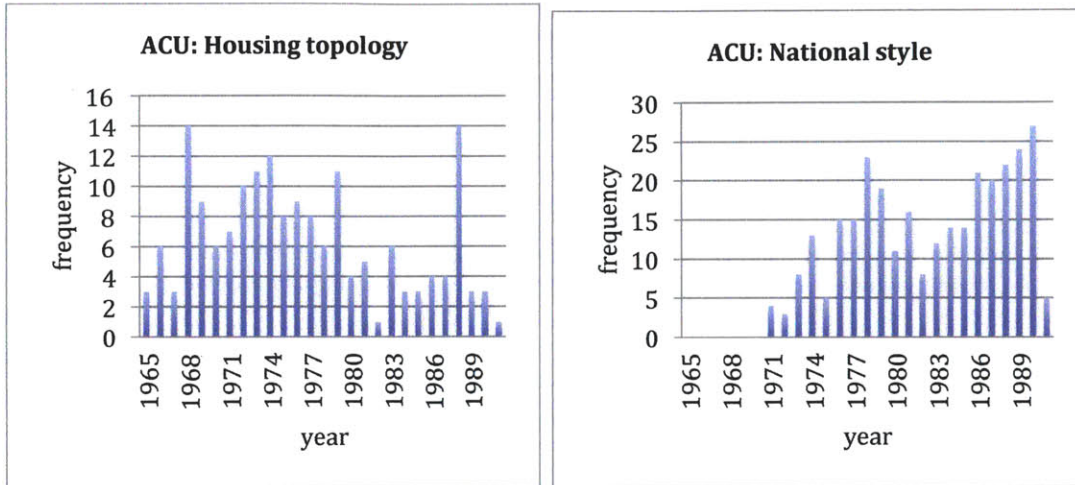


Figure 15: Left: *ACU* articles that consider the housing topology decrease over time. Right: Increase in the articles focused on the search for the national architectural style in Uzbekistan.

As for the urban vs. rural ratio, it had its own dynamics of development in the *ACU* journals. Rural projects, such as development of new *kolkhozy* and *sovkhoy*,<sup>11</sup> were particularly popular in the second half of the 1960s and first half of the 1970s. The Soviet project of conquering the Central Asian Hungry Steppe was one of the most featured topics in the early *ACU* articles. The development of barren spaces and irrigation plus building new infrastructures and settlements in the rural area with time became less popular and completely disappeared in the 1980s. Instead, the emphasis shifted to articles showcasing the progress in the urban development of Uzbekistan as well as in other Central Asian republics. (Fig. 16)

<sup>11</sup> *Kolkhoz* is a term for collective farming in the Soviet Union and *Kovkhoz* is a term for state farming.



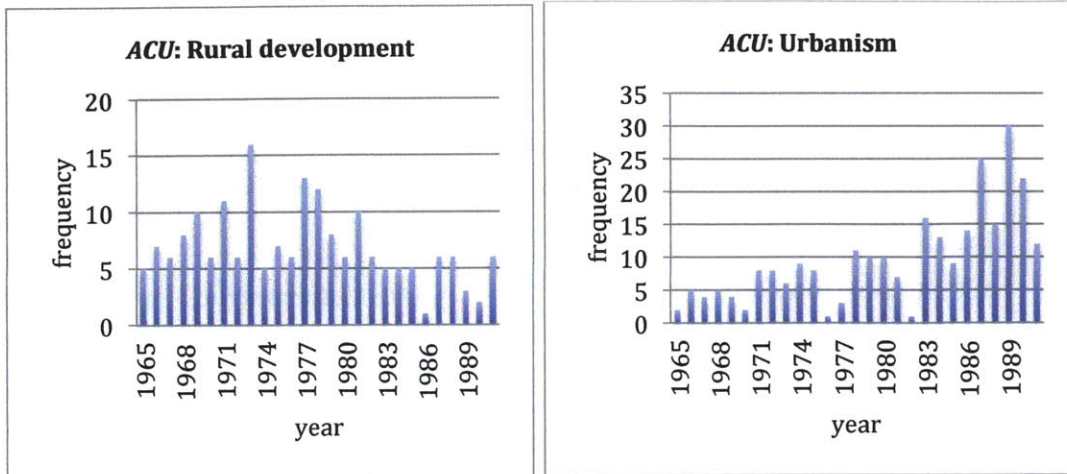


Figure 16: Left: decrease in the number of articles featuring rural development after the second half of the 1970s. Right: gradual increase in the number of the articles showcasing urban development.

Urban landscaping and the development of parks and areas for recreation were consistently featured throughout the life of the *ACU* journals as an important part of showcasing urban development. Projects like leisure areas by the lakes and sanatoriums in the rural areas were particularly popular and consistently featured as well. (Fig. 17)

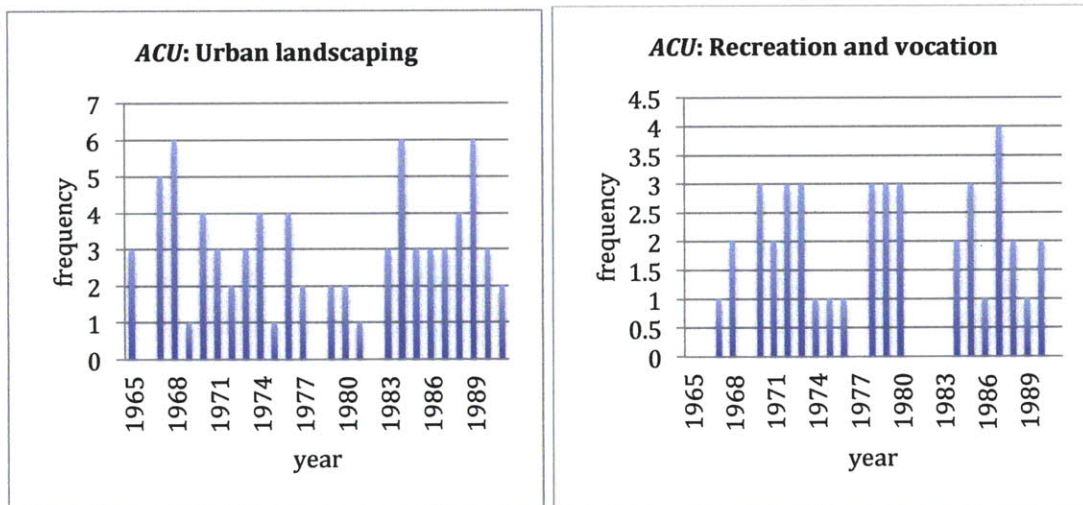
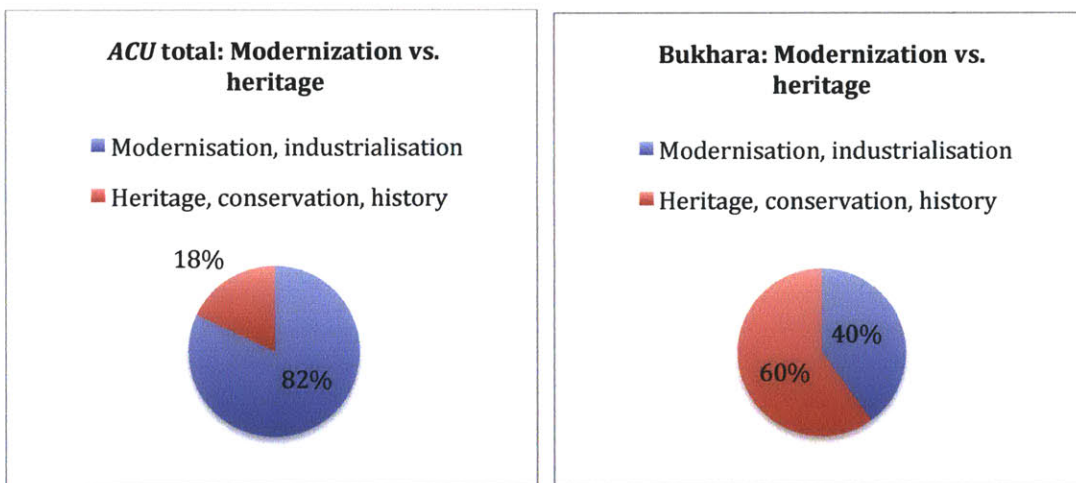


Figure 17: Left: projects related to urban beautification by planting parks and alleyways were featured consistently throughout the *ACU* journal. Right: development of recreation area and sanatoriums in the distant areas was one of the important and consistently featured projects in the *ACU*.

*C: Thematic analysis of Bukhara*

Although Bukhara was largely discussed in terms of its urban heritage, a great number of articles in the *ACU* journal were dedicated to its industrial development and modernization. (Fig. 18) For example, articles on Bukhara’s cotton and concrete factories were featured fairly consistently throughout the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s.

Overall, conservation as well as topics on historical and archeological study of Bukhara’s architectural monuments were not very frequently mentioned in the journal. (Fig. 19) Articles on Bukhara’s conservation, which were almost absent during the 1960s, noticeably increased over time, picking up in the mid-1970s, and were featured fairly consistently throughout the 1980s. (Fig. 20) Meanwhile, articles concerning Bukhara’s industrial development and different technical aspects of construction became almost absent in the 1980s. (Fig. 21)



**Figure 18: Left: general *ACU* ratio of articles dealing with the topics of modernization, industrialization vs. articles that have to do with archeology, history and conservation of architectural monuments. Right: ratio of articles on modernization vs. heritage specifically for Bukhara.**

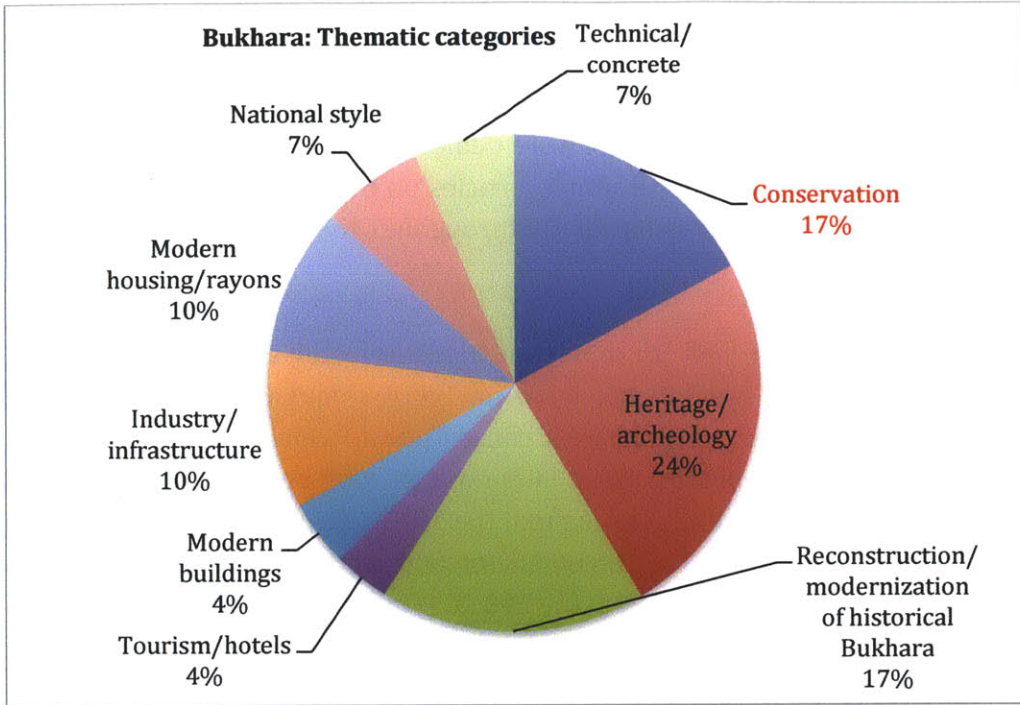


Figure 19: Thematic analyses of ACU articles on Bukhara.

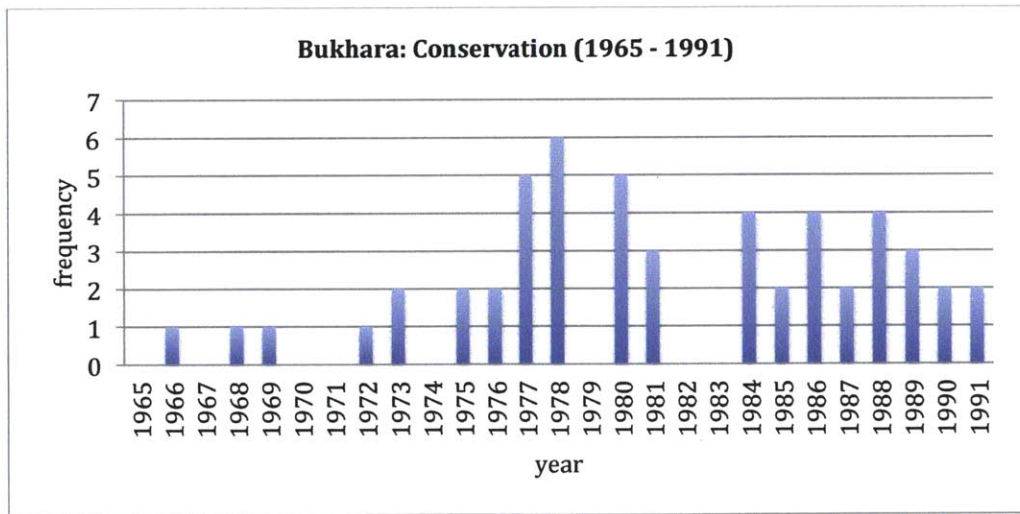


Figure 20: progression of articles on conservation in Bukhara from 1965 to 1991

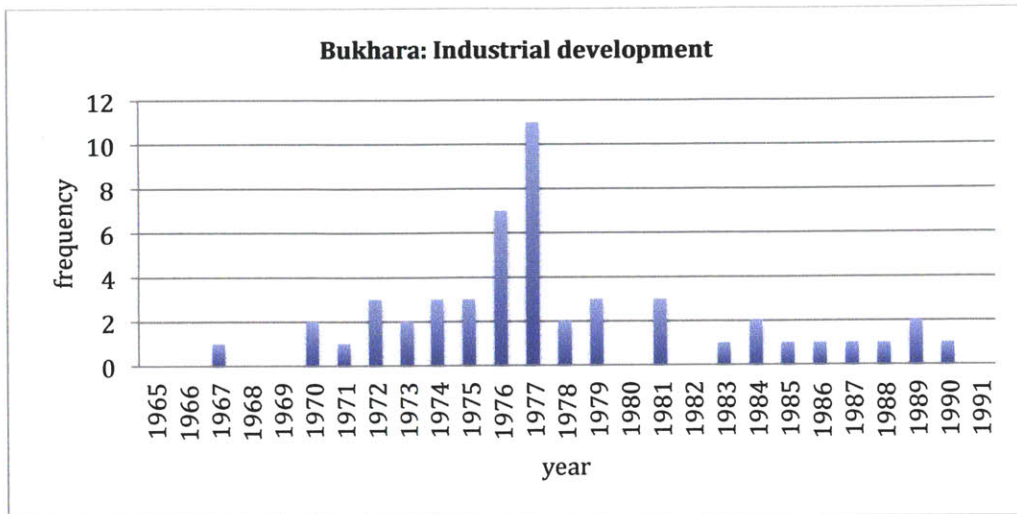


Figure 21: Chart showing relatively consistent pattern of industrial and technical aspect of Bukhara’s development, picking up during the mid-1970s and decreasing afterwards.

Bukhara’s historical heritage was discussed equally in terms of conservation and in terms of modernization. “Modernizing historical heritage” was a common ACU idiom used to describe such projects as designing new housing for historical Bukhara in place of traditional housing, readjusting the historical monument for adaptive reuse, and introducing different urban and architectural interventions into the historical core of Bukhara to redevelop it according to the modern standards of living. (Fig 22, 23)

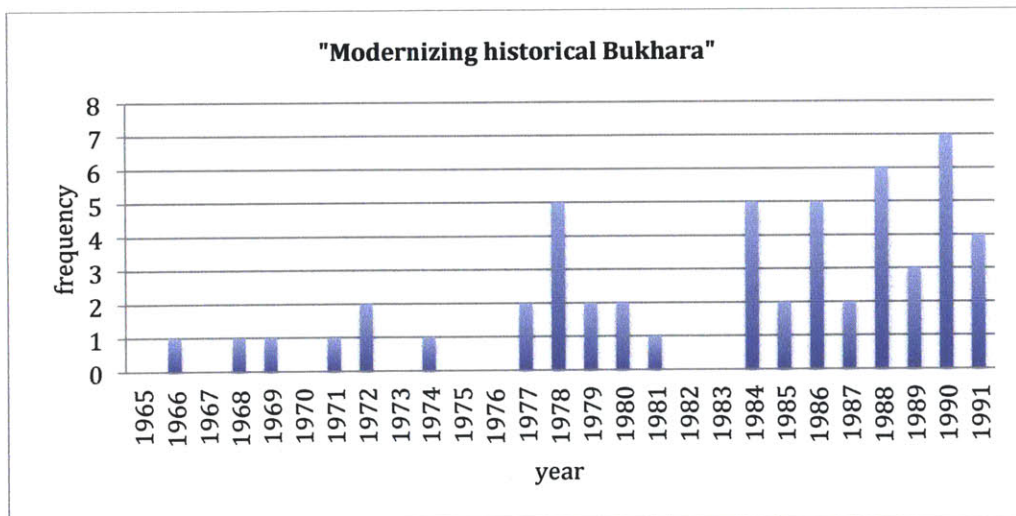


Figure 22: Articles that deal with such projects as adaptive reuse of monuments, new interventions, and general “beautification” of the city.



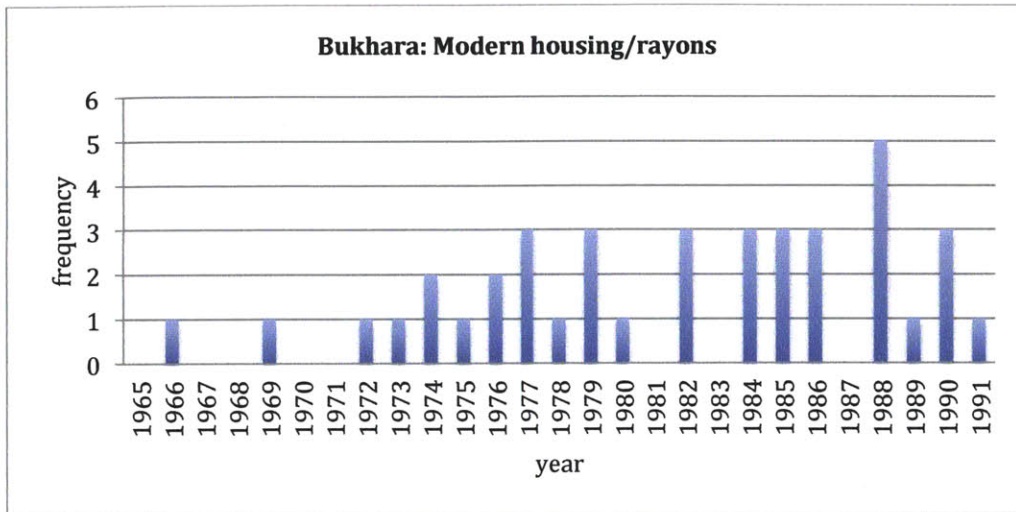


Figure 23: Projects that have to do with modernizing traditional residential fabric in Bukhara.

