



Article

The Tourism Potential of Historic Mosques of Bukhara a Balancing Act of Preservation, Accessibility and Religious Significance

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Abstract: This article delves into the intricate relationship between cultural heritage preservation and sustainable tourism development by examining the potential of Bukhara's historic mosques as tourist destinations. Drawing on data from the Bukhara Region Cultural Heritage Department, extensive field research, and archival maps, including the detailed "Parfenov-Fenin map" (1911-1912), the study provides a nuanced analysis of 15 mosques within Bukhara's UNESCO-designated Historic Center.

The research meticulously assesses the mosques' historical context, architectural significance, current state of preservation, and accessibility. Employing a "Tourism Aptitude of the Resource" (TAR) assessment framework, complemented by a SWOT analysis, the study identifies both promising opportunities and critical challenges. Findings reveal that while several mosques enjoy robust religious use, community support, and legal protection, others face limitations due to underutilization, accessibility barriers, and the risk of restoration practices.

The article emphasizes the need for a balanced approach to tourism development that respects the mosques' sacred nature while promoting their cultural value. It highlights the importance of authentic restoration, improved accessibility for all visitors, comprehensive information dissemination, and collaborative tourism management strategies that engage religious authorities, local communities, and tourism stakeholders. By embracing these recommendations, Bukhara can leverage the global appeal of its Silk Road heritage to create a thriving and sustainable tourism industry while ensuring the preservation of these architectural marvels for future generations.

Keywords: Historic centre of Bukhara, tourism potential, preservation, Silk Road, cultural heritage

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1. Introduction

Cultural heritage encompasses tangible and intangible assets inherited from past generations, including buildings, artifacts, traditions, and knowledge (Varun Raj et al., 2024; Mk Buckland, 2015). It plays a crucial role in shaping identity, behavior, and social cohesion (Mk Buckland, 2015). Memory institutions, such as libraries and museums, are responsible for preserving and interpreting cultural heritage, which has legal and economic implications (Buckland, 2015). Advanced technologies like 3D recording are increasingly used for documentation and management of cultural heritage (P. Bryan, 2017). The protection of cultural heritage is becoming more critical as it is sometimes exploited for political purposes or destroyed intentionally (Douwe Drijfhout & T. de Boer, 2015). Tourism play a vital role in preserving, promoting, and advancing indigenous cultural heritage (Douwe Drijfhout & T. de Boer, 2015).

Cultural tourism, a significant sector accounting for 39% of international tourist arrivals (Smith, 2022), focuses on cultural attractions as primary travel motivators (Smith, 2005). It encompasses various activities, including local customs, arts, historical heritage, and religious sites (Saputra & Lasahido, 2021). Originally considered a niche market for well-educated, affluent travelers, cultural tourism has evolved into a more mainstream form (Smith, 2022). The concept has received growing attention since the 1980s, with researchers attempting to define it precisely and construct theoretical frameworks (Köhler & Durand, 2008). Cultural tourism is seen as a means for destinations to attract their share of the global tourism market (Köhler & Durand, 2008). It offers tourists the opportunity to broaden their perspectives through visits to other places and experiences of different cultures (Saputra & Lasahido, 2021).

Nestled in the heart of Central Asia, Uzbekistan holds a permanent place in history as a crossroads of the Silk Road. Its landscape is dotted with architectural marvels and ancient fortresses, many recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites. These sites, including the "Ichan Kala" in Khiva (UNESCO, 1990), the Historic Centers of Bukhara (UNESCO, 1993) and Shakhrisabz (UNESCO, 2001), "Samarkand - Crossroads of Cultures" (UNESCO, 2001), and the "Ugam-Chatkal National Park" (UNESCO, 2016), showcase Uzbekistan's rich architectural, historical, and natural heritage. This abundance of cultural treasures positions Uzbekistan as a prime destination for cultural tourism. This particular study focuses on the Silk Road heritage within the Bukhara region, making it the focal point of the field research.

