

BUILDING OF A “NEW” ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION IN KYRGYZSTAN: THE CASE STUDY OF THE OPEN AIR PARK MANAS AYILI

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By

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We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

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M.S. in Architecture

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Kyrgyzstan experienced very critical moment during a transition from the Soviet Union state into new independent republic. Despite being rooted in the rich history of great civilizations and cultural traditions, there was an urge for the new national identity, which would unify people. In this context, new national elites promoted a mythical figure of the noble Kyrgyz hero - Manas, to portray the primordial origins of Kyrgyz culture and a tradition centred on him. It turned his image into a powerful tool to forge a new Kyrgyz identity in a nation building process. The same year, a governmental committee announced a design competition for a realization of an open-air ethno-cultural park - “Manas Ayili”. The winner of the competition, a Kyrgyz architect Dyushen Omuraliev supervised both design and construction processes in the project. The aim of this thesis is to study the discourse of Omuraliev, and in particular to focus on his attempt on transfer of ethnic, cultural and mythical symbols into an architectural language. A “new” national architectural language expected to embody values and ideals of the brand new Kyrgyz nation, and at the same time to herald the construction of the strong tradition to support the new national identity. The thesis attempts to analyze and discuss the case study of Manas Ayili and an approach of the architect in order to point out the number of significant connections with the architectural theories. In particular, the thesis will be evaluated through the four key criteria: *locus*, *metaphor*, *type* and *diagram*, which would allow to relocate the discussion to an international level. Eventually, the thesis attempts to derive the process of “*construction*” or “*invention*” tradition by the architect, on the background of the complex political and social changes.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, national identity, nation building, Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan, national architecture, form finding, design process, Dyushen Omuraliev.

ÖZET

KIRGIZİSTAN’DA “YENİ” BİR MİMARİ GELENEK İNŞA ETMEK: “MANAS AYILI” ÖRNEĞİ

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Kırgızistan, antik medeniyetler, derin kökler ve kültürel geleneklerle dolu zengin bir geçmişe sahip olmasına rağmen, bağımsız bir cumhuriyet olmasının başlarında ulusal bir kimlik kriziyle karşı karşıya kaldı. Bu olayların temelinde, ülkenin liderlerinin “Manas” destanında geçen soylu Kırgız kahraman Manas imgesini ve Kırgız kültürünün ilkel kökenini referans alarak 1995 yılını Kırgız antikitesinin bir kutlaması olarak duyurmaları yatmaktadır. Bu sebeple, Manas imgesi “yeni” bir ulusal Kırgız kimliği oluşturmada *ulus inşası* için bir araç olarak kullanıldı. Devlet tarafından bir açık hava etnokültürel park olacak olan “Manas Ayili”nin tasarlanması için bir yarışma açıldı. Yarışmayı Dyushen Omuraliev kazanarak parkın tasarım ve inşaa süreçlerinde baştan sona bulundu. Bu tezin amacı, yeni bir mimari gelenek ve ulusal kimlik oluşturmada Omuraliev’in söylemlerindeki etnik, kültürel ve mitik sembollerin mimari dile aktarımını incelemektir. Yeni bir gelenek inşa etme süreci, yeni bir mimari gelenek “icat etme” sürecine paralellik gösterebilir. Bazı tanınmış akademisyenlerin politik, sosyolojik ve mimari teorilerinin kaynak taraması üzerinden Omuraliev’in tasarım sürecinin “Manas Ayili” örnek çalışması açısından analizi sunulacaktır. Örnek çalışma mimari teorisyenlerden elde edilen dört konsept üzerinden analiz edilecektir: *locus*, *tip*, *metafor* ve *diyagram*. Tezde, Dyushen Omuraliev’in teorisindeki mimari geleneği “icat etme” ya da “inşaa etme” sürecini çıkarsamak amaçtır. Bu çıkarım, Kırgızistan’daki mimari söylemlere katkı sağlayarak söylemleri uluslararası bir seviyeye getirmeyi sağlayacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Etnik kimlik, ulusal kimlik, ulus inşası, Orta Asya, Kırgızistan, ulusal mimarlık, form bulma, tasarım süreci, Dyushen Omuraliev.

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE HISTORICAL REVIVALISM DURING NATION BUILDING PROCESS IN KYRGYZSTAN.....	11
2.1 POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF POST-SOVIET TRANSITION INTO MODERN STATE IN CENTRAL ASIA AND KYRGYZSTAN.	11
2.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY CRISIS AND NATION BUILDING IN CENTRAL ASIA	13
2.3 NATION BUILDING PROJECT IN KYRGYZSTAN	15
2.4 ETHNO-SYMBOLISM AND AN INVENTION OF TRADITION	18
2.4.1 ELEMENTS OF FORMALIZATION OF INVENTED TRADITION	23
2.5 REGIONAL AND ETHNIC-VALUES IN ARCHITECTURE	28
2.5.1 NOTIONS ON TRANSFERING OF REGIONAL CHARACTER INTO ARCHITECTURE	34
2.6 TABLES	37
3 ARCHITECTURAL HISTORICAL LEGACY OF KYRGYZSTAN AND REDISCOVERY OF ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLIC.....	42
3.1 ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT TIMES	42
3.2 18-19 TH CENTURIES KOKAND KHANATE AND RUSSIAN EMPIRE	49
3.3 SOVIET UNION.....	51
3.3.1 CULTURAL PARK LEGACY	52
3.4 19 th ESTABLISHMENT OF KYRGYZ REPUBLIC AND TENDENCIES AND TRENDS IN ARCHITECTURE	54

3.7	TABLES.....	58
4	THE GENEALOGY OF ETHNIC FORMS IN THE DISCOURSE OF DYUSHEN OMURALIEV	73
4.1	THE DISCOURSE OF DYUSHEN OMURALIEV	73
4.2	ETHNO-ARCHITECTURE	75
4.3	GENEALOGY OF FORMS.....	81
4.3.1	INTERPRETATION OF THE WORLD IN KYRGYZ NOMAD CULTURE	83
4.4	DISCUSSION	89
4.5	TABLES	91
5	CASE STUDY “MANAS AYILI”	101
5.1	THE PROJECT INTRODUCTION.....	101
5.2	SYMBOLISM AND METHODOLOGY OF INTERPRETATION BY AN ARCHITECT	104
5.3	LOCUS	106
5.4	METAPHORS	110
5.5	TYPE AND FORM FINDING	114
5.6	DIAGRAMS	118
5.7	TABLES.....	122
6	CONCLUSION.....	136
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	139
	APENDIX	144
	Appendix A: Interview	144

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 *Formalization of Tradition*

Table 2 *Symbolic and Metaphoric resources*

Table 3 *Formalization of Tradition in Kyrgyzstan*

Table 4 *Literal symbols*

Table 5 *Literal symbols*

Table 6 *Metaphoric symbols*

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 *Casa dei Credescenzi*

Figure 2 *Le Palais des colonies de Francais,*

Figure 3 *Le Palais des colonies de Francais*

Figure 2 *Referential regionalism, The Spanish Revivalist Chapman Park Market by Morgan, Walls & Clements*

Figure 5 *Le Palais des colonies de Francais*

Figure 6 *Exhibition of the potential pre-existing uniqueness in houses across US*

Figure 7 *City Mahramat*

Figure 8 City Shorobashat

Figure 9 Drawings on the caves

Figure 10 Traditional ornaments of ancient nomadic and settled Kyrgyz civilizations

Figure 11 Saymaly-Tash

Figure 12 Karahanid Khanate reign

Figure 13 Burana Tower

Figure 14 Uzgen Architectural Complex

Figure 15 Uzgen Minaret

Figure 16 Manas Kumbez

Figure 17 Yurta

Figure 18 Yurta

Figure 19 Pishpek Fortress

Figure 20 Strategic master plan of the Pishpek city, 1878

Figure 21 The Slavic Church

Figure 22 Private house 1920s

Figure 23 Medical University Building, the Soviet Union, 1940

Figure 24 The Vine Factory, 1945-1948

Figure 25 Sculpture resembling elements of Yurta build for the end of the WWI

Figure 26 3 Story yurta, architect Aliev

Figure 27 Housing proposal by Isakov, 1993

Figure 28 Housing proposal by Chynaliev, 1993

Figure 29 Kymyzhana by Kariiev, Narbayev

Figure 30 Space arrangement of rock garden based on the horizontal image of the world

Figure 31 *Idea of eternal natural cycle of cosmos, Law of nature of Tengri*

Figure 32 *Balbals*

Figure 33 *Museum of Nomads*

Figure 34 *Museum of Nomads, ideogram*

Figure 35 *Communal Center of the Village*

Figure 36 *Communal Center of the Village, plan development*

Figure 37 *Community Center, axonometric view*

Figure 38 *Community Center, investigation of forms*

Figure 39 *Community Center, temporality, analogy, semantics*

Figure 40 *Master plan*

Figure 41 *Community Center, functions*

Figure 42 *Community Center, formal compositional investigation*

Figure 43 *Kyrgyz Pantheon, investigation of burial structures typologies*

Figure 44 *Kyrgyz Pantheon, the front view*

Figure 45 *Kyrgyz Pantheon, section*

Figure 46 *Typological investigation*

Figure 47 *Kyrgyz Pantheon, plan and function*

Figure 48 *Aerial view Manas Ayili*

Figure 49 *Aerial View, Manas Ayili*

Figure 50 *Google maps*

Figure 51 *Manas Ordo, the Grand opening Ceremony, 1995*

Figure 52 *Wedding celebration at the Manas Ayili*

Figure 53 *Festival of ethnic crafts*

Figure 54 The alley of Heroes, Manas Ordo

Figure 55 Manas Ayili Perspective

Figure 56 Manas Ayili, conceptual plan

Figure 57 Manas Ayili, master plan

Figure 58 Formal compositional investigation

Figure 59 Graphic investigation of artistic symbolic language from the epic Manas

Figure 60 Silhouette and plasticity of forms

Figure 61 Petroglyphs

Figure 62 Spearheads of the warriors

Figure 63 Manas Ayili, cult of horse

Figure 64 Manas Earmark

Figure 65 Manas Ordo, Gates

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

“Manas – is an unfading star of the Kyrgyz spirit”

Speech by the President of the Kyrgyz Republic – Askar Akayev, at a solemn meeting dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of the epic “Manas” // Word of Kyrgyzstan. -1995. - August 29th.

The history of Kyrgyzstan dates back to ancient Central Asian civilizations. It has a prominent history of wars, socio-political conflicts and changes. Located on a Silk Way route, it was a habitat of multiple settled and nomadic ethnics. Across the whole country there can be found traces of ancient civilizations such as petroglyphs, peculiar burial structures, traces of ancient cities and places of pilgrimage of different religions. In manuscripts of different explorers of China and Russia, there are descriptions of ancient citadels and fortresses of settled ethnics. Nomadic culture carries thousand years of evolution of transportable huts, temporal camps and traditional arts and crafts, with peculiarities characteristic only to Kyrgyz culture.

The Fergana region (Kyrgyzstan) was occupied by Huns in III century BBC, further their successors Usuns, took over, established the Usun Empire and dominated the region until 71 year BBC. Since then, the Davan Empire held power until the establishment of Turkic

Khanate in 6th century. In 7th century, there is a split of the Turkic Khanate into the East and West Khanates, within which the Kyrgyz region was occupied by the West Khanate. With the collapse of the West Turkic Khanate the Turgesh Khanate establishes itself until the end of 8th century, when the union of nomadic tribes Karluks conquered the region. Ninth and tenth centuries were glorious years of Kyrgyz Khanate. With the reign Kharakhanid Khanate in 10-13th centuries Islam penetrated the region. In 13th century with the invasion of Mongols and Chagatai's ulus was formed in the Central Asia. In 18th-19th centuries northern and southern Kyrgyz tribes fall under the influence of the Kokand Khanate and later in the mid of 19th century joined the Russian Empire (1855-1876 years) ("The History of Ancient Kyrgyzstan," n.d.). After the October revolution in 1917, the Kyrgyz region became one of the Soviet Union republics until the collapse in 1991. Since the 1991, the Kyrgyz republic is an independent sovereign state.

For hundred years, being a colony of the Russian Empire and further the Soviet Union, brought Kyrgyz citizens to question their identity. After the collapse, it has become more and more difficult to frame the notion of Kyrgyz identity, as there was a mental gap in minds of Kyrgyz people. Therefore, from 90's onwards the collapse became a ground basis for imposition of new "nationaliste" and "patriotic" ideologies (Kim, 2011).

Kyrgyzstan economically and politically was not ready for independent existence. There were no social cohesion and common consciousness among people. Therefore, the necessity to establish a strategy to unify people was especially urgent (Kim, 2011). Fostering a brand new image of the common Kyrgyz national identity became a strategy for unifying people. Primordial references to ancient roots: glorious past, peculiar rituals, noble warriors, myths and folklore were used for recalling emotional investment from people and establishment of the Kyrgyz identity. Therefore, the "identity card" became a tool for claiming legitimacy of

Kyrgyz statehood (Guibernau, 2004). A recovery of the past, fostered by state policies, became a perfect tool to establish from scratch a new national identity or to rediscover a former one. The construction of an identity through recovering primordial image is a deliberate action to create an immediate mental link in people's minds (Hobsbawm, 2007).

In Kyrgyzstan, such a legitimacy tool started to be forged in 1995, in relation to the celebration of the 1000 years of Manas history, Kyrgyz antiquity and celebration of antiquity of the city Osh. This was suppose to encourage people to embrace a proud Kyrgyz inheritance and share a pride of belonging to titular nation. Not only in Kyrgyzstan, but also in all Central Asian countries, there was a desire to establish a country with the unique identity, to rupture with SU past and to discover a "titular nation" (Abashin, 2012).

The Manas epic¹ became a source of symbolic production - a nation building project, targeted to awake public consciousness. It was very "comfortable" for Kyrgyz public elites to use the epic for several reasons. It conveys philosophy of national unity, has a strong image among people and contains rich repository of symbolism. Mr. Akayev – the former and first president of the Kyrgyz Republic published the book "Kyrgyz statehood and the Epic Manas", where he says the epic carries the genesis of Kyrgyz culture, and therefore it is the cultural treasure (Marat, 2008).

