

## BUKHARA: THREE CENTURIES FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE BLESSED CITY

**Abstract:** This article presents a critical review for the main section of a new monograph published by IICAS entitled *The Bukharan School of Architecture from the 15th 17th Centuries: Features and Developmental Dynamics* by Professor and Doctor of Architecture, Mavlyuda Abbasova-Yusupova. The reviewer corrects what she perceives as numerous inaccuracies and obvious shortcomings of the book, and provides additional information on the historical topography and architectural monuments of Bukhara acquired over the past 45 years by specialists from the Institute of Archaeology under the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, as well as via architects and archaeologists from the Uzbek Research Project Institute for Restoration (UzNIPIR), which previously existed under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

**Key words:** Bukhara, Mavlyuda Abbasova-Yusupova, history, city topography, architectural monuments, Timurids, Sheibanids, Astarkhanids.

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**B**UKHARA is one of the most significant ancient and medieval cities in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Located in a valley along the lower reaches of the Zeravshan River (in ancient times known as the Sogda, Masaf and Kuhak River). The city developed on one of its significant channels and has not changed its location for more than two thousand years. Today, the ancient section of Bukhara remains a “living” city having preserved its original structure (i.e. the Ark, shahristan, Shahrud canal, remnants of the *rabad* and external walls). Architectural monuments dating from the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century remain on its territory. However, the living conditions and construction were quite limited. The city, located on a flat, swampy plain with an extremely unstable water regime, often experienced resource scarcity (Nekrasova 1999a: 61-69; Nekrasova 2010: 106-112).

By the 7<sup>th</sup> century, on the eve of the Arab conquest, Bukhara had already developed into a large trading city, consisting of two main, well-fortified sections – the fortress (*diz*) and the city proper (*shahristan*)<sup>2</sup>

– along with an extensive suburb (*rabad*), with surrounding fortresses and small villages and a well-regulated irrigation system. Apparently, from the mid 9<sup>th</sup> century, the fortress was called *kukhandiz* (old fortress) with the shahristan within the ancient inner wall incorporating the inner city (*shahr-i darun*), and it surrounding territory. Within the outer wall was the outer city (*shahr-i birun*). Arab geographers identified the latter two urban sections *Madina* and *Rabad*, respectively. Probably by the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the *kukhandiz* began to be designated by a new term – the *ark*; the names for other parts of the city have not yet been established by researchers. The terms *shahristan* and *rabad* are found in the Bukharan administrative and economic documents dating before the 18<sup>th</sup> century (excluding the *ark*); *hisar* and *kadim* referred to the former shahristan, and the territory of the outer city was called *hisar-i nau* or *hisar-i jaded*, meaning the new city (Nekrasova 2000: 229-232).

Many researchers have studied Bukharan history from the 15<sup>th</sup>17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Currently, a great number of scholarly books and article are available, both written and oral sources, along with results from architectural and archaeological research. Now, another monograph has been added to this bibliographical list.<sup>3</sup> This article provides a critical review of the book.

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<sup>1</sup> **Ed. Note:** In a Central Asian context a *shahristan* identifies the administrative center of a city which often would include the ruler's residence and defensive structures, such as a citadel, which in Bukhara is the fortress known as “the Ark.” Archaeologists and historians in Central Asian identify the residential and industrial area of medieval cities surrounding the central section as *rabads*.

<sup>2</sup> The ark and shahristan can still be perfectly identified.

<sup>3</sup> Abbasova-Yusupova, M. A. (2022). *The Bukharan School of Ar-*

In the “Introduction” (pp. 7-11), M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova lists the scholars involved in architectural study in Bukhara during the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The author list includes works covering the described period, yet fails to include Musa Saidzhanov (*Saidzhanov* 2005), Vera Andreevna Levina (*Levina* 1953: 161-169), Mithat Sagretdinovich Bulatov (*Bulatov* 1978), Nikolai Mikhailovich Bachinsky and others. The last special work by Konstantin Stepanovich Kryukov was published not in 1965, but much later (*Kryukov* 1995). Unfortunately, the last major work by Lia Yulievna Mankovskaya (*Mankovskaya* 2014) is not mentioned either.

The new monograph by M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova consists of five chapters, each of which deserve special comment.<sup>4</sup> Chapter one “The Development of Architecture in Bukhara: Chronology” (pp. 1370), opens with the section *Historical Background and the Topography of the City*.

**P. 13.** In a brief historical reference, the author lists Bukhara’s main periods, yet skips the Khulaguid-Chagataid era. During the times of relative prosperity between 1238 and 1273, the khanqah of the *Kubraviya tariqa* functioned in the city; and the large madrassas, *Masudiya* and *Haniya*, were built. There is data that that up to a thousand students studied in each of these institutions (*Petrushevsky* 1949: 14, 116).

**P. 14.** According to research data obtained in recent decades, the dynasty that followed the Sheibanids should be called the Tukai-Timurids, or As-tarkhanids, but not the Janids. (*Alekseev* 2006: 86-87).

**P. 15.** Abd al-Latif (1420-1450 CE) was the son of Ulugbek Muhammad Taragai, grandson of Timur. The Sheibanid Abdullah Khan’s son, Abd al-Mumin Khan, was killed in 1598 six months after his father’s death. His involvement in the death of Abdullah Khan has not been definitively proven. In addition to the buildings on Registan Square and on the territory of the Ark in Bukhara, The Astrakhanid Subkhan-Kuli Khan (1680-1702 CE) rebuilt three *dahmas* and repaired the remaining *dahmas* in the khan’s necropolis of Baha ad-din Naqshband (*Nekrasova* 2018: 256-261).<sup>5</sup>

**P. 16.** The construction of Bukhara during differ-

ent periods require comment. According to textual sources, the walls of the rabad (outer city = *hisar-i birun*) were erected in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The replacement of either the gates or the walls was an exceptionally expensive and labor-intensive undertaking. It should be remembered that Bukhara and its surroundings are located on a flat plain, in a swampy area (the slope towards the Zeravshan River is less than 0.05 cm) with a high water table. Most construction materials were imported, including stone (limestone, marble, and later, pebbles for paving streets), clay, wood, and drinking water came via the Shahrud canal flowing from the Zaravshan.<sup>6</sup> It was impossible to frequently relocate the walls and gates around the city. One can only talk about the expansion or stagnation of residential development within the outer fortified walls of Bukhara.

It is not entirely clear why during the Samanid dynasty, when Bukhara was the capital of a huge state, the author states that the city “grows in all directions except the north.” But the first externally fortified walls around the city appeared in the mid 9<sup>th</sup> century. Samanid Bukhara was huge in size. Consider these facts: In the northern section, a significant part of the wall was discovered and studied, which survived thanks to the first *namazgah* built by Kutaiba b. Muslim and the necropolis with the *hazira* of Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhari (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 59-60, 474-477, Fig. 24-27).

V. A. Shishkin’s suggestion about the inner rabad wall and its location in the city was unfounded because the wall ran along the inner contour of cemeteries that were supposedly located outside the city gates. Thus, the area of Bukhara under the Samanids did not exceed 300 hectares (*Shishkin* 1936: 11). This hypothesis was supported by academia, but was refuted after architectural and archaeological studies at the city’s necropolises by researchers from the Uzbek Research Project Institute for Restoration (UzNIPIR).

Under the Karakhanids, urban life was far from cloudless, as Bukhara lost its metropolitan status, and urban development contracted from the outskirts to the center. Necropolises appeared on its periphery, where the first burials were arranged in abandoned structures starting from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (*Nekrasova* 2008: 38-53).

**P. 17.** Information on the walls and gates of Bukhara can be found in numerous written sources. But the Juybara area (former Naukanda) was incorporated into the city in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which was confirmed by architectural and archaeological research. In the

*chitecture in the 15th 17th Centuries (Distinctive features and path of developments)*. Samarkand: IICAS Publ. 360 p.

<sup>4</sup> **Ed. note:** In the text of the article, the reviewer spells Islamic terms, proper names, and local toponyms in the traditional manner typical of Russian-language academic literature, which in some cases differs from those used in the monograph by M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova.

<sup>5</sup> Most of the information about the activities of the rulers of Bukhara on the necropolis of Baha ad-Din has not been published. **Ed. note:** A *dahmas* is a large grave construction, like a mausoleum.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Samarkand and Tashkent: these cities are in the foothills providing excellent water quality, various building materials, etc. which has always been a significant advantage over the topography of Bukhara.

late 16<sup>th</sup> century, a fragment of the Juybari sheikhs' possessions was attached to the southwestern part of the outer city and surrounded by a fortress wall. The old-timers of Bukhara still call this "appendix" Kunji-kala.