Starting with the second half of the 1970s, many topics of articles on Bukhara had to do with morphological and typological analysis of its traditional urban fabric. They were then used as a source of inspiration and database of formal and spatial elements in the search for the national architectural style in Uzbekistan. (Fig. 24)

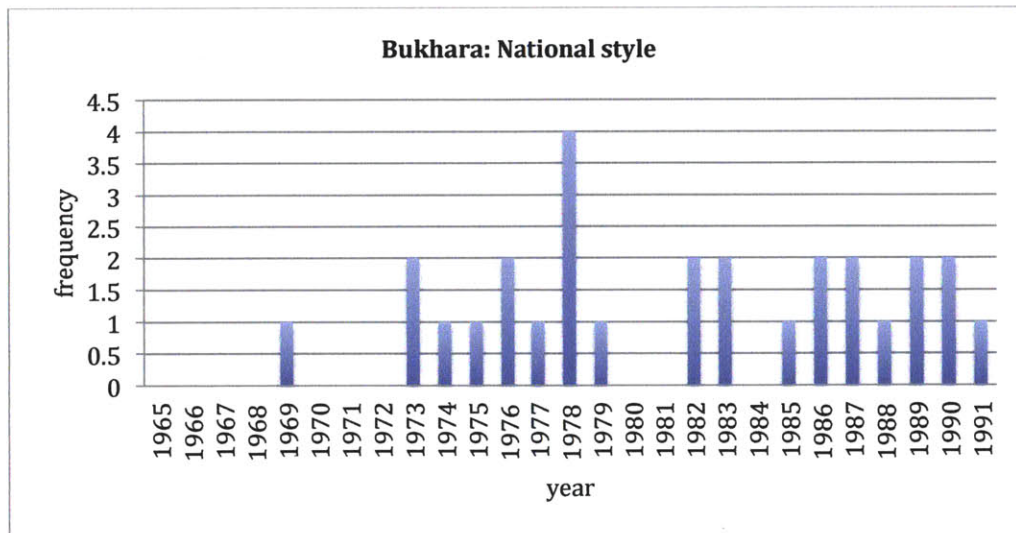


Figure 24: Articles on morphological and topological study of Bukhara's traditional urban fabric and architecture used as inspiration in the search for national architectural style in Uzbekistan.

As the graphs of this chapter show, many trends in the professional architectural field were not developing in a stationary, uniform pattern. The time period between



1965 and 1991 was marked either by continuous, increasing or decreasing development or by two-wave development with the sharp increase in the second half of the 1970s and a relatively balanced and consistent pattern in the 1980s. The next two chapters look at continuities and breaking points in the professional architectural field as it relates to conservation as well as urban and architectural interventions into Bukhara's urban heritage.

### **CHAPTER III: 1965 – 1970: CONSTRUCTING NEW MEANING FOR BUKHARA IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW AWARENESS OF NATIONAL HERITAGE.**

This chapter focuses on the first half of the study period, 1965–1970s, the time of the most intensive restoration works done in Bukhara, and the rise of the new awareness and interest in Bukhara’s architectural heritage in general. The chapter has three sections. The first section introduces the shift in the meaning of architectural heritage by looking at the correlation between the increase in the quantity and decrease in the quality of conservation and its main methods and approaches. The second section discusses the main goals defined for the reconstruction of historical Bukhara. The final section illustrates these goals through the example of three different interventions envisioned for Bukhara.

#### ***1. Bukhara’s urban heritage and its conservation: The shift in the meaning of historical heritage***

Starting with the 1970s there was a remarkable increase of interest in Bukhara’s historical heritage and its conservation. This trend was not unique to Bukhara, but was evident in the whole of Uzbekistan.<sup>12</sup> For example before 1960, 18 monuments were restored in Uzbekistan, 24 from 1960 to 1965, and 26 from 1966 to 1970; 13 monuments had been restored in the single year of 1971.<sup>13</sup> All together 140 monuments were restored in Uzbekistan during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>14</sup>

Not only did the number of restoration increased, but the budget allocated for this purpose also continuously increased over the years. Around 11 million rubles were spent on the restoration works between 1971 and 1975, and 26 million were spent between 1976 and 1980, which is five times more than between 1966 and 1970.<sup>15</sup> This trend of constantly increasing restoration works together with the increasingly

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<sup>12</sup> The subsequent numerical data that I used to demonstrate the increase in restoration and budget allocated for this purpose is for Uzbekistan in general. Although statistics specifically for Bukhara are not available, general statistics still reflect the trend common for all Uzbekistan’s historical cities and help illustrate the scale of the increase.

<sup>13</sup> Derenikian, “New Period in Restoration of Historical Monuments in Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 12 (1972): 25.

<sup>14</sup> Krukov, “Organizations of Protection and Restoration of Historical Monuments in Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 2 (1991): 12.

<sup>15</sup> Matchanov, “Protection and Restoration of Monuments Based on the New Scientific Method,” *ACU* 1 (1978): 2.

growing budget distributed for the purpose of restoration continued throughout the 1970s.

The 1968 legislation on *Protection of Historical Heritage* passed by the Uzbek government is often referenced in the *ACU* journal as the starting point for the new awareness regarding the importance of heritage and as the beginning of some of the major restoration works. This and numerous other new legislations appearing during the 1960s and 1970s clearly point to a certain shift in the role of conservation of historical heritage and in the restructuring of the field.

Although it is difficult to say why restoration of historical monuments suddenly skyrocketed starting in the late 1960s, the *ACU* journal shows that during that time restoration also became an important part of the national campaign in Uzbekistan. Thus for example literature published on the historical monuments was often dedicated and published to commemorate one of the numerous Soviet anniversaries,<sup>16</sup> consistently celebrated throughout the 1960s and 1980s. (Fig. 10) Soviet anniversaries and national holidays also became incentives for finishing the restoration of historical monuments. For example, there were 100 monuments restored to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution,<sup>17</sup> and 35 monuments in Bukhara had to be restored within two years for the 1,000th anniversary of Ibn Sina in the 1980s.<sup>18</sup> Almost all of them were central complexes: the Liabi-houz complex, Madrasa Ulugbek, Mosque Magoki Attori, the Poi Kalian complex, etc.

Historical monuments were used for ideological and cultural propaganda aimed at developing a sense of patriotism; this sense was actively propagated by the Uzbek officials starting in the 1960s. A special organization entitled the *Society for Protection of Historical Monuments* was established in 1967 particularly for this reason. This organization was responsible for distributing propaganda about Uzbekistan's historical heritage to the masses, targeting youth, workers and peasants. It employed a wide range of means, such as lectures, publications, TV and radio talks, photo exhibitions, etc.<sup>19</sup> Numerous factories, *kolhoz*, and high schools

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<sup>16</sup> Matchanov, "Protection of Monuments is Responsibility of Society," *ACU* 6 (1975): 22-24.

<sup>17</sup> Narhodzaev, "Protection of Monuments of History and Culture is Responsibility of Society," *ACU* 11/12 (1977): 87.

<sup>18</sup> Ashrafi, Krukov, "Results of the X Five-Year Plan and New Perspectives of the Development of Protection Organizations in the XI Five-Year Plan," *ACU* 6 (1981): 4-5.

<sup>19</sup> Over the first five years the Society organized 5000 lectures, 250 articles, 120 radio and TV shows, numerous photo exhibition, etc. (Source: Shamuratov, "Role of the Society of Protection of Historical Monuments in the Matters of Conservation and Propaganda of Architectural Heritage in Uzbekistan,"

that were members of this society participated in the frequent cultural mass excursions to historical cities to be familiarized with the monuments. Over the years these systematic excursions became so frequent that Kukeldesh madrasa in Bukhara was turned into a hostel to accommodate such visitors. In fact, in some cases whole factories were brought in to do “voluntarily” work on the restoration sites.<sup>20</sup>

The Society, which consistently published articles in the *ACU* journal on the latest achievements in the area, always discussed historical monuments together with the modern Soviet buildings, which represented “the hard work and sacrifice done to build Soviet society in Uzbekistan.”<sup>21</sup> Along with industrial, housing, and agricultural development, which as in all Soviet republics was done in Uzbekistan in a five-year plan, achievements in restoration were also envisioned as contributing to the overall development of the country and were planned in the five-year time periods as well. This approach created new demands and goals in the practices of restoration to keep up with such plans. Speed, economic efficiency of production, and volume of work became the main criteria for restoration starting in the 1960s. Subsequently, new methods aimed merely to increase the work output and speed of restoration.

The overall approach to conservation during the 1970s could be generally characterized as very technical, where the physical condition of a monument mattered the most. Engineering strengthening of monuments’ structure was the biggest concern during that time, and the main work done on the monuments was generally characterized as “repairing and recovering,”<sup>22</sup> which almost always meant work done to a monument in a critical condition in order to prevent it from complete destruction. While the most important principle of the early Soviet practices of restoration formed by Boris Zasipkin was to strictly follow the original materials, construction, techniques and methods, it was not the case in the 1960s and onward. Instead, restoration was taken to the level of technical perfection and measured based on the same parameters as any other industrial and modernizing achievements. For example, concrete was considered technically superior<sup>23</sup>, and a

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*ACU* 7 (1973): 6-7. By the 1980s, Society created 32 tourist routes to show monuments. (Source: Narhodzaev, “Meeting of the Friends of Monuments,” *ACU* 6 (1981): 1.)

<sup>20</sup> From personal conversation with Nina Nemzova, archeologist working in Uzbekistan. August 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Manchanov, “Protection of Monuments is Responsibility of Society,” *ACU* 6 (1975): 23.

<sup>22</sup> ремонтно-восстановительные работы [remontno-vosstanovitel'nie raboti]. This work was used as interchangeable with “restoration.”

<sup>23</sup> During the 1970s many monuments in Bukhara were restored with the concrete, metal and other synthetic materials: Chor Bakr (dome is restored with concrete and metal), Khanaka Nadir Divan-Begi (reinforced with a precast concrete and concrete portal), Mosque Kalian (main portal is restored with concrete), Madrasa Ulugbek (concrete is used for the western portal of the courtyard), Madrasa Mir-Arab (concrete is used for the southern portal of the courtyard), etc. All of the work done with

metal framework dome was seen as more efficient, with the potential of being mass-produced not only for Central Asian architecture, but far beyond.<sup>24</sup> “Renewal” [obnovlenie] of the traditional tile to the new that was mass-produced in the industrial factories was also part of this technocratic mentality developed during the late Soviet time in Uzbekistan.

The use of synthetic materials and chemicals incompatible with the traditional ones is not unique to the late practices of restoration in Uzbekistan, and rather a modern method widely used around the world. What is interesting and specific to Uzbekistan is the reasoning behind such practices. While the use of unauthentic materials and techniques is usually explained by a limited budget or other practical reason, in the late Soviet Uzbekistan monuments were stripped of any historical value and as such evaluated based on the same criteria as any other modern buildings. Due to the teleological interpretation of historical monuments, modern materials and construction were considered to be more advanced and therefore more appropriate than traditional ones. In fact, contemporary professionals were intentionally trying to substitute new for old, because the ultimate goal was to “improve” the monument, as for example traditional clay architecture, which is now interpreted as a “mistake”<sup>25</sup> due to the short-lived material.

Seismic resiliency and compliance with modern codes and standards on durability<sup>26</sup> became one of the main reasons justifying this technocratic approach to the restoration; mistrust of the old materials; and the need to look for lighter, thinner, and sometimes even differently shaped forms instead. The Gazli<sup>27</sup> earthquake that took place in Bukhara oblast in 1976 and damaged many Bukhara’s monuments is one such example. Articles on the restoration of Bukhara’s historical monuments after the earthquake very much center on the technical aspect of improving the existing construction by the means of modern innovations. The goal was not just to “rebuild” the monuments, but also to reduce their weight. Thus for example the restoration of Madrasa Gaukushon was discussed in terms of strengthening the dome by inserting a reinforced concrete structural ring covered with square brick.<sup>28</sup>

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concrete on these monuments is praised due to the monument surviving the earthquake. (Source: ACU 1984/10)

<sup>24</sup> Gol’denshtein, Filimonov, Manfilov, “Use of Reinforce Concrete for the Restoration of Historical Monuments,” *ACU* 7 (1977): 18.

<sup>25</sup> Davidov, “Restoration of Decorative Art in the Monuments of Central Asia,” *ACU* 9 (1981): 26-29.

<sup>26</sup> Gost 13377-75 was a code of the standard during the Soviet time that had to be applied to every construction and even to the historical monuments

[критерий прочности надежности и ремонтпригодности (гост 13377-75)] (Source: Rempel, “Criteria of the Scientific Restoration of Architectural Monuments,” *ACU* 3 (1978): 12.

<sup>27</sup> Gazli is a small town in Bukhara’s *oblast*, district.

<sup>28</sup> Shvarz, “Restoration of Madrasa Gaukushon in Bukhara,” *ACU* 3 (1977): 20-22

Restoration of the Boharzi mausoleum was to be done by applying a cement solution to the interior walls,<sup>29</sup> and the restoration of Madrasa Ulugbek and Madrasa Mir-Arab are discussed as better off with the inserted metal framework to better support their domes.<sup>30</sup>

Not all historical monuments were considered equally valuable during the 1970s and 1980s. As a rule, monuments featured in the *ACU* during the 1970s were mostly well-known monumental buildings that were part of the larger ensemble in the center of Bukhara, with the exception of few large memorial complexes outside of the city wall. In fact, all monuments had been divided into three levels of importance: union, republic and local meaning. Most of the budget was allocated to the union level or world-known monuments, most of which belonged to the ensemble, had colorful tile work, and were located in the city itself. In contrast, local monuments were usually clay buildings that had no tile work and were dispersed outside a city. Although many of these clay monuments were unique, they are regarded as not valuable. Since for the most part they were located in the fields outside a city, they were demolished to free the land for agricultural development.<sup>31</sup> Not only was the priority of restoration based on this classification, but the method of restoration itself was also.<sup>32</sup> Traditional methods and materials that demanded more time, energy and a larger budget were reserved for the monuments that were considered to have unique historical value and preserved as examples to demonstrate authentic solutions. The choice of brick or concrete depended on such characteristics as the height of a minaret or the size of an arch or a dome.<sup>33</sup>

As mentioned above, the majority of the *ACU* articles dedicated to the restoration in the 1970s have a technocratic or propagandistic character. Thus, it is very difficult to understand the prevailing theoretical underpinnings of contemporary restoration. However, based on the careful reading of available articles, it is possible to detect a certain shift in the meaning of historical monument that happened in late Soviet Uzbekistan. Although there was also a relatively high interest in historical monuments during the 1920s–1960s, it was mostly an interest from the archeological and historical points of view. Starting with the 1970s, the historical

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<sup>29</sup> Bogoduhov, Muhitdinov, "Restoration of Complex Mausoleum Seifeddina Boharzi and Buian-kulikhana in Bukhara," *ACU* 4 (1977): 28-31.

<sup>30</sup> Gol'denshtein, Filimonov, Manfilov, "Use of Reinforce Concrete for the Restoration of Historical Monuments," *ACU* 7 (1977): 16.

<sup>31</sup> Pugachenkova, "Problem of the Conservation of Archeological Sites in Uzbekistan," *ACU* 12 (1980): 24-26.

<sup>32</sup> Personal conversation with Robert Almeev, Director of the Ark museum in Bukhara. August 2011.

<sup>33</sup> Matchanov, "Protection and Restoration of Historical Monuments on the Scientific Bases," *ACU* 3 (1978): 1-3.

heritage, used as a part of the official campaign, became part of the national cultural capital. As such, monuments were valued only as aesthetic objects deprived of any historical meaning. Based on that criterion, the degree of aesthetic value was always measured by the level of information that a monument carried. The idea of full reconstruction, regardless of the presence of information, became valuable to achieve the ultimate goal: a maximum level of information. This explains an interest prevailing during the 1970s in geometric analysis and the subsequent emergence of a new theory of “geometric harmonization” crafted by Bultov. He claimed to rediscover the ancient theory used by local masters to construct architectural forms and decorations based on the mathematic proportioning. Based on this theory, a whole monument could be reconstructed without documented sources. Moreover, drawing parallels between the harmonization theory of the Central Asian monuments and that of the ancient Greece, old Russia<sup>34</sup> validated Uzbekistan as one of the civilizations equal to the other world-known ones, such as Greece.

Overall, it is not clear whether any coherent theory of restoration existed during the late Soviet period in Uzbekistan. Many articles, instead, refer to the “individual approach” to each monument, which in many cases, meant an unjustified method of full recovery of lost parts and ornaments, which after restoration were largely simplified, reduced, or misrepresented. Besides using Bulatov’s theory of “geometric harmonization,” monuments were also restored based on the method of “analogy” and “copying.” This method also allowed for full reconstruction of a monument based on the drawn parallels and comparisons to other similar monuments. One example of such “recreating” of historical monuments in Bukhara is Madrasa Nadir Divan-Begi, where 10% of the preserved mosaic of the main portal was been restored based on the analogy from Madrasa Abdulazizkhan;<sup>35</sup> analogical examples are Madrasa Gaukushon (lost décor of the courtyard façade)<sup>36</sup> and Mousaleum Baian-kuli-khan, the décor of which was recreated based on the principle of geometric harmonization.<sup>37</sup>

Bulatov’s approach of full reconstruction and analogy as well as the purely technocratic approach of architects or engineers like Goldenshtein or Filimonov, became prevalent starting with the late 1960s. Goldenshtein and Filimonov proudly propagated the use of synthetic materials as a sign of progress, resting their logic on

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<sup>34</sup> Zakhidov, “Restoration in Uzbekistan.” *ACU* 6 (1986): 10.

<sup>35</sup> Burshtein, “Restoration of Madrasa Nadir Divan-Begi in Bukhara,” *ACU* 8 (1976): 26-30.

<sup>36</sup> Shvarz, “Restoration of Madrasa Gaukushon in Bukhara,” *ACU* 3 (1977): 20-22.

<sup>37</sup> Bogoduhov, Muhitdinov, “Restoration of Complex Mausoleum Seifeddina Boharzi and Buian-kuli-khana in Bukhara,” *ACU* 4 (1977): 28-31.

the existing new construction codes and norms of building in the seismic zones, Nevertheless, this way of thinking was met with resistance by other scholars, such as engineer Asanov, historian Rempel, and archeologists Pugachenkova and Nemzova. Despite some of their criticism of the contemporary practices of conservation, scarcely dispersed amongst their mostly descriptive articles, the prevailing contemporary approach was conditioned by official goals independent of the scientific world. Hence, their criticism seemed to stay on the level of criticism.

## **2. Bukhara: "Rebirth of the historical city"<sup>38</sup> and search for its new function**

...By the 1980s, all population of old Bukhara will be transferred into the new *microrayons*, and what is left from the old traditional fabric will degrade even more and will be eventually destroyed. As a result, the protected historical area of Bukhara will be cleaned up and eventually there will be nothing left from the old city but separate-standing ancient monuments and buildings made from strong stone that were added later and don't present significance neither in architectural nor in functional sense; in addition there will be no logical connection between the buildings. Therefore, the later buildings also will be demolished. After that, the protected zone will become a field with separate standing monuments of the ancient history. The field will be planted with greenery, accurate roads will be laid out leading to the monuments, and everybody will be saying: 'Here there used to be an old city some 15-20 years ago'.<sup>39</sup>

These lines exemplify the early vision of Bukhara and appear in one of the late 1968 *ACU* articles to demonstrate that such an attitude, where historical Bukhara is broken down into separate *microrayons* with big green areas and only the most valuable monuments preserved as separate islands, no longer prevails. Starting with the 1960s, there is an increasing awareness and interest in Bukhara as a historical city that did not exist before. Based on this new awareness, the earlier 1920s-1940s treatment of Bukhara is widely criticized in the *ACU* as nihilist, shallow and legalistic. Together with this emerging interest, there is also an increasing enquiry to understand the meaning, purpose, and function of Bukhara's historical core

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<sup>38</sup> Kosinkii, "Bukhara: New Construction in the Ancient Center," *ACU* 2 (1971): 20.

<sup>39</sup> Zahidov, "Organization of protection zones of Uzbekistan's monuments," *ACU* 10 (1968): 29-30. These lines were written as a note for one of the earlier Bukhara's plan. They represent early Soviet vision for this city. Unfortunately, the author didn't specify the date of this plan.



within the modern socialist city that over the years of the Soviet rule surrounded and encroached into Bukhara. Thus, the search for the new meaning of historical Bukhara became an underlying thread in the projects appearing during the 1970s. Because this type of thinking was relatively new for the time, the projects were largely conceptual and were looking for new and innovative ways to reconstruct historical cities. "All genres are good except for the boring ones" is how one of the architects addressed his approach to rethinking historical cities.<sup>40</sup>

I interpret the need to search for a new meaning of Bukhara's historical heritage that was done by professionals working in the field during the 1970s in the following way. As the consequences of the earlier Soviet policies of nation-building, in the process of which buildings lost their historically-formed socio-cultural function and meaning, by the 1960s monuments were no longer part of the living environment and lacked any previous associations. Due to their religious and commercial functions made obsolete over the years, they were objectified and seen as having only aesthetic value. With the 1970s' heightened interest in historical heritage and the shift from focus on conserving a single monument to focus on the historical environment in general, professionals had to create a new vision for Bukhara by giving it a new function and relating it to the new identity that Uzbekistan gained over the past 50 years as a republic of the multiethnic Soviet state.