On the background of those events, behind the ideological and political motives there were individuals who facilitated this "nation building" "Manas" project. The government

¹ The Epic of Manas is an epic poem of Kyrgyz people historical legacy and it's the main hero Manas. Events of the poem correspond to actual historic events, which took place in 17th century. The plot revolves about interaction of Turkic – speaking tribes from the south to the north of the country and Oirat-Monghols. The poem was transfered through generations from mouth to mouth by *Manaschys*, and it consists approximately of 500,000 lines. Main heroes of the poem are Manas, himself, and his descendants. A central theme is his opposition against *Khitans* and Indian King *Ravi*. Poem consist of three parts, which further were transferred into three book. The first is named Manas, the second part is named after Manas' son Semetei, and the third one after Manas' grandson Seitek. The figure of Manas is very important in Kyrgyz legacy, as it believed that it was he, who united all scattered different Kyrgyz tribes. It is believed that the world Kyrgyz means, "we are forty", after forty tribes which were united under the rule of Manas (Wikipedia).

mobilized artists and architects to produce images of the narrative (Marat, 2008). Illustrations of the hero and storylines from the epic, new honorary medals in name of Manas and sculptures of the Manas were actively produced. The field of architecture became one of the mediums to convey the Manas ideas to public. A special committee organized an international architectural competition for theoretical and methodological investigation of architectural forms and expression of Manas mythology, further realized into built projects – the open-air ethnographic museums “Manas Ayili” in Bishkek, and “Manas Ordosu” in Talas. An ultimate aim of the complexes was to embody the Kyrgyz ethnicity and convey the idea of unique identity (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

It was a deliberate decision of political elites to build a new complex, which would embody the national idea, rather than refer to the existing architectural examples. Meanwhile, many existing architectural landmarks are hard to access physically. There are no preservation policies, archeological researches and excavations on the historical sites, and there are very few academic, scientific and historic investigations. Historians, conducted most of the available research during the Soviet Union period, which means that since the SU period there barely was any scientific investigation. Today there is no interest among academicians and architects to explore the history of architecture of Kyrgyzstan. Therefore, despite the prominent history, lacking any other proper legacy or historical reference, both political ideology and scholar discourse pointed out (rediscovered) the most persistence and rooted epic tradition in the country: the Manas Epic. The structure of this epic includes several elements that are powerful to provide a collection of visual and symbolic elements: diverse myths, legends, narratives and a particular cosmology in time deeply affected craft production, folk identity and the vernacular tradition.

The exploitation of architecture as the tool of patriotic ideological imposition indicated an establishment of an architectural language with the “unique” Kyrgyz identity. The role of architecture was to embody a series of symbolic images, which would be directly related to Kyrgyz ethnic and embody belonging to the Kyrgyz nation. Therefore, parallel to the formation of “new” national identity, also there was an attempt to establish an architectural identity, which will foster the Kyrgyz brand new image. In the moment of transition, when the search for sources of national identity became urgent, exactly the epic references gained a momentum as powerful tools to address the formation of a national architectural language. Therefore, In Kyrgyzstan, the architecture became one of the tools in “nation building” process. Under the scope of investigation on culture, tradition and myths, Kyrgyz architect Dyushen Omuraliev made an attempt for an establishment of a new architectural language in the example of Manas Ayili. The projects had to be completed for grand celebrations of the Kyrgyz Antiquity and the Manas History on the August 31, in 1995 year. Linked with these celebrations, the project assumes a very ideological character, and at the same time, it becomes a pioneer intervention to herald the idea of a nation and its historical legacy. For those reasons, Manas Ayili was chosen as an object of the analysis, in order to evaluate this complex process of establishment of the new national architectural language on the background of the political changes.

Just as the ethnic genesis leads to the Kyrgyz culture, Omuraliev tried to retrieve the ethnic genesis of forms, which would lead to the national architecture. The aim of this thesis is to study the discourse of Omuraliev on the transfer of ethnic, cultural and mythic symbols into the architectural language, in the attempt of building new architectural tradition and national identity. The construction of an architectural language can be paralleled to what Hobsbawm called the “invention of tradition” (2007).

It is important to indicate that the architect defines his own definition for a national architecture, which he calls “ethno-architecture”. In the book *Modern ethno-architecture of Kyrgyzstan* together with another academician Kurmanaliev, Omuraliev defines ethno-architecture as scientific and historic exploration of architectural ancient forms and interpretation of them in contemporary architecture.

Thesis attempts to evaluate the project through the discourse of important architectural theoreticians such as Nordberg-Schulz, Aldo Rossi, Anthony Vidler, Peter Eisenman and Kenneth Frampton. By a literature review, four key concepts *locus*, *metaphors*, *type* and *diagram* were derived, in an effort to relate the discourse of Omuraliev with architectural critics worldwide. The stated concepts enable to evaluate architect’s design and form finding processes in an attempt to cast natural elements in the architectural fashion and to recognize the architectural character in the natural ones. It enables to link the discourse of the architect with the definition provided by Nordberg-Schulz on the *locus* of place, where Omuraliev actively exploits relationship of Kyrgyz people to Kyrgyz land. Exploitation of *metaphors* is the second mode of Omuraliev’s design, because projects are highly saturated with symbolic meanings. Cosmologic metaphors, cultural symbolism and animalistic symbolism persist throughout the whole architect’s design process. Omuraliev approaches not only with investigation of culture, but also with existing architectural archetypes through classifying them into *types*. Therefore, the third mode of Omuraliev’s approach is the *type*. The final mode of the design is the *diagram*. Architect produces series of diagrams, where he studies variations of forms and spatial arrangements from the sources provided by the first three previous modes. The *diagram* serves him as a generative device, which ultimately ends up in the final design. The *locus*, *metaphor*, *type* and *diagram* serve the architect as facilitation of design process in the translation of ethnic roots into the architectural language.

Before dealing with the analysis and the critic of the case study, the thesis attempts to discuss a number of central topics that are very crucial to introduce. The ideological and cultural context the project originates from: national identity and nation building, manipulation and invention of tradition (chapter 2), regionalism, ethnicity and symbolism in architecture, complex contradictory as well as fragmented cultural, historical and architectural legacy of the Kyrgyzstan (chapter 3), the information about the architect, his architectural discourse on conveying ethnic values into architecture and his several other projects (chapter 4) and finally the case study chapter itself (chapter 5).

The second chapter gives theoretical framework on national identity and nation building concepts. It gives information on political theory, policymaking and ideology. It covers such concepts as ethno-symbolism, importance of tradition and manipulation of it. “Manas Ayili” exploits a series of symbolism and metaphors, which are borrowed from Kyrgyz mythology, folklore, poetry and crafts. The chapter will give the background information on political transition from Soviet Union to the independent state, and in a particular identity issue in Kyrgyzstan. The main theoretical references are “Invention of traditions” by Eric Hobsbawm, where he explains how invention of tradition happens, and ethno-symbolism by Adam Smith, where he explains how ethnic symbols are used during the nation building process. An establishment of architectural tradition, which would look familiar to people and recall necessary emotions, can be called a “construction” or an “invention” of architectural tradition (2007). In “ethno-symbolism” of Adam Smith in general covers exploitation of historic figures or events in a political propaganda aspect. It is possible find parallels in their political discourse within the architectural discussion of form finding, which will be attempted in this thesis. It also briefly covers the notions of ethnicity and regionalism in the architectural history. It tries to investigate what “ethnic” and “regional” stands for and where do terms

collide and overlap. It covers important notions on transfer of ethnic and regional character into architectural language, such as *imitation* or *invention* (Canizaro, 2012) and the role of an architect in a design process. There is an investigation of the architectural critique in the *romantic regionalism*, *historicism*, *picturesque* movements, which are different in their nature, however share an attempt to visualize the past. The chapter covers *regionalism* and *critical regionalism* in the architecture, as the architectural movement of the emancipation and the opposition to the globalism. This investigation is crucial for the nature of the thesis, as it will allow to locate the discourse of Dyushen Omuraliev on an international level.

The third chapter focuses on the actual architectural and historical heritage of Kyrgyzstan. It gives summary information about existing landmarks, architectural material traces and an impact of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. The chapter attempts to derive common features, a collection of material and symbolic realms before the Russian Empire. In addition, it tries to define new imposed architectural paradigms brought by the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. It will shortly cover architectural development since ancient times until the modern days. There will be introduced the architectural discourse on the notions of *national architecture*, *regional architecture* and *ethnic architecture* in Kyrgyzstan and the role of the first generation of architects at the first years of Kyrgyz Republic sovereignty.

The fourth chapter provides information about the architect Dyushen Omuraliev and his general architectural discourse. There will be introduced his relation to ethno-symbolism and in particular his definition of “ethno-architecture”. There will be analyzed the methodology and values that dictate his design process. In his genealogy of forms architect approaches cultural past as a repository of symbols and forms, which further would convey the idea of Kyrgyz national architecture. Exploration of old Kyrgyz cosmogonies and cosmologies are

especially crucial and serve as foothold in his design process. The chapter provides general overview of the design approach, which would further facilitate an analysis of the case study. The fifth chapter, the case study “Manas Ayili” - is a final discourse, the very aim of which is to analyze the project as the ultimate aim to crystallize into architectural forms the images of the symbolic richness of an epic, refashioned to convey a brand new version of Kyrgyz identity. Four main concepts under which the case study is analyzed are *locus*, *type*, *metaphors*, and *diagram*. As ancient cosmogonies of nomad culture are fundamental in Omuraliev’s approach, there is an attempt to relate his discourse to the *Genius Loci* of Norberg-Schulz. However, it does not indicate that the approach of the architect is identified as phenomenological, rather it relocates Schulz’s ideas of *loci* in the architecture of Omuraliev. *Symbolism* and *metaphors* are the second essential concepts, which define Omuraliev’s approach. He approaches Kyrgyz culture as a source of series of symbols, which are further used in direct or indirect manner. *Type* is a classification of existing historical and architectural legacies, which the architect uses a lot. Further, by abstracting them into *diagrams* or ideograms the architect results with brand new forms with an ethnic origin. Within the all four concepts, his approach will be compared to the projects of other architects, in terms of the Manas Ayili. It will be argued that Omuraliev approaches ethno-architecture as a repository of ethnic forms through the study of *locus* and *metaphors*, and further processes them through the *type* and *diagram* into the architectural language, which eventually embody the “new” national identity of Kyrgyzstan.

Methodology is based on a literature review on the topics of national identity, nation-building, architectural tradition, regionalism and ethnic values. There is a visual comparative analysis of architect’s design approach and his definition of ethnic architecture with the focus on the case study “Manas Ayili”. The thesis intends to extract points of tradition formalization

as well as the categorization of the ethnic elements. This thesis aims to study architecture as a tool to embody a sense of common heritage, a shared idea of nation, visualizing and materializing of the culture as one of the aspects of nation building. As, Omuraliev tried to establish an architectural language, which would build the national architecture for the future generations, this research is devoted to young architects in Kyrgyzstan, who are interested in the field of ethnic and regional architecture.



CHAPTER 2

2. THE HISTORICAL REVIVALISM DURING NATION BUILDING PROCESS IN KYRGYZSTAN

2.1 POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF POST-SOVIET TRANSITION INTO MODERN STATE IN CENTRAL ASIA AND KYRGYZSTAN.

The impact the Soviet Union had on national identity policies and ideologies of Central Asian countries today is impossible to describe in a single sentence. A modern understanding of nation, identity and ethnicity, in fact, is the legacy of the Soviet Union identity policy. Before the Soviet Union, the Central Asian territory was dictated by tribal identity ideologies, where both settled and nomad tribes of different ethnicities, would mutually influence each other, closely interact and interlace. When in 7th century Islam came in, the main identity indication was a religion. Although with Chinghiz Khan in 13th century the identity ideology went back to tribalism, in 16th Islamism became the main identity indicator again. Therefore, before the Soviet Union, tribalism and adoption of Islam religion were fundamental ideology manifestation (Parkhomchik, Simsek, Akhmetkaliyeva, 2016). The modern division

according to “ethnicity” is a specific Soviet Union policy “National-territorial delimitation” (*Natsiyonalnoye-gosidartsvvennoe razmeshevaniye*), targeted on prevention of union of “Stan countries” (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) with clear division of nations, where one competes from with another. It was a set of strategies to keep under control multi-ethnic state. Based on ethnicity and nationality, they created administrative structures. It was an act of cultivation of national elites. Controlled by the authorities, national identities would be accepted under the supervision of the government. Therefore, the establishment of Central Asian countries’ is the Soviet Union product. It is important, because it changed social organization in Central Asian countries, in particular form the view of identity; “nationalism”, as an ideology started to develop in the consciousness of people (Kim, 2011). By the 90s the very same encouragement of nation division policy, that was supposed to prevent from Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic unions, facilitated challenge to USSR existence itself. The break of the Soviet Union was proceeded into proclaiming of five independent national states. Although local leaders of countries were loyal to USSR until very last prior the break, the political elite of Central Asia portrayed whole situations as a long-awaited liberation from the imperial state (Abashin, 2012).

Despite the fall of the SU, old Soviet ideologies were still functioning, although in different way. Lenin, Stalin and other Soviet lead historians formulated the primordial approach to ethnicity. A Soviet approach was focused on “ethnic genesis” and “ethnic code”. Soviet academic tradition treats “ethno genesis” as a focus on the historiographical research of an ethnic groups. There was a constant confusion between “ethno genesis”, “national identity” and “cultural heritage” terms, which further resulted in approaching ethnicity as a biological category, rather than a cultural (Marat, 2008). This affects the whole approach towards

ethnicity in Central Asian countries. Ethnicity became an equivalent to nation, therefore term “ethnic” presupposed also “national”.

Focused on an importance of unique culture, politicians in Post-Soviet era would rely on Soviet techniques of ideological promotion towards the masses; production of material, which would facilitate the process such as books on national history, celebrations, public speeches etc., became a political task. In order to fill with a scientific context their political projects, ruling elites would look for narratives on the specific historic period to embellish and depict the particular individuals or epoch. In similar way Soviet politics and historicists would produce written material about the Soviet patriotism, love for motherland and patriotism spirit. The praising of national heroes was continued in similar way, but shifted from Russian themes into national themes (Marat, 2008). A reference to primordial origin became a strategy towards nation building and establishment of national cohesion. Historical research, manipulation of history and tradition became a basis of legitimacy claim in the Central Asian countries.