Methodology

With a history spanning over two millennia, Bukhara stands as a remarkably well-preserved example of a medieval Central Asian city. Its urban fabric, largely untouched by time, provides invaluable insights into the past, making it an unparalleled resource for academic study. Data on tangible cultural heritage sites (referred to as "IM" in the source) within Bukhara was gathered from three primary sources:

- Bukhara Region Cultural Heritage Department: This department provided direct access to their records and expertise.
- Bukhara Region Tourism and Cultural Heritage Department: This department offered insights related to tourism aspects of the heritage sites.
- Field Research: On-site visits, roundtable discussions, interviews with local stakeholders, and firsthand observation of the heritage sites provided valuable contextual information.

Currently, four out of the 262 sites are actively used by government entities: three leased to the Bukhara regional hospital and one housing an office of the Bukhara Cultural Heritage Department. Ninety-seven sites are privately owned, making their potential use for tourism reliant on the owner's discretion and thus challenging to evaluate. Two sites are under the stewardship of religious organizations for non-commercial purposes.

The remaining 161 sites fall under the management of the Department of Cultural Heritage. Article 4 of the "On the Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage Objects" law (No. 269-II, August 30, 2001) classifies heritage sites as either of "republic" or "local" significance based on their historical, scientific, architectural, artistic, and cultural value (Lex.uz, 2023d). Bukhara's Historic Center houses 63 sites deemed of "republic significance," with one under private ownership. Information regarding the classification of sites was provided by the Bukhara Cultural Heritage Department, based on Order 404 (June 28, 2019) issued by the Ministry of Culture of Uzbekistan.

Following the study's methodology, 15 mosques out of 62 heritage sites, primarily those classified as having "republic significance" were selected for further assessment and potential enhancement. This selection prioritizes sites with the scale and cultural weight to stand as prominent representations of Bukhara's Silk Road heritage.

Results and discussion

In early 1910, Captain Jijikhia of the Imperial Russian military was dispatched to Bukhara on a clandestine mission to create a comprehensive military and statistical profile of the city. Assisted by military topographers, Captain Jijikhia undertook the task of meticulously mapping Bukhara. This detailed plan, known as the "Parfenov-Fenin map" (Figure 1), was drafted on a large Whatman sheet, meticulously detailing the city's layout with the exception of residential structures. This map, created between 1911 and 1912, provides a valuable snapshot of Bukhara's urban fabric at the turn of the 20th century.

The map identifies 547 distinct non-residential structures, including 219 mosques and khonakohs, 83 hauzes (ponds) and swamps, 199 madrasahs (Islamic schools), 66 caravanserais (roadside inns), 28 cemeteries, 16 hammams (public baths), 15 state-owned buildings and barracks, nine trading domes and tims (covered marketplaces), nine buildings showcasing Russian architectural influence, two synagogues, gardens, and a minaret. This diversity of structures underscores Bukhara's role as a vibrant hub of commerce, culture, and religious diversity during its time on the Silk Road.

Today, the Historic Center of Bukhara is home to 262 preserved cultural heritage structures, a testament to its rich past. The documented sites span a remarkable period from the 9th to the 20th centuries, reflecting the city's evolution under various ruling dynasties, including Khanates and Emirates. This succession of rulers, often amidst periods of conflict, shaped Bukhara's urban development, leaving behind a layered tapestry of architectural styles and cultural influences. A more detailed breakdown of the construction periods associated with Bukhara's heritage sites under different ruling dynasties can be found in Table 2, based on Professor Turayev Halim's "History of Bukhara" (2020).

Figure 1. Map of Parfenov-Fenin (1911-1912)



Source: www.rusrav.uz (2023)

Capital cities have historically served as vibrant centers of culture, art, and economic activity. This holds true for Bukhara, which experienced a flourishing period between the 16th and 18th centuries when it held the status of a capital city. The most significant historic heritage sites studied were constructed during this era, reflecting Bukhara's prominence.

To facilitate a comprehensive analysis, the researched heritage sites are categorized in Table 1 based on their original purpose and function. This grouping provides a framework for assessing the sites and conducting a SWOT analysis that considers their unique characteristics and historical context. By examining these sites through the lens of their intended use, we can gain a deeper understanding of their significance and potential for preservation and tourism development.