The main vision for Bukhara in the 1970s can be broadly characterized by the desire to reintegrate its historical heritage to be a part of the living environment yet again. Architects in the *ACU* express the idea as follows: "Historical monuments are not only witnesses of history but a modern phenomenon. Historical monuments should enrich spatial character of the modern built environment. Restoration and contemporary construction processes should be one single creative process of reconstruction of historical cities."<sup>41</sup> In order to reclaim Bukhara as a part of the national history, the city was treated as a "living organism,"<sup>42</sup> with an uninterrupted process of development and in the constant need of renewal, or as it was termed in the journal, of "renewal of the dead cells so that the whole will not suffer." Because it was a living organism, it was "natural to sacrifice something or to rebuild anew, substitute something old on new."<sup>43</sup> "A monument is not an object, but also a

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<sup>40</sup> *ACU* 10 (1968).

<sup>41</sup> Lavrov, "Main Directions of Development and Reconstruction of Uzbekistan's Historical Cities," *ACU* 11 (1974): 13.

<sup>42</sup> Kosinkii, "Bukhara: New Construction in the Ancient Center," *ACU* 2 (1971): 18-27.

<sup>43</sup> *ACU* 10 (1968).

container of new life.”<sup>44</sup> Based on that view, the historical environment was seen as the opposite of static, and interventions were seen as natural. The concept of natural development or evolution predominant at that time allowed professionals to interpret their work as continuously inherited from the previous generation of the old masters.

As the imagined peers of the original builders of Bukhara, the new professionals envisioned their mission as continuing to contribute to Bukhara’s development, redefining and reflecting tastes and needs of the new epoch they were living in. They expressed such beliefs in the following way:

Old masters used to be contemporary and in their work they reflected the trends of their own epoch. Why should we stay on one spot when we deal with our historical monuments and limit ourselves with methods that were created in the past century? One needs to experiment more and to look at the new decisions, create contrapuntal pattern old and new. If there is a need to preserve historicity, one can solve it radically: get rid of the buildings disrupting historical ensembles, add what was missing, get rid of the transportation roads and create walking reserves, and instead create underground roads.<sup>45</sup>

The statements above express and justify the goal of modernizing the heritage with new interventions. In some cases the need for contemporary interventions was justified by making parallels to Timur, who in his time claimed Bukhara by modifying it according to his own taste.

Since the reconstruction of historical cities shared the same underlying principles with restoration of single monuments, the method of full reconstruction used for separate monuments was also applied on the scale of a city. The goal for any historical city, including Bukhara was usually defined as its reconstruction to its “full historical potential.” In the case of a city, this concept instead implied recreation of a traditional atmosphere, where the physical environment was meant to stimulate the aesthetic and emotional perception of a city, and as such did not have to correspond to the original forms. Professionals defined their goal as bringing together historical monuments, with their rich spiritual world and connection to the past, with a future that had to correspond to the progressive social needs of a society. Zakhidov defined

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<sup>44</sup> ACU 10 (1968)

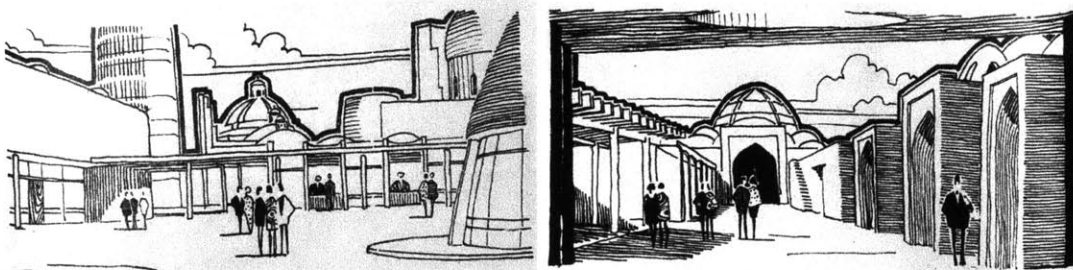
<sup>45</sup> ACU 10 (1968)

this goal in the following way: “The aim of the reconstruction of historical cities is to create a new spatial environment that corresponds to the contemporary demands and creates conditions for active existence of the monuments.”<sup>46</sup>

### **3. Projects for Bukhara between 1965 and 1970s: Modernizing Bukhara’s heritage**

#### *Project 1: A. S. Kosinkii, “Modernizing the heritage” in Bukhara<sup>47</sup>*

The Kosinskii project for Bukhara is a good example of an attempt to recreate the traditional environment. He calls for the city to demolish modern buildings of the 1920s and instead to “recreate historical and plastic situation of the past on the contemporary levels of understanding of this task” by recreating a trading atmosphere that used to exist in Bukhara before the Soviet time. The bazaar and House of Traditional Craft in the center were designed to house different workshops demonstrating the making and selling of national crafts and souvenirs. A big plaza in the center, as the main public space, was to house a museum of the local craft. (Fig. 25) As for Bukhara’s numerous historical archeological layers, Kosinkii briefly addressed them by giving the archeologists one year to quickly finish the study. He continued by saying that in case something more valuable would be revealed during the excavation, the plan for the project would be reconsidered.



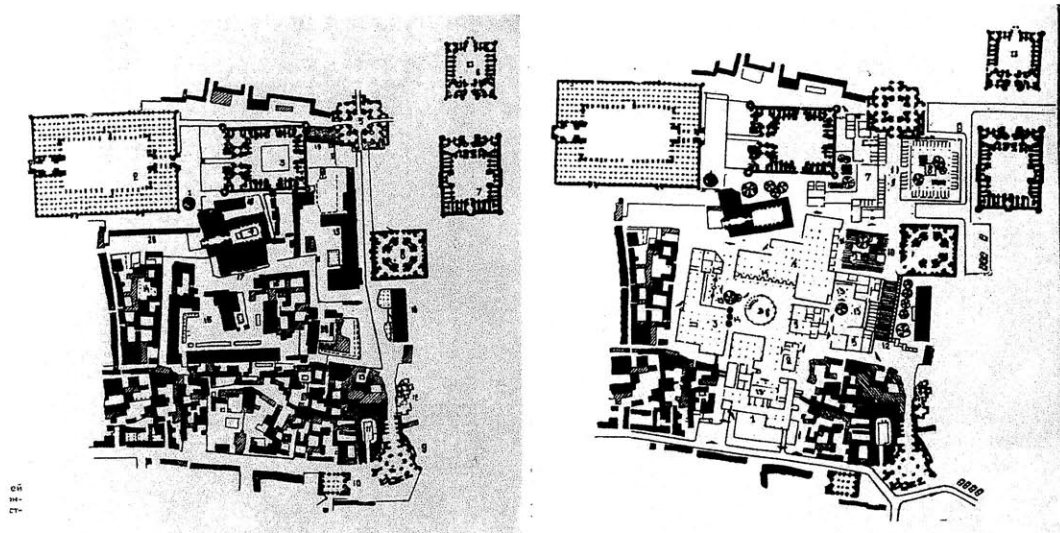
**Figure 25: Kasinki’s project for Bukhara: recreating traditional environment of an old Bukhara on the contemporary level. ACU 2 (1971).**

As can be seen from the architectural program of the project, Bukhara is functionally reserved for recreation and ethnographic museum purposes. The initial reasoning for this project is Kosinkii’s criticism of the disappearing historical environment of

<sup>46</sup> Zakhidov, “Half of the Century of Restoration of Monuments in Uzbekistan,” *ACU 7* (1973): 4.

<sup>47</sup> Kosinkii, “Bukhara: New Construction in the Ancient Center,” *ACU 2* (1971): 18-27. Kosinkii’s project was designed in the 1969; it was approved and planned to be constructed in 1972.

the central part of Bukhara due to the modern buildings that were constructed there during the 1920s–1930s.<sup>48</sup> These modern buildings that used to represent Soviet presence at a time, are now seen as “foreign architectural expression” and interpreted as interfering with the “authentic historical character.” What is interesting is that by removing these building Kasinkii is not looking to return Bukhara to its initial appearance. Instead he offers a new project that will help to mobilize Bukhara’s traditional environment to the benefit of the modern demands. (Fig. 26, 27) He justifies the desire to contribute to history by the fact that the best and most important ensembles were created in different times and by different masters. Indeed Bukhara’s historical fabric grew incrementally over the centuries,<sup>49</sup> with some monuments destroyed and others added, creating the overall composition over time. This notion Kasinkii interprets as “clashes of the epochs” justifies his intervention with the idea that even today the formation of historical complexes is not finished, and that modern design should leave the possibility for further developments and future additions . According to the architect, in order for the monuments to continue to live, they should not be the “subject of reverence,” living their life as separate entities from the rest of the city behind a protective zone.



**Figure 26: Canter of Bukhara, area around ensemble Kolan. Left: Soviet buildings of the 1920s -1930s in the traditional fabric of Bukhara. Right: Karshinkii’s project that offers to replace modern Soviet buildings with new ones that correspond to the “spirit of the time.” ACU 2 (1971).**

<sup>48</sup> This trend became very common in the 1970s, and many projects are built on the criticism of the interventions in Bukhara done in the 1920’s -1940’s.

<sup>49</sup> Bukhara’s cultural layers accumulated over the centuries of its existence go as far as 20 meters into the ground.

Modern interference with Bukhara’s historical fabric is not criticized per se. Instead what is criticized is the nature of interference that lacks consideration for Bukhara’s historicity. According to Kasinkii, “intrusion” (*vstorzenie*) into the historical zone of a monument is not an issue in itself, but it is the “tact” or the manner of intrusion that matters. For example, a tall building in the middle of Bukhara historical fabric is a negative intrusion, while a building made to resemble traditional forms will qualify as a tactful and desired intrusion. To resolve the issue of intrusion, Kasinkii introduces the concept of “counterspoint,”<sup>50</sup> in which a mix of traditional urban fabric and modern interventions will create a somewhat harmonious pattern as a single concept.

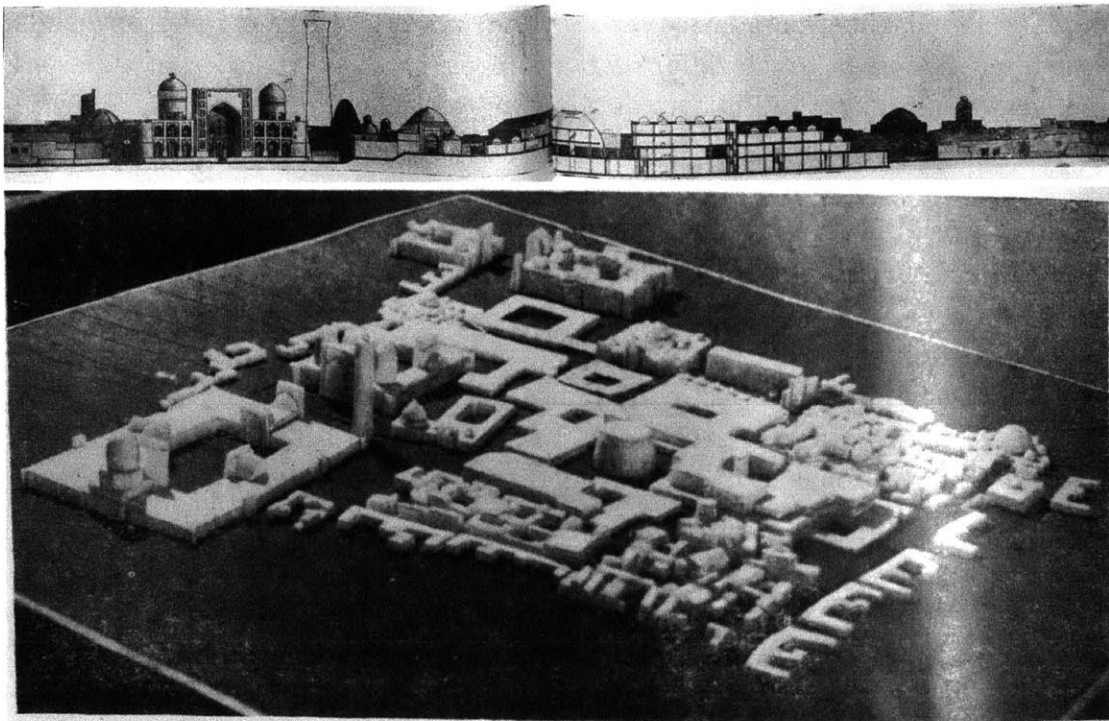


Figure 27: Kasinkii: Section and plan of the new development in the center of Bukhara. ACU 2 (1971).

Correspondence to the historical tradition of a place, which Kasinskii defined as the main objective of the project, was achieved by adherence to the very generic means of the rational modern thinking. For example, the allowed height of the new concrete buildings, covered with brick for visual continuity with the traditional building, was limited to being one floor immediately next to the monument and up to four floors next to the street. Terracing, which allowed for the ventilation and

<sup>50</sup> Counterpoint (Russian: контрапункт; contrapunkt) is a musical term used for simultaneous sounding of separate melodies and harmonized with each other.

light; the presence of courtyards; and bright handicraft on the background of the traditional monochrome physical environment of a city were all interpreted as solid resemblances and connections to the historical tradition.

*Project 2: S. D. Askarov, Bukhara as an ethnographic museum.<sup>51</sup>*

The main function assigned to Bukhara in the 1970s was either as an ethnographic museum, theme park, or place of recreation, leisure, and tourism. Although starting in the 1960s, visitors were allowed into Bukhara, and tourism is mentioned in every project, it was not a traditional kind of tourism. For the most part it was an internal tourism, and most likely, organized if not by the Society as a part of the propaganda work, then by other organizations of a similar nature. People from different republics were brought to Bukhara as a part of the Soviet multi-nation ideological upbringing. Thus it is difficult to speak about a “real” tourism in Bukhara, which will start to appear only in the second half of the 1980s. Instead, the 1970’s referencing of tourism was a part of the search for the new function of historical Bukhara, and as one of the ways to reintegrate it as a meaningful and active environment.

In the 1970s, tourism was referenced as a main principle of urbanism, restoration, and reconstruction of historical cities. Since full conservation of Bukhara for the purpose of tourism was never the case in the 1970s, the concept of tourism was widely used to rationalize or justify all contemporary modifications that were envisioned for Bukhara. Preservation was not done for the sake of restoring a historical environment, but instead to recreate an aesthetic environment where intervention was viewed as a tool to increase the “emotional value” of a city. Creating tourist routes; providing services, accommodations, and sights for the visitors; connecting the historical core with the rest of the city; and even defining the borders of historical Bukhara – all relied on the notion of “viewing” or visual consumption of the city. Subsequently, the main approach and criteria used for reconstruction of Bukhara was heavily based on this notion.

Askarov’s project for Bukhara demonstrates how even for the tourism, Bukhara was reorganized according to the contemporary and very controlling ideas of how this ancient city had to be presented to visitors. He proposes that tourism in Bukhara should be developed as a “psychological journey to the past,” where one can gain a deep emotional experience. Based on that aim, Bukhara was divided into three separate thematic territories, and monuments are classified according to the

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<sup>51</sup> Askarov, “Historical City as an Object of Tourism,” *ACU* 6 (1978): 27-31.



thematic or psychological mood: power, trade, and everyday life. (Fig. 28) “Power” included Citadel Ark, *zindan*, (prison) and Bolo-houz, and was envisioned as recreating a festive atmosphere. “Trade” included all of the “trading domes” and *tim* Abdullahana. “Everyday life” included residential area south of Liabi-houz and should be designed as a place of rest and leisure. Besides the central area, a few major complexes outside the city were also classified as important attractions: Sitori Mohi-Hosa, which was a summer residence of a ruler, was envisioned as a sensual place with pleasure gardens, and memorial complex Chor Bakr as a place of a relaxing and meditative mood. Askarov was proposing to recreate ancient shaded alleyways that used to connect Bukhara and Chor Bakr, along which a tourist would have a chance to visit traditional villages.

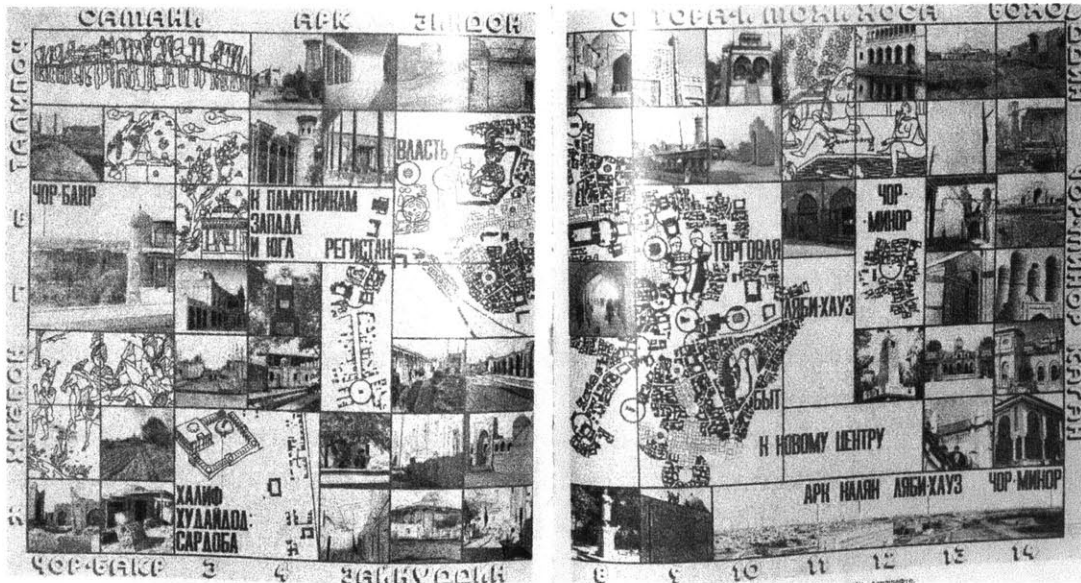


Figure 28: Askarov's "psychological zones" for Bukhara: Power, trade and everyday life. ACU 6 (1978).

Similar to the previously discussed ambition of contemporary professionals to “improve” an original structure of a monument, Askarov was set to meet and even exceed visitors’ expectations by proposing to create Bukhara’s “psychological zones” based on the popular literature and miniature drawings that were potentially used by the visitors to form their initial impression on Bukhara.<sup>52</sup>

Like in the case of monuments, the degree of reconstruction of a historical city also depends on the amount of visual information. In the 1970s, traditional fabric that is usually termed in the ACU as “background” [фоно́вая застро́йка; *fonovaia*

<sup>52</sup> Panorama of Bukhara by P.I. Lerh (19<sup>th</sup> c), “Military parade” by Alisher Navoi (16<sup>th</sup> c), and “Sweeming women” (18<sup>th</sup> c, India).

*zastroika*] became extremely important in preserving the traditional atmosphere. On the other hand, the renewal of the traditional housing was defined as necessary and was continuously implemented in Bukhara. Askarov solves this situation by introducing the concept of “hidden parallel structure,” according to which only certain streets with the most historical information would be preserved as facades. The traditional fabric behind these facades could be replaced with new public housing. New housing would start on the edge in the new Bukhara and continue into the historical core between the two existing historical streets, eventually reaching the Gauushon complex in the center.

According to Askarov, modernizing of Bukhara’s traditional fabric could only be done because the fabric that could not be seen while walking on the main street has zero *knowledge potential* [познавательный потенциал; *poznavatel’nii potenzial*] and therefore does not present any value. Thus, parallel structures of “new” fabric in between the “old,” running deep into the historic core, fulfilled the main parameter of reconstruction in the 1970s: renewal of the city which did not interfere with the visual appearance of Bukhara.

The rest of Askarov’s project shares the same scenario as other projects during the 1970s that repurpose Bukhara for visual consumption. Traditional houses that had been saved on the perimeter are turned into museums and traditional craft workshops; neighborhood mosques that usually had adjacent pools and trees redeveloped into the public plazas. Connection between traditional and modern fabric was achieved by sharing a similar direction, the southwest-direction of *qibla*, and by following the same modular pattern of 6 by 8 and 8 by 8.

*Project 3: P. B. Minoszev, Returning Bukhara to pre-Soviet condition.*<sup>53</sup>

Another important concern in the 1970s was how to translate a new function of Bukhara’s historical core as a center for leisure, recreation and tourism, onto a master plan scale, connecting the whole city. On one hand, pre-1970s plans were criticized for not integrating Bukhara into the overall development of the plan,<sup>54</sup>; on the other, the 1972 plan was criticized for developing Bukhara based on the central-radial scheme, which was interpreted as the European model.<sup>55</sup> Based on this criticism, Minuszev, a practicing architect in Uzbekistan, offered his vision for

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<sup>53</sup> Minoszev, “Positioning Historical Cities of Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 4 (1975): 40-42.