2.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY CRISIS AND NATION BUILDING IN THE CENTRAL ASIA

“Everyone in Central Asia wants to create something great, no one wants anything simple
(Marat, 2008:30)

After the collapse, countries in Central Asia continued with identity formation and strengthening of national institution (Parkhomchik, Simsek, Akhmetkaliyeva, 2016). There was an attempt to create an appeal to the concept of “nation” among citizens, as there was no embedded concept of being a proud member of a certain nation (Phillips & James, 2001). Indication of ancient roots, “national heroes”, “golden age” was an attempt to revive an ancient past and to legitimize the present state (Phillips & James, 2001). To unify people under the “glorious nation”, country elites broke with the Soviet past and tried to go back to

authentic national statehood (Abashin, 2012). Leaders had to modify political agendas, to legitimize their rules. To legitimize the nation, that is to legitimize the idea of origin (whatever, the more ancient the better) and to locate the idea of nation in a specific point of a very blurred historical legacy (Abashin, 2012).

The brightest example of such “liberation movement” is renaming cities, streets and villages from “Soviet” names, to names of “national heroes” and important public figures. For example, the capital city of Kyrgyzstan at the Soviet time, was called Frunze (after the important *bolshevik*), which was changed to Bishkek, back to the name of medieval fortress that was there before. The second biggest city at north of Tajikistan was renamed from Lelinabad to its original name Khujand (Abashin, 2012).

Each of the five states tried to reconstruct an image through traditional cuisine, dress, crafts, folklore, architecture, songs, dances, rituals and moral values. In Uzbekistan, traditional values were incorporated in political policies like *mahalla* (local Islamic administration system). For political and social purposes, traditional elements became mandatory in architecture. Therefore, it is safe to say that manipulation of public opinion went through the ‘tradition’ exploitation (Abashin, 2012). Uzbekistan, having many cultural monuments in historical cities Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent, took on celebration of those cities. The year of 1996 was proclaimed to be the year of Tamerlan. Yet, politicians and historians were not hesitated by the fact that Timurids (Temirlan’s descendants) did not identify themselves with Uzbeks, but would address “uzbek” their enemies (Abashin, 2012).

In Kyrgyzstan, the accent was made on the reference to Yenisey Kyrgyz, an ancient Turkic settlement in Siberia. Another source of symbolic production became the epic Manas. In 1995 it was claimed that it was exactly 1000 years of Manas history (Abashin, 2012).

Politicians and historians in Tajikistan focused on tracing their genealogy back to Zoroastrianism and Aryan era. In similar way, the year of 2006 was proclaimed as the year of Aryan culture. Ismail Samani the ruler of Samani empire is a main figure in the ideology of Tajik state. However political elites were not concerned with the fact that Ismail Samani was ruling from the Bukhara city, which is located on the territory of Uzbekistan today (Abashin, 2012).

Kazakhstan appraised Abul Khair Khan and Ablai Khan descendants of Genghiz Khan, who were remembered as the ones who united kazakh tribes in 18th century against Dzungars. In the year of 2000, Kazakhstan celebrated 1500 year of anniversary of Turkestan city, because it has medieval fortress constructed by Tamerlan.

In Turkeminstan, Saparmurat Niyazov published a Ruhnama book, which described culture and history of Turkmen people. The book was considered as the “spiritual” book, and acquired official status by being the second book to Quran. His personal interpretations were accepted as an essence of Turkmen culture (Abashin, 2012).

History, in that sense, became not only an investigation task, but also an action of re-writing history. Governments used it for development of nationalism idea among the masses. (Marat, 2008). This approach became a basis for establishing unified identity in the overall nation building aspect. History is a powerful narrative to support and promote a political agenda. Each country had its own national building projects, which are different and unique in details, however similar in general approach and strive to the same ultimate goal, to unify people and establish common consciousness.

2.3 THE NATION BUILDING PROJECT IN KYRGYZSTAN

Kyrgyzstan is one of the smallest and poorest countries among the Central Asian states. After the collapse, there was no embedded consciousness of belonging to a nation or an ethnicity

among people; therefore, it would be safe to say that national identity in Kyrgyzstan was poorly developed. There was no social cohesion among citizens, so the Kyrgyz government needed to find a way to impact and unify people. Political leaders realized that in order to continue as functioning state, unification of people should be proceeded through maintaining and cultivation of national identity. Political elites started to produce national ideologies, supported by academic circles and other public sectors, which would forge a brand new identity (Kim, 2011).

As there was a scarcity of physical materials, the claim for national legitimacy became the first mention of “Kyrgyz” in historical sources. The epic Manas was announced as the one carrying Kyrgyz genesis and was chosen as an object of elaboration. In order to get support from public in the first elections, the former president of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev, was the first one who referred to “Manas” (Kim, 2011). The epic “Manas” became a nation-building project to awake public consciousness, and embody patriotism. As Askar Akayev refers to the epic in his book:

Our national epos allowed us to connect the times and the continuity of generations on the basis of high moral principles and ethical standards set forth in it, which ultimately entered the blood and flesh of the Kyrgyz (Akayev, 2004:4).

The Manas epic is a world’ longest oral narrative epic. To use the epic was very “comfortable” for several reasons. The epic depicts mythical and real events of inter-ethnic inter-tribal battles and conveys a philosophy of national unity. The hero Manas embodies collective idea of what a Kyrgyz male, a warrior, a defender, a son, a father and a husband has to aspire to and what values should people possess. Another appeal about the epic is that it portrays system of values and social relations of Kyrgyz tribes (Marat, 2008). A special committee extracted seven maxims from the epic, included it into official ideology and

promoted it to Kyrgyz citizens. Akayev constantly referred to the epic Manas in public speeches, openings and even published a book about the importance of the epic.

The ancient heritage of our ancestors consists of many parts. The main ones: 1) The material basis is our blessed land. 2) The ideological basis is the idea of statehood, carried through its integrity through the centuries, which, like the North Star for northern sailors, served as a bright-elevated star for the Kyrgyz people. 3) The spiritual foundation is our national heroic epos “Manas” as a great force uniting the people. “Manas” was a passionate call for national greatness, showing that in the name of the interests of one’s people one must fight, sparing no energy and life itself. The highest manifestation of talent among the Kyrgyz was the knowledge of the epic “Manas”, and our great Manaschi in their role of the people ascended to the level of heroes (Akayev, 2004:21).

The summer of 1995 was of celebration of Kyrgyz Antiquity and Manas history. Government mobilized artists and architects to produce images of the narrative. Some images were borrowed from Soviet period, but myriad of new ones were produced. The new honorary medals in name of Manas were released, sculptures of the hero would replace many existing Soviet sculptures, cultural parks Manas ayili and Manas Ordo would be built in a rush for the grand opening ceremony. Akayev’s main argument was that every nation has its own “genetic code” and the epic is a physical incorporation of the Kyrgyz genetic code. According to him, Manas epic is as just as important as New Testament for Christians (Akayev, 2004:59). This approach would further affect the way terms nation and ethnicity are approached. Continuing Soviet tradition, ethnicity is approached as a biological character rather than cultural. Further, it would be confused with the terms “nation” and “national”, because the claim of the state legitimacy is based upon the superiority (or greatness) of the Kyrgyz ethnicity.

In 2000 year, for the second government elections Akayev made same attempt. But in this case, an accent was made on the ancient city Osh. It was a celebration of 3000 years of the

Osh city antiquity, however the original purpose was, again, to gain popularity among potential voters especially at the south part of the country (Kim, 2011).

In 2010, Kyrgyz parliament initiated the project that was aimed to define “national intangible cultural heritage”, the main focus of which was not to allow UNESCO to inscribe the epic Manas into World heritage list by any other nations. In addition, to patent Yssyk-kul lake, Arslanbob national park, Burana Tower, national clothes, yurt, musical instrument koomuz and national horse game At-chabysh. By this, an attempt to bring back nation identity discussion through the “ownership” came back (Kim, 2011).

In Kyrgyzstan, national identity became a strong tool for nation building process. The creation of a single national identity capable of unifying people, created a sense of shared history and inheritance of unique culture, because identity is a significant tool to call people for action. It is an approach to nationality, because “nation” is a glue, which binds people together (Mansbach & Rhodes, 2007).

As image of the Manas was a powerful element in the process of nation building and crafting of a single national identity, the process of identity establishment is in particular interesting here. A process of construction of identity is, in a way, parallel to the “invention of tradition” of Hobsawm, because it presupposes reference to primordial origin (whether it is old or not), glorious past, “forgotten” traditions or twisted traditions in order to promote the desired idea. The main element, which has to be studied is a visualization of array of symbols and images stored in the ethnic roots, so the “new” would be comprehended as familiar and “traditional”.

2.4 ETHNO-SYMBOLISM AND INVENTION OF TRADITION

Exploitation of cultural, historical and ethnical symbols takes a special niche in political and social theories regarding nation-building and national identity construction. Ethno-

symbolism is one of the studies in “nationalism” that emphasizes the importance of symbols, myths, traditions and values in the formation of nation. Adam Smith defines “nation” as a group of people, associated with a certain territory, who share same ancestors, cultures and myths (Smith, 1986). Richard Mansbach and Edward Rhodes (2007) describe “nation” as a group defined in various way, which results in an exclusive identity, which bonds them together (Mansach & Rhodes, 2007). Culture and history being the common denominator is a unifying factor. Therefore, ethno-symbolism provides material, which serves as a glue in a nation formation process. Ethno-symbolism aims to provide analysis that indicate historical roots of a community. Traditions, values, memories, symbols and myths are objects for analysis, which contribute to development of forms and contents that will give a sense of shared identity for people (Smith, 2009). Identification with a certain culture indicates emotional investment, which is followed by bonding of the community, where one recognizes another as a part of their national community (Guibernau, 2004). Nation is a group of people who feel that they are related, thus share of a common national identity creates a mental bond among people (Connor, 1994b cited in Guibernau, 2004).

Ethno-symbolism challenges restricted vision of modernism, in an attempt to integrate it with elements coming from local culture, it states the relationship of past to the present. The importance of cultural values is dictated by the role it takes in the formation of social; it creates common consciousness and a sense of continuity with past (Smith, 2009). As it was mentioned previously, identity serves as a tool for nation-formation, therefore the elements of local identity, such as heroes of past, traditions, myths, symbols and study of holy places became important component in nation building. To play an “identity card” is an easiest way for political manipulation, it has a power to encourage people for act, for the sake of prosperity and survival of the nation (Guibernau, 2004). People, who are members of certain

nation, cultivate shared myths, traditions, memories and habits. Ethno-symbolism in this case is a great force for political legitimacy of the nation, because of the exploitation of elements familiar to people, where they feel connected and emotionally invested. Therefore, it helps quickly to establish necessary impression.

Yet, according to Ervin Staub just common history and culture are not enough to define a nation. It must have a people consciousness, which would create a special bond which ties people together (Kellman, 1997). In this sense, national identity becomes crucial, as according to Guibernau, it is a social glue. Smith, on the other hand, refers to it as a ‘collective cultural identity’ - a sense of shared memories events and the periods of history, which gather people together (as cited in Guibernau, 2004). It is also a collective product of system of values, beliefs, expectations and assumptions, which transferred to other group members through socialization. National identity is how a community’s define themselves as a group (Kelman, 1997).

Antiquity creates a link between ancestors and people in present. Documenting and representation of the past is made, in order to have a strong image of own collective origin and the deeds of ancestors. Ancient roots can make feel people proud of their origin, and interpret it as a sign of strength and resilience. Such emotional bond enable people to increase their self-esteem by feeling part of a society, which had a rich history. All nations try to promote something that makes them “special” and “unique” (Guibernau, 2004). Usually scholars or authorities look back for earlier ages for heroic grand narratives, heroic figures. This glorious past should “guide” the present generation to a better future (Smith, 2009). Ethnic past gives a framework through which, it is possible to establish a feeling of community and to understand where it stands. National awakening or “re-discovering” of a nation goes through ethno-symbolism in countries like Kyrgyzstan. Identity distinction of

“us” from “them” in the establishment of statehood helps to create a mental link with the past and other national fellows whom with heritage history and traditions are shared. What makes “us” unique, different and exclusive of “others” (Mansbach & Rhodes, 2007)?

In that sense, intellectuals and artists are responsible for the embodiment of identity, by rediscovering, selecting and reinterpreting ethnic symbolic realm. Small circles of elites produce national ideologies through exploitation of symbolism: myths, cultural, values, tradition, music, visual arts, poetry, architecture, sculpture, philosophy, philology and etc. (Smith, 2009). Transfer of a national idea through artistic medium helps to make visceral tangible. Although only a minority participated in a nation building project, still artists’ who did not pursue political motives were affected by idea of “nation” which would shape their philosophical and aesthetic prospects. Intellectuals are responsible for interpretation, realization and then further, dissemination of the national idea. Dissemination indicates that intellectuals give national idea a substance, to help people to consume it. For example, Chopin expressed national belonging by his own interpretation of Polish folk dances. Wagner, Verdi and Carla Maria von Weber used medieval motives, legends and magical portrayal to show ancient heroism in opera. Poets would transfer idea of heroic antiquity through historical dramas, for example *Boris Godunov* describes conflicts of Russian monarchy and aristocracy, but what is more important is a depiction of hopes, fears and suffering of Russian people, as a central theme. History paintings in the seventeenth century Europe portray courage, virtue and sacrifice of ancestors during historic religious events. In 19th century, such artists as Diego Rivera, Vasily Surikov, Ravi Varma and Akseli Gallen Kalella tried to embody national idea through depiction of rituals, formal events, certain individuals, landscapes and traditions. This kind of interpretation shows national belonging to something great and glorious (Smith, 2009). Their task was to make national idea palpable,

so that ethnic myths, symbols and memories would penetrate public consciousness (Smith, 2009).

In historicism, the very process through which architecture locate itself in the present and looks back to the past, actually overlaps with ethno-symbolism a lot. Architectural theory since the enlightenment period has started to entertain a “perverse” relation with history. Inspiration from artistic styles that refer to architecture of previous era, attempt to recreate or imitate the work of historic artisans - is a “look back”. It was especially common in architecture and was called the “revival architecture”, because it consciously tried to echo architecture of the past. In post-modern era, where modernism was criticized for ignoring cultural and social aspects of life, neo-classicism architecture became quite popular by combining architectural elements from different historical eras, creating new aesthetics with combining different styles (Lucie-Smith, 1988). Early eighteenth picturesque art movement tried to emphasize spatial strategies, which identify ethnic-group in the late eighteenth century; it was motivated by political emancipation of a certain ethnic group from a suppressed power. In England *picturesque* movement, contributed to formation of English nationalism and English ethnic identity, through the focus on regional character of a place (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 2003).