Table 1. Grouping of the inventoried objects by construction task (62 objects)

No	Type of the object	Number	Note
1	Mosque	10	a building used for public worship by Muslims
2	Madrasah	17	a Muslim school, college, or university that is often part of a mosque
3	Trading dome	4	a trading dome of goods
4	Caravanserai	2	an inn surrounding a court in eastern countries where caravans rest at night
5	Mausoleum and graves	6	commonly built of stone, these constructions house the tombs of the deceased.
6	Hammams	4	used for washing and bathing with water or steam
7	Complex (ensemble)	4	a group of buildings (mosque, madrasah, minaret, hauz, etc.)
8	Others	15	3 Hauzes, gate, fortress, dungeon, khonakoh, canal, fortified wall, house museum, 2 minarets, 2 passages, chillakhona

Source: Author: formed based on studies

A Closer Look – Analyzing Bukhara's Historic Mosques

Mosques, as centers of religious, social, and educational life in Islamic communities (Oxford Dictionary of Islam, 2003), are deeply woven into the urban fabric of Bukhara. This study focused on fifteen mosques within Bukhara's Historic Center: ten standing as independent structures and five integrated within larger architectural complexes. All fifteen mosques, visually represented in Figure 2, were constructed between the 15th and 18th centuries.

Remarkably, seven of these mosques (Bolo Hauz, Khoja Zayniddin, Baland, Khoja Tabband, Poi-Ostona, and Kalyan) remain active places of worship today, frequented by the local community. While ownership of these mosques falls under the Bukhara Cultural Heritage Department, they are granted to religious authorities

for free use, ensuring their continued religious function. This arrangement, while prioritizing religious practice, does not restrict tourist access. Notably, the mosques' location within Bukhara's Historic Center and their religious significance have attracted voluntary sponsors who contribute to their upkeep. The mosques most frequented by international tourists – Kalyan, Poi-Ostona, Khoja Tabband, and Bolo-Hauz – benefit from their central location within the city's tourist zone (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Inventoried mosque's location in the Historic Centre of Bukhara



Visitors to Bukhara's active mosques are met with clear guidelines and recommendations, prominently displayed through signage (Figure 3). These guidelines emphasize respectful conduct within these sacred spaces. Visitors are advised to refrain from entering the mosque during prayer times and to maintain a respectful volume when speaking. Additionally, restrictions are in place regarding photography and videography within the mosques, underscoring the need to preserve the sanctity of these places of worship.

Figure 3. Bolo Hauz Mosque. Recommendation notices.



Source: Author

While several mosques maintain their original religious function, others have undergone functional transformations. Five mosques – Magoki Attari, Magoki Kurpa, Eshoni Pir, Kokilay Khurd, and the mosque within the Ark fortress – now serve purposes other than worship. For example, the Magoki Kurpa mosque (Figure 4) has been repurposed as a space for selling Bukhara carpets and souvenirs to tourists. This change in use reflects a broader trend of leveraging heritage sites for commercial purposes, often through rental agreements with the Department of Cultural Heritage.

Four other mosques – Mavlonai Sharif, Toki Sarrafon, Toki Zargaron, and Khoja Kalon – remain unused at present. These sites, though not currently active, hold potential for future restoration and integration into heritage tourism initiatives.

Figure 4. Magoki Kurpa mosque. Carpet sales

Source: Author



Each mosque in Bukhara boasts a distinct architectural style and a unique historical narrative, offering a rich tapestry of experiences for religious tourism. The fact that a majority of these mosques continue to serve their intended religious purpose amplifies their cultural and heritage value.

To gauge their suitability for tourism, each mosque underwent a "Tourism Aptitude of the Resource" (TAR) assessment using the methodology outlined by Viñals et al. (2016) and Kilichov (2024). This approach evaluates three core aspects: Current State (CS), Intrinsic Value (IV), and Recreational Value (RV). Table 2 presents a breakdown of each criterion and its corresponding score for all fifteen mosques, providing a nuanced understanding of their individual strengths and potential.