**P. 18.** Abbasova-Yusupova refers to Baba-yi Paraduz (a tailor whose full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Isqaf, d. 303 AH/915 16 CE) as dating to the 14<sup>th</sup>-century mausoleums (*Gafurova* 1992: 68). Restored in the late 1970s, the mausoleum is located on the remains of a demolished ancient cemetery. The original building or its remnants are located at a great depth corresponding to the 10th century level. The British explorer from India, Mir Izzet Ullah, who visited the mazar in 1813, saw "... a flat stone slab over which there was no building" (*Sokolov* 1957: 200, 216, note 46). The existing mausoleum was erected on the site of the previous one, probably in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was in ruins by the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Chashma Ayyub mausoleum was completely rebuilt in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (excluding its western part), and the remains of the floor from the previous building (probably a hazira, erected during the reign of the Karakhanid Arslan Khan) were recorded at a depth of 2 m from the existing building's floor (*Nekrasova* 2019: 48).<sup>7</sup>

**P. 19.** The Sheibanid, Abdullaziz Khan moved Bukhara's northern wall to the south by 500 m, most likely because the territory left outside the city was a vast swampy plain unsuitable for either construction or agriculture.<sup>8</sup> This situation persisted until the 1920s (*Aini* 1960: 329, etc.), when the staff of the Tropical Medicine Institute drained it.<sup>9</sup> The reeds that grew there in abundance were widely used by artisans, this was true particularly in northern part of the city (*hisar-i nau*) which contained small marshes densely covered with reeds. Each marsh was owned by someone who sold reeds to mat makers, builders, etc. As a result of the wall's relocation, the Bukhara's oldest necropolis, Hazrati Imam, was left outside the city.

Information about the outer city wall's length in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries is given in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by military engineer I.T. Poslavsky ("...a 12-kilometer wall, with 16 rounded half-towers and 12 pairs of towers flanking the fortress gates"). However, the last thorough repair of the city's outer walls and gates was undertaken by Mangyt dynasty founder, Muhammad

Rahim-biy, in 1166 HA/1752 1753 CE.

**P. 20.** Attribution of the photo on this page is incorrect as it reads: "The city wall near the Tir-Garon gate, 16<sup>th</sup> century." Tir-Garon is actually one of the trade domes, yet the book contains a photo of the city wall from outside the city near the Talipach gate.

Water from the Shahrud canal was distributed throughout the city not through a system of canals as this method of water delivery was rare by the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The *khauzes* (pools) were interconnected by a complex system of underground brick vaulted galleries (*tazar*) running from khauz to khauz (*Isaev* 1956: 3–14; *Nekrasova* 2015: 370–371, Fig.7).

Further, Abbasova-Yusupova writes: "Since ancient times, the city featured two main streets, which intersected perpendicularly in the center of the shahrستان." Archaeological research established that the southern segment of the north-south street in the shahrستان was developed after the Mongol invasion, while prior to that the site was occupied by urban buildings (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 460–461, Fig.12). The east-west street in the eastern part of the crossroads (*chaharsu*) was not highlighted by any architectural structure but passed further to the south. Further changes in the shahrستان's center occurred under the Timurids and Astarkhanids. This is clearly visible on the city's 1985 topographic plan. The street between the facades of the Ulugbek madrassa and the later erected Abdulaziz Khan madrassa, as well as the facades proper, is oriented not strictly east-to-west, but is turned somewhat to the south, that is, directed to the facade of the Kalan mosque and, presumably, to the small square in front of it. After the construction of the Mir-i Arab madrassa, the old crossroads was moved to the north, and later Chaharsuk-i Darun (then Tak-i Zargaran) was erected over it, while the Mir-i Arab madrassa encloses the southern part of Chaharsuk. The street's western part appeared during construction of the Arslan Khan mosque or Kalan. Until that time, there was a compact residential quarter at the site (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 459–460, fig. 13).<sup>10</sup>

**P. 21.** The photo by Sergei Shimansky (not Shimanskaya, as indicated in the caption) shows the Shaikh Jalal gate. The caption reads "the main longitudinal highway running almost parallel to the Shahrud canal and passing from the Talipach Gate in the west to the Mazar Gate in the east crossed the

<sup>7</sup> In my study of Chashma Ayyub in Bukhara, I restrained from specifying the type of building, but I am still inclined towards a hazira, erected in the 12th century, and not a mausoleum.

<sup>8</sup> The distance from the oldest outer wall of the city to the 16th-century wall was calculated according to the city's topographic plan in 1985.

<sup>9</sup> In 1924, the Uzbekistan Institute of Tropical Medicine (Tropin) was opened in Bukhara. It was headed by the famous parasitologist, L. M. Isaev.

<sup>10</sup> A water conduit that ran along the street leading from the former gate of Hazrat Imam, past the Ark, through the territory of the former Shahrستان to Tak-i Telpak Furushan was dug during the excavation that lasted from September 1990 to April 1991. Observations and studies along the conduit route (clearing, probe pits, recordation) were carried out by archaeologists from UzNIPPIR (E.G. Nekrasova, S.V. Inyutin, D.B. Chunikhin). A portion of these studies was included in one of this reviewer's works.

entire city.” However, Shahrud entered the city from the east and left it in the west. The longitudinal main street referred to by the author never was such. The canal proper was quite winding in some parts of the city (it was straightened in 1920-1924 and during restoration work in the 1970s). The streets along it were very narrow in some areas. In addition, “forbidden strips” were arranged on both sides of Shahrud, where no structures were allowed. The arguments about the main meridian street of the city are still insufficiently reasoned here.

**P. 22.** The plans of the Karakul and Talipach gates (which are not annotated) are incorrect and photos of all the city gates could be given here, but none of these buildings can be dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The gates were more prone to deformation and destruction than the walls, as they were actively used on a daily basis (not including including military operations).

**P. 23.** The author makes note concerning the Bukharan khauzes, which became the source of guinea worms causing dracunculiasis. In this regard, some clarifications are needed. The fight against guinea worm was actively conducted in Bukhara beginning from 1925; by 1932, it was eliminated (*Isaev* 1956: 3-14). The khauzes were gradually withdrawn from practical use. In those years, the plan was to fill the khauzes with soil up to more than half their depth and then to use them as playgrounds. In 1929, the construction of an iron grid water tower was completed in the city according to a project by the outstanding engineer and scientist V. G. Shukhov. The circular city water supply network was made in such a way that all drained khauzes were provided with water intake booths (*Pozharishchevsky* 1931: 35-36).<sup>11</sup>

**Pp. 24, 46.** Concerning Magak-i Attari, above the pre-Islamic temple are remains of a mosque that burned down, according to Narshahi, in a conflagration that destroyed part in Bukhara in 937 CE. Burnt ceiling beams, fragments of walls, and supports made of mud brick – an intermediate building – were found above its floor. The *ganch* carving most likely belonged to the 12<sup>th</sup>-century mosque. In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, from the surface level corresponding to that period, a new eastern entrance was added to the mosque and decorated with a monumental portal. The old foundations and walls of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century mosque have remained to this day, and the mosque area has not expanded. The changes affected only the upper walls and ceilings in Magak-i Attari (*Nekrasova*

2018a: 238-242). The minaret (Kalan) was completed in 1129 (*Rempel* 1961: 159), the Kalan *juma* (Friday) Mosque retained the dimensions of the Karakhanid-era Arslan Khan mosque.

**P. 25.** The Haji Ahrar bath was located south of the Mir-i Arab madrassa; the structure was successively called Hammam-i Tah-i Minar (Bath at the minaret) and Hammam-i Kazi Kalan (Bath of the Supreme Judge). Its lobby, covered with a dome, is preserved (later it became part of the Amir Madrassa). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the house of Muhammad Rahim-biy, founder of the Mangyt dynasty (1713-1758), was built on the site of the bathhouse; later, in 1333 AH /1914-15 CE, the site was occupied by the Amir or Amir Alim Khan madrassa (ruler of Bukhara, 1910-1920). To the north stood the Kalin-i Ali caravanserai (a carpet caravanserai owned by the last Emir of Bukhara, Alim Khan) (*Mirza Sami* 1962). In 2017, this reviewer studied the bathhouse sewage system along a 20 m distance.

The Ulugbek Madrassa was completed in 1417, not in 1419.

The court historian Hafiz-i Tanysh made mention of the Shiebanid-era, Abdallah Khan bath (*Hafiz-i Tanysh* 1983: 259). Wall fragments, closely adjacent to the southern facade of the madrassa, are visible in photographs from the 1930s and 40s.