<sup>54</sup> Zakhidov “Organization of protection zones of Uzbekistan’s monuments,” *ACU* 10 (1968): 29-30.

<sup>55</sup> Minoszev, “Positioning Historical Cities,” 41.

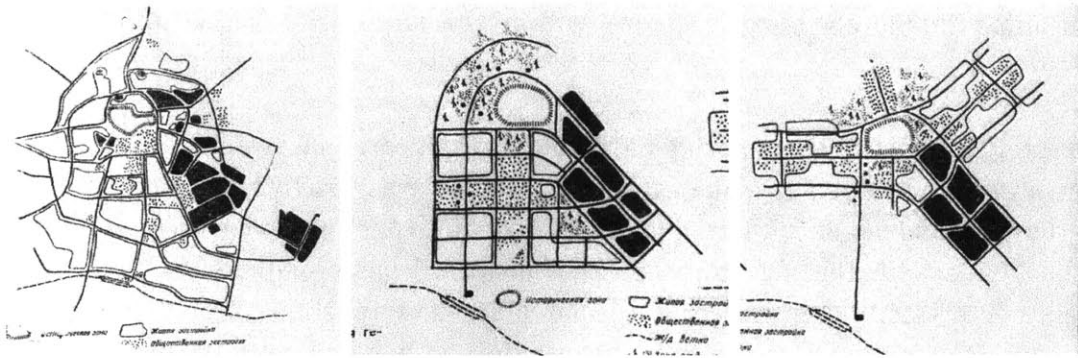


positioning Bukhara's historical core within the larger city based on its new function.

Manuszev's main idea was to bring back Bukhara to its original pre-Soviet condition, when it used to be open on all sides; make it into the area strictly for recreation, rest and tourism; and connect it with the other *rayons* into one "organic whole." (Fig. 29) In the 1970s with the new awareness of historical value of Bukhara, architects became interested in giving it a special place and function. Yet their overall approach is not based on its full preservation as a historical city. Instead, the architects are looking for ways to completely re-plan the whole city in order to give the historical center a chance to re-develop as an "active" part of a city.

Because historical Bukhara is a public, geographic, and historical center, Minuszev offers to completely "open it up" from the western, northern and eastern sides to create the most "intensive viewing points and panoramas." Since Bukhara's new function is a place of recreation and rest, he limits the historical core only to monumental complexes in the center, and traditional residential fabric is interpreted as nothing more than "morally aged" and dilapidated clay houses that block visual access to the center, and as such should be renewed or demolished. According to Minuszev's vision, the historical core should be accessed separately as a *rayon* strictly for leisure and tourism. He separates roads into two streams: for visitors going to historical Bukhara and for work and other services going to the new city. Thus, a separate road for visitors connects the airport and train station with the historical center. Numerous hotels, camping areas, resting spots, and other establishments catering only to visitors and tourists are located alongside this road. Based on this vision of Bukhara, Minuszev offers two schemes.

According to his first scheme, the historical core is separate from the rest of the city rayon that has strictly recreational and tourist functions. To provide for a comfortable leisure area, on the northern and western sides it is surrounded with parks and forests, which can be equally used for the residents and tourists. This green area will have a tourist complex and also provide for the most interesting viewing points and panoramas of old Bukhara. The historical-recreational zone will then have a peripheral meaning on the northern side and will be connected with the train station and other *rayons* with a c-shaped road, which will also go through a new administrative center located in the new residential area developed as a 7-km-long strip on the southern side of the historical center.



**Figure 29: 1. Existing central position of Bukhara's historical center. 2 and 3. Minuszev's vision for historical Bukhara. ACU 4 (1975).**

According to his second scheme, the historical core is given a central position in the city, and from it the rest of the city is developing as continuous strips in different directions: two residential areas on the west and northeast and new administrative area on the northwest. As in the first scheme, the historical core is isolated from the rest of the city by forests and parks and reserved strictly for leisure and tourism. It is connected to the train station with a special road, and numerous accommodations for visitors are scattered along this road.

## **CHAPTER IV: 1980s–1991: BUKHARA’S URBAN HERITAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LATE SOVIET DECLINE AND INCREASING OPENNESS TO THE WORLD.**

*“Knowledge is substituted on imagining and truth on similar”*

- S. Davidov on contemporary practice of conservation in Uzbekistan (UzNPRRM, head of the department of decorative restoration)<sup>56</sup>

This chapter focuses on the second half of the study period, the 1980s-1991, when Uzbekistan was undergoing a stage of Soviet decentralization and, as a result, increasing exposure to the rest of the world and a heightened search for the national expression. This chapter has three sections. The first section discusses the increasing intertwining of conservation and architectural fields, based on the examples of projects used to educate a new generation of conservation specialists. The second section discusses the main goals and approaches to reconstruction of historical Bukhara during the 1980s, and the final section illustrates these goals through the examples of four different projects proposed for Bukhara in the 1980s.

### ***1. Protection of historical monuments as the task of the city planning***

The most intensive restoration work in Bukhara, as well as the rest of Uzbekistan, was done between 1976 and 1981 as an achievement of the tenth five-year plan.<sup>57</sup> Although the exact data on the volumes of restoration during the 1980s is not available, several articles in the *ACU* mention that during the second half of the 1980s there was a general decrease in restoration compared to the 1970s.<sup>58</sup> Based on the evidence from the journals, this drop can be explained with several reasons. One of the most obvious is the exponentially increasing Soviet bureaucracy and, as a result, increasing mess in the allocation of budget for the restoration, which nevertheless was continuously supplied at least during some of the 1980s. Few *ACU* articles allude to the fact that money distributed for the purpose of restoration was instead spent on something else. The other reason for the decrease in restoration, which was particularly noticeable at the very end of the 1980s, was the increasing

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<sup>56</sup> Davidov, “Interior Décor in Central Asia and its Restoration,” *ACU* 9 (1981): 26

<sup>57</sup> Kriukov, “Organizational Forms of Protection and Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 2 (1990): 12.

<sup>58</sup> Kriukov, “Organizational Forms,” 12.

disintegration of the Soviet Union and gradual withdrawal of the budget allocated by the center. The overall political uncertainty and approaching major changes during the second half of the 1980s could also contribute to the shift of preferences from conservation of historical monuments to other areas.

Withdrawal of funding from the center and increasing decentralization resulted in direct criticism of the center. Already in 1986 one of the articles in the *ACU* journal openly criticized Gorbachev and his ineffective and bureaucratic politics towards the Soviet republics.<sup>59</sup> As for the Society of Protection of Historical Monuments, which was largely responsible for the Soviet ideological propaganda about historical monuments in Uzbekistan, during the 1980 it was reduced from 5 million to 4 million members.<sup>60</sup> The Society, which frequently published its propagandistic articles in the *ACU* of the 1970s, almost completely disappeared from the issues of the late 1980s. The content of the articles published by the *Society* in the 1980s shifted from praising Soviet modern buildings to praising the Central Asian ancient civilizations of Khorezm, Baktria, Sogdiana, Fergana, and Shash,<sup>61</sup> as well as Central Asia historical figures such as Ibn Sino, Ulugbek, Navoi, Beruni, Hamza, Hamidu Alimzhanu, Babur, Furkat, Makimi, Abdulla Kadir, and Nadir, Gafur Guliam and Aibek, etc.

In addition, during the 1980s, the religious associations of historical monuments started to be openly discussed. For example, in Pankrateva's 1987 article on the Sufi burial complex Khodza Parso in Bukhara, a word "Sufi" was mentioned for the first time and in the context of "having deep historical roots in Bukhara."<sup>62</sup> Moreover, in the same article, for the first time Bukhara is called a "holy land." The other example of explicitly referencing religious tradition in Uzbekistan is the 1990 *ACU* article, which attributed restoration of one of the Tashkent's mosques to the 1,400 anniversary of the Islamic religion.<sup>63</sup> As can be gathered from the *ACU*, over time Islamic associations were continuously increasing and becoming particularly strong at the very end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s.

One trend that remained consistent in the 1970s and the 1980s was the ever-decreasing quality of restoration. Established in the 1960s, the technocratic approach to conservation was firmly established and widely used in the 1980s.

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<sup>59</sup> Azimov, "Protection of Monuments – Task of People," *ACU* 5 (1986): 4

<sup>60</sup> Azimov, "protection of Monuments," 4.

<sup>61</sup> Zakhidov, "Restoration in Uzbekistan," *ACU* 6 (1986): 8

<sup>62</sup> Pankrateva, "Complex Khodza Parso in Bukhara," *ACU* 12 (1987): 26-30.

<sup>63</sup> Sharipov, "Study of the Materials for the Restoration of Main Portal of Madrasa Barak-khana in Tashkent," *ACU* 9 (1990): 12.

Many *ACU* articles in the 1980s referenced the *Venice International Charter* on conservation and the international organization ICOMOS<sup>64</sup> as the main source for the standard in restoration. According to ICOMOS, restoration has to stop where there is a hypothesis or uncertainty.<sup>65</sup> However, conservation professionals in Uzbekistan apparently developed their own interpretation of the international standards, often justifying their practices by citing the unique climatic and seismic conditions of Central Asian region. For example Krukov,<sup>66</sup> who wrote most of the articles on restoration in the *ACU* during the 1980s, particularly emphasized the specificity of Central Asian conditions. In his opinion, due to these conditions conservation and restoration in Central Asia were interchangeable: “conservation without rebuilding the main structure of a monument, that is without restoration of a monument, can’t provide for the conservation of a monument.”<sup>67</sup> Continuing the trend of the 1970s, he regarded proficiency in strengthening for seismic resilience and fully rebuilding destroyed monuments as the highest achievements in the practice of conservation.

In the 1970s, there were still some *ACU* articles criticizing the new methodology of conservation, but surprisingly during the 1980s, the professional critique of the field is almost absent. Nevertheless, the quality of restoration worsened to the degree that it became even visually apparent. For example, if early on modern materials were hidden under or combined with traditional ones, in the 1980s artificial materials were increasingly used on the surface; destroyed parts of the monuments were carelessly rebuilt only to resemble the original ones. Criticism of the conservation practices in the 1980s was not directed towards questioning the theoretical or methodological underpinning. Instead, this criticism was directed towards the generally decreasing quality of work, and the use of modern materials and techniques was supported even more strongly. The only exception to the lack of criticism was a few early 1980s *ACU* articles by Pugachenkova. Although she did not direct much criticism of the theoretical approach to conservation, she brought up some of the important issues in field in the 1980s. These issues include the highly selective preference in restoration given to the “world-known monuments” and complete disregard of clay monuments in rural areas, as well as destruction of

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<sup>64</sup> The regional Central Asian group ICOMOS (International Council for Conservation of Monuments and Sites) was created in 1965 to translate Venice charter into the condition of Central Asia. During the 1980s ICOMOS hold several all-union conferences to share the knowledge and discuss issues in the practice of restoration between the Central Asian republics. (Zakhidov, “ICOMOS: International Organization for Protection of Historical monuments,” *ACU* 4 (1990): 25-26.

<sup>65</sup> Zakhidov, “ICOMOS,” 25-26.

<sup>66</sup> Krukov was the head of restoration and one of the conservation specialists who worked on restoration of Uzbekistan’s historical monuments in the 1980s.

<sup>67</sup> Krukov, “Problem of conservation and restoration of architectural monuments in Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 5 (1987): 11.

archeological layers and dense historical fabric during reconstruction of historical cities.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, most of the criticism in the 1980s was faceless, directed at nobody and nothing in particular, and often self-contradicting. For example, in one of his articles Krukov criticized Zasiipkin's methodology of covering missing mosaics or majolica with *ganch*<sup>69</sup> as interfering with the overall aesthetics of a monument and as technically inferior to the modern methods of full recovery.<sup>70</sup> In his next article the following year, he lamented the sharp decrease in the quality of restoration due to the lack of attention to traditional methodology and materials.<sup>71</sup>

The other interesting example is the 1981 *ACU* article by Davidov, who was the head of the organization handling decorative restoration in Uzbekistan. Although he mentions that the prevailing practice of full reconstruction of historical monuments is an "extreme habit" that makes "reconstruction of the lost décor look realistic, but not true to original," he also disagrees with traditional practices of conserving original décor without adding missing elements.<sup>72</sup> Like many other professionals of his time, he is looking for the "in-between" solution, which usually meant restoration of original décor using more advanced, light, and lasting modern materials.

One kind of criticism that was abundant in the 1980s was that of increasing bureaucracy, disorganization, and lack of responsibility and coordination between multiple organizations responsible for architectural heritage. This criticism can testify either to the increasingly chaotic and messy situation in the field, or to the greater freedom of expression in Uzbekistan during the 1980s, or--mostly likely--to both.

While there is a great level of methodological continuity between the 1970s and the 1980s, starting with the very end of the 1970s, the conservation of historical monuments was increasingly incorporated into architectural and city planning

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<sup>68</sup> Pugachenkova, "Problem of the Conservation of Archaeological Monuments in the Cities of Uzbekistan," *ACU* 12 (1980): 24-26. and Pugachenkova, "Monuments in the System of Historical Cities of Central Asia," *ACU* 2-3 (1986): 26-39.

<sup>69</sup> This was a traditional way of preservation used in Central Asia long before the Soviet time. According to the late Soviet practices, missing mosaics and majolica was filled in with the new, often without documented source.

<sup>70</sup> Krukov, "Problem of the Conservation and Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Uzbekistan," *ACU* 5 (1987): 9-12.

<sup>71</sup> Krukov, "Problem of Restoration of Architectural Monuments," *ACU* 8 (1988): 18-23.

<sup>72</sup> Davidov, "Interior Decoration of the Middle Ages in Central Asia and Restoration," *ACU* 9 (1981): 26.

areas. The pre-1960s practices of conserving only single monuments increased to the scale of complexes in the 1970s and eventually to the city scale in the 1980s. This increase in the scale reflected the emergence of new type of mentality: not only separate monuments, but also a whole historical city was regarded as “heritage.” Consequently, in 1983, Bukhara officially became an architectural and historical preserve or “museum under the open sky,” and the official approach to Bukhara’s reconstruction was termed “museum-ification.”

The new idea of “museum-ification” meant that the restoration of historical monuments was done to reflect the larger role of the historical city, functioning as a museum, and therefore to accommodate its visitors. These new demands on conservation of Bukhara’s historical monuments generated different types of projects in the 1980s. Many conservation projects were done for adaptive reuse or as a part of the city’s “beautification” program [благоустройство; *blagoustroistvo*]. (Fig. 30, 31, 32) These projects were done without archeological expertise, and most often by architects untrained in conservation. Such projects were particularly destructive for historical cities like Bukhara, which has up to 20 meters of cultural layers and required careful archaeological study before any intervention could be done.<sup>73</sup>

In order to bring professional archeological expertise and improve reconstruction of historical cities, in 1979 it was decided to reorganize *UzNSRPM*, the organization which specifically dealt only with restoration, into *UzNIPIrestoration*, a mixed organization with a broader spectrum of specialists and responsibilities.<sup>74</sup> Transferring the department working on conservation into the general architectural field, and subsequently increasing level of hybridization of organizations dealing with historical heritage, continued to exacerbate the quality of restoration even further. This new organization consisted mostly of young architects, engineers, and planners. Archeologists and restoration specialists with a historical background were very minute and largely marginalized. Many monuments had been lost during this time.<sup>75</sup>

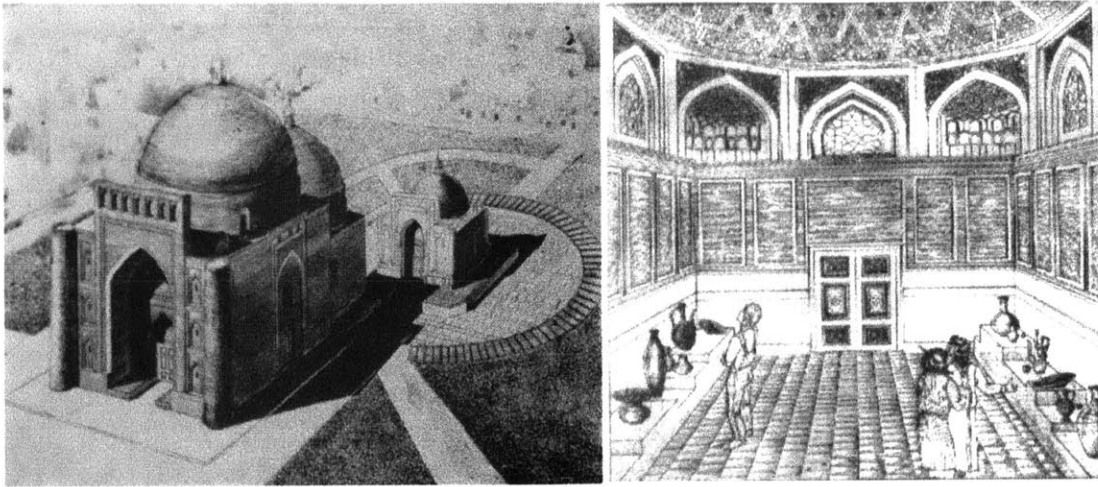
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<sup>73</sup> For example, while designing the area around Magoki Attari Mosque in Bukhara, cultural layers around it were completely destroyed to the level of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. While it is true that this mosque was built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it was also rebuilt during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Architects and planners, who were doing yet another beautification project in Bukhara, did not concern themselves with the archeological and historical facts and solved the issue based on their own judgment. (Source: Pugachenkova, “Problem of Preservation of Archaeological Monuments in the Cities of Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 12 (1980): 24-26)

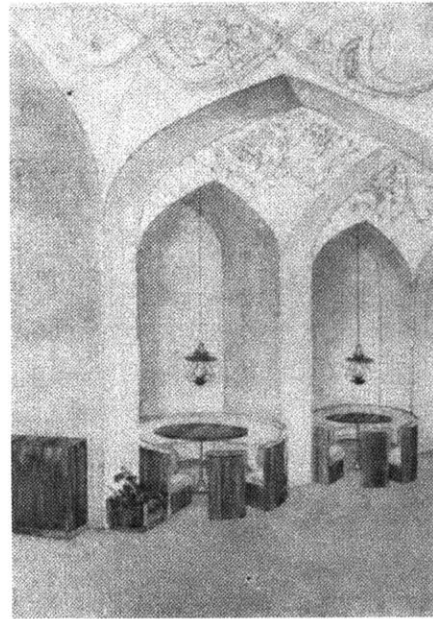
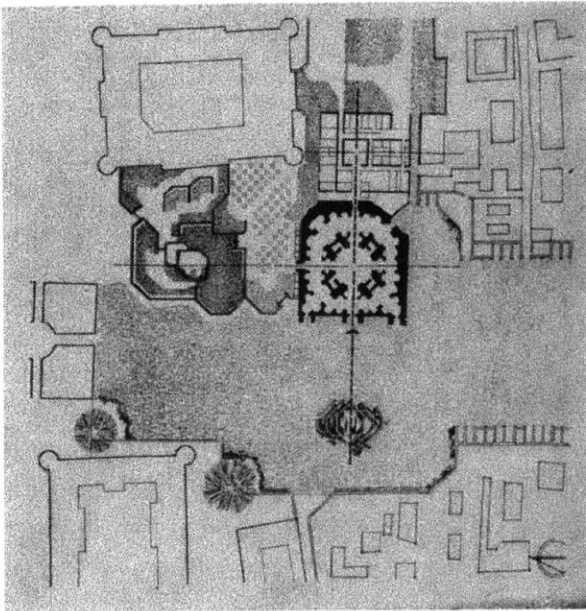
<sup>74</sup> Pugachenkova, “Problem of Preservation,” 24-26.

<sup>75</sup> Krukov, “Organizational Forms of Protection and Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Uzbekistan (1920-1990),” *ACU* 8 (1990): 34-37.