	No	Name of the Heritage	Sta. Conser. (SC)1	Sta. the Sur. Area (SS)2	Deg. Vul. (DV)3	Soc. Scien. Rec. (SSR)4**	Leg. Stat. (LS)5**	Property Regime (PR)6**	Current state (CS). Max point is 5
MOSQUES	1	Baland mosque	4	3	3	3	5	2	4.1
	2	Magoki Attari mosque	4	3	2	5	5	2	3.8
	3	Magoki Kurpa mosque	4	3	2	2	5	2	3.8
	4	Khoja Tabband mosque	4	3	2	3	5	2	3.8
	5	Poi Ostona mosque	4	3	3	2	5	2	4.1
	6	Eshoni Pir mosque	4	3	3	2	5	2	4.1
	7	Sarrafon mosque	4	3	3	4	5	2	4.1
	8	Kokilayi Khurd mosque	4	3	2	2	5	2	3.8
	9	Toki Zargaron mosque	4	3	2	2	5	2	3.8
	10	Kalyan mosque	4	3	2	5	5	2	3.8
	11	*Khoja Kalon mosque	3	2	1	3	5	2	2.6
	12	*Mosque in Bolo Hauz	4	2	3	5	5	2	3.8
	13	*Mosque in Khoja Zayniddin	3	2	3	2	5	2	3.3
	14	*Mosque in Mavlonai Sharif	3	3	3	2	5	2	3.6
	15	*Mosque in Ark fortress	4	3	3	5	5	2	4.1
1 State of Conservation: 1 - Disappeared; 2 - Almost disappeared; 3 - Severely damaged; 4 - Slightly damaged; 5 - No apparent damage. 2 State the Surrounding Area: 1 - Very disturbed; 2 - Altered; 3 - Little altered; 4 - No alteration. 3 Degree of Vulnerability: 1 - Without physical protection; 2 - Access difficult; 3 - With physical protection. 4 Social and scientific recognition: 1 - Unknown; 2 - Known locally; 3 - Known within the region; 4 - Documented; 5 - Studied scientifically and made known publicly. 5 Legal Status: 1 - Uncatalogued (no protection); 2 - Catalogued (minimum legal protection or local protection); 3 - Medium legal protection (regional protection); 4 - High legal protection (national protection); 5 - Maximum legal protection (international protection). 6 Property Regime: 1 - Private; 2 - Public; 3 - Mixed. * Mosques that are part of the complex heritages (ensemble). ** Excludable criterion.									

The mosques of Bukhara, deeply revered by the local community, generally benefit from meticulous upkeep and preservation efforts. However, the Khoja Kalon mosque presents a contrasting situation. Ongoing restoration work, currently at a standstill due to unforeseen circumstances, has rendered this mosque inaccessible to worshippers and visitors. This unfortunate predicament has also impacted neighbouring cultural heritage sites. Excluding the Khoja Kalon

mosque, the remaining mosques received favorable assessments regarding their current state of preservation.

Table 3. Intrinsic Value (IV) variable calculation

	Nº	Name of the Heritage	Integrity (IN).	Authenticity (AU).	Significance (SI).	Representativeness (RE).	Singularity (SIN).	Intrinsic Value (IV).
MOSQUES	1	Baland mosque	4	4	4	3	3	3.8
	2	Magoki Attari mosque	4	4	5	5	5	4.3
	3	Magoki Kurpa mosque	3	2	4	3	3	2.8
	4	Khoja Tabband mosque	4	3	4	3	3	3.5
	5	Poi Ostona mosque	4	3	3	3	3	3.4
	6	Eshoni Pir mosque	3	3	3	3	3	3.0
	7	Sarrafon mosque	3	3	3	3	3	3.0
	8	Kokilayi Khurd mosque	4	4	3	3	3	3.7
	9	Toki Zargaron mosque	4	3	3	3	3	3.4
	10	Kalyan mosque	4	4	5	5	5	4.3
	11	*Khoja Kalon mosque	3	4	3	4	4	3.5
	12	*Mosque in Bolo Hauz	4	4	4	4	4	4.0
	13	*Mosque in Khoja Zayniddin	4	4	3	3	3	3.7
	14	*Mosque in Mavlonai Sharif	4	4	3	3	3	3.7
	15	*Mosque in Ark fortress	4	4	3	3	3	3.7

Rating was given for the element itself (intrinsic scientific value) according to the above criterion by using a rising scale from 1 to 5 in each section.
 * Mosques that are part of the complex heritages (ensemble).