If to sum up the ethno-symbolism is a study of ethnicity through the study of primordial images: myth, memory, tradition, symbolism and tradition. Secondly, scholar and politicians approach ethno-symbolism because ethnic repertoire provides with elements, which are distinct from other cultures (in our case Kyrgyzstan from other Central Asian states): religion, language, institutions and customs. Thirdly, ethno-symbolists approach ethno-symbolism because shared memories, values, rituals and traditions provide people with a sense of connection with past generations, which would involve further emotional investment and

acceptance of collective symbols, such as flag and anthem. And lastly, exploitation of ethnic values and symbols enables participants to enter the “inner world” of an ethnic group and invoke the desired devotion (Smith, 2009:25).

In the case of Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia: historical, cultural and anthropological research is conducted to identify a collection of symbols. Such research covers everything, from historical events, music, arts and architecture to myths, folklore traditions and rituals. Anthropological research is necessary to understand certain cultural and social values nation possesses. Such analysis provides with a variety of material, which indicate a strong mental or emotional link in minds of people. Collection of shared memories, customs and rituals, which together indicate belonging to one particular society.

Lastly, analysis of the process itself that enables to turn symbols into formal language and built forms, is further research step, because this is what Dyushen Omuraliev does in the design of Manas Ayili. Within the investigation of *locus*, *type*, *diagram* and *metaphor*, he translates the ethnic symbols into architectural language. If to look at the example of Central Asia, political elites identify certain area of focus, and further, it is a task of artists to find a way to transfer those symbols into tangible object. Considering a peculiarity of each individual, it is possible to establish a myriad of possible ways to convey national belonging and national identity. Therefore, while politics shape a framework in which artists should operate, an artist is still challenged to identify values and find a way to transfer them to people.

2.4.1 ELEMENTS OF FORMALIZATION OF INVENTED TRADITION

In previous sub-chapter tradition is constantly mentioned as the one of sources for symbols and metaphors that can be further used in conveying of national idea. Also in the example of Central Asia, it is possible to observe that tradition was used and manipulated in state

propaganda. The notion of tradition described by Hobsbawm, one of the most prominent theoreticians and historians of 20th century, becomes very relevant here. The term tradition in that sense does not necessarily mean a certain tradition, but rather all kind of rituals and customs such as architectural tradition, national tradition, clothing tradition etc. In the book *Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm goes through examples where tradition that looks very original and old, in fact, is very recent and deliberately constructed product. *Invention of tradition* is a process of ritualization and formalization, with a reference to past, by a single person, a group or an institution. (Hobsbawm, 2007). By taking from rituals, symbolism or religion, *invention of tradition* occur when old practices are used for new purposes or new traditions inculcated on old ones. For example, when Swiss government wanted to establish modern country without being associated with Nazi's, they changed existing folksongs for the new nationalist's purposes. The use of familiar folklore themes with inculcation of new purposes helped to awaken feelings for country and "love" for the fatherland (Hobsbawm, 2007).

Tradition is invented, by the motivated purpose, such as creating national cohesion, consciousness and mobilization for act. Hobsbawm defines invented tradition as (2007:1)

As a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with past.

In that sense, we can see many overlaps with "ethno-symbolism" of Smith. The ultimate goal of both *ethno-symbolism* and *manipulation of tradition* is to establish nationalism and national cohesion. For instance, wearing kilt in Scotland is a very recent tradition, which however feels as a very ancient one. Ruling elites created unique tradition as a claim for independence of Scottish people from Ireland and England. Scotland is an example, where

new traditions and rituals were invented and presented as ancient ones; to establish themselves as an autonomous statehood (Hobsbawm, 2007). Similarly, rituals and ceremonies of British monarchy get “grandeur, thousand years of tradition” commentaries, while all ceremonials are dating back only to beginning of the 19th century, therefore modern times. Examples for Central Asia demonstrate similar approach towards history and tradition: primordial reference, misinterpretation of the facts and manipulation of an existing tradition.

Hobsbawm’s *Invention of Tradition* is in a particular interest to this thesis, as an establishment of architectural tradition - is in a way an “invention” of architectural tradition. The book here, is referred, in order to be able to extract concepts and notions, which help to identify methodology of invention and further formalization of tradition. Formalization of tradition is a set of strategies that locate an “invented tradition” as a primordial one (2007). The identification of those tools is important because, it covers the question in previous sub-chapter: “How to transfer ethnic symbols inside specific fields?” In a way, *transfer* of symbols can be analogue with *formalization* of a symbol, or *formalization of tradition*.

If to classify “tools” of formalization of tradition mentioned in Hobsbawm, it is possible to extract elements, which facilitate the process: visual tactile, tectonic and ideological elements (Table 2). Tactile elements indicate traditional crafts, ornaments, architecture, pottery and any other element, which create unique tactile experience. Visuals elements indicate strong visuals, which represent a culture, those can be ornaments, traditional materials, unique fabrics, traditional clothes and colors. The term “tectonic” here is borrowed from Kenneth Frampton discourse on *critical regionalism*, where he refers to local regional architectural tectonics. Considering that the interest area of the research is architecture, it is possible to add “tectonics” as one of the valuable elements. Kenneth Frampton referred to regional tectonics in terms of peculiar construction technics, original local materials or unique

building elements, which transfer *tectonics* of local area (Frampton, 1981). Ideological formalization indicates the ideological maintenance for the new tradition, which would have keep the new tradition relevant and accepted by people. It can be a series of rituals, ceremonies, gun-salutes, pavilions, flags and etc. Those practices are necessary to make indeed, a fake tradition a *traditional* one (Wilson, 2007).

In Kyrgyzstan, *invention of tradition* and *formalization of tradition* happened in two major ways. First is an identification of core values and sources, and second is a production of new material, which looks primordial and original. The epic “Manas” became an ultimate symbol of Kyrgyz statehood, epitome of Kyrgyz lifestyle, moral and social values, as well as culture, customs and traditions. *Formalization of tradition* happened through the production of new materials, such as awards in name of Manas (medals with Manas hero portrayal), cross reference in public speeches, emphasize on epic reference as an epitome of patriotism and love to state (Table 3). Celebration of Manas history and Kyrgyz antiquity can be interpreted as an ideological formalization.

The architectural realization of ethno cultural parks “Manas Ayili” and “Manas Ordo” is the essential tool in the ideological maintenance, as it provides a special space for formal celebrations. In this sense, architecture became one of the formalization tools, which helps to embody a national idea and transfer abstract values into tangible substance.

As it can be perceived, there is a complex process of nation formation, cohesion and unification establishment. A strong identity is a source of nation-confidence, belief and patriotism for a country (Hobsbawm, 2007). Although it was never said that “ethno-symbolism” was used in case of Central Asian countries, as Smith introduces the definition it is possible to observe that this is the exactly the case, where “ethno-symbolism” took place.

It is possible to trace reference to ancient roots, glorious past, heroes and unique traditions happened in Kyrgyzstan. Ethno-symbolism is a source, where politics find tools to address state/nation propaganda and control the mass affection for the country. The *Invention of Tradition* by Hobsbawm helps to identify tools through which inculcation of national propaganda and invention of tradition was used.

This formalization of invented tradition is a strategy to impose something new, which reminds of past looks familiar and is possible to relate. Invention of tradition and ethno-symbolism are always interplay in this sense. Due to the nature of the project of “Manas Ayili”, it is possible to conduct the discourse based on the two mentioned terms. Visuals, symbolism and metaphors, used in the theme of the park, are deliberately calling for people’s intimate relation and emotional connection. Both of terms closely deal with notions of nation, nation-building and national identities, which were critical in Kyrgyzstan since establishment of republic up to present days.

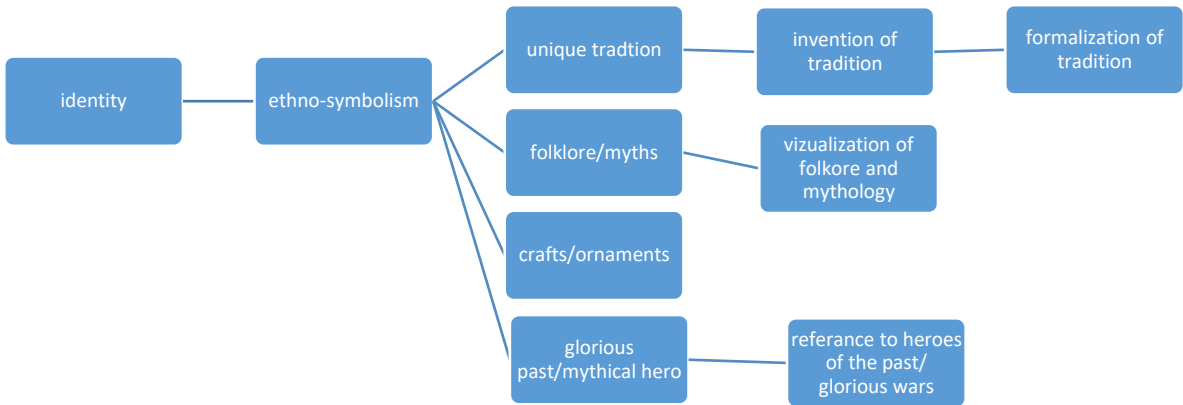


Table 1 *Formalization of Tradition Table.*

In the example of the case study “Manas Ayili”, it will be argued that the whole project is an attempt to create tangible link with past and other fellow nationals.

The particular interest here is that besides political implications, in the discourse of an architect Dyushen Omuraliev, ethnic symbolism also becomes a source for potential architectural archetypes and form finding. It will be argued that the very way architect approaches identification of ethnic values and further formalization of them, can be directly linked with *ethno-symbolism* of Smith and *invention of tradition* of Hobsbawm.

2.5 REGIONAL AND ETHNIC-VALUES IN ARCHITECTURE

In the field of architecture, the role of ethnic values and symbolism has not been neglected, however the discourse was located in a very different form. Lefevre and Tzonis, in their book *Critical Regionalism*, trace regionalism and ethnicity in architecture from the ancient times until today in all different forms (2003). At some examples it is represented as a political emancipation from outside power, sometimes as a manifestation of a strong nation or in case of critical regionalism as the force against the homogenization of modern period.

Back in ancient Greece, it is possible to trace examples of statements of ethnic belonging in an architectural language, which indicates a certain ethnic group occupying a certain territory. The critical point is that regional reference or representation of ethnic values does not necessarily mean vernacular architectural tradition, where society organically forms peculiar architectural tradition, but rather a deliberate conscious implementation of character of an ethnicity. Greeks used architecture in order to represent a presence of an ethnic group among other groups. For example, Naucratis - a Greek colony in Egypt, built a God Apollo temple with floral motives, indicating by their mother city and therefore, a Greek origin (Lefevre, Tzonis, 2003).

Vitruvius in *De Re Architectura* introduces the concept of “regional” architecture and discusses on political meaning of conveying regional ethnic character. He states that architectural regional character is formed by location and physical constraints society

encounters such as climate, topography and etc. (Lefebvre, Tzonis, 2003). After the Roman reign, regional ethnic reference to Roman architecture, became a symbol of emancipation. Niccolo de Crescenzi, a citizen from mid-twelfth century Rome, employed architecture, as a manifestation of emancipation from papal regime. He built Casa dei Crescenzi (Figure 1), where he used classical Roman architectural elements in collage manner. This building was designed in a way that it would convey patriotic and political meanings, as the statement for freedom of Rome. The reference to unique heritage in architecture, in this case, stands for liberation from external foreign power (Lefebvre, Tzonis, 2003).

Picturesque art movement was very crucial in relation to architecture and regional character. This movement unintentionally responds to ideas of preservation of diverse, unique and avoidance of universal and standard. “Heroic” paintings, with irregular compositions of ruins, people and nature, different from formal order of things, contributed to developing alternative way of design. It would give emphasize to nature of place, rather than strict geometry. In England *picturesque* movement, contributed to a formation of English nationalism and ethnic identity. Early eighteen-century *picturesque* movement focused on spatial strategies to identify ethnic group, through the bringing focus to regional character of a place. Later in eighteen-century, the movement was pursuing political goals of emancipation and emphasis on shared origins and ancestors, which Lefebvre and Tzonis call *romantic regionalism* (Lefebvre, Tzonis, 2003).

Goethe developed new perspectives on architecture in accordance to his nationalist’s political views. He introduced new set of values, which according to him, give people a sense of common past and experience. For example, the Cathedral of Strasbourg by being non-universal - is a unique attribute to a particular region, which establishes a new paradigm by

which Germans can construct their identity and go towards emancipation and unification (Lefevre, Tzonis, 2003).

Regionalist ideas spread to folklore studies in order to identify buildings with common architectural style, spatial arrangement, common materials and decorative details. There were also active construction of new architecture with “regional” stylistic elements, in order to establish a certain region within appropriation of identity of a certain group. If there were no local architectural example, scientist and historians had to conduct studies in order to build a canon of architecture of a region. Both were related with establishment of new nations based on ethnicity and political struggles against suppressors (Lefevre & Tzonis, 2003). However, further, it took a commercial character, along with regional architecture there was a promotion of local food and artefacts. Commercial approach took an easy access to regional entity, which did not require effort to understand, for example “Le Palais des colonies de Francais”, from exposition *colonial international* (Figures 4, 5, 6). Therefore, with time regionalism was losing its relationship with emancipation and becoming a medium for commercial campaigns (Lefevre & Tzonis, 2003).

Proponents of modernism and international style criticized regionalism, and compared it to a regression into 19th century revivalism or eclecticism. Their critic was that one’s a reference to region becomes the main ideology, place loses its cultural, historical and physical entity (Canizaro, 2012). Mumford also criticized transition into commercial exploitation and said that it does not create a desirable environment for people; it creates just a mask, a façade, which does not give a sense of “home”. Mumford would not suggest going back to romantic regionalism, which searches for “primitive”, “rough” or “purely local. He also stated that regionalism does not stand in conflict with *universal* (Canizaro, 2012).