The second section of the first chapter is entitled *The Architecture of Bukhara in the Temurid Period* (pp. 26-36). It is important to note the following observations:

**Pp. 26-27.** Building materials used in mass residential construction in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are referred by Abbasova-Yusupova as belonging to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, there were no loess deposits (specifically light yellow-colored sedimentary rock) in Bukhara or the neighboring regions. Pakhsa – rammed earth – is recorded only in the ancient walls of the Bukharan Ark. Basements, the first floors of residential buildings, and stables were built from fired brick. Residential buildings were made using two-row frames. Reeds (Tajik *kamiy*) played an important role in residential architecture and Bukharans’ everyday life. Thick reed layers were laid into the bases of walls, preventing entry of saline groundwater. The flat roofs of buildings were covered with reeds before they were smeared with clay. The masters wove mats and kitchen utensils from reeds, which can still be seen in many Bukharan houses even today.

**P. 29.** Rectangular panels on the mihrab wall of the Bukharan Namazgah mosque are composed not of polychrome majolica decor, but of carved glazed high-relief terracotta. It is unlikely that this décor was made on the instructions of Amir Timur. This ruler renovated the building in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and, according to an author from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, “at

<sup>11</sup> This information can be found in a report for the city’s first redevelopment project, which, fortunately, was never implemented. A copy of D. Pozharishchevsky’s manuscript, which is in my personal archive, belonged to Vasily Shishkin, who headed Bukhkomstaris in the 1930s. I thank the daughter of Vasily Shishkin, Galina Vasilyevna Shishkina, for this generous gift.

present, the *maksura* of Emir Timur's building [has not been preserved] in it" (*Gafurova* 1992a: 69-70).<sup>12</sup>

The Sayf al-din Baharzi khanqah-mausoleum, according to Abbasova-Yusupova, "began to be referenced by" the early 15<sup>th</sup> century; nevertheless, this was convincingly proven during architectural and archaeological research by N. B. Nemtseva (*Nemtseva* 2003: 213).

The famous theologian and scholar, Haja Muhammad Parsa (Haja Shams ad-din b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari, d. 822 AH/1419 CE) an ideologue of the Naqshbandiya tariqa while not the head of the Bukharan Sufis, but the second caliph (deputy) of Baha ad-din Naqshband.<sup>13</sup> His khanqah (rebuilt according to the original plan) has survived to the present and adjoins the western wall of the madrassa, mosque, and library. The monumental western part contains a courtyard, which included the abovementioned library and mosque as well as a mausoleum, all of which were demolished in the 1920s30s. The current site with their ruins is occupied by residential buildings.<sup>14</sup> The small semi-underground brick room (considered the *mazar* of Haja Parsa) was constructed after the demolition of the ensemble's structures; two tombstones from the cemetery located behind the western wall of the ensemble were moved to this room (*Muminov, Nekrasova, Ziyodov* 2009: 17-41; *Nekrasova* 2018b: 77-78).

**Pp. 30, 88.** The so-called library of Haja Muhammad Parsa on Ku-yi Dehkan Street (guzar Mullah Pairavi) was discovered by the reviewer in 2005, and later academically published (*Nekrasova* 2012: 220-221). This site was probably the library of Muhammad Parsa's ancestor – the famous intellectual and bibliophile Hafiz al-din al-Kabir al-Bukhari (d. 1291 or 1294 CE). Indirect confirmation is due to al-Bukhari's mazar (tomb) located nearby. The bathhouse of Haja Parsa was located not in the Murgkush quarter, but in the Hullabafan quarter.

**P. 33.** The Diggaran mosque in the village of Hazara dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century based upon the latest archaeological research (*Mirzaakhmedov, Abdullaev, Gritsina* 2009: 148-161).

**P. 34.** The Chinggisid, Buyan-Kuli Khan (killed in 760 AH/1358 59 CE), whose mausoleum is located in Fathabad, was not just a Mongol khan who converted to Islam, but a dervish from the Kubraviya tariqa and most likely a patron for the construction of his mausoleum (*Basharin, Nekrasova* 2018: 383-385). However, the mausoleum was constructed in the Chagatai, not the Timurid, period.

**P. 35.** A small mausoleum was built over the actual burial site of the Sufi Turk-i Jandi (Ahmad b. Fazl Abu Nasr al-Jandi, d. early 11<sup>th</sup> century); subsequently a two-chambered mausoleum and other structures were erected over it. (*Nekrasova* 2008: 38-53). In a private conversation, the historian Dr. Bakhtiyar Babajanov did not confirm the existence of a waqf document concerning the Turk-i Jandi mausoleum reconstruction in 1542 by the Sheibanid Khan Abdulaziz.

The mausoleum of Abdurakhman-vali, located near the city of Karakul, is very original in its plan. The building consists of two rooms, a *ziyaratkhana* (abulation room) and a *gurkhana* (burial chamber), covered with three domes. The gurkhana consists of one room stretching along the transverse axis. The two equally sized small square spaces are covered with small domes, with an arch between them (*Nekrasova* 2006: 96, 201).

**P. 36.** The madrassa of Maulan Muhammad Miskin is named after the donor of the construction – the tariqa Naqshbandiya Sufi Muhammad Qazi (Muhammad bin Burhan ad-din al-Miskin as-Samarqandi, ca. 1451-1516 CE). As the caliph of the Naqshband Shaikh Haja Ahrar. Muhammad Miskin served as the supreme judge of Bukhara, *kazikalan*, under the Sheibanid, Mahmud Sultan (1500-1504 CE) (*Babajanov* 2006: 292-293). According to various sources, the madrassa construction was completed between 1516 and 1520. This partially collapsed building can be seen in rare photographs by L. I. Rempel taken between 1939-1940, while the Muhammad Miskin madrassa plan was included in the 1924 general plan of the bazaar street in the shahristan (*Nekrasova* 1999b).<sup>15</sup>

The third section of the first chapter is titled *The Architecture of the Sheibanid Period* (pp. 36-59). This section also requires several comments:

**Pp. 39-41.** The Gaziyan Sufi Center as recorded on the Parfenov-Fenin plan, consisted of a khanqahmosque (16<sup>th</sup> century), a khauz and the Gaziyan-i Kalan (Big Gaziyan) madrassa (early 16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>12</sup> The author of Kitab-i Mullah-zade, Ahmad ibn Mahmud, nicknamed Muin al-fuqara (Benefactor of the Poor), a student of Haja Muhammad Parsa (d. 822 AH/1419 CE), wrote this book after the death of the teacher. The maksura of Amir Timur was probably demolished during the reconstruction of the namazgah in the 16th century. **Ed. note:** A *maksura* was a portal or entryway to a chamber in Central Asian architecture.

<sup>13</sup> *Tariqa* (Arabic for road or way). Quite often in western and Russian-language literature on Sufism, "order" or "brotherhood" are used rather than this term.

<sup>14</sup> Here, the term "khanqah" encompasses an ensemble of buildings, including, in addition to the khanqah mosque, a madrassa and a necropolis behind the western facade of the madrassa.

<sup>15</sup> The plan of the bazaar street in the shahristan was recorded by an expedition led by architect Moses Ginzburg in 1924. It was provided with labels designating the building names in Arabic script. The plan is used in many research papers. Он был снабжен экспликацией названий зданий арабским шрифтом. План использован во многих научных работах.



**Fig. 1. Lowering daytime surface level under Tak-i Sarrafan in 1975. The entrance to the Mullah Arizi mosque or Sarrafan can be seen in the center of the background**

To the north of the latter was the Gaziyan-i Hurd (Small Gaziyan) madrassa (probably 16<sup>th</sup> century), the brick constructed Mullah Muhammad Sharif Sangin madrassa (1730-1733 CE), and the half-timber constructed Mullah Muhammad Sharif Chubin madrassa (late 18<sup>th</sup> century). The buildings of the Sufi center are listed in the same order as a monograph by O. A. Sukhareva. However, a 903 AH /149798 CE *waqfnameh* mentions the quarter, and not the Gaziyan madrassa (Sukhareva 1976: 94-96, note 94). In the Juybari sheikhs bills of sale, the Gaziyan mosque street appears in three documents from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century (Ivanov 1954: 141-144, 147-148). Following L. A. Rempel, Abbasova-Yusupova wrongly identified the Gaziyan khanqah mosque as the small Gaziyan madrassa (Rempel 1981: 141). However, this is the khanqah mosque and it was measured in 1924 by the same team of architects headed by M. Ya. Ginzburg.