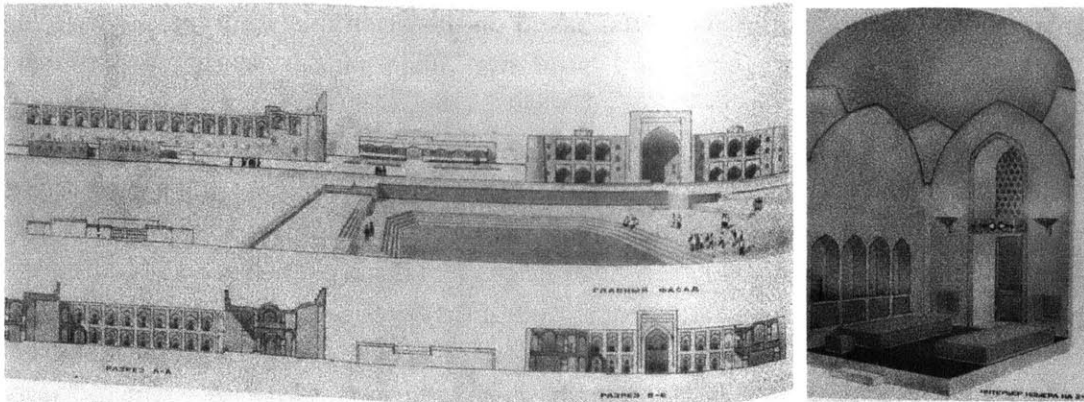




**Figure 30: Students projects of beautification of Bukhara's heritage. Left: Mausoleum Boharzi and Buian-Khuli-khan in Bukhara. Diploma project by S. Muhitdinov, under K. S. Krukov. (Source: ACU 1978/11). Right: project of restoration of the interior of Mausoleum Buian-kuli-khan, Bukhara; diploma project by V. Karimov, under Nilsen; restored as a museum of ceramics. It is the first project where IBM was used for the reconstruction of interior décor. ACU 5 (1989).**



**Figure 31: Tim Abdullakhan: project of adaptive reuse as a restaurant. The structure was not changed. A new addition (kitchen) was hidden behind the *tim*, designed on the same modular division, and stylistically close to the historical monument. A fountain, outside summer restaurant, water pool and resting area for the tourists were added to beautify the area. ACU 4 (1980).**



**Figure 32: Left: reconstruction of the Liabi houz complex as a public center and the main resting area of the city. Right: restoration of Madrasa Kukeldash as a hotel for 200 people with restaurant, bar, and swimming pool in the courtyard. Although the goal of this project was to preserve structural and spatial configuration as much as possible, it was decided to destroy some walls to connect western and eastern parts of the madrasa. The restaurant, initially designed underground the madrasa, was eventually moved to the public area near the *houz*. ACU 4 (1980).**

The nature of this new urbanistic approach to conservation can be illustrated through the work done by young specialists in the field. These works are important for two reasons. First of all, the majority of the projects were done under the guidance of such well-known conservation professionals practicing in the 1980s as V.M. Filimonov, V.A. Nilsen, K.S. Krukov, and U.Z. Shvab. Therefore, these projects are largely reflective of prevailing professional mentality, and as such helpful in gaining deeper understanding of the aspirations of the field. Secondly, these projects were often featured in the all-union and all-republic architectural competitions among other design projects, and in some cases were implemented.

After twenty years of increasing restoration and major shifts in the methodological approach, the lack of cadres and education became one of the primary concerns in the conservation field in the 1980s. The education of a new generation of specialists was based on the same criteria as the conservation field itself: speed, quantity, and efficiency of work. In addition, new cadres in restoration were trained with the emphasis on design instead of archeology or history. Not surprisingly, new theories developed in the 1970s, such as Bulatov's geometric harmonization, as well as restoration by analogy and copy,<sup>76</sup> were widely and unquestioningly used as the main pedagogical approach in the 1980s.<sup>77</sup> Educational projects that required full

<sup>76</sup> Restoration based on analogy or copy was done by looking at a similar example; it was essentially undocumented and unjustified restoration, widely practiced in late Soviet Uzbekistan.

<sup>77</sup> In 1972 Tashkent Polytechnic University for the first time created a new specialization under the Department of History and Theory of Architecture to educate architects who wanted to specialize in restoration. Before 1972, professionals that did restoration were educated in Special Scientific-Restoration Workshops (SNRPM) in Tashkent by the way of very practical learning. (Source: ACU)

reconstruction of ruins and ornaments, based on the orientalist sources, such as A. Leman's photographs or purely on students' imagination, were particularly popular.<sup>78</sup>

The ultimate goal of such projects was to return a monument to its initial look. These projects defined only two main parameters of monuments that had to stay unchanged: structure and general aesthetics of visual appearance. Modifying original monuments was regarded as desirable if these modifications could improve the original monument. Any modern addition to architectural monuments was considered reasonable if it was stylistically close to original structure and did not disturb historical landscape or block the original view.

All factors together--propagating new methodological approaches of undocumented full restoration through education of new cadres, increasing hybridity of the conservation field, and mixing the responsibilities of conservation professions--greatly contributed to the continuing downfall of the quality of conservation and the increasing departure from the early Soviet practices of the 1920s-1950s that followed traditional construction and materials.

## ***2. Search for Eastern roots: Regionalism and national originality***

*"... We are ready to accept the value of the Muslim cities"*  
- Askarov, architect<sup>79</sup>

Despite much continuity, the 1980s in Bukhara were very different from the previous decade. As opposed to the utopian and naïve spirit of the 1970s, when proposed modern interventions were envisioned to recreate the aesthetic and emotional atmosphere of the past, without any proximity to any actual pre-existing

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<sup>78</sup> For example, the burial complex Chor-Bakr located outside Bukhara (a student project under Professor Shvab) was fully restored as a museum of architecture and traditional craft solely based on proportional analysis of the ruins without additional documented sources. (Source: Nilsen, "Diploma Projects of Restoration Specialists in TashPI," *ACU* 11 (1978): 8-12) The other example is restoration of caravan-saray Saifetdin (a student project under Professor Nilsen) as a music school. Restoration of its destroyed portal was based on geometric harmonization and analogy. (Source: Nilsen, "Restoration of Monuments - Combination of City Planning and Research Tasks," *ACU* 4 (1988): 6) The last example is a full restoration of the unique portal of Mosque Magok-I Attari (a student project under Professor Shvab). This project was still possible despite the lack of documented sources and other architectural analogies of this unique portal. (Source: Nilsen, "Restoration of Monuments," 7)

<sup>79</sup> Askarov, "House and Spirit of Old Tashkent of the XX Century," *ACU* 1 (1991): 4.

physical environment, in the 1980s the professional architectural approach to reconstruction of Bukhara could be generally characterized as more mature. Although the concept of “modernizing the heritage” continued into the 1980s, modern interventions in the 1980s were done in more subtle ways. For example by “cleaning” and beautifying the areas around the monuments and proposing projects of adaptive reuse or small-scale interventions.

There are two larger trends in reconstruction of Bukhara’s urban heritage in the 1980s. The first is its increasing “museum-ification.” As previously mentioned, in 1983 Bukhara became an architectural and historical preserve. This meant that direct architectural interventions in historical center were no longer possible, at least to the degree that they were attempted in the 1970s. In the 1980s the possibility of intervention largely depended on the location and was mostly done on the periphery of Bukhara. Bukhara was divided into zones based on the degree of allowable intervention: zones of complete reconstruction, partial regeneration, and full conservation of the historical fabric. As framed by architects in the ACU, “some cases demand conservation, others – rebuilding what was destroyed, and yet others – new construction in order to preserve spatial-aesthetic qualities of the old city.”<sup>80</sup> The underlying idea for such projects in Bukhara was almost always framed as preparing it for the visual consumption and tourism.

Secondly, architectural monuments increasingly started to regain their historical value and were regarded as displaying unique architectural, cultural, and historical information about the epoch.<sup>81</sup> In fact, the whole city of Bukhara was considered a “monument or encyclopedia of monuments that represents a different period of formation and development of the city.”<sup>82</sup>

As a result of increasing historicizing and “museum-ification” of Bukhara, the maximum preservation and wholesomeness of historical environment gained a special prominence during the 1980s. The 1970s idea of reconstruction of Bukhara by the way of modern architectural interventions in order to bring it back to life was instead replaced in the 1980s by a different goal. This goal was defined as preserving spatial-volumetric aesthetic qualities of historical cities in order to “prepare them for the maximum perception of the overall aesthetic effect” [художественный эффект; *hudozestvennii effekt*].<sup>83</sup> Although this idea was very

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<sup>80</sup> Mahmudova “From history of conservation and restoration of architectural monuments” *ACU* 10 (1987): 5.

<sup>81</sup> Artemev, “Monuments in the Modern Conditions,” *ACU* 4 (1990): 28-30.

<sup>82</sup> Zakhidov, “Restoration in Uzbekistan,” *ACU* 6 (1986): 8-11

<sup>83</sup> Zakhidov, “Restoration in Uzbekistan,” 8-11.

close to the 1970s notion of sensual perception of historical monuments, it was nevertheless based on a more historical approach and analysis of spatial and formal qualities of the traditional urban fabric. Overall, the 1980s *ACU* articles showed that architectural professionals acquired a sense of appreciation for the aesthetics of the existing historical environment. Individuality, specificity [специфика; *spezifika*], originality [самобытность; *samobitnost*] and peculiarity [своеобразие; *svoeobrazie*] of the expression of historical Bukhara became four important and widely used key words that reflected the main qualities of the traditional environment valued most in the 1980s.

This later fascination with the spatial-volumetric aspect of Bukhara's historical urban fabric had two origins. One of them was the increasing influence from the outside. In the 1960s-1970s local professionals were largely isolated from the world's architectural discourse and at the same time increasingly alienated from the center. As a result, architectural professionals operated on their own terms and developed their own understanding of historical environment and architectural monuments. This situation started to change in the 1980s. With the increasing decentralization and greater freedom, architectural professional field in Uzbekistan gradually started to open up to outside influences. With increasingly porous borders, architectural professionals, who were exposed to rising trends of postmodernism and regionalism during the 1980s, aspired to be a part of this world movement as well.

During the 1980s the modern architecture of the Soviet era was openly criticized as faceless, placeless, foreign and destructive for the traditional environment. As it is evident from the *ACU*, regionalism in architecture was used by some of the Uzbek nationalist intelligentsia to counteract modernism, which was associated in the 1980s with the Soviet "centralized architectural machine."<sup>84</sup> This criticism becomes particularly intense at the end of the 1980s and the 1990s. For example in his article on reconstruction of historical cites, Zakhidov notes, "We were occupied with the construction of the socialist cities, and our old cities (Bukhara, Samarkand) were relegated to the shameful leftovers of the feudal past and were destroyed continuously."<sup>85</sup> Local professionals in the 1980s were looking for inspiration at the works of famous Egyptian regionalist architect Hassan Fathy,<sup>86</sup> the spatial and formal analysis of Klaus Herdeg, and Japanese architects Todo Ando, Kenzo Tange,

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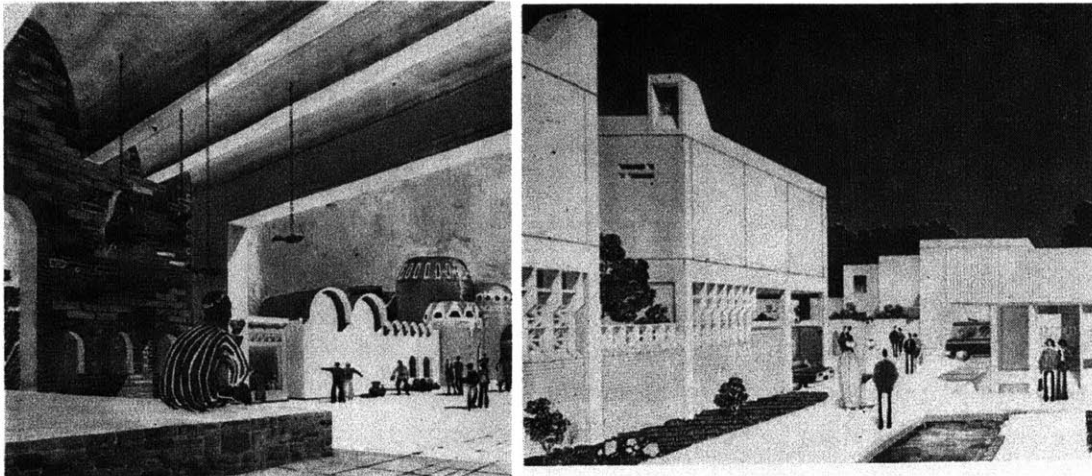
<sup>84</sup> Askarov, "Administrational and Creative Lines," *ACU* 6 (1989): 26.

<sup>85</sup> Zahidov "Peculiarities of the Reconstruction of Historical Cities in Uzbekistan," *ACU* 4 (1990): 26.

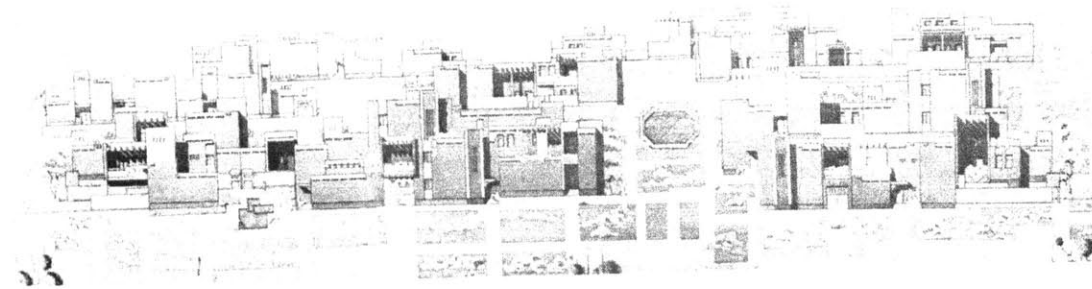
<sup>86</sup> In the 1970s *ACU* journals Hassan Fathy was referenced as a socialist architect and in the 1980s he was referenced as a regionalist and defender of traditional pre-modern cities.

Riken Yamamoto, and Kise Kurokava, who were described as “revealing national psychology in architecture.”<sup>87</sup>

Over the years, regionalism influenced not only the architectural projects envisioned for historical cities such as Bukhara, it was also an important inspiration for some of the projects in the socialist and modern capital Tashkent. (Fig. 33, 34)



**Figure 33: Examples of regionalist architecture in Tashkent. Left: “Experimental center Z-19 in Tashkent,” street of the traditional crafts. Right: two-story architecture of Z-19. ACU 3 (1982)**



**Figure 34: Project of “regeneration” of Guzar Dzuibar in Bukhara. Diploma work of O. Rashidov, under M. K. Ahmedov. ACU 9 (1986): 28.**

On the other hand, starting in the 1980s there is a peculiar interest among architectural professionals in pre-Soviet “Islamic roots.” The first reference to the Islamic past was made as early as in 1980, when architect Askarov described the use of green in on of the designs for Bukahra as a “symbolic color of the Muslim culture.”<sup>88</sup> Numerous projects from North Africa and Saudi Arabia were cited

<sup>87</sup> Askarov, “Japanese Architects,” *ACU 6* (1983): 8-15.

<sup>88</sup> Askarov, “Color in a City: From Master Plan to Surface,” *ACU 2* (1980): 13.

throughout the 1980s as examples successfully reflecting “principles and theory of Islamic space and its forms, structure, symbols and geometry; sensitive to religion, climate, and socio-economics structure of the society.”<sup>89</sup> In addition, starting with the 1982 *ACU* journal, the Aga Khan Award for Architecture was featured as the highest merit for expressing the “spirit of Islam” in architecture.<sup>90</sup> In 1986 prominent Uzbekistan’s archeologist, G.A. Pugachenkova was invited to Morocco for the Aga Khan competition in Marrakesh.<sup>91</sup> Later in 1989 a whole *ACU* article was devoted to the Aga Khan Award for the conservation of historical Mostar, and dedicated to the visit of the general secretary of the Aga Khan Fund to Uzbek SSR.<sup>92</sup> All of these examples also testify to the increasing opportunity in late Soviet Uzbekistan for the wider intellectual networking.

The 1980s trend of returning to religious roots and self-association with the “Eastern culture,” as well as lamenting “lost spirituality” of Uzbekistan’s historical cities, continuously increased and became particularly apparent during the late 1980s-1991. Over the years, traditional architectural and urban typologies such as bazaars and *hamams* were rehabilitated as an important expression of the Eastern cities. In 1991 the Main Department of Protection of Historical Monuments under the Ministry of Culture of UzSSR announced the first completion for the design of the Mosque in Tashkent. The fact that an UzNIPrestoration specialist took an active part in this competition testifies to the earlier point of increasing erosion between professional fields of conservation and architecture in the 1980s.<sup>93</sup>

In light of these two trends, the role of Bukhara in the professional discourse of the 1980s underwent a shift from being an experimental ground for innovations to serving as a historical precedent and database for regional architectural forms and spatial configurations, used in the search for the national style. This concept was defined in the *ACU* as either “discovery and development of cultural heritage” [*osvoenie kul’turnogo nasledia*] or as an issue of “continuity” [*preemstvennosti*]. Both concepts were explained as the “ability to use progressive experience of the past masters.”<sup>94</sup>

What was particularly interesting about such framing is the fact that not all traditional qualities were equally regarded as important to preserve. Local

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<sup>89</sup> Askarov, “Architecture of the Foreign East in the Search of Originality,” *ACU* 1 (1982): 72-12.

<sup>90</sup> Askarov, “Architecture of the Foreign East,” 72-12.

<sup>91</sup> Askarov “Welkom to Aga Khan Award for Architecture,” *ACU* 6 (1989): 31.

<sup>92</sup> Askarov “Welkom Aga Khan Award,” p30-33.

<sup>93</sup> *ACU* 1991/3, Zahidov “Ways of search,” p 24-26.

<sup>94</sup> Korobovzev, “Answer to the Problem is Continuity,” *ACU* 3 (1982): 18-22.



architectural professionals were trying to decide precisely what spatial-aesthetic and socio-cultural qualities of historical cities should be preserved for the future and should continue to be used as an inspiration for contemporary development of historical cities. Deciding on what qualities of traditional environment are the most valuable was done through the numerous morphological studies of Bukhara's traditional urban space and architectural topology of traditional forms.<sup>95</sup>

Two architects, Askarov and Notkin, were vigorously involved in the morphological and typological study of Bukhara. Over the years they came up with numerous concepts on the formation of Uzbekistan's historical cities, the genesis of traditional public centers, the composition and typology of historical complexes and *mahalas*, the morphology of urban space and its historical-cultural values, etc. Most of the examples in their analyses were positioned within the broader range of examples and case studies from around the world, claiming an equal place among them. The main goal of their analysis was to find the logic in and argue for the rationality, harmony, and comfort of the traditional environment, traditional materials and constructions.

By interpreting the development of Bukhara as evolutionary, in his analysis Notkin was looking for the "most unchangeable structural elements of the city."<sup>96</sup> In his opinion they were the most important elements of Bukhara that must be preserved and used for its future development, for connection between old and new parts of Bukhara, and for reconstruction of destroyed historical fabric. Main streets, important public nodes, and the traditional water system of *arik* and *houz* are some of the most important elements of Bukhara according to Notkin.<sup>97</sup> He was trying to analyze Bukhara's urban fabric by copying the Western approach to analysis of a traditional Islamic city, such as descriptions of the movement, orientation, and connections within the urban environment.

Overall, Notkin's numerous theories on Bukhara's historical fabric were largely idiosyncratic and very naïve: "cyclical inclusion of old into new," "harmonization of space," theory of "sinusoid rhythms," "formation of the city's layers," and the concept of "a genetic code of space." However, they played an important role in the construction of the new urban image and an understanding of the historical environment. Notkin's morphological and typological analysis on Bukhara's genesis and general appreciation of its historical layers in the architectural field reveals the

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<sup>95</sup> Spatial and formal analysis done by architectural professionals in Uzbekistan during the 1980s were similar to those done by Klaus Herdeg.

<sup>96</sup> Notkin, "Development and Structure of Historical Bukhara," *ACU 2* (1985): 23-28.

<sup>97</sup> Notkin, "Development and Structure," 23-28.

emergence of new understanding of historical monuments. By the 1990s, the value of historical monuments combined historical, cultural, and aesthetic parameters.<sup>98</sup> Although, the main criterion for the value of monuments in the 1980s was still the amount of information [*informativnost*], as opposed to the purely visual aspect of the 1970s, historical monuments in the 1980s were also valued based on the multiplicity of historical layers (with a premium on age).

### **3. *Projects for Bukhara between 1980s and 1991: Heritage tourism in Bukhara as a principle of conservation and “regeneration” of urban heritage.***

*“People [of Central Asia], who didn’t have access to the national culture [due to the Arabic language being substituted on Cyrillic during the Soviet time], had to start creating their new culture on the Europeanized base.”*

- Architect H.H. Hakimov on the search for the national architectural expression in the context of approaching independence from the Soviet state.<sup>99</sup>

*Project 1: Felix Novikov’s project, tourist complex for Bukhara. Reconstruction of the trading street in the “spirit of the epoch” for the purpose of tourism (1980–1983)<sup>100</sup>*

Real tourism, domestic and foreign, came to Bukhara only in the 1980s, which made it possible to commission two large-scale tourist centers in Samarkand and Bukhara. During the 1980s, the development of tourism in Uzbekistan finally became part of the official program and fell under the close supervision of the Republic’s officials.