Bukhara's mosques, for the most part, exhibit a commendable degree of authenticity. They have either been carefully preserved in their original form or are undergoing restoration projects that prioritize the reinstatement of their initial architectural integrity. However, the Magoki Kurpa Mosque stands as an exception, receiving a less favorable assessment during the field study. This outcome stems from a recent lease agreement that granted an investor control over the mosque's restoration. Unfortunately, the investor's execution strayed from the approved restoration plan, compromising the mosque's historical authenticity. This situation has drawn criticism from the Cultural Heritage Department, particularly as the mosque is now utilized primarily as a retail space for carpets (Figure 4).

Shifting focus to the tourism potential of these mosques, Table 4 presents an assessment of their recreational value. This evaluation provides insights into their attractiveness and suitability for integration into heritage and tourism initiatives.

Table 4. Recreational value (RV) variable calculation

	Nº	Name of the Heritage	FR	AT	AC	AV	FE	EV	RCC	RV
MOSQUES	1	Baland mosque	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	3.5
	2	Magoki Attari mosque	4	5	3	5	5	5	4	4.3
	3	Magoki Kurpa mosque	4	4	3	4	4	2	4	3.6
	4	Khoja Tabband mosque	4	5	3	3	3	3	4	3.7
	5	Poi Ostona mosque	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	3.3
	6	Eshoni Pir mosque	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2.8
	7	Sarrafon mosque	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2.8
	8	Kokilayi Khurd mosque	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	3.0
	9	Toki Zargaron mosque	4	3	3	4	4	2	4	3.4
	10	Kalyan mosque	4	5	3	5	5	5	4	4.3
	11	*Khoja Kalon mosque	3	4	3	1	2	3	2	2.8
	12	*Mosque in Bolo Hauz	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3.6
	13	*Mosque in Khoja Zayniddin	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3.2

	14	*Mosque in Mavlonai Sharif	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2.6
	15	*Mosque in Ark fortress	3	3	3	5	5	4	4	3.6
Rating was given for the element itself (recreational value, tourism potential) according the above criterion by using a rising scale from 1 to 5 in each section. Fragility (FR); Attractiveness (AT); Accessibility (AC); Availability (AV); Feasibility (FE); Educational Values (EV); Recreational Carrying Capacity (RCC); Recreational value (RV). * Mosques that are part of the complex heritages (ensemble).										

Following the established methodology, heritage sites receiving scores of one or two for "availability" were excluded from the overall TAR calculation. This exclusion was based on two primary factors:

Limited Access due to Commercial Use: Sites currently leased and operating as hotels, restaurants, or other businesses received a score of two. In these instances, visitor access is at the discretion of the tenant, limiting their availability for tourism purposes.

Inaccessible due to Inactivity: Sites currently unused, despite their potential for restoration and integration into tourism activities, were assigned a score of one. Their lack of accessibility resulted in their exclusion from the TAR assessment.

Heritage sites that met the availability criteria were generally rated favorably across other assessment areas.

Importantly, the assessment considered accessibility for all potential visitors, including those with disabilities. However, none of the evaluated sites currently offer independent accessibility for individuals with limited mobility, resulting in a score of 3 across the board for this criterion. This highlights a significant area for improvement in enhancing inclusivity and ensuring access for all.

Table 5. Tourism Aptitude of the Resource (TAR) calculation						
	Nº	Name of the Heritage	CS.	IV.	RV.	TAR. Max point 15
MOSQUES	1	Baland mosque	4.1	3.8	3.5	11.4
	2	Magoki Attari mosque	3.8	4.3	4.3	12.4
	3	Magoki Kurpa mosque	3.8	2.8	3.6	10.2
	4	Khoja Tabband mosque	3.8	3.5	3.7	11.0
	5	Poi Ostona mosque	4.1	3.4	3.3	10.8
	6	Eshoni Pir mosque	4.1	3.0	2.8	9.9
	7	Sarrafon mosque	4.1	3.0	2.8	9.9
	8	Kokilayi Khurd mosque	3.8	3.7	3.0	10.5
	9	Toki Zargaron mosque	3.8	3.4	3.4	10.6
	10	Kalyan mosque	3.8	4.3	4.3	12.4
	11	*Khoja Kalon mosque	2.6	3.5	2.8	8.9
	12	*Mosque in Bolo Hauz	3.8	4.0	3.6	11.4
	13	*Mosque in Khoja Zayniddin	3.3	3.7	3.2	10.2
	14	*Mosque in Mavlonai Sharif	3.6	3.7	2.6	9.9
	15	*Mosque in Ark fortress	4.1	3.7	3.6	11.4
Maximum possible score for the Evaluation of the Tourist Aptitude of the Resource (TAR), adding the three variables of 15 points. CS = Current State; IV = "Intrinsic Value" of Resource; RV = "Recreational Value" of Resource * Mosques that are part of the complex heritages (ensemble).						