**Pp. 43, 138.** Many Bukharans remember the colossal restoration work carried out in Bukhara in the second half of the 1970s and 1980s on the city's south-

ern bazaars (east of the Tak-i Telpak Furushan, near Magak-i Attari and Lab-i Khauz). At that time, it was decided to lower the streets to the 16th century level, along with simultaneously studying the architectural and archaeological features of the buildings.<sup>16</sup> The plan of the Sarrafan ensemble in Abbasova-Yusupova's monograph is borrowed from an article about this particular structure (Filimonov, Nekrasova 1998: 97, fig. 2), but their authorship is not credited in the caption (fig. 1). The Sarrafan architectural ensemble (Chaharsuk, Mullah Arizi mosque, Mira Yari bath, Shahrud bridge) was built in two stages. A mosaic inscription was cleared above the entrance to the mosque. The first date provides information about the mosque's construction on behalf of the Sheibanid khan, Ubaydallah in 921 AH/1515-16 CE, the second refers to the completion date of the entire ensemble with the participation of Ubaydallah Khan and his Emir Yari b. Jan Wafa-biya, and later the younger

<sup>16</sup> The results of the work are partially published.

brother of Emir Yari – Dust Muhammad-biya and son of Emir Jan Wafa-biya in 945 AH/153839 CE. The first two figures were known even earlier as participants in the campaigns of Sheibani Khan.

**P. 44.** The central hall of the khanqah at Baha ad-din was encircled all along the perimeter by two-story *hujras* (guestrooms) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This was partly confirmed by archaeological excavations of the necropolis buildings (Nekrasova 2018b: 80-83). M. Abbasova-Yusupova does not specify in her book the location of the khanqah's main facade.

**P. 47.** Hammami Kuhak (Bath [on] the Hill) and the Hafiz-i Taftan Mosque were located to the north in the immediate vicinity of Chahar-suka Darun (Tak-i Zargaran). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Mirza Rahmatullah caravanserai or Sabzi-sarai (a sarai where vegetables were sold) was built over the bath-house ruins. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Hafiz-i Taftan mosque, as well as the entire quarter, were renamed Kaltakiyan.

**P. 49.** The buildings in the center of the Karhane (Workshop) were completed in 977 AH/156970 CE and still stood in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The construction costs were donated by Haja Sa'd Juibari and supervised by Mawlana Abd al-Wahid. On the north side of the khauz was the mazar of the famous mystic Haja Yusuf al-Hamadani (1048-1140 CE).<sup>17</sup> Probably, his hovel was located at that site several centuries ago, where the murids of Hamadani studied; among them, the future founders of the famous tariqas Khwajagan and Yasaviya – Abd al-Khaliq Gidduvani and Ahmad Yasavi. The mazar attributed to Yusuf al-Hamadani, gave his name to this city quarter's center – the old Sufis were called “masters.”

As established by architectural and archaeological research and with the help of additional information from translated epigraphic and written sources, the main architectural ensemble of the Chor-Bakr necropolis was constructed and then reconstructed for 80 years (Nekrasova 2016: 853-876).

**P. 51.** The inscription on the main facade of the Faizabad khanqah mosque was read by V. A. Shishkin almost 100 years ago which recounts the building construction as completed in 1007 AH/159899 CE, the patron was a dignitary of Sheibanid Abdullah Khan – Dust Divanbegi, and not Sufi Shah-i Ahsi (Shishkin 1936: 67).

**Pp. 54-55.** The mosque, completed in 994 AH/15851586 CE, is not called Dust Chirog Okosi, but Dust-chuhra-agasi – a court title (chief of court pages), responsible for enforcing morals and supervising grooms (Semenov 1954: 48). Additionally, a khauz never existed near the Dust-chuhra-agasi

mosque, rather, the nearest reservoir was located next to the Haja Zain ad-din khanqah mosque. Abbasova-Yusupova refers to information from O. A. Sukhareva, but the latter discusses Mir Dostum, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century khauz in the Mir Dostum-biy quarter and the Lyab-i khauz-i Mir Dostum khanqah at the Hiyabana turn near the Madari Khan and Abdullah Khan kosht madrassas.

**P. 58.** The Kuluta caravanserai, or Kalta-sarai, was built not in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The waqf-name was compiled in 1262 AH/184546 CE on behalf of a certain Muhammad Sharif b. Muzaffar in honor of the Khalifa Khudaidad khanqah.<sup>18</sup> The caravanserai's eastern facade adjoins the Tak-i Telpak Furushan and gallery was erected, together with the middle part of the caravanserai, over the filled-in moat around the Hisar and Kadim (shahristan). According to an earlier waqf from Rajab 1212 AH/1797 CE, before the caravanerai construction, several domestic cells, or guestrooms, were owned by Muhammad Sharif whose proceeds were also spent on maintaining the Khalifa of Khudaidad khanqah (Turaev 2001: 85-95).

**P. 59.** The Qasr-i Arifan mosque at the grave of Baha al-din Naqshband's mother was most likely built in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Evidence for this includes a) the foundations of the mosque,<sup>19</sup> and b) the mosque's western facade with the mihrab “turned,” having its back to the mazar of the venerable lady, whereas the mihrab of the memorial mosque should have been located opposite the sacred place.

The last section of the first chapter is called *The Architecture of the Astarkhanid Period* (p. 59-70). It also requires significant amendments:

**P. 62.** A contemporary to Nadir Divan-begi notes that, in addition to the mosque, the ruler erected a khauz and a ribat, (i.e. a caravanserai) (Norik 2011: 315, link 2). Indeed, a utility courtyard adjoined the eastern facade of the Nadir Divan-begi madrassa until the 1930s; however, this was typical for every building of this type. A narrow corridor led from the madrassa courtyard to the facade. But there was no mosque and *darskhana*<sup>20</sup> in the building. Nevertheless, the waqf-nameh was made by the construction patron specifically for the madrassa.<sup>21</sup>

**Pp. 64-65.** The Juma (Friday) Mosque on the Registan Payanda-biy atalik 1023-1027 AH/1614-1617 CE was construction under the patronage of

<sup>18</sup> Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Collection I 323, op. 1, doc. No. 266, 267, 267/1.

<sup>19</sup> The foundations of the Qasr-i Arifan mosque were examined by S. Inyutin.

<sup>20</sup> An *darskhana* (Persian) is an auditorium at a madresse.

<sup>21</sup> Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Collection I 323, op. 1, doc. No. 115/1 of 1052/1642 43.

<sup>17</sup> The Haja Yusuf al-Hamadani mazar has been preserved to the present.



Payand-biy atalik, b. Kasim-biy Turkman, who was one of the emirs during the reign of the Astarkhanid Imam-Kuli Khan (1611-1642 CE). The mosque interior along the eastern facade contained the hujras for the Atalik madrassa, with a minaret towering at the building's northwest corner. It is not surprising that the mosque was covered with a cultural layer by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, because it was located on a busy bazaar square. This building was demolished in 1929. The mosque floorplan was recorded by the M. Ya. Ginzburg expedition in 1924.

**Pp. 66, 97-98.** There could not be a *sardoba* reservoir in the courtyard of the Daru ash-shifa (House of Healing) madrassa, because similar structures in Bukhara were situated over natural springs (i.e. sardobas in the Khalifa Khudaiddad ensemble, the Ishan-i Imla necropolis, and the Bukharan Jewish cemetery). A significant cultural layer lies under this small madrassa, which could only be fed by groundwater; the latter sardoba in Bukhara was quite corrosive, with a high salt content.

**P. 66.** Shodim-biy (16<sup>th</sup> century?) was a mausoleum erected on a high platform; it had a crypt under its floor. Sometime later, a madrassa was erected between it and the Bala-khauz mosque, which inherited the name of the mausoleum.

**P. 67.** Kurinish Khane was the hall for coronations and receptions and erected on behalf of Astarkhanid Subkhan-Kuli Khan (1680-1702 CE) (*Sayyid Muhammad Nasir* 2009: 91).

**P. 69.** The Azizan khanqah mosque, or Hazrat and Azizan Baba-Haja khanqah, has been preserved as a reconstruction to the present day.

The Mavlono (Maulana) Sharif Sufi Ensemble (tariqat Yasaviya = Jahriya) was founded on the highest point in the southeastern quarter of Hisar-i Kadim (shahristan). The remains underneath the structure of this legendary bath mentioned by Olga Sukhareva, were not recorded by archaeologists. This legend probably refers to the bathhouse of Haja Ahrar, which in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century was located nearby and preceded the construction of the Abdulaziz Khan madrassa.