In his interview, Felix Novikov mentions that Uzbek governmental officials clearly gave preference for working on this project to the Russian specialists, some of whom had previous experience designing tourist centers or hotels in Russia.<sup>101</sup> In comparison to the previous projects, many of which were stopped at the stage of design, Novkiov’s tourist complex was fully developed and approved. Nevertheless

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<sup>98</sup> Artemev, “Monuments in the modern surrounding,” *ACU* 4 (1990): 28.

<sup>99</sup> Hakimov, “Search and Formation of the New Architecture of Tajikistan,” *ACU* 11 (1990): 11.

<sup>100</sup> Rushkovkii, “Introducing Tourism into Historical Zones,” *ACU* 3 (1985): 9-12.

<sup>101</sup> Belogolovsky, Vladimir and Ryabushin Alexander. *Felix Novikov*, Tatlin Publishers, 2009, 94-97.

it was never realized, most likely due to the budget shortage or general financial mess in the Republic during the second half of the 1980s.

Novikov was the main architect for Bukhara's tourist complex for 420 people, designed between 1980 and 1983. The complex was to be located in the center of historical Bukhara between two trading domes. The main objective of the project was to recreate a historical street between "trading domes," Toki Zargaron and Toki Tilpak Furushon, a street destroyed in the 1930s as part of the early Soviet anti-commercial campaign. (Fig. 35) Novikov's vision was to fill the empty area of the old commercial space that used to be connected by a single roof and housed bazaar, shops, and multiple caravanserais along the way. Building within the confines of the historical core was envisioned as a way to recreate the destroyed physical, spatial, and aesthetic environment, as well as a way to help restoration.

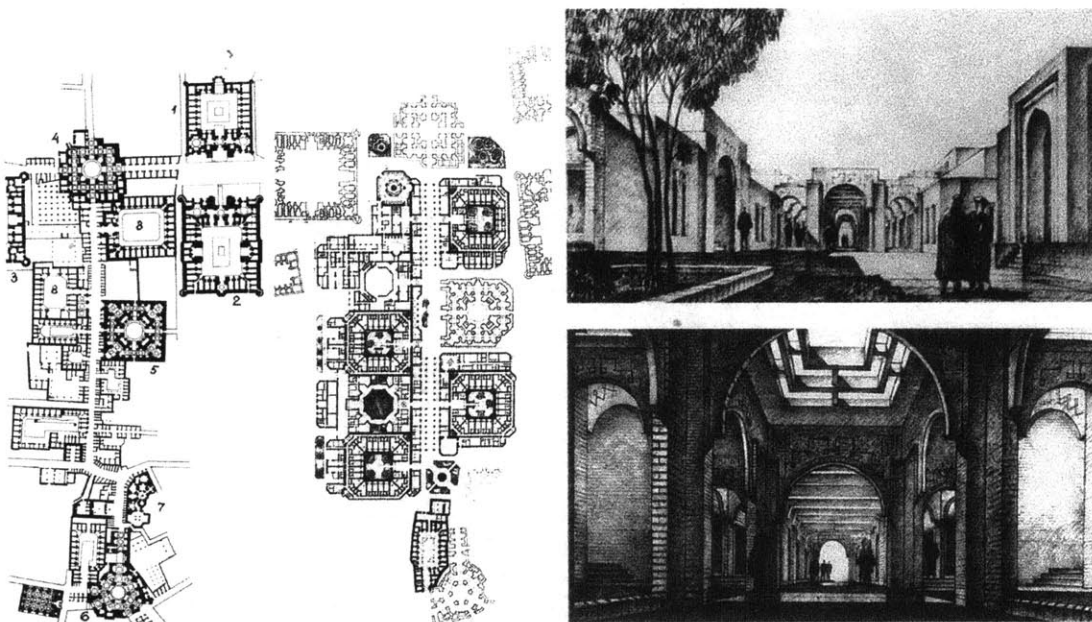


Figure 35: Left: first plan shows the original bazaar street between Toki Zargaron and Toki Tilpak Furushon; second plan shows reconstruction of this street as a tourist center. Right: renderings of the inside of the tourism complex. Belogolovsky and Ryabushin (2009).

Bukhara's tourist complex consisted of four living blocks with courtyards and public facilities such as a concert hall, swimming pool, sauna, restaurant, etc. (Fig. 36, 37) The covered street, resembling traditional markets, connected all buildings and was also used to connect new buildings with historical monuments. The existing *caravanserai* complex was incorporated into the tourist complex and used as an

entrance for tourists. The complex was designed in traditional national fashion to recreate the atmosphere of the old bazaar: pergolas protecting from the sun, openings, and other small details; brick was used to complement traditional materials, and the size of complex's courtyards matched the size of the neighboring *madrasa's* courtyard. (Fig. 38) The scale of the new two-story construction was supposed to resemble residential scale. Adjacent historical monuments and traditional housing were also to be used to accommodate different needs of tourists, such as museums, exhibitions, information centers, and restaurants with local cuisine.

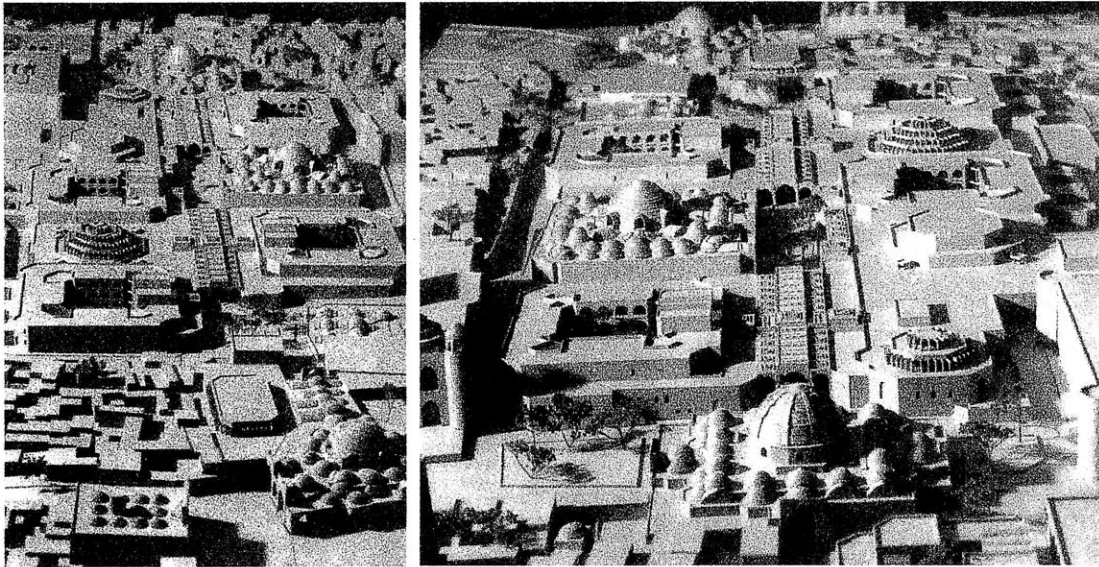


Figure 36: Model of Bukhara's tourist complex that recreates old bazar between Toki Zargaron and Toki Tilpak Furushon. Belogolovsky and Ryabushin (2009).

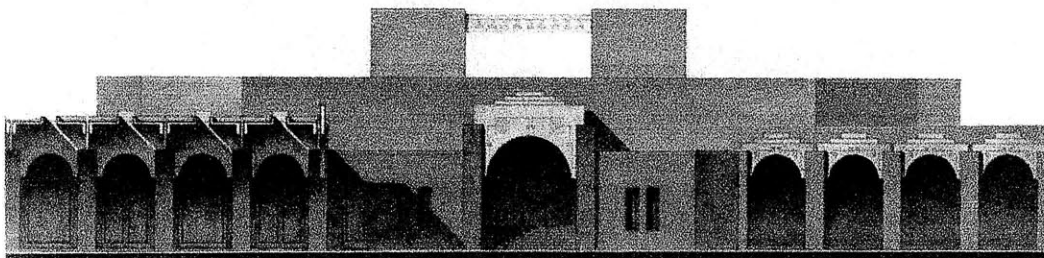
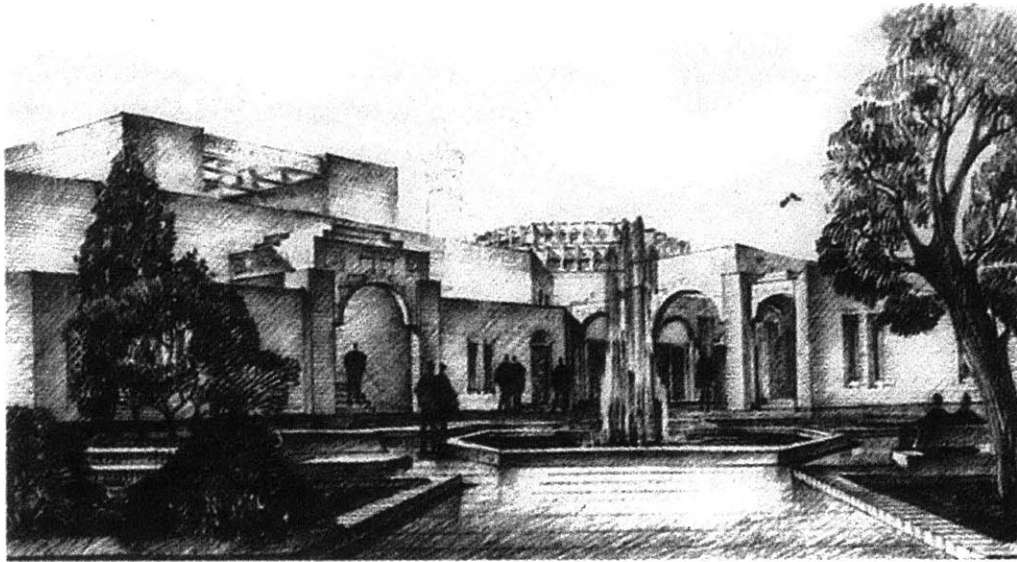


Figure 37: Façade of one of the buildings in the new tourist complex. Belogolovsky and Ryabushin (2009).



**Figure 38: Public plaza in front of the tourist complex in Bukhara. Belogolovsky and Ryabushin (2009).**

Novikov's tourist complex was the last project designed for the center of Bukhara. In the second half of the 1980s, Bukhara became an architectural and historical preserve, so building new projects in the center was no longer a possibility.

Although this was the last project designed for the historical center, it still very much followed the same logic as most of the projects in the 1970s. The concept of a historical reserve was rejected as too limiting and passive in "recreating" the traditional environment. Interventions that stylistically "translated the spirit of the epoch"<sup>102</sup> and recreated the disappearing environment of ancient Bukhara had been equally used in the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s as a main reason to introduce architectural projects.

The central or peripheral location of a tourist complex had always been a subject of debate. In this case the central location of the complex was justified as more economically efficient: it required less investment, but generated more income; it also required less spending on transportation of tourists, which automatically took care of the need to build parking lots. In addition, the necessity to build a tourist complex in the center of Bukhara had always been presented as a way to generate income for restoration of Bukhara's historical monuments. Particularly, in the 1980s, due to the intermixing of the conservation and architectural agencies, tourism was increasingly used as one of the important principles of urbanism that allowed for reconstruction of the lost traditional fabric, as well as one of the defining

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<sup>102</sup> Rushkovkii, "Introducing Tourism," 9-12.

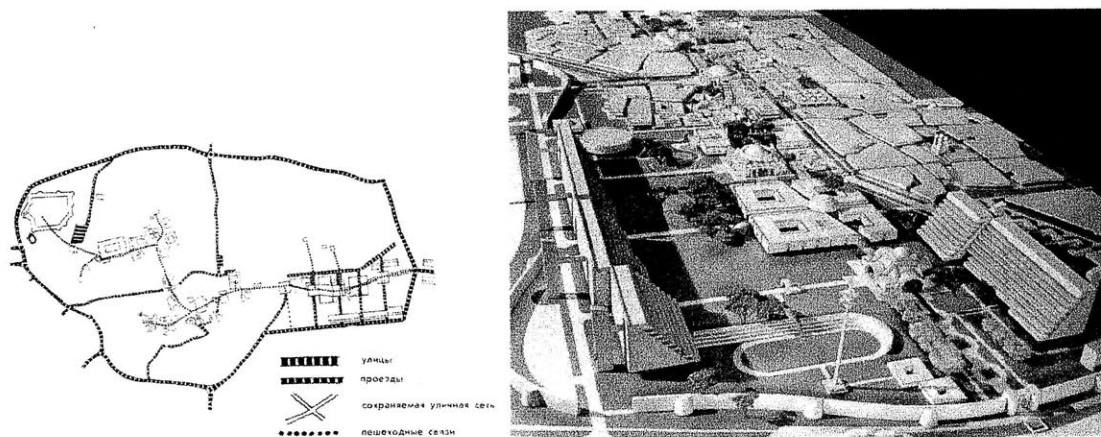
principles of restoration. As a result, restoration for tourism became a very popular project in the 1980s, and especially as a part the curriculum of universities who trained restoration specialists. Potentially, the other reason for the central location of a tourist complex was to have a better control and surveillance over the foreign tourists, who would be confined to one location without the need to travel outside historical core of Bukhara.

*Project 2: Reconstruction of Lenin Street (from Nizan Street to Liabi-houz), 1984. Old Bukhara as a leisure and recreation area of a city.<sup>103</sup>*

After Bukhara became an architectural and historical preserve in 1984, the reconstruction of the center became a questionable issue and professional attention instead shifted to the periphery of Bukhara. Most of the projects during the second half of the 1980s centered on the issue of connecting Bukhara's traditional fabric and modern part of the city that surrounded historical core.

The next five projects for the reconstruction of a part of the main street that connects old and new Bukhara together demonstrate this trend.

*Haldeev's project on the reconstruction of Lenin Street: creating a leisure and entertainment center.*



**Figure 39: Left: schematic plan of Bukhara that shows the area of interest for the new project. Right: Intervention proposed by Haldeev. ACU 3 (1984).**

<sup>103</sup> Purgalin, "Reconstruction of Bukhara," ACU 3 (1984): 23-24.

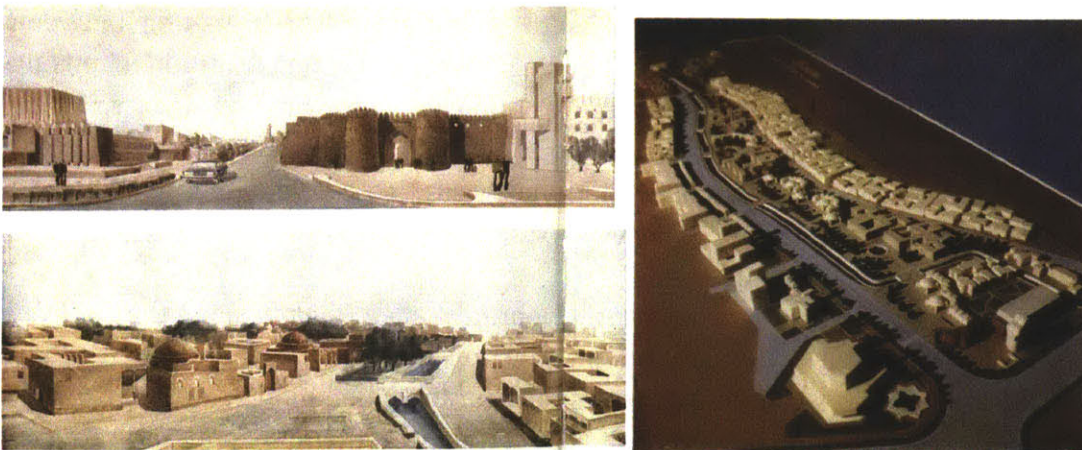


According to Haldeev's design, Lenin Street is completely pedestrian in order to better preserve historical environment. It runs along the *Shahrud* canal that is rhythmically covered with domed buildings in traditional style and connected to the historical monuments and residential areas. Along the street, Haldeev positions bazars and different public services that compositionally follow the same principle as traditional market that used to exist between Mosque Kalan and ensemble Liabi-house. The reconstructed area will be saturated with different functions to serve tourists as tourist information centers and as museums.

Haldeev proposed to connect old and new administrative centers of Bukhara with a new building that resembles the traditional trading Taki-dome. Part of his scheme was also to rebuild a fragment of Bukhara's wall and Karshinkie gates. Hmelnizkii Street and Pushkin Street serve as a transport connection between two parts and have cinemas, clubs, libraries, and exhibition halls. Information center and workshops producing and selling local craft are located in four domed buildings made to resemble traditional style. Between the domes, there is a museum of history of Bukhara, marriage hall, and some shops.

Haldeev solves connection of old and new parts of the city by designing nine-story residential buildings that terrace down to historical Bukhara, in the lower part of which he locates a tourist complex.

*Hakimov's project on the reconstruction of Lenin Street: Creation of major pedestrian promenade in the place of traditional housing.*



**Figure 40: intervention proposed by A. Hakimov. ACU 3 (1984).**



Hakimov offers to keep two major vehicular roads running into historical core of Bukhara, Lenin Street and Pushkin Street, and instead recreate a pedestrian street along traditional canal Shahrud by demolishing residential area along Lenin Street. He offers to regenerate certain *mahalla* centers and their *houzes* and use them as new public centers. *Mahalla* areas that have been reconstructed are to be used for traditional activities such as trade and crafts. According to Hakimov this will also help to recreate the traditional *mahalla* environment. Traditional houses are to be used for restaurants serving Uzbek national cuisine. *Mahalla* centers that have been renovated to be modern public centers are connected to each other by the pedestrian walks, and to be used as cultural centers by local people and tourists. The traditional canal, *Shahrud*, is to be restored to its original function as an active part of the irrigation system.

Based on Hakimov's scheme, a tourist complex is located in the very center of historical Bukhara, and Darvaza-kavala gates reconstructed as an information center for the tourists.

*Israilov's project on the reconstruction of Lenin St.: Creation of historical-ethnographic background as in introduction for historical Bukhara that functions as a leisure center.*

Israilov defines his main goals for the project as the achievement of the organic connection of old/traditional and new/modern architecture of Bukhara by using traditional tectonics of structural system - domes and post-and-beam - as helpful in creating a favorable historical-ethnographic background for viewing Bukhara's historical monuments. His other goal is to create a gradual transition between traditional low-rise and new high-rise housing by reconstructing traditional housing to meet modern requirements. A new type of housing in the area of Madrasa Nadir Divan-begi is designed in traditional style to substitute original houses that were classified as "less valuable." Houses that were classified as "valuable" are left as a sample of a traditional craft.

The main idea of Israilov is to recreate a celebrative alley *Hiiaban* along the *Shahrud* canal as a "functional and aesthetic introduction to the history of Bukhara, that meets a guest-visitor, sets him for the rest and for the mood to look at the historical heritage; ...it prepares him for the visit." Along this street Israilov offers to recreate traditional elements that used to exist in pre-Soviet Bukhara, such as *houzes*, traditional drinking fountains (*chasma*), and water wheels (*chigir*).

Lenin Street is solved as an important vehicular road connecting the new and old parts of the city. Based on Israilov's scheme, a tourist complex for 500 people is built in the place of one of the former Bukhara's gates (*Karshankie*). It is a two- to four-story building with cinema, exhibition halls, restaurants, different sports facilities, swimming pools, saunas, and tennis courts. He also offers to recreate the traditional bazaar, but on a more comfortable and modern level, and position it among historical monuments. From bazaar to Madrasa Kukeldash he offers to create a strip of traditional workshops making and selling traditional crafts. On the crossroad of Lenin Street and Nisami Street, there is a modern youth cultural center, "Taihun," with a marriage hall, restaurant, cinema, and shops.