The TAR assessment revealed that 60% of the evaluated mosques (9 out of 15) scored below 11 points, indicating moderate tourism aptitude. Four mosques — Mavlonai Sharif, Khoja Kalon, Eshoni Pir, and Sarrafon — faced limitations due to availability constraints, while Magoki Kurpa suffered from a diminished intrinsic value due to compromised authenticity. However, field observations suggest that the remaining mosques hold promising potential for heritage tourism development and enhancement.

The mosques that demonstrated strong tourism aptitude share key characteristics: they remain active places of worship and enjoy strategic locations within Bukhara's bustling historic center. Their proximity to traditional trading posts (bazaars) underscores their historical role as gathering places for merchants, scholars, and travelers traversing the Silk Road.

This research highlights a crucial observation: while most of Bukhara's mosques have successfully preserved their core religious functions, their integration into tourism initiatives requires sensitivity and careful planning. The daily observance of Islamic prayer rituals at specific times presents a potential challenge in designing tourism programs that respect religious practices and garner local community support. However, visitor access outside of prayer times remains unrestricted, offering a window of opportunity for tourism.

To unlock the full tourism potential of these mosques, expanding scientific research on their historical significance within the Silk Road context is crucial. This knowledge, disseminated globally, can enhance their appeal as heritage destinations. Restoring the functionality of currently unused mosques and integrating them into tourism offerings presents another avenue for development. However, it is paramount to prioritize authenticity and enforce stringent restoration

standards, learning from the case of the Magoki Kurpa Mosque, which suffered from insensitive restoration practices.

A SWOT analysis, drawing upon field investigations, interviews, and a review of primary and secondary sources, provides a comprehensive overview of the current state of Bukhara's mosques within the broader context of Silk Road tourism development.

SWOT Analysis: Bukhara's Mosques as Heritage Tourism Destinations

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
Central Location: Integration within the historic center enhances synergy with other heritage sites.	Religious Use Conflicts: Balancing religious practices with tourism activities presents challenges.
Legal Protection: Mosques benefit from strong legal frameworks for preservation.	Underutilization: Limited resources hinder the restoration and activation of unused mosques.
Social Significance: Active religious use highlights their cultural importance and potential tourist appeal.	Residential Encroachment: Nearby residential areas pose challenges related to construction and access.
	Information Gaps: Lack of comprehensive information limits visitor understanding and appreciation.
	Photography Restrictions: Restrictions on photography and videography impact documentation and visitor experiences.
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Silk Road Designation: UNESCO World Heritage Site status enhances global recognition and tourism potential.	Inappropriate Restoration: Investor-driven projects that deviate from approved plans jeopardize authenticity (e.g., Magoki Kurpa Mosque).
Preservation Guarantees: Legal frameworks provide a strong foundation for conservation efforts.	Access Disputes: Disagreements between stakeholders regarding visitor access and schedules can disrupt tourism operations.
Community Engagement: The mosques' religious significance fosters community involvement in their preservation.	Environmental Degradation: Salinity, groundwater issues, and inadequate sewage systems pose risks to structural integrity.
Tourism Development: Underutilized mosques offer significant potential for integration into tourism initiatives.	

Conclusion

This exploration of Bukhara's historic mosques reveals a dynamic interplay between preservation, religious significance, and tourism potential. While many mosques thrive as active places of worship and benefit from legal protection and community support, challenges remain in integrating them into sustainable tourism initiatives. Balancing respect for religious practices with visitor access, ensuring accessibility for all, and mitigating the risks of insensitive restoration and commercialization are paramount. Leveraging the global recognition of UNESCO World Heritage Site designation, fostering community partnerships, and implementing comprehensive tourism strategies that prioritize authenticity and inclusivity are crucial. By addressing these challenges and harnessing existing opportunities, Bukhara's mosques can become even more vibrant cultural assets, attracting visitors while preserving their spiritual and architectural legacy for generations to come.

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