Maulana Sharif built a khanqah with a dome; later, a mosque was attached to it, and the courtyard was surrounded by hujras. After the founder of the architectural ensemble died, the khanqah was converted into a mausoleum (*Nekrasova* 2018d: 245-248).

**P. 70.** A moat was present between the gates of the shahristan Dar-i Akhanin with a swing bridge and Chaharsuk-i Ahanin (later Tak-i Telpak Furushan). The gate was a small, rectangular building according to its floorplan, containing a central hall with small, narrow rooms for guards. On the shahristan side, it had a low portal. A monumental portal, flanked on the both sides by towers, faced the hisar-i nau (for-

mer rabad).<sup>22</sup> Dar-i Ahanin and Chaharsuk-i Ahanin, which were reconstructed by V. M. Filimonov (*Nekrasova* 1999b) (fig. 2).

As for the second chapter, "The Typology of Civil Structures" (pp. 71-140), potential readers should keep in mind that although the author paid sufficient attention to residential architecture, the households of Bukharan Jews (pp. 77-79) require a comment. Whenever this reviewer is told about the Bukharan Jewish Diaspora in the city since ancient times, this raises the question: "Could you please show me the area where they settled?". As is known, Bukhara had three mahallas (neighborhoods) of Jews. The earliest mythical mention of the city's Bukharan Jews is found in a work by Z. Amitin-Shapiro written in the 1620s. It refers to the construction of the Nadir Divan-begi Khauz in the Lab-i Khauz ensemble. Across the road to the south of this khauz is the Old Mahalla of Bukharan Jews. Bukharan Jewish houses that have survived the present were built in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. They consisted of one courtyard and were actual miniature fortress houses. The first storey built from fired brick for utility purposes could be accessed from the street. Storage rooms were arranged around the perimeter walls. The ceiling was supported by columns. The second half-timber storey was residential and could only be accessed via a wooden staircase through a rectangular hatch in the first floor's flat ceiling. Currently, many houses in the Old Mahalla have been converted into private hotels. The first storeys are covered almost by half their height on the outside by a cultural layer and are now often used as basements. Abbasova-Yusupova does not mention houses in the other two mahallas.

**P. 88.** Concerning the Hjah Parsa libraries, see the comment on p. 30.

**P. 92.** Maktab (schools). The *maktab* that still exists at the Chor-Bakr necropolis was erected no earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Pp. 92-94.** The maktab, Abbasova-Yusupova dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is presented neither on Parfenov-Fenin's plan (1910-11), nor is it mentioned in the description of city's quarters by O.A. Sukhareva (Sesu quarter).

**Pp. 95, 96, 98.** Hospitals. See the comments on the Daru ash-shifa madrassa mentioned above pertaining to p. 66.

**P. 99.** The author mentions "A section of such a covered 16<sup>th</sup>-century street..." which connects Tak-i Telpak Furushan and the old city (shahristan, Hisar-i

<sup>22</sup> This information was obtained through architectural and archaeological studies of Tak-i Telpak Furushan headed by the restoration project developer, Vladimir Mikhailovich Filimonov (1924 1998), and by architectural archaeologists from UzNIPR, E. Nekrasova, S. Inyutin and D. Chunikhin in 1991 1992.



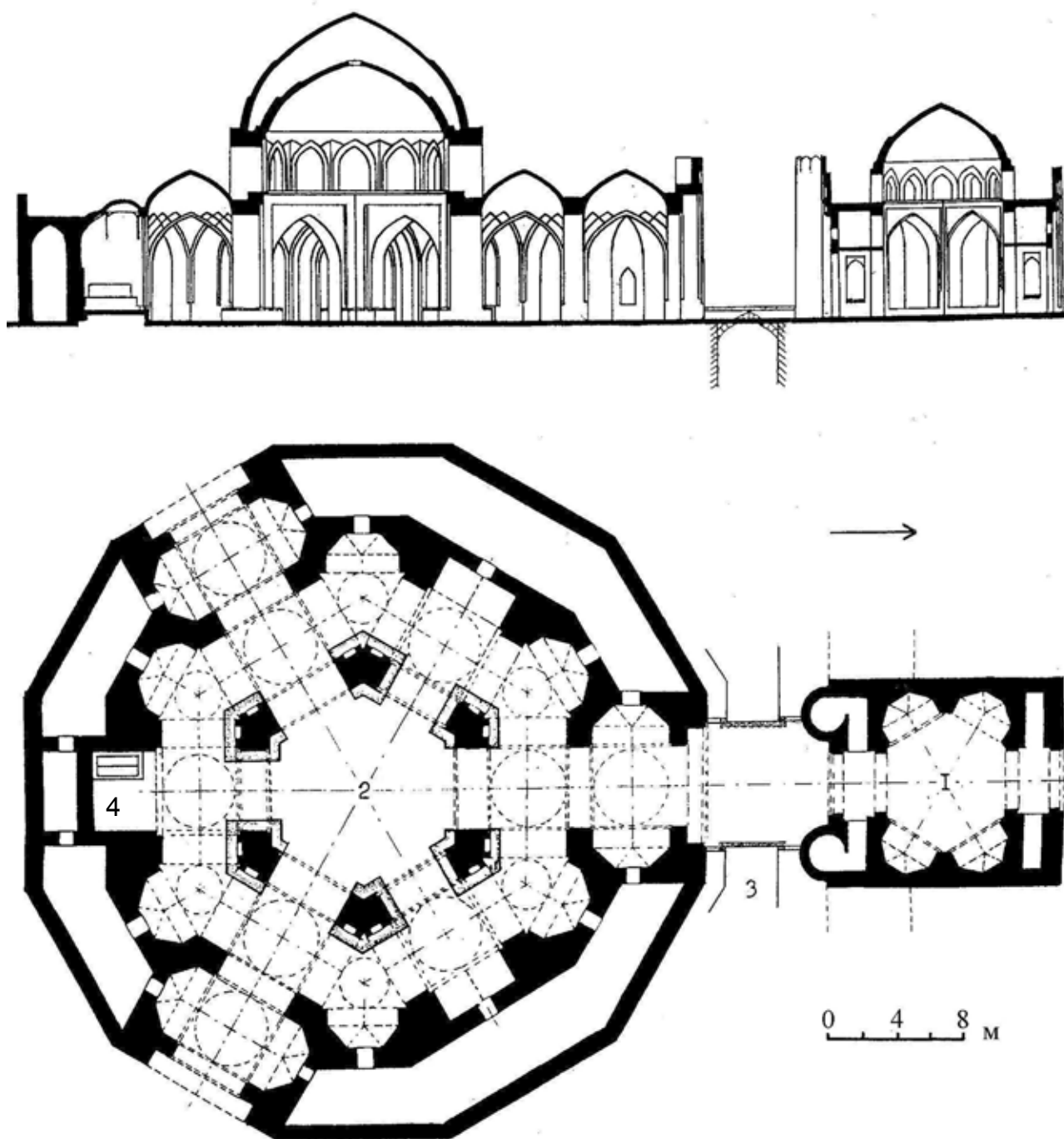


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the ensemble from the early 16th century was made by the architect Dr. V. M. Filimonov based upon architectural and archaeological research:

1. Dar-i Ahanin, 2. Chaharsuk-i Ahanin, 3. moat (handag), 4. mazar

kadim) and was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See the comment concerning p.58.

**Pp. 101, 103.** Chaharsuk-i Ahanin (Tak-i Telpak Furushan) (15<sup>th</sup> century) is the most complex building of all the trade structures that have survived to the present. Its ancient section is a hexagon, probably erected in the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. It was constructed partially on the ancient cemetery. Turquoise, white, and blue

glazed tiles from these burial structures were rather chaotically introduced into the brickwork during the hexagon's construction. The reconstruction of Tak-i Telpak Furushan, the Magak-i Attari mosque and the construction of the Sarrafan ensemble were undertaken in the early 16<sup>th</sup> cent. during the reign of Sheibanid Abdallaziz Khan. Along the outer perimeter, Tak-i Telpak continued to be renovated until the 19<sup>th</sup>

cent. (see the commentary for p. 70).