There are studies in architecture, which investigate a relationship between architecture and nation building, but many of them are related with the statement of powerful statehood, rather than ethnic belonging. In addition, worldwide terms “national architecture” and “ethnic architecture” would refer to different architectural approaches, however in Central Asia, national architecture is treated as being mandatory to exploit ethnic character, and therefore “national architecture” is an embodiment of ethnic architecture (Personal interview, March 15, 2019). “A building may mean in ways unrelated to being an architectural work—may become through association a symbol for sanctuary, or for a reign of terror, or for craft” (Goodman cited in Vale, 2008:4), as says Goodman in his study of government buildings. He indicates that government buildings express four types of meanings: exemplification, denotation, metaphoric expression and mediated reference (Vale, 2008), however, neither of them refers to embodiment of ethnic roots and symbols onto the architectural language.

Regionalism took important place against “international style” and architecture before the WWI, as Liane Lefaivre stated in her book, regionalist’s movement is a rebellion against regimented single minded architecture of international style. Further, in 1960s in America, regionalism actually replaced international style (Lefaivre, Tzonis, 2003). It was resurged as an antagonism to modernism and at the same as a resistance against homogenizing globalization (Canizaro, 2012:378). Not only in architecture, but also in other fields, there were movements against political, social, cultural and religious globalization (Sotshangane, 2002).

Kenneth Frampton formulated six principles of architectural resistance against the universal standardization, which he calls critical regionalism, *Towards Critical regionalism: Six points for an architectural resistance* (Frampton, 1981). Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre were the first one to bring *critical regionalism* term, in the article *The Grid and the Pathway*,

however when Kenneth Frampton contributed his own ideas on the same subject, his formulation became the most famous (Canizaro, 2012). This critical regionalist architecture avoids homogeneity and mainstream of modernism, romanticism and historicism of post-modern architecture (Canizaro, 2012). Kenneth Frampton defines critical regionalism as a synthesis of universal and local culture in architecture. They discuss significance of “placeness” by taking into account contextual elements without direct imitation. The main idea is to project a building, which would be modern, but at the same time will not neglect the local character. Self-consciousness becomes the main element to be dependent on (Botz-Bornstein, 2016). It is an accommodation of direct local experiences, but remaining self-conscious of sentimentality. It is a medium for a dialect between local character and universal civilization (Canizaro, 2012).

Six points in architectural Resistance became the most famous discussion on *critical Regionalism* by Kenneth Frampton. Point by point he discusses the various factors in critical regionalism, as a resistance to world culture and homogenization. First point is culture and civilization, which refers to imperatives of production of “high-tech” which, dictated by modern civilizations, became dominant. As Frampton points out, civilization is concerned with solely pragmatic reasons. High-rise buildings and highways overlay cities’ fabrics, which is even more drastic today, than the time Kenneth Frampton addressed it. Global economies and capitalism erodes myth-ethical roots of cultures where culture represents “evolution of its collective psycho-sociological reality” (Frampton, 1981:17). Civilizations today are putting limitations, which architecture is dealing with (Frampton, 1981).

Second point in architecture resistance was referred to “rise and fall of avant garde Movement” (Frampton, 1981:19). Frampton indicated, that once Avante Gard was a liberating force, a facilitating element opposed to utilitarian modernism and nostalgic

neoclassicism. However today, it does not longer posses that liberative power, as the modern world is dictated by utilitarian pragmatism (Frampton, 1981).

The third point of architectural resistance is a critical regionalism, where it is a mediator between local and universal. *Critical regionalism* is a way to “deal” with the universal world. Critical regionalism has to “deconstruct” the cultural material it possess, and through synthesis achieve “a manifest critiqye of universal civilization” (Frampton, 1981:21).

The fourth Point on architectural resistance is “the resistance of place and form”. It can be interpreted that Kenneth Frampton refers to “place” as a boundary, but the boundary not in a sense of restriction, but rather as a staring point of a design process and form-finding.

Culture versus nature is another point on architectural resistance, it stands for design that will consider site’s unique natural features, avoid “placelessness” and by this cultivate a site. It can be inspired by local light or context, such as topography or a unique structure.

The last - sixth point of critical regional resistance is the “visual versus the tactile”, which refers the unique quality of an environment, which can be experienced through not dominant sense (sight); through touch, smell, and hearing, there are a whole range of experiences, which require “participating” in the environment. Frampton gives example of Alvaro Aalto’s Town Hall, where by a climbing brick stairs and then stepping on a wood floor, architect provides unique experience of a contrast between wood and brick. Frampton indicates that *critical regionalism* searches for complementing visual experience by tactile human senses (Frampton, 1981).

The discourse of Frampton, is still very relevant worldwide, and especially in such cases as Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan, today, is one the verge of the progress and cultural appropriation and still looks for a ways to embody national and ethnic identity in the modern architecture.

Frampton's discussion is a facilitator in the conduction of the discourse that would help to evaluate the process of synthesis and transfer of regional character into the build design.

2.5.1 NOTIONS ON TRANSFER OF REGIONAL CHARACTER INTO ARCHITECTURE

Regionalism is a habit of thought or a prejudice in favor of persons and practices found in one's general vicinity. Its meaning is similar to that of provincialism, although regionalism lacks this word's connotation of small-mindedness and lack of sophistication. — Jonathan Smith
(cited in Canizaro, 2012:20)

Expression of ethnic regional character into architecture operates on different purposes and ideologies since ancient times up to present. In some cases, regional reference behaves as a depiction of emancipation and establishment of independency, which is a lot similar to nationalism movement in politics. Sometimes it has exploitive character and uses region's peculiarity for commercial purposes. However, all this examples has common methodology of generalization and stereotyping of a regional character (Canizaro, 2012).

Exploitation of a local character is medium of opposite opinions. For example, Mumford called *romantic regionalism* "primitive" and "rough". International style followers criticized historicism and revivalism in architecture for being opposite to progress. Jay and Aidala call the idea of transferring ethnicity into design naïve, unless it recognizes the authenticity of a local environment. In addition, they indicate that post-modernity pushed architecture to metaphors and ornamentation with literal, cultural and historic references (Jay, Aidala, 1983). However, if to approach this question in another way, "why does aesthetics should be perceived critically? Why it cannot be enjoyed straightaway?" (Born Bornstein, 2015:73)

Western critics and theoreticians decided that this kind of architecture should not exist, however why they get to decide? And the other important question, can such critic be applied everywhere, may be in some cultures and countries it simply does not work? Who get to

decide what makes a good design and what makes it a failure? If try to understand each different example from different countries perhaps the answer would be different. Is it a kitsch or a cultivation of culture? Is it appropriate to artificially preserve national character in design? Who decides whether a design attempt to connect to a regional realm is successful, architectural critic, people who use a building, or a local authorities who follow their own needs (Betz-Bornstein, 2016)?

“Ethnic character” and “regional character” terms also can cause a collision in the discourse, because the concepts, although in the same discussion, refer to different things. Ethnicity “is a particular race or a group of people” (“Ethnicity,” n.d.), therefore it presupposes shared memories, culture, traditions and common realm (Smith, 2009). Ethnicity is very private for only a group of ethnics, who can understand formal imager, cultural values and symbolism of architecture. It has a rich imagery part of system of symbols, which are tools for communication, a system of various meanings, which is sometimes obvious, sometimes hidden (Jay & Aydala, 1983). Whereas the term “regional” in architecture mostly refers to locality, topography, climate, methodology of construction and local tectonics. When one term collides with the other, things are getting complex and quite interesting.

The dilemma of a transferring ethnicity into design is a matter of *imitation* and *invention* (Canizaro, 2012). The one who decides which to follow is an architect. Either of those methods is necessary in order to establish a relationship between people and place. Direct exploitation and repeating of familiar forms, details and motives is an *imitation*. Whereas *invention* stands for exploration of existing forms, taking an inspiration from them and creating something new. Therefore, there are two ways, which architect can proceed: to follow an *imitation way* - to copy the original material, form and detail, while the other one is *invention* - to provide cultural continuity, through interpretation. Speck and Harris call

second way more subtle and profound, because it contributes into local experiences (Canizaro, 2012:22). Worldwide there are many examples, where architects exploit both ways. From this, we can conclude that an architect is the important figure. His personal motivations, goals and individual perceptions contribute to an ultimate product a design will result in.



2.6 TABLES

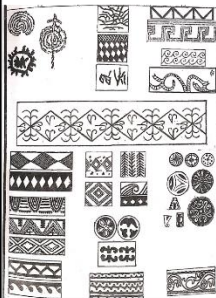
symbolic and metaphorical sources			
visual	tactile	tectonic	ideological
symbolics ornaments crafts    	ornaments crafts    	local archetypes building technics local construction material   	rituals ceremonials celebrations  

Table 2 Symbolic and Metaphoric resources

Formalization of tradition			
visual	tactile	tectonic	ideological



Table 3 Formalization of tradition



Figure 1 Casa dei Credescenzi



Figure 2 Le Palais des colonies de Francais,
 ((<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&source=images&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjwurD8->



Figure 3 Le Palais des colonies de Francais
(<https://www.cardcow.com/590633/exposition-coloniale-international-paris-1931-pavilion-du-maroc/>)



FIG. 3 An example of referential regionalism, the Spanish Revivalist Chapman Park Market by Morgan, Walls & Clements, 1929.

Figure 4 Referential regionalism, The Spanish Revivalist Chapman Park Market by Morgan, Walls & Clements. (Canizaro, 2012:23)

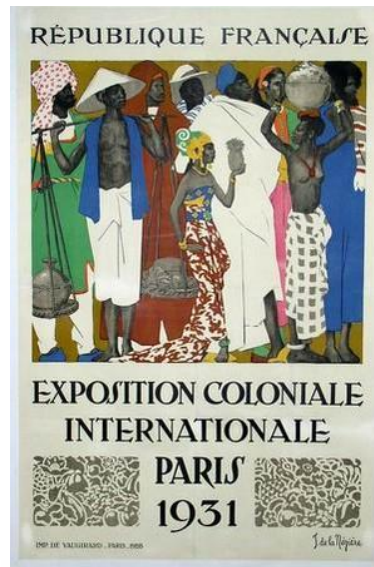


Figure 5 Le Palais des colonies de Français

(https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&source=images&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjdpuql-HmAhuCKuwKHc3_D6YQjRx6BAgBEAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.pinterest.com%2Fpin%2F507640189247929944%2F&psig=AOvVaw0umGqmYIy1MZMq5EWVBvwO&ust=1578502494789532)



FIG. 7 Map by David R. Williams exhibiting the potential and pre-existing uniqueness in houses across the United States, 1934.

Figure 6 Exhibition of the potential pre-existing uniqueness in houses across US. (Canizaro, 2012:29)

CHAPTER 3

3 ARCHITECTURAL HISTORICAL LEGACY OF KYRGYZSTAN AND REDISCOVERY OF ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLIC

3.1 ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT TIMES

Kyrgyzstan, located at the heart of Central Asia, was an important center of history and culture. Literal and archeologic evidences indicate that on the territory of Kyrgyzstan there were peculiar built environment and construction culture. Different cultures and tribes would share their knowledge and modificate their architecture according to their needs. Territory of Kyrgyzstan economically and culturally was not an autonomous government unit (Omuraliev, Tentiyeu & Tashkulov, 2002). On the south part of the country there were mostly agricultural settlements, whereas western and northern parts were mostly under influences of nomad cultures. This is a reason of drastic difference in architectural development in different regions. Since the most ancient time, cultures were always fluctuating on the verge of two different types of civilizations: nomadic and agricultural. There was lack of simultaneity in development of built environment, as in the south there were many big urban settlements, while on the north, few small settlements only started to emerge (Omuraliev et al. 2002).

First traces of ancient civilizations in Kyrgyzstan were found in caves, around grottos and near estuaries. Ancient civilizations used caves and grottos as dwellings, temporary camps

and places for production of necessary utensils. Settled civilizations started to emerge with the beginning of the Bronze Age. First constructions appeared as reinforcement of stalls, primitive huts, deepening at the floors, stone hearths and etc. Differentiation of spaces also appeared: for killing stock, producing tools and sleeping. In the Kyrgyz culture, caves is an important part of a mythical phenomenon. In the Kyrgyz folklore, many storylines took place in caves; some of the caves were named after heroes from tales and epics (Omuraliev et al. 2003).

By the end of the Bronze Age small settlements started to consist of 10-15 primitive houses, with approximately 20-80 inhabitants: big settlements would consist of approximately 200-300 people. Such settlements would have chaotic planning and a ditch for safety purposes. Most of buildings would be for housings, some of them would be for storing purposes and a one building for religious purposes. Usually there would be a grave nearby a settlement. Location and planning principles would usually answer to climatic and environmental needs. Buildings were built out of raw brick (walls) without foundations (Omuraliev et al. 2002).

In the Iron Age, cities started to be surrounded by fortresses, towers and loopholes. Examples of such cities would be ancient cities in the south of the Kyrgyz region - Marhamat and Shorobashat. Nomads would usually have temporary camps or yurt's (transportable houses covered with felt).

In 1-4 centuries, the "Silk Road" rout connected East Asia with Europe, in the Fergana region (Kyrgyzstan) along the route new settlements emerged. Ideology, religion and arts were inseparable from each other, so customs and traditions could be incorporated in poetry, folklore, certain functions of buildings and spaces.

People of ancient Kyrgyzstan had their own vision of cosmology and the world structure. Anthropologists and historians tried to extract understanding of the world from the Kyrgyz epic Manas. In the epic, earth is described as a sphere, which looks like a wheel and encompasses everything. Cosmos consists out of seven vertically located layers. For instance, on the fourth layer there are sun, moon and stars, on the lower level there are the blue sky and the earth (Satybaldieva & Alieva, 2017). There are twelve animals in the sky, which form a “beast circle” (Omuraliev et al. 2002). Another understanding of the world extracted from the Manas epic, was a world tree, which connects three layers of the world: upper, middle and down worlds. Upper world is represented as birds, middle world as animals and down world as fish and snakes. Such cosmogonies can be traced in petroglyphs and cave drawings of the Paleolithic period (Oruzbaeva & Sayakbay, 2015).

There can be identified several main types of religious buildings: sanctuaries, necropolises, graves and religious-cultural buildings. For example, the temple in the Mountain “Saymali-Tash” (decorative rocks), and mountain “Sulaiman- Too (Sulaiman mountain)” were considered as pilgrimage saint places. On the walls of the caves, there are found ancient petroglyphs with portrayals of people, animals, birds and myth storylines. Such petroglyphs can be found not only the Sulaiman-Too and Saymaly-Tash, but on the territory of the whole country. Petroglyphs are important traces of ancient civilizations, which give a picture of ancient lifestyle (Sher, 1980).