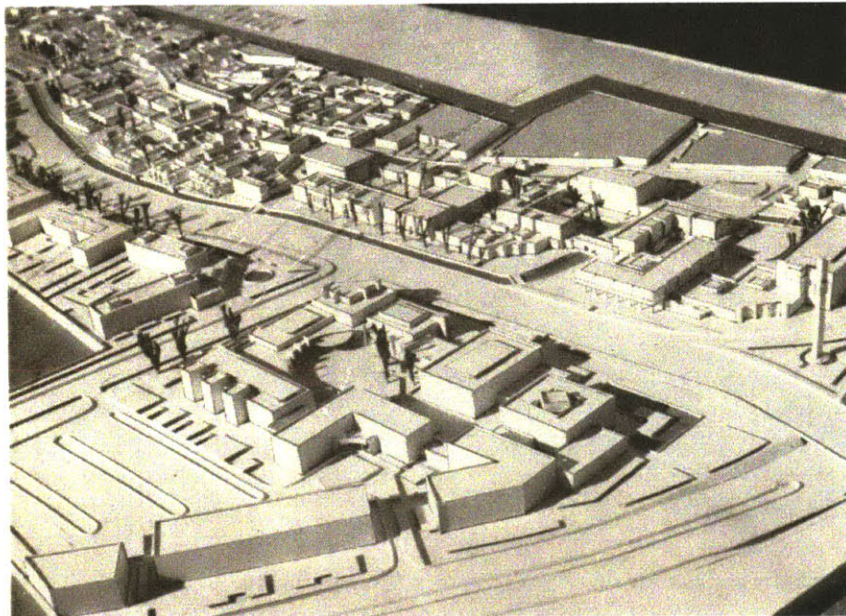


Figure 41: Intervention proposed by Israilov. *ACU 3* (1984).

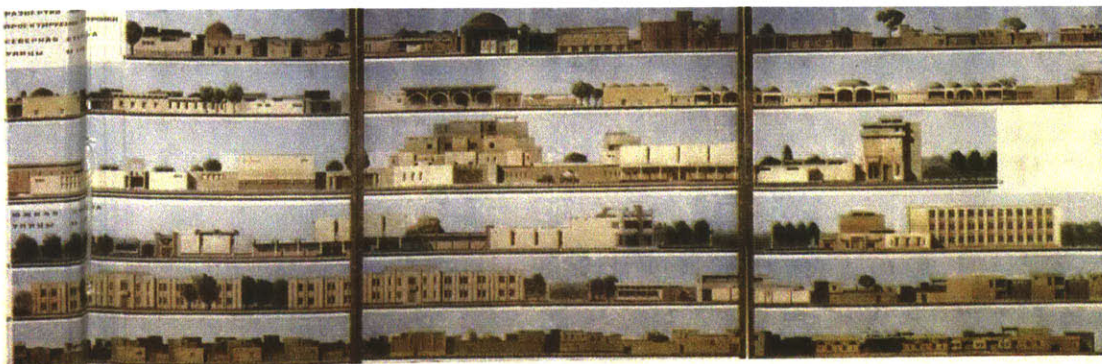


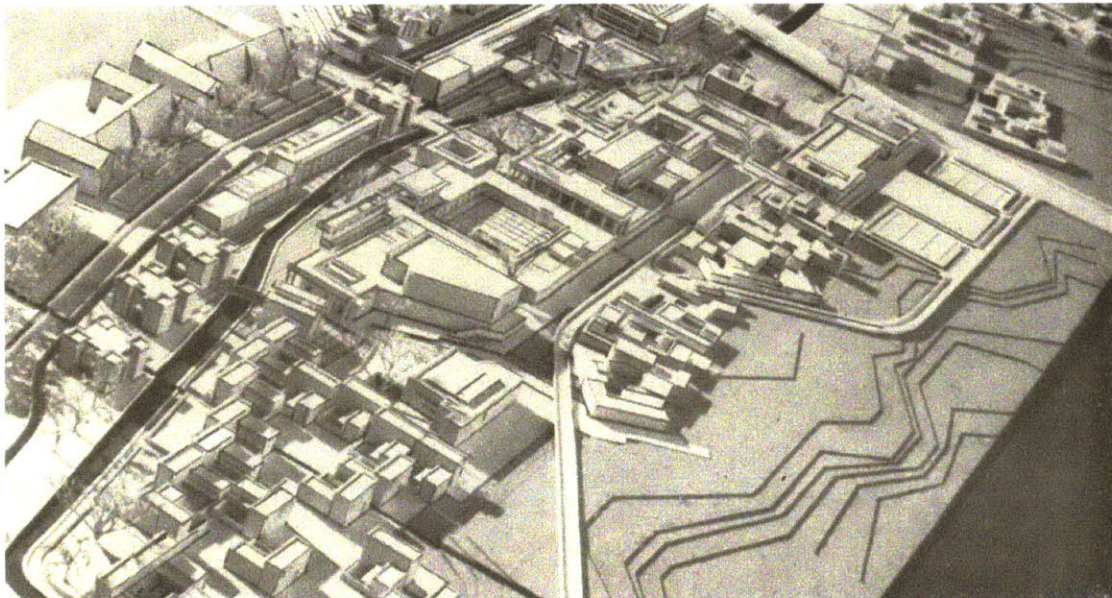
Figure 42: Intervention proposed by Israilov. *ACU 3* (1984).



*Aleksandrovich's project on the reconstruction of Lenin Street: public center to connect old and new parts of Bukhara.*

Alexandrovich offers to create a major pedestrian street along the *Shahrud* canal with a system of open and semi-open public spaces, based on Bukhara's traditional spatial system of streets and public spaces. According to Alexandrovich, the network of streets and plazas is created based on traditional modular, which allows for gradual interventions into Bukhara's traditional fabric to be made over time. These public spaces each will have their own function, such as public square for the national celebrations, which is located along Lening Street. The other important public square is next to the Liabi-house ensemble and serves as *avan* square.

Public center, based on the modular 4 by 4 m, will serve as a compositional core that bring everything together. The system of internal pedestrian streets, which runs through the public center and is connected with traditional streets, is used to connect the new public center with Bukhara's historical monuments.



**Figure 43: Intervention proposed by Alexandrovich. ACU 3 (1984).**

*Notkin's project on the reconstruction of Lenin Street: design for the panorama of old Bukhara.*

Notkin's intervention consists of the following program: a tourism complex, bazar, and traditional workshops. His project places the most emphasis on the reconstruction of old housing and traditionally high density of Bukhara's residential

fabric by using new forms on one hand and on the other, by following the “plasticity and silhouette qualities” of traditional housing.

The objective of his project is to create a buffer zone that facilitates a gradual transition from “modern lifestyle” of new Bukhara to “Middle Ages lifestyle” of historical Bukhara, in order to prepare a tourist to receive information while visiting Bukhara’s historical core. In order to create better access to historical core for tourists, Notkin connects Lenin Street to Ulinova Street, which is a fast street that goes to the airport and train station. He also solves Lenin St. as a celebrative street by reconstructing traditional *Shahrud* canal as the center of composition. On the crossing of Lenin Street and Nizam street he offers to create a multi-level monumental entrance to the historical city with a tall observation platform for a panoramic view of old Bukhara.

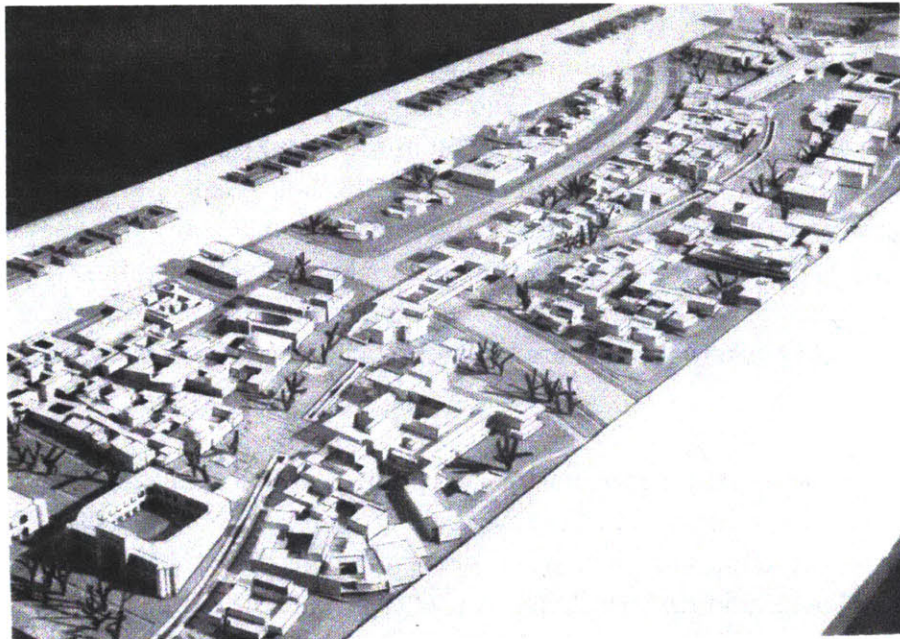


Figure 44: Intervention proposed by Notkin. ACU 3 (1984).

Project 3: *International Seminar in Bukhara: past and future. Design for Bukhara as an act of international help.* (1990)<sup>104</sup>

With the increasing political freedom and open borders, in 1990, Bukhara hosted an international group of architects from different countries: Middle East, Europe, and Soviet countries. Together, they cooperated with colleagues from Uzbekistan who

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<sup>104</sup> Vukolova, “23 Days on the ‘Island Bukhara,’” (Interview) ACU 10 (1990): 3-14.



previously worked on Bukhara, such as Kadirova, Bulatov, Aleksandrovich, Bulatov, and Notkin.

In 1990 Bukhara was called “a sick organism,”<sup>105</sup> and became the focus of a number of questions that needed to be urgently addressed. Some of these issues became the main topic of the international seminar. For example, restoration of historical monuments, reconstruction of the traditional residential fabric, which by now was interpreted as essential in order for the city to be more than just a tourist attraction, reconstruction of separate zones in the center, and merging of old and new Bukhara together.<sup>106</sup> These problematic issues summarized all the previous issues that were discussed by Uzbekistan professionals during the 1970s and 1980s.

During the seminar, many issues in Bukhara were criticized as problematic. This time, both parts of Bukhara, Soviet and historical, were equally criticized. Historical Bukhara was criticized for not having enough restoration of architectural monuments, the absence of modern infrastructure in traditional housing and its increasingly dilapidating condition. At the same time, the Soviet part of Bukhara was criticized for its big empty plazas and tall buildings encroaching into the traditional fabric; roads around historical center were criticized as too overcrowded, and contrast between the poverty of the traditional fabric and the monumentality of Soviet buildings was criticized as creating an unpleasant contrast. In this light, the seminar in Bukhara was framed as an “act of international help” against the old Soviet urban and conservation solutions, norms and stereotypes towards historical cities.

This seminar was mostly based on the morphological and typological analyses of Bukhara’s traditional urban fabric. Some socio-economic issues were mentioned for the first time, although very briefly. In order to solve the problem of connection between the Soviet and historical city, it was offered for the first time to redesign the new Soviet part of Bukhara, instead of doing interventions in the traditional fabric. (Fig. 45)

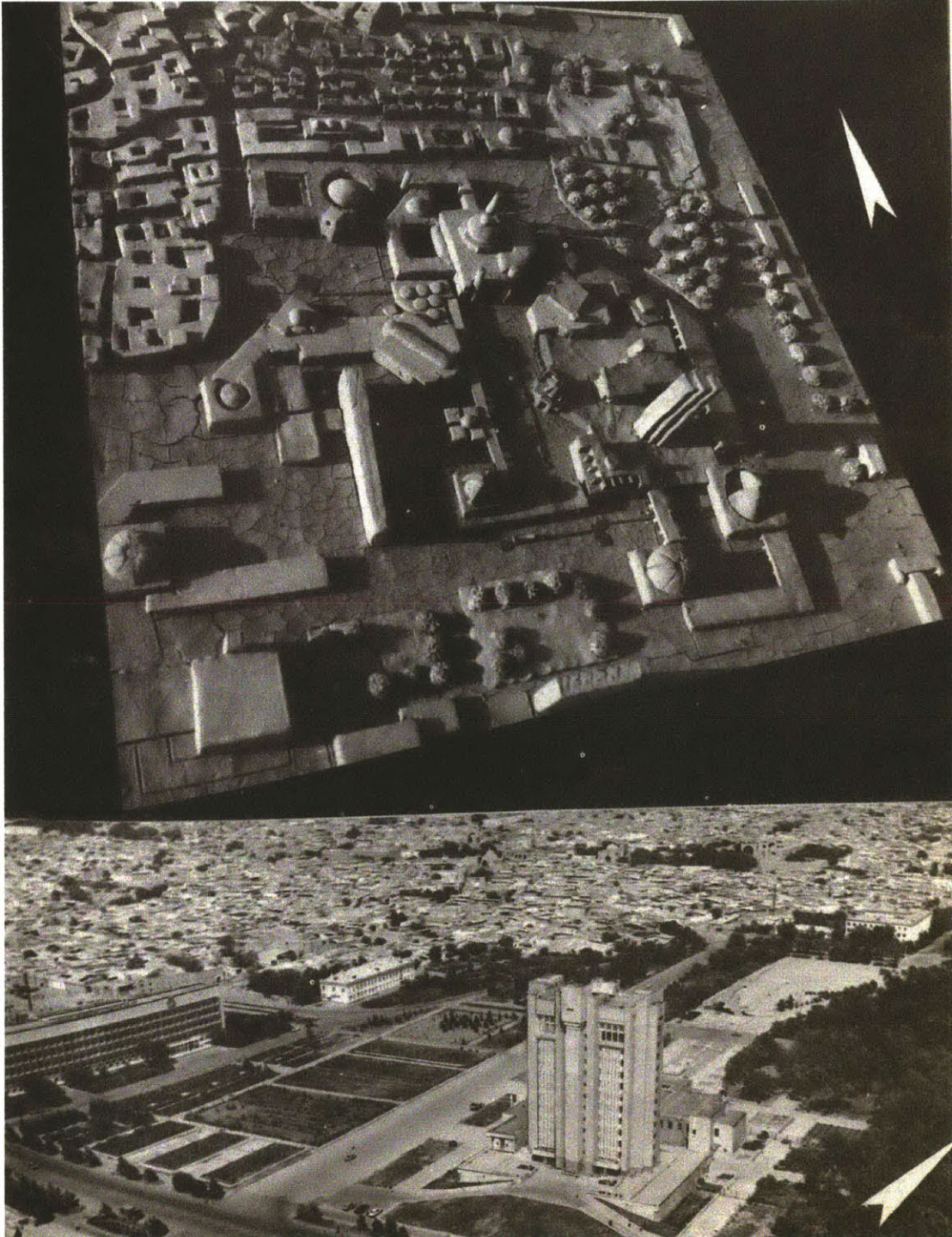
Although, many useful socio-cultural ideas were discussed, this seminar was mainly an architectural design seminar, and as such, was less concerned with the conservation aspect of Bukhara’s historical urban fabric. Interestingly, despite the fact that by the 1990s Bukhara was firmly established as “a museum-preserve,” the

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<sup>105</sup> Vukolova, “23 Days on the ‘Island Bukhara,’” (Interview) *ACU 10* (1990): 3-14.

<sup>106</sup> See examples of the projects done during the International seminar in Bukhara: Fig. 45-48.

majority of the interventions proposed during the seminar were strikingly modern and in many ways resembled the ones of the 1960s-1970s.



**Figure 45: Example of the project from the International seminar in Bukhara. Connection between Soviet and historical Bukhara. ACU 10 (1990).**





Figure 46: Example of the project from the International seminar in Bukhara. Regeneration of historical core of Bukhara. ACU 10 (1990).





Figure 47: Example of the project from the International seminar in Bukhara. Connection between Soviet and historical Bukhara. ACU 10 (1990).



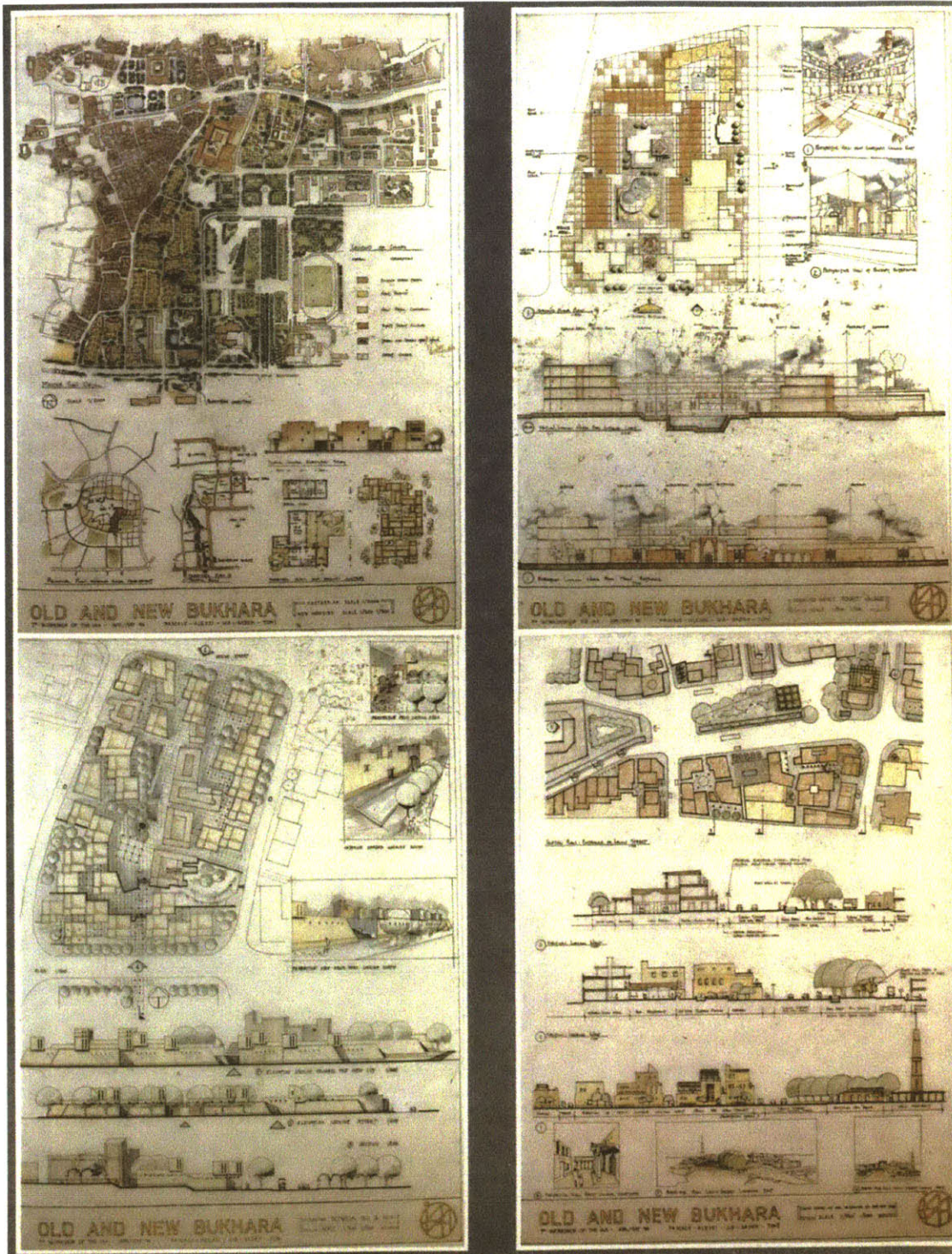


Figure 48: Example of the project from the International seminar in Bukhara. Connection between Soviet and historical Bukhara. Reconstruction of new housing for historical Bukhara. ACU 10 (1990).

## **CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION: LEGACIES AND CONTINUITIES**

Conservation of historical monuments in Soviet Uzbekistan is largely a marginalized area of study. However, it poses many interesting questions in the field of Islamic architecture conservation, and far beyond, for it provides an important link to the quest for national identity that would follow after 1991 when Uzbekistan became an independent nation. By envisioning the professional architectural approach to Bukhara's urban heritage as one of voices dealing with the national uncertainty in late Soviet Uzbekistan, I was asking the following question: what can we gain by looking at the built environment, its conservation, modification, or destruction, as the context and object of national thinking? In my analysis of Uzbekistan's professional architectural journal, I observed trends within the field that speak to struggles with wider issues, and as such add an extra layer to the broader historical inquiry in the region of Central Asia.