**P. 104.** Tak-i Sarrafan (see the commentary for p. 43).

**P. 105.** Tak-i Zargaran = Chaharsuk-i Darun was erected in an ensemble with the Chorsu mosque (Zargaran).

A written source describes the construction of a *tim*<sup>23</sup> with six gates (*darvaza*) for cloth merchants (*komashfurushan*) by order of the Sheibanid Abdullah Khan in Bukhara in 985 AH /1577-78 CE (*Juraeva* 1990: 88). The document's description corresponds to the existing building. This peer-reviewed monograph shows the *tim*'s old plan prior to restoration with the profile (collapsed) corners. Archaeological research revealed the foundations of portal pylons in the eastern entrance of the *tim*. On the roof, a collection of wonderful décor was discovered in the filling of axillary arches, mainly that of carved glazed terracotta. One of the two madrassas presumably built in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century was located there. The first was Mas'udiya (erected on behalf of the Mongolain great khan by the civil ruler of Bukhara, Mu'ud b. Mahmud al-Harazmi and *mutavalli* and *mudarris* – Sayf al-din al-Baharzi) or the second, Haniya (erected from contributions by the khan's wife, the Kerait Christian Sorghaghtani-biki – mother of the Mongolian khans Mönke, Hulagu, and Kublai) (*Nekrasova* 2018: 106).

**Pp. 109, 110.** According to the information from waqf certificates and bills of sale, 20 caravanserais built in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries have been identified on the territory of Bukhara so far. None survived to the present day.

**Pp. 111–112.** Sardoba (see comments for pp. 66, 97–98). Additional information: According to a waqf nameh, the sardoba of Khalifa Hudaidad was erected during the reign of the Ashtarkhanid Baki Muhammad Bahadur Khan (1603/1605 CE) (*Turaev* 2001: 85–95).

**Pp. 133–139.** The author states that "... baths were multi-domed sunken structures [...], a protected storeroom was a half-timbered building ...". The extant bathhouses in Bukhara (16<sup>th</sup> century: Mira Yari = Sarrafan-i Hafiz-i Haji = Misgaran; late 17<sup>th</sup>–early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries – Kunjak) were not sunken structures. Over time, these buildings were covered on the outside by a cultural layer, so their monumental vestibules (i.e. the Sarrafan bathhouse has an octagon repeating the plan of Chaharsuk), covered with domes which were either demolished or collapsed, and half-timber rooms were constructed above them. That is why the washing section of these bathhouses was accessed via a down staircase. Page 138 of the monograph shows a section of the Sarrafan bathhouse with underground

heat-conduits, but this is not an interpretive reconstruction. The cross-section was made based upon textual source measurements after architectural and archaeological studies of the bathhouse and the clearing of the heat-conduits (archaeologist E. Nekrasova, architect I. Glaznova). Thus, it provides a plan for the bathhouse made by technician V. Ivanov in the 1930s. Abbasova-Yusupova made reference to this document, citing this reviewer's article (*Filimonov, Nekrasova* 1998: 117), but the article has no such plan.

Chapter three "The Typology of Religious Buildings" (pp. 141–198) requires the following additions and remarks:

**P. 141.** The Arab governor of Khorasan, Kutai-ba b. Muslim al-Bahili (ruled 704–715 CE), in 94 AH/713 CE, built the first cathedral mosque in the city's fortress on the site of a pagan temple (*buthana*). In the north section of Registan Square, he founded the first holiday mosque, or *namazgah*, surrounded by a wall with the Ma'bid gate (Arabic meaning *worship*). And the question pertaining to other types of mosques and the time of their appearance in Bukhara and the oasis (quarterly, memorial, in caravanserais, and madrassas) has not been fully determined. Brief information about mosques of the Arab tribes has been preserved. A Christian church in the south-western part of the shahristan was converted into a "Khanzalite mosque" (banu Khanzala, later probably al-Sham meaning "Syrian"). In the same area is the "mosque of the Sa'dites" (banu Sa'd) and in the north-western section is the "mosque of the Quraysh" (banu Quraysh) while in the shahristan's northeastern section was the "Hamdanite mosque" (banu Hamdam). The fire temple outside the shahristan in the Mah Bazaar was converted into a mosque (now Magak-i Attari) (*Nekrasova* 2018: 102–103 and thereafter).

**P. 144.** Haja Zain ad-din is a khanqah mosque containing a luxurious hall with a two-sided *iwān*, mazar, maktab and several hujras for pilgrims combined into one space.<sup>24</sup>

**P. 147.** The Lyab-i Khauz-i Mir-Dostum mosque was not two-storied, but was erected on a high *sufa* podium.<sup>25</sup> This was a common construction technique for mosques in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Pp. 148–149.** At the approximate center of the Kalan minaret's body is a dilapidated Kufic inscription that encircles it. There was not enough space in the

<sup>23</sup> **Ed. note:** An *tim* (Persian) is vaulted-dome covered market, passage.

<sup>24</sup> **Ed. note:** An *iwān* (Persian) is an architectural term denoting a rectangular hall or space usually surrounded by three walls. It often marks an entrance to a monumental building in the Central Asian or Persian context.

<sup>25</sup> **Ed. note:** A *sufa* is an architectural term common in Central Asian contexts that identifies a raised ledge of varying widths that ran around the outer part of a room, often found in houses, that served as ledges for seating or as counter space. In this context, the *sufa* was utilized to raise the level of a foundation.



**Fig. 3. Kalan minaret. Ceramic tiles inserted above very end of the inscription with date.**  
(Photo by E. G. Nekrasova)

same tier to complete the inscription commemorating the beginning date of the building's construction, and its fragment (fig. 3) was placed by the masters in the next higher tier (*Babajanov et al. 2016: 179-181*). However, previously it was mistakenly translated as "Bako's work" (*Zahidov 1965: 45-47*). Unfortunately, Abbasova-Yusupova repeated this mistake.

**P. 150.** The Haja Kalan juma mosque in the Gaukushan ensemble was a rather original building. During the construction of that quarter's mosque, the hall of the Hayy ("Everlasting," one of the 99 names of Allah) was "built" into its northeastern part of the iwan (*Nekrasova 2018e: 132-134*).

Buildings erected in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and demolished in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century were undeservedly forgotten. One is the original, completely covered Shaikh-shan (Famous Sheikh) juma mosque (demolished in the early 1960s), erected by Kulbaba Kukeltash's father, Amir Yar-Muhammad atka who was the mentor of Abdullah Khan. It was located next to the western facade of the Kulbaba Kukeltash madrassa. The list of mosques not mentioned in the monograph could be continued. Among them, for example, is the Madar-i khan lab-i rud (jami) erected in the 1530s; the Mir Tahur-divan, erected in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centu-

ries on behalf of the family ancestor of hereditary senior government officials to the Bukharan Khanate. Badi-diwan, a descendant of Mir Tahur, mentions it (*Mirza Badi-diwan 1981: 10, 29-30*).

**P. 158.** On the upper belt of the Kalan minaret, next to the completion date of 524 AH /1129 CE, is a historical low-relief inscription providing the tower's completion date, not "inclusions" of carved glazed terracotta. There are three belts with inscriptions on the minaret trunk in Vabkent. The one in the lower belt names the patron for the construction – Sadr Burhan-ad-din Abd al-'Aziz II and the initial year of construction, 593 AH/119697 CE carved from unglazed terracotta. The upper belt contains a Quranic text in carved glazed terracotta with a highlighted date giving the construction's completion, 595 AH/1198- 99 CE. (*Nilsen 1956: 93-97*). Inscriptions on the Kalan and Vabkent minarets are 70 years apart. However, during this period, the technique of making carved glazed terracotta changed.

**Pp. 159, 161.** In the autumn of 1953, a probe pit was dug at the foundation of the Kalan minaret by Sergey Nikolaevich Yurenev. He determined that the foundation was rooted more than 11 m deep, its base hidden in groundwater. Wooden reinforcement beams were introduced into the foundation body, which was made of fired bricks alternating with limestone belts on clay mortar (*Yurenev 1953: 2-31*).

**P. 164.** The photo caption on this page reads "Kalan Minaret, 1127. After bombardment by artillery shells in 1920. Photos taken in the 1920s." Specification is needed here as this photograph was taken in 1923 during the restoration of the minaret.

Unfortunately, Abbasova-Yusupova missed important facts about the décor of the Kalan minaret. In the gallery, an authentic ceiling fragment was preserved from the flat ceiling of its lantern, and on its trunk, above the inscription (replaced in 1923 by a belt of polychrome geometric mosaic) were fragments of ganch carving.

**P. 168.** In the Haja Parsa khanqah, the cemetery was located behind the monumental western facade. On page 187, the caption under the photo reads: "Khoja Porso khanqah mosque, 15<sup>th</sup> century. General view. Photo taken in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century." In fact, this is a memorial mosque at the Haja Parsa cemetery (half-timbered, with a double-sided iwan supported by wooden columns on the eastern and northern sides), with a darvaza-khana covered with a dome as an entrance to the burial chamber, with a small minaret next to it. It was demolished by 1949 and the photo was taken in 1939-40, probably by Lazar Rempel. Currently, private residential buildings are situated above the cemetery.