Saymali Tash

Saymali Tash is a 3km of the rout inside of the mountain, where throughout the route there can be found ancient drawings and petroglyphs, from drawings of animals to portrayals of

the ancient lifestyle and myths. Location and climatic conditions allow visiting place only during summer (Omuraliev, Tentiyeu, & Tashkulov, 2002).

Sulaiman Too

Sulaiman-Too – is a mountain of 5ha area, with a system of caves and grottos. The mountain is located at the heart of ancient city Osh. The mountain is associated with a lot of myths and legends. It was a sort of Zoroastrian sanctuary. There can be found representations of automorphic totemic animals and birds. Sulaiman-Too has its own mythology, in which it is a representation of a vertical axis, at the top of which live gods, under which live evil spirits and at the ground level - people. The mountain connects sky, earth and protects people from unfortunates (Omuraliev et al. 2002).

Together with Zoroastrian records, there were also found Buddhist records such as texts and utensils. In VIII century when Islam entered, three main religions buddhism, zoroastism and Islam dominated the Central Asian region. Islamic architecture would be more prominent in the further X-XII centuries. The main language in the region were turkic languages. The artisanship was developing to the great levels: procession of precious metals and semi-precious alloys, dishes, jewelry, buckles with floral and animal ornaments were produced. Leather craftsmanship, carpentry and other examples of crafts hold the strongest visual image of the culture.

3.2 11-17TH CENTURIES MEDIEVAL TIMES

Most of the architectural material evidences inherited from the past belongs to the period of Karahanid reign in Central Asia, in X-XII centuries. Therefore, it is possible to encounter similar architectural technics and motives in other countries, especially in Uzbekistan, in such cities as Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent.

Such architectural elements as rectangular portals with deep niche and domes became almost a mandatory element in construction. However, an invasion of Mongols in 13th century brought development of cities to decrease.

XIV and XV centuries were very crucial to Central Asia, as the great Timur conqueror (or Tamerlan) one of Turkic-Mongolian emirs established Samarkand (Uzbekistan) city as a capital of his lands. Timur was one of the key figures of many constructions in the Central Asian region. The more burnt brick comes, the more minarets, fortresses, mosques and mausoleums were built. Facades of buildings were covered with ornaments of floral, geometric and animal motives (Bernshtam, 1950).

Burana Tower

The tower located at the city Tokmok, was built more than 900 years ago. According to a legend, a Khan built the tower for his daughter, so she would be kept safe inside of the tower. In many Turkic cultures, there are similar legends. After archeologic excavations and explorations, it was assumed that the tower was located at the city center of Turgesh Khanate and probably was a watchtower (Berhnshtam, 1950). Burana is 21, 6 m high and stays on a hexagon of a 3, 75 m high prism. Tower is getting narrower with the height. Diameter at the top edge is 5,90m and at the bottom is 8,85m. There are spiral stairs with high risers (up to 40 cm). The tower has ornaments composed out of the same bricks. The brick out of which tower is constructed also forms an ornament, which creates ornamental belts. It is located in deliberate manner to form an ornaments, this technic is called “textile”, which indicates that decorative part is also a construction element. By the construction technic and Arabic writings, the tower is similar to some towers in Buhara (Uzbekistan) and Uzgen (Kyrgyzstan) (Bernshtam, 1950).

Uzgen Architectural Complex

Uzgen architectural complex consists of three mausoleums and one minaret dating back to 11-12th century, Karahanid khanate reign. Buildings have rectangular plans, decorations on facades, arches at the entrances and domes (Berhnshtam, 1950). The complex is an epitome of development of Karahanid Khanate. According to Conviner, there was buried one of the first Karahanids – Nasr-ibn- Ali, in the middle mausoleum. Minaret does not have name, however construction technic and ornamentation leads to the conclusion that it was built in XI century (cited in Bernsham, 1950).

The middle mausoleum is the oldest one and similar to central planned mausoleum of earlier periods in Bukhara (X century). Left and right mausoleums are considered to be of a portal type, similar to mausoleums of Sultan Sanjar in Merve (XII century). With their facades, all three mausoleums form one line oriented to south-west. Complex is located at the south-west corner of a square of the Uzgen city. Probably there was a necropolis of the medieval city. There are twelve types of ornaments of various geometric, floral and palmitic motives (Bernsham, 1950).

50 meters apart from the Uzgen Complex, there is Uzgen Minaret Tower. It has octagonal plan and is constructed out of burnt brick. Overall height of the building is 17 meters, in which 4 meters is an octagonal base. The whole surface is decorated with brick decoration and wide ornament belts interchange with thin rings. The higher it is the wider is ring, this create an effect of uniform division of the prism into the ornamental belts (Bernsham, 1950).

Manas Kumbes

In the deep of Talas valley there is a small domed structure called Kumbes Manas. It is believed that Manas' body is buried there. Talas region is an overall associated with Manas

history and the Manas epic the most. This is not a coincidence as Talas is one of the most ancient regions where Kyrgyz ancestors would live. Manas Kumbez is a mausoleum with central plan, cubic base and a dome. Building is constructed out of burnt brick with 23x23x5.5 cm dimensions. The building dimensions are 6.8x7.16m with 7 m height. On the outer corners of the building there are $\frac{3}{4}$ columns. Transition of the cubic base to demolished dome is made through polygonal drum (Bernshtam, 1950).

Archeological analysis showed that the mausoleum was demolished inside. Floor excavation opened four empty graves, oriented to south. Writings on the portal says that mausoleum was built for the memory of Kezinek Hatun, daughter of Emir Abuk. Text indicates that daughter died earlier than the father did, so there were left a space especially for the father. Therefore, it can be assumed that second grave belongs to the father emir Abuk. This indicates that the mausoleum does not have any actual relation to the hero Manas (Bernshtam, 1950). Kyrgyz people however forgot the origin of the building and linked it to the hero who fought for freedom of Kyrgyz tribes. Therefore, Manas Kumbez is not a grave of the hero, but a memorial (Bernshtam, 1950).

In the year of 1995 around the Manas Kumbez, the project Manas Ordosu was built. It was having a concept of ethno-cultural museum, planned and designed according to the existing memorial.

Yurta

Yurta went through the long path of evolution. According to some ethnographs, mobile and demountable yurta, known today, was formed by the end of middle ages. It consists of various wooden elements that form a primary structure covered with felt outside, which protects interior from wind and precipitations. Yurta can be covered with different ornaments inside

and outside. There is a “*tunduk*” – a hole at the center of a yurt, which allows to take fresh air in smoke out (Jatko, n.d.).

If to sum up a common imagery of rich cultural and historical legacy of ancient and medieval times in the Kyrgyz region are peculiar construction technics from the Karahanid era, centers of pilgrimage of ancient times - the mountains Saymaly-Tash and Sulaiman-Too, traditional arts and crafts, and burial structures such as kurgan, kumbez and graveyards. Those are physical evidences that embody the Kyrgyz historical past. Petroglyphs, floral and animal motives are the strongest visual elements, as they still persistent in traditional crafts. Ancient Kyrgyz myths, cosmologies, folklore and tales are rich cultural non-physical legacies, which embody the cultural values of Kyrgyz people. Exactly these elements and peculiar characteristics of the monuments in the Kyrgyz region provide rich set of references, which further can be used in the construction of the brand new identity.

3.3 18-19TH CENTURIES THE KOKAND KHANATE AND THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

During the Kokand Khanate reign there still was a fundamental difference in cities' development at south and the north regions of Kyrgyzstan, at south there were ancient cities such as Uzgen and Osh, whereas at the north there were mostly military fortresses, such as Pishpek and Tokmok. Osh and Uzgen cities were important locations as they were on the Silk Way rout. The old part of the Osh city is very similar to other eastern cities with small narrow organically developed streets, bazaars and mosques. Northern fortresses Tokmok and Pishkek were strategically important for Kokand rulers, because for more than a half century they were controlling the whole Fergana region from there. In 1876, when the Russian Empire took over Tokmok fortress, it gained a status of a city and became economic, cultural and administrative center of the region. After a strong water flood, the city was damaged and the

administrative center became Pishpek. All cities got development plans by Russian topographers, considering climatic conditions, water resources and utilizations. Cities were divided by rectangular grids, according to which main squares, streets and buildings were formed. Many Russian families migrated and brought their construction technics and architectural aesthetics. Pishpek city (now Bishkek) in 1870 was not very different from any other Russian or Ukrainian small towns with primitive huts and wattles. Citizens were mostly living by commerce and trades. There were mostly one-story or two-story buildings out of raw clay, adobe hackles, reed roofs and facades decorated with wooden threads. Infrastructure of the city was poorly developed; there were no paving materials and lightings on the streets. It was more of a big bazaar, rather than a city (Muksinova & Hramova, 2010). Gardening of the city also took place during the Russian Empire. In 1878 the Pishpek visited scientist and gardener Alexey Fetisov, who put the beginning for fundamental development of greenery in the city. Many not common seedlings were brought to Fergana region. Fetisov started developing planning beautification strategies such as better alignment of streets and squares, irrigation net and boulevard alleys. More than 200 species of new plant species were brought.

Industry was developing during 1904-1917 years: leather processing, creamery, milling and brick factories were operating. By the end of 19th century, Pishpek was a commercial and industrial center of the whole northern region (Muksinov & Hramov, 2010).

With the rule of Russian Empire, many new characters were introduced into the region: industrial architecture, grid city planning, wood ornaments, gardening and public parks. All these were firstly introduced and imposed by Russians into a new building culture of Kyrgyzstan.

3.4 THE SOVIET UNION

After the October Revolution and establishment of the Soviet Union, the new phase took place in the city development. Pishpek was renamed into Frunze and became the administrative center of Kyrgyz USSR. During the Russian empire, even with city development plans, Pishpek was far away from the imperial state, and therefore was very underdeveloped. Many Kyrgyz people still would live nomadic semi-nomadic lifestyle. Therefore, with the Soviet Union establishment it became the time when Kyrgyz people were forced to change their lifestyle from nomadic to settled. There were few professional architects and scarcity of building material and resources. Soviet leaders established Soviet regime with rejecting feudal social order and adaptation of a collective industrial society.

During the transition, there were many challenges, such as construction of necessary facilities: agricultural facilities, husbandries, construction of industrial units, administrative buildings, hospitals and schools. Industrial development and opening of railway became a strong facilitation for city urbanization (Prohorova, 2013).

In 1920-1930 years, there were uncontrolled construction development, which lead to chaotic planning. However, in 1926 there was an attempt to control planning by dividing streets into, primary, secondary and tertiary roads. The “Circular” city was planned and built, the main idea of which was to correspond it to the ideas of E. Howard - the garden city. The main structure of it were 24 radial streets and 4 ring highways. First highways would divide central square and residential blocks, others would go through housings. Radial streets would form districts. However, after 1950s the construction stopped and resulted very different from the original idea.

In 1937, after the major Soviet architectural conference, architects of Kyrgyzstan were criticized for lack of design and construction technics. Architects from Moscow and

Leningrad (Saint Petersburg) designed projects, after which architects in Kyrgyzstan had to adapt them climatic, geologic and other specifics of Kyrgyzstan. Again, many attention was devoted to landscaping: more new parks, boulevards and pocket parks were proposed (Muksinov & Hramov, 2010).

World War II in 1941-1945 stimulated architecture development a lot, there were located 38 new factories, industries, universities and institutions. In 1930-1950s, there was a rise in traditionalism and neoclassicism, after the WWII; the interest was focused on ornaments and decorations of facades. For instance, the champagne-wine factory was built with the use of eastern arches (Figure 24).

Architecture of the Soviet Union period was developing according to certain regulations of typology development (linear, amorphous, radial or compact) and general methodologies of regional planning. This led to the fact that functionalism of soviet architecture was a base on which, Central Asian semantics were used only as external decorations and ornamentation (Prohorova, 2013). Another important Soviet legacy that strongly affected the architecture in Kyrgyzstan is the use of open spaces for the ideological propaganda. Squares for grand celebrations of national events and public parks for education and ideological propaganda purposes were borrowed from the Soviet Union. Cultural parks in the Soviet Union became a popular phenomenon, as a tool for ideological imposition into the masses.

3.3.1 CULTURAL PARK LEGACY

Cultural park is a product of Soviet ideology, as the ideals of communism. It is the cultural phenomenon, which suggests a place for spending leisure time for soviet citizens. Park as a space that carries ideological meaning is related with the transformation of ideology of the Soviet society. During the Stalin period, park represented the image of communism and at

the same time the path to the formation of collective human labor under the leadership of ruling elites (Shaygardanova, 2014). Even after Khrushchev there was still a faith into communism and its further future, but this time on the basis of honesty, friendship and openness. Park is a collective perception of an ideal secluded place, where human and nature form a harmony together. It was distinct from other gated places. Park, as a cultural phenomenon, has its own structure; each park had the following elements: enclosure, entrance, exit, plantation, inner alleys etc. Another important part of a park is a message that it carries. Although the history of parks is very old, the idea of park of culture and leisure is the product of XX century. It is an ideological project of the communist society, where everyone is equal (Shaygardanova, 2014). The main focus was working class, who were uneducated, passive and hardly would understand the big goals of the leaders. Soviet leaders tried to convey the big ideal - an eagerness to work. Therefore, those ideals pervaded all aspect of people everyday life and culture.

The first park of culture and leisure was Central Gorkii park, in Moscow 1928. Big, beautiful park with plenty of plants, trees, sculptures and music. It was very contrasting to the Moscow city itself with dense construction and new migrants from peripheries, who came to work in factories after the civil war. Because of it, the idea of park became an embodiment of communist heaven, which was very attractive to people. The task was to convey concepts of physical training for effective labor, military-patriotic consciousness and readiness to protect the Soviet countries, broadening of intellectual capital and scientific research, artistic development and cultivation of comprehensively developed personality. For this cultivation of a new soviet person, there were several activities taking place in parks, such as sport activities (soccer and other team games), lectures, consultations, debates on politics, arts, and history. In compare to Europe and USA, where leisure would take more an entertainment

character, Soviet parks would be perceived more as place for physical and mental recovery from a work. Recreational processes would be combined with education and cultivation of Soviet citizen (Shaygardanova, 2014). Therefore, the use of open space as an ideological message is product of the Soviet Union, which further attempted to be repeated in the example of Manas Ayili. In the Soviet Union, cultural park served as a tool to visualize necessary symbols and educate nation for the necessary purposes. Parks acted as a landscape, which served political and social goals, as much as architectural, urban and aesthetic. It is an important inheritance, which further Kyrgyzstan would adopt and incorporate during the Republic establishment.