One of the key aspects of the architectural field in late Soviet Uzbekistan was the concurrence of a sudden rise in conservation starting in the 1960s and a drastic departure from the previous methodological approach developed in the 1920s by a small number of Russian conservation specialists in Uzbekistan. This sharp increase in conservation and escalating interest in historical cities in general poses a puzzling question about the reasons behind the appearance of this new awareness. By the 1960s, local conservation agencies were completely decentralized. Priorities of the Soviet center shifted to the matters more important to it such as international military campaigns. It was no longer interested in sponsoring restoration programs in its peripheral republics to the degree that it had been in the past. This shift meant that the center could no longer exert direct control over Uzbekistan's architectural heritage, and all the subsequent decisions regarding theoretical and practical approaches to conservation instead reflected the internal reevaluations of the subject matter.

In the 1960s, the conservation of historical monuments and entire cities, much like any other cultural production, became an important medium for the state to express its broader political aspirations, evident in the wide ideological propaganda of heritage as an important part of the new Uzbek SSR image. This peculiar state's interest in Uzbekistan's material heritage, and its agenda to restore as much as possible, as fast as possible, and to the fullest physical potential, resulted in an increasingly deteriorating quality of conservation. Overall, this new agenda was a big leap from the previous official policies of the 1920s–1950s, when only a small proportion of Bukhara's monuments was classified as "heritage" and taken under

the official protection of the government. As opposed to the few religious buildings regarded as national heritage during the early time, in the 1960s the label “religious” was overshadowed by the aesthetic values of the monuments and no longer presented an obstacle to conservation.

This new phenomenon that took place in the 1960s opens up a wide range of questions: Why was there a sudden interest in historical cities? What was the ultimate goal and message that Uzbekistan’s officials aspired to introduce by directly supervising restoration of historical monuments in late Soviet Uzbekistan? Was the sudden interest in full restoration at any price telling about the wider shifts in the national identity? Could the heightened interest in the national heritage be classified as a nationalist sentiment, as normally understood in the conditions of decolonization, for example?

To position this inquiry in the context of the late Soviet era, it is important to note that Uzbekistan was not seeking independence from the Soviet State.<sup>107</sup> In fact, in 1991 independence was an undesired burden for Uzbekistan. Over the years, local political and cultural elites became accustomed to an informal ethnically-based network, established in Uzbekistan by the Soviet system. This network allowed them to have a privileged access to the country’s limited resources.<sup>108</sup> For the ruling elite, independence meant a potential risk of losing their privileges, positions, and, most importantly, losing significant subsidies provided by the central government. As a result, over the course of the Soviet nation-building in Uzbekistan, independence became a threat for some and an uncertain prospect for all.

These issues make it difficult to position any attempt at national self-expression in Uzbekistan, a country that at first was forcefully created and shaped by the external Soviet power, and later just as forcefully freed by it.<sup>109</sup> Interpreting heightened interest in architectural heritage as a consequence of nationalist sentiment in late Soviet Uzbekistan is also problematic, since it did not strive to be an independent nation even on the eve of its independence. Although the nationalist movement existed in the late 1980s and also in the 1920s, before the Uzbek SSR was created, this movement was very insignificant and easily suppressed. Paradoxically, what limited national sentiment existed in Uzbekistan was instead a part and parcel of the official Soviet campaign of nation-building based on the ethnic and territorial

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<sup>107</sup> Kurzman, Charles. “Uzbekistan: The Invention of Nationalism...in an Invented Nation,” *Critique* 15 (1999): 77-98.

<sup>108</sup> Kurzman. “Uzbekistan,” 77-98.

<sup>109</sup> For further information on the points discussed in this paragraph, please see Kurzman (1999), Adams (2010), and Weitz (2002).



delineation. Depending on the political mood of the center, parameters and degrees of allowable nationalist expression in late Soviet Uzbekistan were in constant flux and were interpreted by the local political and cultural elites on their own terms. Constantly changing directions dictated from the outside and oscillating internal interpretations became important conditions of the formation of Uzbek national identity and Uzbekistan's understanding of its historical environment. This identity was as ambiguous, amorphous, and malleable as the political atmosphere of the republic itself.

Prevailing uncertainty in late Soviet Uzbekistan was reflected in the *ACU* journal issues as well. As this professional journal shows, the architectural field in late Soviet Uzbekistan also had a conflicted mentality. The *ACU's* content vacillated and deeply contradicted itself from year to year, even sometimes from the beginning to the end of a single article, a trend that became particularly noticeable during the second half of the 1980s. The *glasnost* and *perestroika* introduced by Gorbachev and deepening uncertainty can be vividly sensed in the journal, as well as the fact that over the years Uzbekistan has grown more ideologically confused and nationalistically uncertain.

My own analysis of the *ACU* journal resonates with the words of Sarah Kendzior, who studied the constantly changing definition of religion and Islam in late Soviet Uzbekistan based on the Soviet atheistic literature written by a group of Uzbek atheist ideologues between 1986 and 1989. She concludes, "When the idea of what comprises 'sin' or 'justice' is redefined within a year's time, something is wrong with the social culture."<sup>110</sup> In my analysis of the *ACU*, I interpret the contradictions, uncertainties, and ambiguities in the late professional architectural discourse on historical Bukhara and its pre-Soviet and Soviet past as inherent in Uzbekistan's conflicted identity construct. *ACU's* contradicting content reflects not only challenges within the architectural field of the time, but also the fluctuations and uncertainties of constructing the national self. By defining some of the themes and ways architectural professionals engaged with Bukhara's material culture through their design projects, this thesis has traced some important threads helpful in revealing the complexity of Uzbekistan's tangled identity during the late Soviet era.

The technocratic and teleological approach to conservation in late Soviet Uzbekistan shows that a sudden shift in late methodology, characterized by the lack of concern with the historical aspect of the monuments, also signified a shift in the meaning of

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<sup>110</sup> S. Kendzior "Redefining Religion: Uzbek Atheist Propaganda in Gorbachev-era Uzbekistan," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 34, no. 5, (Nov. 2006): 538.

architectural heritage. Void of the previous functions and associations, architectural monuments were valued based only on a very specific construct of aesthetics. According to the conservationist point of view, one of the most important criteria for the value of a monument was the amount of information that it conveyed. For example, buildings with colorful mosaics had more information than monochrome clay buildings, and intact buildings had more information than ruins. Hence, full reconstruction was one of the ways to make a monument more valuable. The desire to have as many monuments as possible and to have them as fully rebuilt as possible, regardless of the availability of documented sources, raises a question about the purpose of the monuments in late Soviet Uzbekistan, and what they meant to people. These questions become particularly valuable when asked in the context of the earlier destructive events in Bukhara during the 1920s–1950s, in the course of which the original functions and meanings of historical monuments were intentionally made obsolete.

To understand the shifting meaning of architectural monuments in late Soviet Uzbekistan, it helps to look beyond the field of conservation. A substantial part of this thesis is devoted to discussion of the architectural interventions in Bukhara between 1965 and 1991 because conceptual and metaphorical thinking exhibited in these architectural projects largely contributed to the formation of a broader intellectual perspective on the conservation of historical monuments. This influence on conservation became the case particularly after conservation was incorporated into the general architectural field in the late 1970s.

Bukhara, which was largely in ruins, neglected, and closed to visitors until the 1960s, suddenly elicited an enthusiastic wave of professional interest that resulted in a series of architectural projects envisioned for historical Bukhara during the 1960s and 1970s. Two observations about these projects are particularly striking. The first one is the overwhelming desire on the part of the architectural professionals to make Bukhara an actively living city again by modernizing it and giving it a new function and meaning. The second is the degree to which these projects were utopian, naïve, and unusually dislocated from the general discourse on preservation of historical cities around the world. Some of the absurdity of the projects went as far as offering to build an underground modern city in order to preserve historical Bukhara.

Two important concepts drawn from Bukhara’s architectural projects of the 1960s–1970s that need a closer look are the importance given to the emotional or aesthetic *atmosphere* of the past, which almost all of the early projects referred to as the ultimate goal during reconstruction of the historical city, and the concept of the

*knowledge potential* of the traditional environment. The first concept meant that in their projects, architects were not interested in recreating pre-existing physical environment, but instead attempted to recreate primarily the emotional *atmosphere* of the past. The second concept meant that the traditional urban fabric that was not visually accessible had *zero knowledge potential*, and therefore presented no value and could be destroyed or modernized.

Both concepts serve as good examples of how architectural professionals approached the task of reconstructing historical Bukhara and how they evaluated its traditional environment. The idiosyncratic obscurity of these concepts was mostly due to Uzbekistan's isolation from the rest of the world and the larger architectural discourse on the conservation of architectural heritage, and, at the same time, increasing alienated from the center. This double isolation left plenty of room for the local professionals to develop the field on their own terms. As these professionals operated in their own realm, their self-incubated ideas reflected the first attempts at searching for a unique urban identity in Uzbekistan.

Overall, the appearance of an unusual professional interest in Bukhara's urban heritage in the late 1960s speaks to the desire of late Soviet Uzbekistan to be a modern nation by matching the role assigned to its heritage and history in the modern world. Although modernization was a major part of the Soviet campaign during the 1920s–1940s, in the 1960s–1970s, local professionals initiated their own modernization from within. They came up with the oxymoronic concept of “modernizing the heritage,” which allowed them to have their own modernization campaign independent of the Soviet center and directed at something that they felt historically belonged to them. This concept was evident in new projects for Bukhara, which were constantly contrasted with the earlier Soviet crude destructions, and boasted their awareness of heritage, despite being emphatically modern. Modernization of the historical environment by intervention into the traditional urban fabric was widely regarded as an appropriate and needed approach during the 1960s and 1970s because it was also a way for the local professionals to claim Bukhara's heritage and legitimize themselves as its owners. To rationalize modern interventions, professionals used a biological concept of urban heritage, treating it as a living organism with its own cycle of life and renewal. Architectural professionals framed their work as the aesthetic revival of Bukhara's history and saw their projects as equal to that of their peers who had built Bukhara in the 9th - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Since the modern interpretation of heritage by architects has always been related to tourism as one of its main functions, tourism became a key word in the Uzbekistan

architects' vocabulary as well. As early as in the second half of the 1960s, Bukhara was envisioned as a place of leisure, recreation, and tourism. This view is very unusual given the fact that Uzbekistan had little if any tourism in the 1960s and 1970s due to political reasons and the obscurity of a place that offered no accommodations for the visitors. The only exception to this lack of tourism was group excursions organized on union and local levels by organizations responsible for ideological propaganda and simple recreation in Uzbekistan. In the 1960s and 1970s, tourism in Uzbekistan was just a vision and a future perspective, which became possible only in the second half of the 1980s, when the political atmosphere in the Union became more relaxed. Instead, the act of local professionals fantasizing about tourism in late Soviet Uzbekistan was largely a part of the identity construct and the desire to belong to the modern world.

To understand better how Uzbekistan's architectural professionals appropriated the idea of tourism, it is useful to look at the meaning of tourism for the architectural field. This exploration can also shed light on ways the idea of tourism influenced conservation in late Soviet Uzbekistan.

Emotional and aesthetic joy was an essential part of tourism, which at the same time was supposed to imbue a place with exotic and poetic meaning. The pleasure of seeing and sensual perception while traveling was an aesthetic act in itself. The linked ideas of beauty, the visual, and pleasure also explain why professional discourse on tourism in Uzbekistan went hand in hand with the peculiar importance assigned to the emotional effect and aesthetic atmosphere of historical Bukhara. The definition of aesthetics in late Soviet Uzbekistan was closely correlated with the visual aspect, which became an underlying idea of the conservation and reconstruction of historical cities. The importance of the visual consumption of Bukhara's cultural heritage, different gradations of values of historical monuments based on what and how much could be seen, and the new interventions for Bukhara designed for better panoramic views and impressive perspectives of the city were all part of the same concept of aesthetics based purely on this visual aspect. According to this concept, the conflicting desires to modernize and at the same time to preserve Bukhara's heritage were resolved by introducing the notion of knowledge potential. This selective method enabled architects to decide what to preserve based primarily on visual "accessibility" (e.g., facades are more accessible than the rest of the building).

The strong appeal of beauty in late Uzbekistan can also be illustrated in Bulatov's geometric harmonization theory, which was widely used in restoring Uzbekistan's historical monuments starting in the 1960s. Comparable enthusiasms were among



western architects interested in Islamic architecture (though much less so Islamic architectural historians). Essentially, Bulatov's theory of beauty had strong correlation with mathematics, proportion, symmetry, and the golden section. Architectural professionals were openly referencing ancient Greek architecture to position Uzbekistan's historical monuments within a global architectural context. In addition, similar to their use of aesthetics, architectural professionals in Uzbekistan during the 1960s and 1970s envisioned their historical heritage as sensual and exotic, and modern architecture as rational.

In the 1980s, when tourism in Bukhara finally became possible, the destiny of its urban heritage was largely predetermined: Bukhara became a "museum under the open sky" or a historic-architectural preserve. Earlier fantasies about tourism as an important attribute of the modern society that had an urban heritage culminated in the design of the tourist complex for Bukhara's historical center, commissioned and closely overseen by the Uzbek government. As opposed to the earlier interventions, which mostly stayed at the conceptual stage, this project was fully designed and approved. Although never realized, this project speaks to the fact that propagating tourism as an identity construct was no longer just a dream limited only to the architectural professionals. Instead, tourism became an official agenda.

Given the architectural professional discourse on historical Bukhara between 1965 and 1991, it is evident that new ideas, methods, and projects were continuously recycled and built upon each other, until they became firmly established in the second half of the 1980s. Newly adapted methodological approaches to the conservation and reconstruction of historical heritage in late Soviet Uzbekistan were never questioned and reconsidered. Although most of the restoration practices were extremely destructive of Bukhara's urban heritage and resulted in perpetual deterioration in the quality of work, they continued to be used and reinforced through the education of new cadres. The destructive nature of modifications of Bukhara's original historical environment by specialists unquestionably using new methodology in conservation was never secret among professionals.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, critical voices are largely narrowed in the professional discourse, a fact that speaks equally about the architectural practice itself and about the authoritative official imposition of different agendas on the conservation of historical monuments.

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<sup>111</sup> This judgment is made based on the *ACU* articles that continuously criticized the quality of restoration work. The articles, and the increasing criticism during the 1980s, reveal that the quality continuously worsens over time.

Most of the ideas and methods of the 1960s-1970s developed during the time when the local professional field was largely isolated from outside influences. This fact can explain some of the idiosyncrasy in methodological approaches to conservation of Bukhara's architectural heritage. The same cannot be said about the second half of the 1980s, however. Being increasingly exposed to the world, local professionals had access to the wider discourse on the field and could engage more easily in questioning their own practices. Increasing intellectual exchange is evident through the infiltrated influences of postmodernism and regionalism, as well as the appearance of an interest in spatial and formal analysis of Bukhara as a typology of the Islamic city. These new interests can be clearly observed in the 1980s editions of the *ACU*. Surprisingly, critical evaluation of new practices was still largely absent even then and the quality of work continued to deteriorate.

The 1960s-1970s' utopian idea of "modernizing the heritage" by direct intervention into Bukhara's historical fabric was replaced by a more mature idea of "museum-ification" in the 1980s.<sup>112</sup> The new appreciation of Bukhara as an important example of an Islamic city reflected its conservation in several ways. Proposed architectural interventions shifted from the center to the periphery, and the idea to recreate only the atmosphere was extended by the new idea of regenerating or building anew the destroyed forms and spatial configurations of the original Bukhara. These problematic late regeneration projects were not based on the documented sources, but instead were envisioned only to closely resemble the original forms. Although projects developed for Bukhara in the 1980s were not nearly as futuristic as the ones of the 1960s and 1970s, they were still equally as destructive for Bukhara's traditional urban fabric.

The new concept of "museum-ification" or visiting Bukhara as a museum of history was based on the same logic as tourism: the dominance of visual consumption and aesthetic satisfaction from it. This concept also introduced a new and very important message: the importance of *exhibiting* national heritage. The nature of conservation and beautification projects of the 1980s, which were mostly concerned with prepping and "cleaning"<sup>113</sup> Bukhara showing off leads to a key question of this thesis: who was the imaginary viewer, and what was intended purpose of such observations, in the *ACU* readership and in the city?

Perhaps the importance of displaying the national heritage in late Soviet Uzbekistan was only a reticent attempt, rehearsal, and preemptor of what was yet to come in

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<sup>112</sup> I borrowed this term from the *ACU* journal [*muzeefikazia*].

<sup>113</sup> By "cleaning" I mean projects like paving roads, developing parking lots, and areas for rest, greening, etc. All of these projects aimed to make Bukhara look nice and neat.

the future, when in 1991 the trans-national boundaries were replaced by the contemporary ethnically defined national borders. I suggest that many answers to the past lie embedded in the present, when an imaginary other (e.g., other nations) in dialogue with Uzbekistan, created as a part of Uzbekistan's identity construct in the 1980s, became a real global other relative to the newly independent nation.

How did a global idea of what it means to be a modern nation state influence the Soviet construct of heritage in Uzbekistan? What are the continuities and legacies of the past? What kind of stories do monuments tell Uzbeks today about their past? What is the meaning of historical heritage in Uzbekistan, a country that after independence launched its national quest of rewriting yet again what it means to be Uzbek and its rightful place in the global history? All these questions present interesting avenues for further research.

Looking critically at the pre-1991 professional discourse offered in the architectural *ACU* journals and observing issues in the conservation of Bukhara that contemporary professionals face today offers possible answers to these questions. This study contributes to the understanding of broader historical issues as they relate to the development of Uzbekistan's modern identity construct through the example of the conservation of Bukhara's heritage from 1965 to 1991 and by revealing some of the continuities and practices of conservation as telling about national uncertainty and anxieties both past and present.

I argue that many ideas of the past have been propagated and reproduced in new ways today. Because modern Uzbekistan is run by many of the same political and cultural elites who were responsible for building communism in the country during the Soviet era, old Soviet ideas and institutions have been continuously recycled into the present, resulting in Uzbekistan's building its new foundation myth based on the old Soviet power-knowledge construct.<sup>114</sup>

Although Bukhara's heritage today is incorporated into a new type of production as a modern and legitimate nation that exists independently on the global scale, much of the language and methodological approach to conservation of historical cities used in the past remains the same even today.<sup>115</sup> With the appearance of the global

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<sup>114</sup> Adams, Laura. *Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan*. Durham and London: Duke University Press (2010), 6.

<sup>115</sup> This conclusion is based on the official document from the State Archives in Uzbekistan, *Cultural Heritage of Bukhara's Historical Center: Management Plan, 2011*, Summer 2011. It shows a striking similarity between the language and ideas between pre- and post-Soviet Uzbekistan. This plan continues the 1980s agenda of museum-ification and mostly deals with projects that have to do with beautification, greening, transportation, zoning, and regulation laws for new construction in the

other, historical monuments are increasingly objectified and branded as the glorious legacies of the national past. Their historical meaning is further simplified and reduced to mere cultural capital of the built environment to sell Bukhara as a destination for tourists interested in its historical, religious, Orientalist, and environmental attractions. However, contemporary kitsch restoration of the recent years started to repel even tourists, who refuse to settle for Bukhara's obviously falsified and over-restored monuments.<sup>116</sup> The fact that popular distaste failed to stop Uzbekistan's government from propagating the same practices of restoration points to the larger issue. As in the 1960s-1970s, tourism is not the ultimate goal of the restoration of architectural heritage in Uzbekistan today. In contemporary Uzbekistan, architectural heritage signifies a much larger concept used as an important part of its identity construct. It signifies the aspiration for universal value, and the act of conservation emphasizes to global others that Uzbekistan has the same universal values as the rest of the modern world.<sup>117</sup> The exaggerated contemporary practices of restoration almost desperately proclaim Uzbekistan's desire to assume equal standing with the rest of the global community and to elicit recognition as their peer. We now need to know: what is the recent history, trajectory, and aspirations of post-Soviet Uzbek architectural writing, projects, and action?

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historical core. The document formulates the final goal envisioned for Bukhara as to "reveal and use architectural-aesthetic (or artistic) and urban qualities of the environment in order to create necessary conditions to introduce it to the local people and tourists." As can be seen from this postulate, the aesthetic value of historical monuments based on their visual aspect is as essential to reconstruction of Bukhara today as it was in the 1970-1980s. Contemporary approach to reconstruction of Bukhara is based on the metaphorical concepts used in the 1960s-1991: Bukhara as a "living organism," "knowledge potential," and "modernizing heritage."

<sup>116</sup> This fact was narrated to me by some of the people who work in Bukhara as tourist guides on several occasions when I visited Bukhara during the summer of 2011.

<sup>117</sup> Influenced by Adams, Laura. "Modernity, Post-colonialism, and Theatrical Form in Uzbekistan," *Slavic Review* 64 vol. 2, (2005): 333-354.

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