**P. 169.** The Chashma Ayyub monumental portal was erected during construction of the mausole-

um, completed in 785 AH /138384 CE. During the 16<sup>th</sup>-century renovation, the portal was not restored.

**P. 178.** The interpretation of the courtyard layout in the Kukeltash madrassa, the largest in Bukhara, is incorrect. Abbasova-Yusupova states that "... in order to save money and space, [the madrassa] was built with two iwans ...." One of the richest and most influential dignitaries of the country, Kulbaba Kukeltash, had no need to save money. To support this madrassa, he established the richest *waqf* (endowment) which included a tim, *kappan*, numerous *dukans* (shops) in the Sarraf-khana (House of Money Changers) quarter "inside the old hisar," in the Hazrat Amir-i Arab bazaar, near Chaharsuk-i Ahanin and the Magak (Attari) mosque, Safid furushan (Sale of white cloth) tim, two caravanserais and many *dukans* in different parts of the city (Juraeva 1997: 113-114).

It is a pity that Abbasova-Yusupova does not analyze in detail any of the types of architectural structures. For example, the Bukharan madrassas are complex not only architecturally, but also in terms of engineering. Sufa platforms, some quite large, were arranged in front of their main facades; functionally, they were the outer yards (*sahna-yi birun*) of buildings. These sufas were used by students, who gathered there to study their lessons; as well as nobles, scholars and *ulems* who assembled there to argue "about the incorruptibility of the spiritual substance of man, reborn to life," discussing the question "of being in the realm of metaphysics" etc. Unfortunately, today, the sufas at the portals of many madrassas are almost completely removed or shortened, contrary to their buildings' historical appearance; nor are they shown in the plans of this book. The details of the layout of the cells and the life of the madrassa, building materials and so on will not be discussed here. In addition, the book does not mention either the *taharat-khana* (rooms for five ablutions), or the utility courtyards at the madrassa.

**Pp. 180-181.** Gaziyan Sufi Center. The Mullah Muhammad Sharif madrassa is "identified" as the Big Goziyon (Gaziyan-i Kalan), and the *khanqah* (with a courtyard, maktab and halls for prayers and dervish rituals) as the Small Goziyon (Gaziyan-i Hurd).

**Pp. 186-198.** In the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, monumental *khanqahs* inside and outside Bukhara were built on strong platforms, the previously mentioned sufas, which are not reflected in any of the illustrations or in the monograph's text.

**P. 189.** The caption under the lower illustration reads: "Mavlon Sharif *khanqah*, 17<sup>th</sup> century. Plan." However, this is not a *khanqah*, but a mosque with two iwans on the northern and southern sides, closely attached to an earlier *khanqah* building, which eventually was transformed into a mausoleum. But for the entire architectural ensemble, of course, the term

*khanqah* is quite acceptable.

**P. 190.** The caption under the upper illustration reads: "Dehkon-bobo *khanqah*, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Plan." The dating of the monument is disputed, since it is not mentioned in written sources and has no inscriptions on it; nor has any architectural or archaeological study been conducted.

**P. 192.** For my comments regarding Haja Parsa see comments for pp. 30, 88 and 168.

**P. 193.** Sufi Dehkan lived in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (*Mir Muhammad Amin-i Bukhari* 1957: 299-300). There are two known *waqf*-namehs for a *khanqah* of this type: The first was compiled in 1115 AH /170304 CE on behalf of Hafiz-i Ali Sufi Dihqan, while the second document that had been renewed was dated 1308 AH/189192 CE and written on behalf of Hafiz-and Sufi Dihqan.

The fourth chapter "Architectural Ensembles, Memorial and Cultic Complexes" is the shortest yet contain several errors.

**Pp. 201, 211.** The attempted reconstruction illustration captioned "Goziyon Ensemble, 16<sup>th</sup>-late 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Plan of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century" is incorrect. In the ensemble center is a *khauz*, to the south of that, across the street was (and is) the Mullah Muhammad Sharif madrassa (1143-1146 AH/173031-173334 CE). To the west of the house lies the Gaziyan *khanqah* mosque, to the north is the former site of the Gaziyan-i Kalan madrassa (a city bathhouse was built on its site in the 1920s-30s). The Qazi al-kuzzat (Chief Court) Mazar was located near the east side of the *khauz* of Haja Muhammad Zahid al-Bukhari dating to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (*Muhammad Nasriddin* 2003: 30).

**P. 212.** The caption under the picture on this page reads: "Registan Ensemble. Buildings adjacent to the Ark from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Photos taken in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century." But in fact, this is a well-known photograph by a mysterious person nicknamed F. OrdeN, who entitled it "Sheep Bazaar at Registan Square in front of the Citadel of the Emir of Bukhara." It was taken in 1885-1887, and there is not a single building in the photograph that dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**P. 215.** The caption under this photo reads: "Abdulkhalik Gijduvani Complex. General view. Photo made in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century." This is not a mistake, but it would be more correct to write: "Sufi ensemble of Abd al-Khaliq Gijduvani. Southeast view. Photo by E. N. Yuditsky, 1950." The absence of clear references and citing of source illustrations in a number of captions is a common problem throughout the book.

**Pp. 222, 223-224.** Hazrat Imam is the oldest Muslim necropolis in Bukhara, which is still operating today. It was founded shortly after the conquest of the city by the Arabs at the northern edge of the





**Fig. 4. Hazrat-i Imam necropolis, view from the south. (Photo by D. I. Ermakov, 1890).  
In the background, Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhar hazirai, marked with three tugs**

first namazgah of Bukhara.<sup>26</sup> Named Hazrat Imam or Haja Baror (Haja, meaning to bring success or luck) after Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhari, which was the nickname for a popular Hanafi sheikh, great theologian, and *faqih* (jurist), buried there (150-217 AH /767-832 CE). In the mid or, more likely, the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the cemetery and namazgah were surrounded by a city wall and thus included in the territory of Bukhara's outer city (rabad). For centuries, the main place of pilgrimage was a hazira with the graves of Abu Hafs Kabir, his son Abu Hafs Saghir and other persons marked with ceramic grave markers. On the instructions of the Karakanid ruler, Arslan Khan Muhammad b. Sulaiman (1102-1130 CE), the hazira was reconstructed. Its portal is decorated with a monumental Kufic inscription made of carved ganch; a memorial mosque decorated with both polished and glazed turquoise bricks (fig. 4) is arranged beside it.

**P. 223.** The diagram captioned "Hazrati Imam

Complex in Bukhara. The 1990s master plan with main buildings constructed between the 16<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, before the reconstruction of the complex" has on it the necropolis buildings. Building No. 2 referred to as a "mausoleum", was, in fact, since about the 16<sup>th</sup> century the female Bibi Zudmurad shrine (*Nekrasova* 2018j: 89-90). Archaeological research established that two mosques were located successively under its floor. The lower one was a memorial mosque with a wall containing a mihrab and made of polished bricks with turquoise-glazed tile inserts. Opposite it was presumably, the hazira of Abu Hafs Kabir.<sup>27</sup> Building No. 1, is captioned "Hazira with the burial of Hazrati Imam in sagana". Until recently, the Abu Hafs hazira was located on the crest of the old, fortified wall, where it was "lifted" during the

<sup>26</sup> It was founded in the early 8th century by the Arab commander Kutaiba b. Muslim.