3.5 20th CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL TRENDS AND ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN KYRGYZSTAN

Architecture got new trajectories for development after the gaining of independence, in 1991. First is an international style and synthesis of different modes of construction and technology. Second is the traditional approach, which stands for revival of national traditional forms and usage of traditional motives at facades. Today there are three types of tendencies in architecture of Kyrgyzstan. The construction of “elite²” housings and private houses. Such concept already existed during the Soviet Union period, but was impossible to realize due to necessity of high investments. Second tendency is a construction of business centers, which resemble any other business center building in any other country. Reconstruction and revitalization of old buildings and factories also can be related to this trend. Lastly, the third is a construction according to client’s specific desires, which usually resemble western architecture (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

² Elite – specific terminology used especially in Kyrgyzstan to indicate high quality, modernity and luxuriousness of the project.

The beginning of 90s was marked with the interest for exploration of a new national architectural forms. The Akayev's speech, on importance of the Manas epic, was working in all fields and architecture as well. The idea of Kyrgyz nation had to be conveyed through the Manas symbolics. It became a ground basis for national architecture establishment.

When postmodernism substituted modernist's pragmatism in western architecture, Kyrgyz architects, affected by new tendencies and national ideas, tried to synthesize their own ideas of forms and spaces. The western architectural critic became a guide for establishment of architectural discourse in Kyrgyzstan (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Such terms as "analysis", "interpretation", "temporality" and "function" appeared in Kyrgyz architectural discourse. There were raised problems of architectural forms and architectural spaces. On the backgrounds of those events "ethno-cultural" approach emerged. There was reappearing interest in eastern architecture motives and religious Islamic architecture, especially in the works of Kyrgyz architects: Shermatov, Imankulov, Baybosov, Chynaliev and etc. (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state that adequate perception and understanding specifics of ethnic and regional in architecture presupposes knowledge of a culture. Architects who tried to rethink existing archetypes, through approaching historical sources and further synthesizing them with modern technologies were Baygojoyev, Amyrkulov, Isakov, Alseyitov and Otunchiyev. An architect Aliev studied forms of yurt and potentials of the shape in his project "3 story yurt", which was further built for the celebration in 1995 year (Figure 26). Isakov and Chynaliev attempted to establish new housing types, which would express the Kyrgyz ethni in the competition in 1997 (Figures 27, 28). Kariev and Narbayev suggested a new type of building the *kymyzhana*³, by synthesizing spatial elements of nomadic culture and functional planning principles of post-

³ Kymyz is Kyrgyz traditional drink, therefore kymyzhana is place, where the drink would be served.

modernism (Figure 29). Many and many architects at the time studied regional and ethnic architecture, however only few of the projects were actually realized, among which Manas Ayili and Manas Ordo by Omuraliev.

Scholars approached Kyrgyz nomadic culture in the frame of “ethno-cultural” approach, as it possess rich cultural, spatial and plastic intrerpretations, which further can be translated into a “new” ethnic architecture. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev stress that every culture has to present itself with the best it has, otherwise a culture and its architecture, will lose its face and dignity (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003:29). They refer to Levi-Strauss, where he suggests approaching history in order to understand an encrypted code of a culture, because modern symbolism is relevant only to the modern time, and it would not explain a culture (cited in Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Young generation of architects in Kyrgyzstan approach “ethno-architecture” with rather negative approach, whereas towards western neomodernists architectural movements with sincere enthusiasm (2003).

By 2000s, there is still a lack of theoretical discourse and investigation, especially in the field of regional architecture. Worldwide interest in semantic forms, temporality and flexibility of forms only scarcely was touched in Kyrgyzstan. There were no elaborate investigation and exploration of cultural forms and motives, as well as no legitimate methodology to approach history and architectural legacy. Most of the architects who work in ethnic approach still are young architects, who cannot fully incorporate all their ideas. Mundane literal realization of Kyrgyz ethnic elements (such as bus stop in the form of traditional hat) discredits the whole ethnic approach (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Soviet architecture was marked as lacking any national character, although Eastern motives were exploited in design. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev explain it with the fact that the essence of ethnic or regional architecture in the Soviet Union was considered as mere peculiarity and a surface ornament element. For example, the sculpture built for celebration of the end of WWII war, clearly takes forms after yurt (Figure 25). During the totalitarian regime the “national” architecture was allowed under strict control. Yet again terms “national” and “ethno” collide here, because Soviet ruling elites cultivated the idea of nations based on ethnic belonging, therefore an imprint it left persist in a form that national architecture must embody ethnic character. Scholars of Kyrgyzstan evaluate “quasi” national architecture of Soviet period as lacking of any Kyrgyz philosophy and soul (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

The Soviet Union legacy left the country with ambiguous feelings, because the desire for rupture was so strong that architects almost rejected Soviet legacy. However, it is possible to observe that in many ways Soviet legacy penetrated and shaped the approach towards architecture itself. Differentiation of spaces with specific “ideological” meanings (square for celebrations, for military marches etc.), the use of strong formal shapes and clear forms, the use of Soviet technologies and construction techniques, all that indicate that no matter how much people deny Soviet architecture, it is still persistent in designs of new generations of Kyrgyz architects.

Despite the rich cultural imagery persistent in Kyrgyz culture for centuries, architectural scholars in Kyrgyzstan continued with embodiment of new forms, which has to convey an ethnic character and consequently, the national idea of rupture with Soviet past,

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there barely were any archeological, historical and anthropological investigations, which lead to limited amount of visual and writing material. There is no any preservation, protection methodologies and policies on the government level that address historical architectural landmarks. There is a lack of theoretical contribution into architectural knowledge and there is no interest among academicians to explore on this field. In the transition into independent state, the need for such ancient roots was especially important. Therefore, collective imagery of the architectural and artistic legacy Kyrgyzstan inherited became essential source in the formation of further brand new identity. Material evidences and research became a repository for creation of new narrations, which convey patriotic idea of the proud Kyrgyz nation.

3.6 TABLES

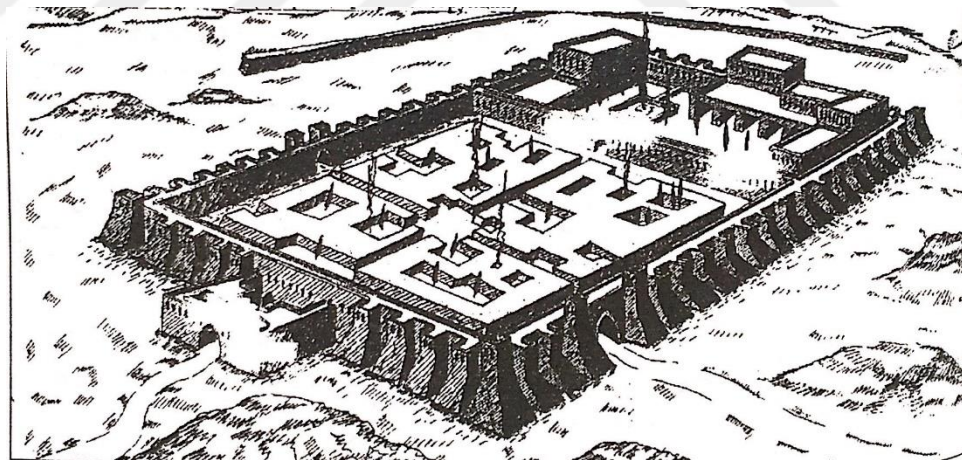


Figure 7 City Mahramat (Omuraliev et al., 2002)

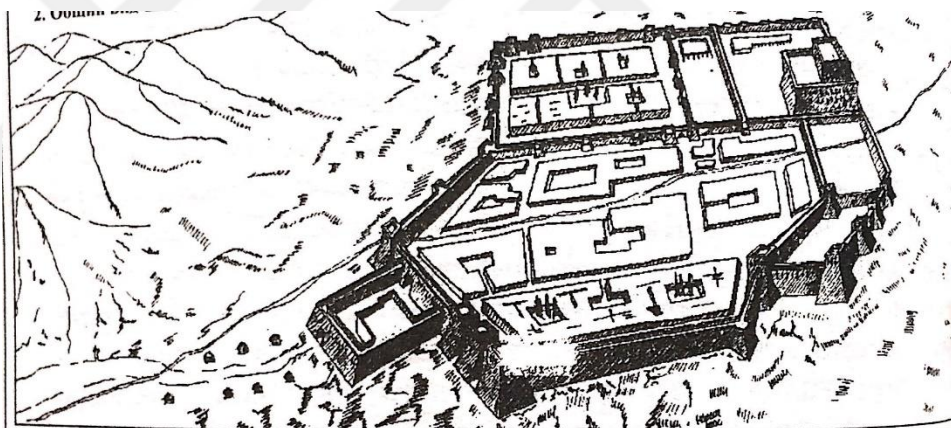


Figure 8 City Shorobashat (Omuraliev et al., 2002)



Figure 9 Drawings on the caves (Omuraliev et al., 2002)

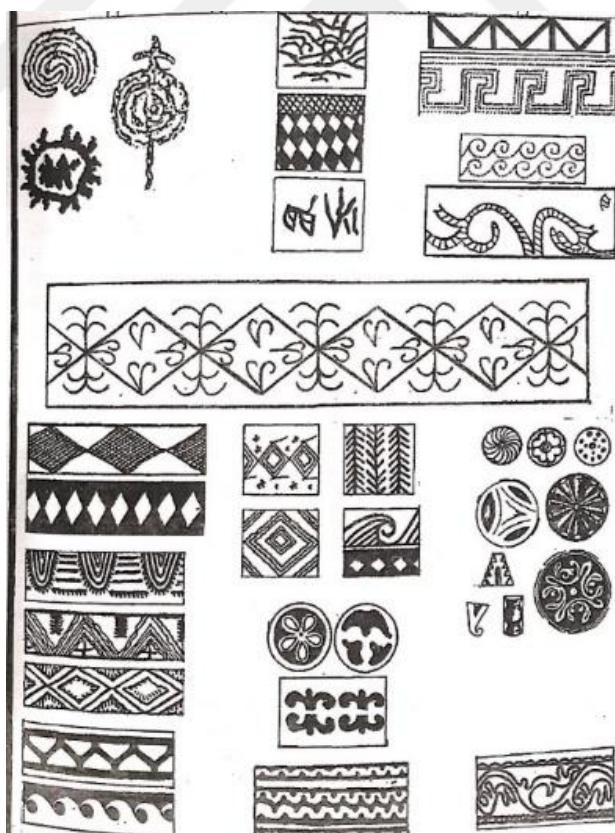


Figure 10 Traditional ornaments of ancient nomadic and settled Kyrgyz civilizations (Omuraliev et al., 2002)



Figure 11 Saymaly-Tash (Omuraliev et al., 2002)



Figure 12 Karahanid Khanate reign

(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b8/Kara-Khanid_Khanate.png/350px-Kara-Khanid_Khanate.png)



Figure 13 Burana Tower (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AAND9GcQrl54qm2voRLJqNg2dsECD1nx-kZs5UAh6EK_5aw8lAyNwFFi0)



Figure 14 Uzgen Architectural Complex (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AAND9GcTFNN1JoC5N83uFRPW6X6mhab7CrRyyiMGWceoH_SFSl8VZxvvz)



Figure 15 Uzgen Minaret (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AAND9GcSfIdzQrTqohgYJTgyUasG6F8o_L_zQBU6sqA57lmFm-b-IZ_WW)

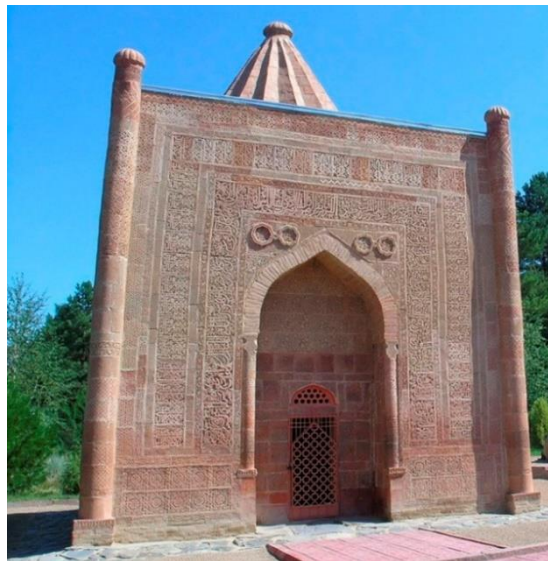


Figure 16 Manas Kumbez (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AAND9GcTHHnDfbeohkMKNmyQQrhlu6sDB0rz_GCPBZikLymcWQQjrB-0u)



Figure 17 Yurta (<https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AANd9GcQQ-NzlKVxllsNcfrBQLyrKGaPT1lZWCXFJrxD1VqXOnV8CfHXL>)



Figure 18 Yurta (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AANd9GcQ7iQ9n7UK7Hc4cEIg7XAqwyzSXIcm_HN-z27KBi7NmNglNJPkn)