<sup>27</sup> Archaeological research titled "Research Work on the Compilation of Historical-Architectural and Historical-Urban Reference Plans for the Historical Section of Bukhara" was conducted with short interruptions from September 1987 to June 1989 by archaeologists from UzNIPIR. The project author was V. M. Filimonov

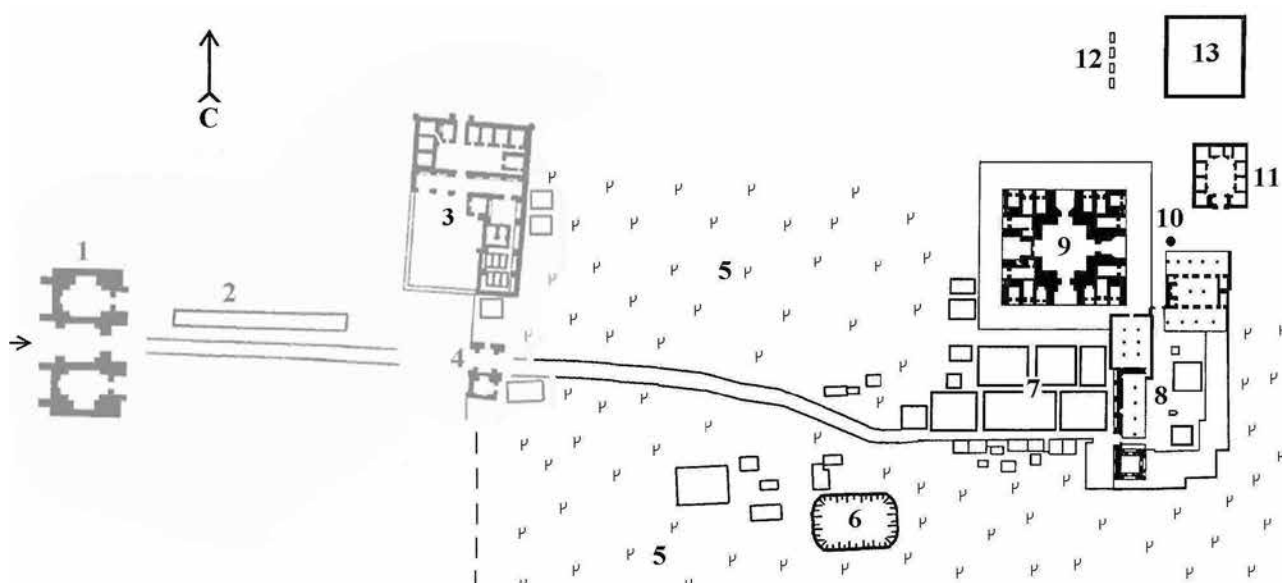


Fig. 5. Baha al-Din Naqshband complex. 1. First courtyard in the 1940-50s was moved beyond the territory of the ensemble, the entrance complex was demolished, and a secondary school and stadium were built in its place.<sup>1</sup> Main entrance to the mazar of Baha' ad-din-Tak-i Miyan, "the middle arch" between the two Ipak Ayyim mosques. 16th century. 2. Dwellings begger families (not extant). 3. The family mausoleum and madrassa of Daniyal-biy Atalik from the Mangyt dynasty. 4. Haja Dilawar darvaza-khana (plan for the 1990s architectural and archaeological studies; re-erected in the first decade of the 21st century). 5. Second courtyard. By the 1980s, the necropolis in many parts was covered with soil. 6. Remains of khauzes in the garden that once existed on the site. 7. Dakhma-yi Shahan (Shah's (Khan's) dakhmas) 16th-early 18th centuries. Third courtyard. 8. Hazira of Baha' ad-din Naqshband. 8a. Bab-i Salam, Greeting Gate, the main gate of the shrine. 9. Khanqah of Sheibanid 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan. 10. Minaret, 1302 AH/1884-5 CE. 11. Amir Muzaffar madrassa, late 18th century (now it houses a museum). 12. Bazar (not extant); 13. 16th-century khauz. 14. Trunk of the sacred mulberry tree, which until the 1930s was located at the eastern edge of the khauz. 15. Entrance to the mazar was built in the early 1970s and had the form of a small brick darvaza-khana; the road through the necropolis was made before the visit of a sheikh from Saudi Arabia. In the first decade of the 21st century, an imposing entrance complex was built there, which now is the main entrance to the ensemble called Bab-i Islam (calligrapher H. Salih). 16. Red Rose Garden, behind it is an architectural ensemble (mosque, minaret, khauz) with the mazar of Baha'ad-din Naqshband Bibi 'Arifa's mother. See: Nekrasova 2018c

relocation of the wall 500 m to the south. A *dakhma* was arranged in the center. It contained artifacts from the destroyed Abu Hafs hazira.

A short distance from the mazar of Abu Hafs Kabir, was a khanqah established by Amir Timur Kuragan.<sup>28</sup> In 2009-2011, Abu Hafs Kabir's mazar underwent a radical reconstruction. A small mausoleum (a replica of the mausoleum of the Samanids) was erected on the site of the hazira; it was surrounded on three sides by iwans on slender columns. Ancient decoration techniques are used in the building design and it was covered with a small dome. The inscriptions are

made of polished terracotta and carved ganch. In the mausoleum interior are four grey marble tombstones, covered with exquisite ornaments and inscriptions (Babajanov et al. 2016: 73-133).

**Pp. 224-225.** The illustration captioned "Baha ad-Din Naqshband Complex, 15<sup>th</sup>- early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Plan" is careless and not well done. In fact, this world renowned Sufi shrine is three times larger in area than depicted (fig. 5).

The last, fifth chapter, "The Features of the Bukharan School of Architecture" will be left without comments, although many questions arise when one reads it thoughtfully.

One of the significant shortcomings of M. Abbasova-Yusupova's monograph is that she ignores the

with archaeologists E. Nekrasova (head of architectural and archaeological research), S. Inyutin, A. Voskovsky, S. Nizinkovsky, D. Chunikhin, V. Shindin. The work results are partially published.

<sup>28</sup> A 1518 copy of the document has been preserved. See the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Ўзбекистон Республикаси марказий давлат архиви). Collection I - 323. Op. 1. Book 2. D. 1096.

<sup>29</sup> Necropolis and Sufi center of Baha' ad-din Naqshband. Reconstruction of the general plan in the early 20th century. Made up by E. Nekrasova based on written sources and the materials of architectural and archaeological research (1990 1991, 1996 1998, 2001 2005).

results of architectural and archaeological research in Bukhara conducted for many years by researchers from the Bukharan team at the Institute of Archaeology under the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR and architectural archaeologists from UzNIPIR despite beginning her professional career in this latter institution.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, the Central Asian School of Restoration founder, Boris Nikolaevich Zasyppkin (*Zasyppkin* 1928: 3-7),<sup>31</sup> Nina Borisovna Nemtseva (*Nemtseva* 1981: 79-87), and Galina Anatolyevna Pugachenkova (*Pugachenkova* 1982: 24-30) wrote about the importance of architectural and archaeological study of these monuments before restoration. If Abbasova-Yusupova had looked through the results of this research, she would have understood the reasons for the collapse of the eastern wall of the Abdulaziz Khan madrassa. This building is now in an acute state of disrepair with its foundations pierced by vertical cracks which are especially numerous in the western wall interior's foundation, which places this wonderful summer mosque on the verge of collapse.

The section *Residential Architecture* (pp. 71-77) is based exclusively on other people's materials, so where is the work of the researcher herself!? This also applies to other monuments in Bukhara. In several cases, she dates Tak-i Zargaran (Chaharsuk-i Darun) to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, without bothering to consider the architectural and topographical situation. Examples include the area of the Mir-i Arab madrassa and Tak-i Zargaran with a mosque and bazaars behind the eastern facade of the Mir-and Arab madrassa and bazaars to the north of Tak-i Zargaran. The minimal use of information from plenteous number of written sources is also depressing. Unfortunately, M. Abbasova-Yusupova left aside numerous city plans of Bukhara, especially the Parfenov-Fenin plan with a list of 547 city buildings (*Nekrasova* 2015: 368-370; *Nekrasova* 2006a: 252-274).<sup>32</sup> The absence of numerals under the illustrations presents certain difficulties in reading and analyzing the monograph. The quality of the illustrative material deserves special discussion.

In his preface, the research editor of the book, Academician Edward Rtveladze, notes that the book under review is the final version of a doctoral thesis successfully defended by the author in 2000 at the Moscow Architectural Institute, yet "revised and supplemented taking into account the repeated field expeditions undertaken by M. Abbasova-Yusupova." It is a pity that the outstanding archaeologist Edward Vasilyevich Rtveladze, noting the merits of this monograph, did not delve into its obvious shortcomings, which this article has sought to accomplish, and which could have been avoided.

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<sup>30</sup> Architectural archaeologists from UzNIPIR have identified and studied many large architectural ensembles, necropolises, mausoleums and haziras, as well as trade structures, gates, bridges, caravanserais and so on, in Bukhara and the region. The results of these studies in the form of reports and albums of illustrations are freely available in the archive of the Main Research and Production Department for the Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage Objects (GlavNPU), Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

<sup>31</sup> The archive of the GlavNPU under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan has the manuscript in storage: B. N. Zasyppkin. *Methods of Studying, Recordation, and Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Uzbekistan*. Tashkent, 1945, No. 0/1855 Z. 36, 17 pages.

<sup>32</sup> This article presents the Parfenov-Fenin plan with a list of buildings in Bukhara.



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