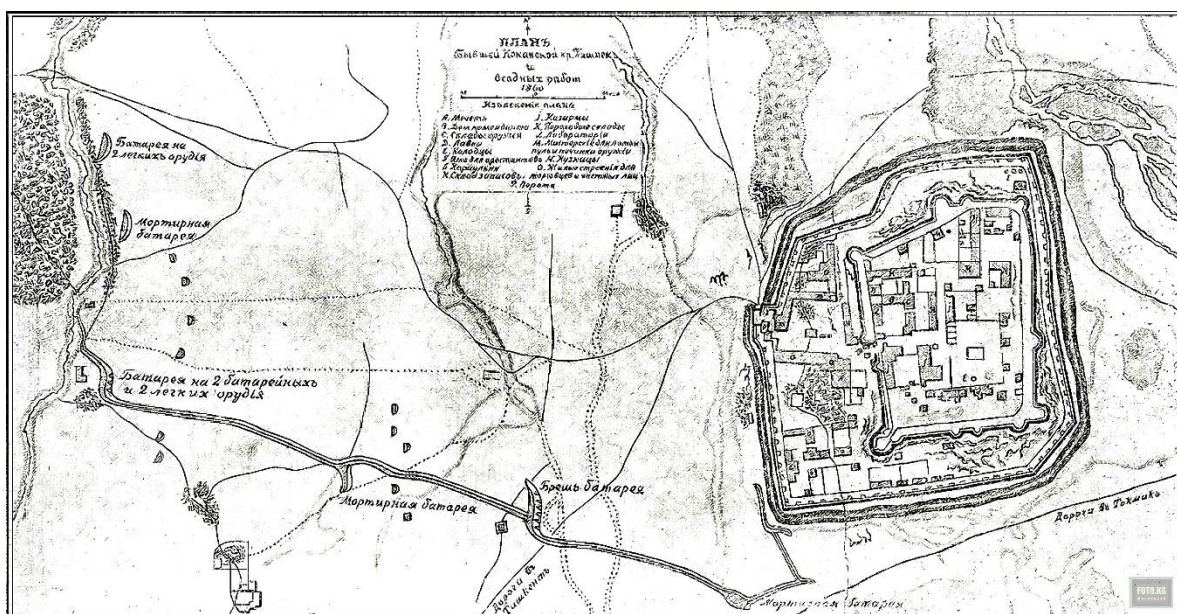


Figure 19 Pishpek Fortress
(http://foto.kg/uploads/posts/201302/1360996253_1.jpg)

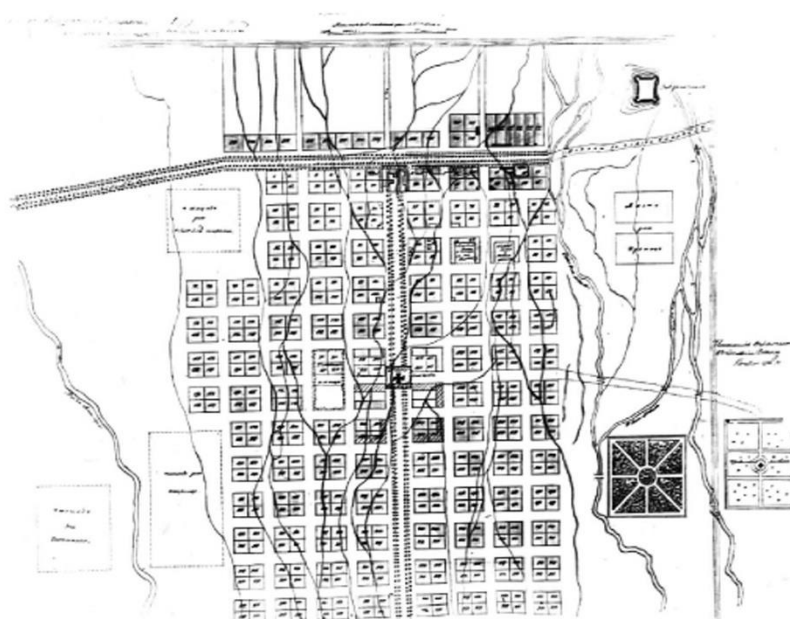


Рис. 3. План проектного расположения
предполагаемого города Пишпека
Семиреченской обл., 1878 г.



Figure 20 Strategic master plan of the Pishpek city, 1878 (Muksinov, Hramova, 2010).



Рис. 7. Серафимовская церковь. Начало XX в.



а



б



в



г

Figure 21 The Slavic Church (Muksinov, Hramova, 2010).

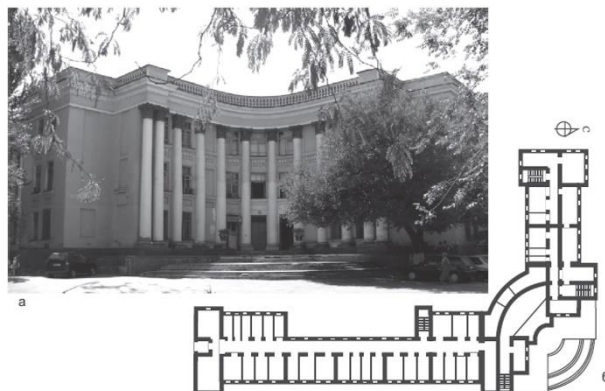


Рис. 19. Здание Медицинского института, ул. Московская – Т. Молдо.
Арх. Ф. Стеблин 1940 г.: а – общий вид; б – план.

Figure 22 Medical University Building, the Soviet Union, 1940
(Muksinov, Hramova, 2010).



Рис. 8. Жилой дом, ул. Советская – Киевская. Постройка до 1920-х гг.:
а – фасад; б – фрагмент окна; в – фрагмент цокольной части;
г – фрагмент образца резьбы на карнизе.

Figure 23 Private house 1920s (Muksinov, Hramova, 2010).



Figure 24 *The Vine Factory, 1945-1948* г., 2007 г.
(Muksinov, Hramova, 2010).



Figure 25 Sculpture resembling elements of Yurta build for the end of the WWI (<https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AANd9GcRUICMnyVLl0ijR08vMMOsgND-oeV9KFMr6C-xknKAEUL332oXt>)

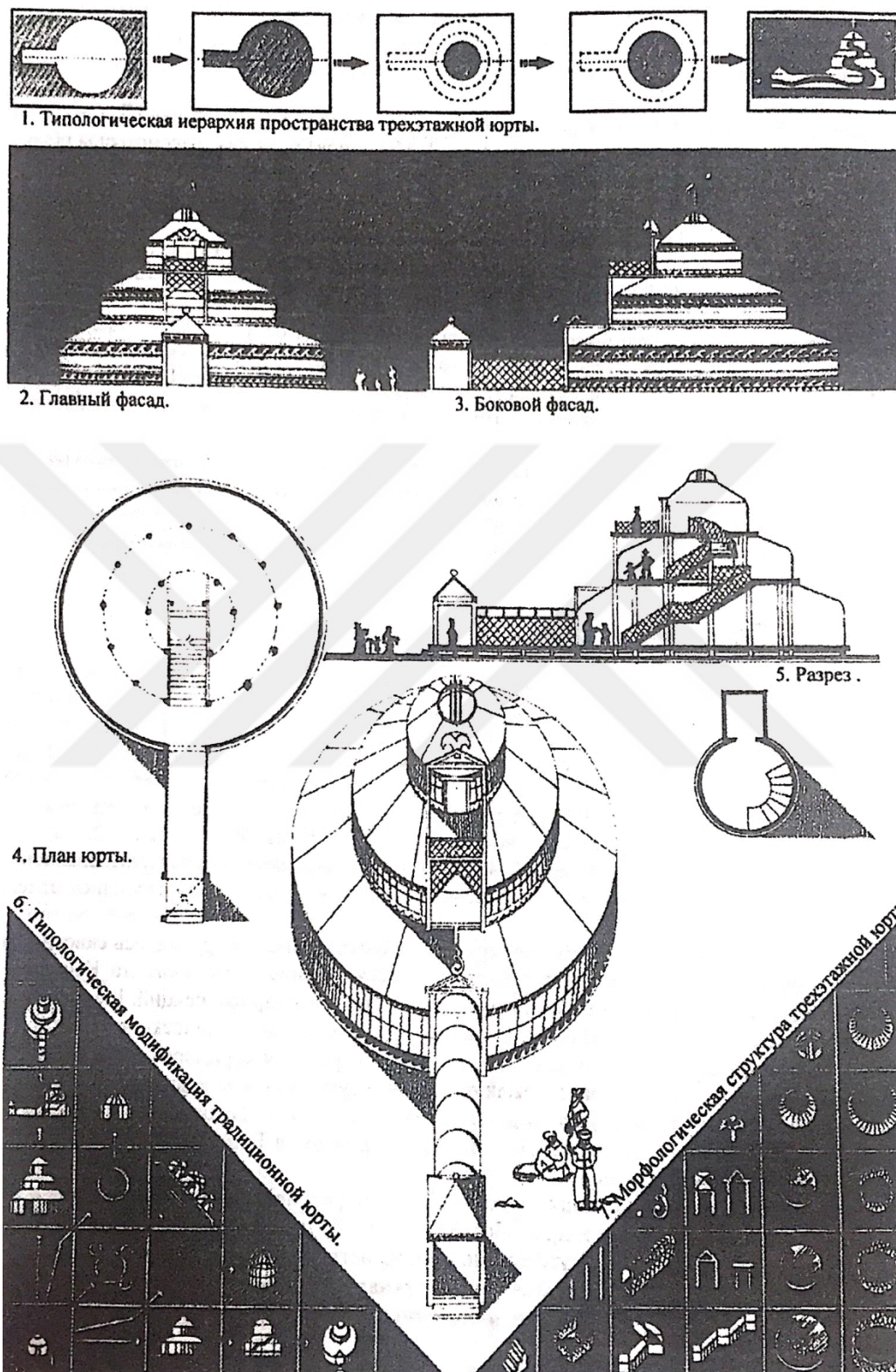


Figure 26 3 Story yurta, architect Aliev,
 1. Typology of space and hierarchy of forms, 2. The façade, 3.Side façade, 4.Plan,
 5.Section, 6.Typological modification of traditional yurta, 7. Morphological
 structure (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

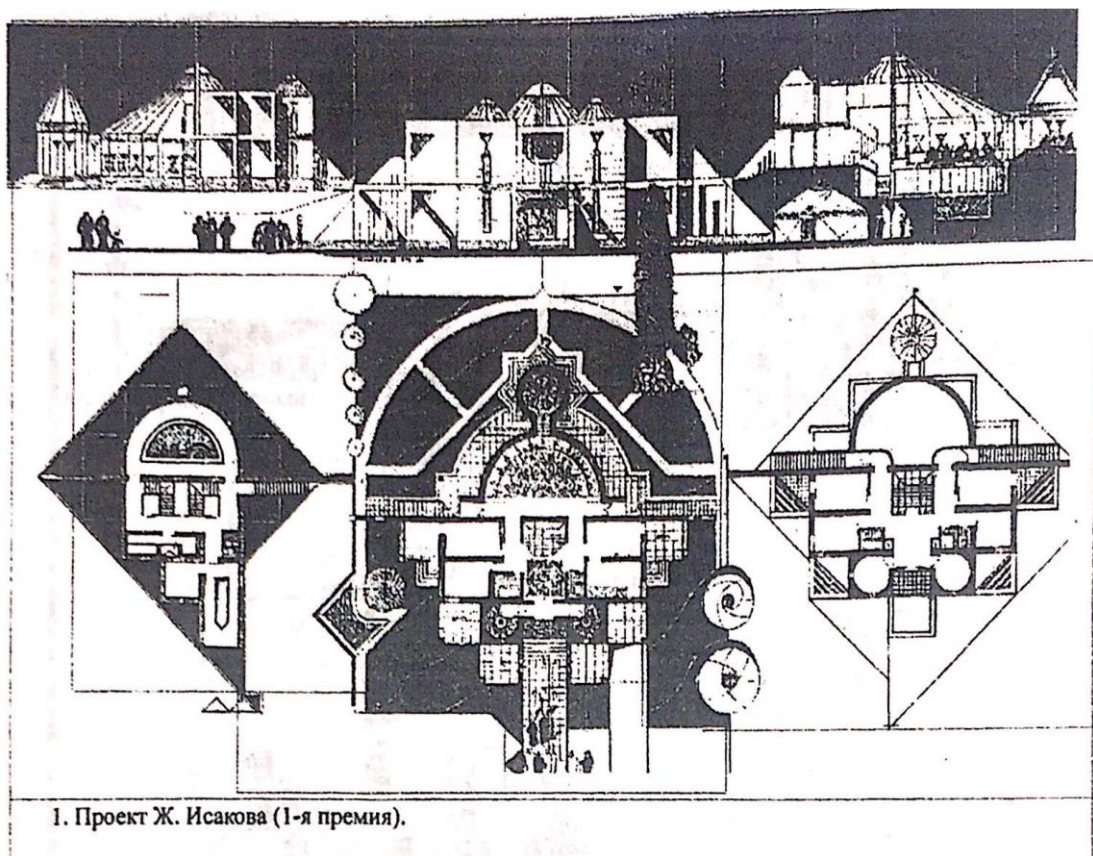


Figure 27 Housing proposal by Isakov, 1993 (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003)

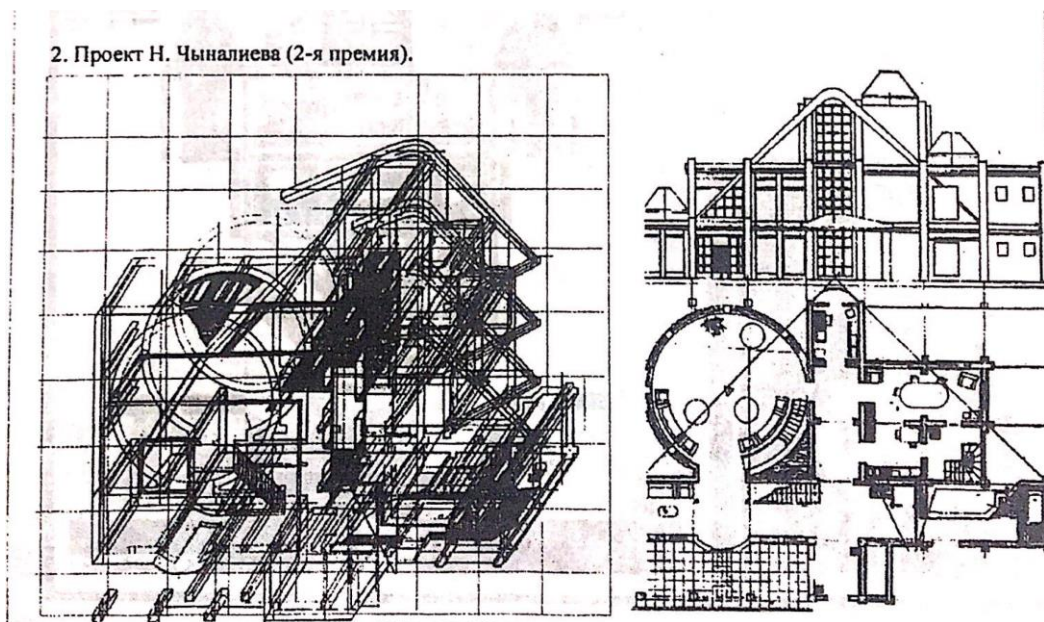
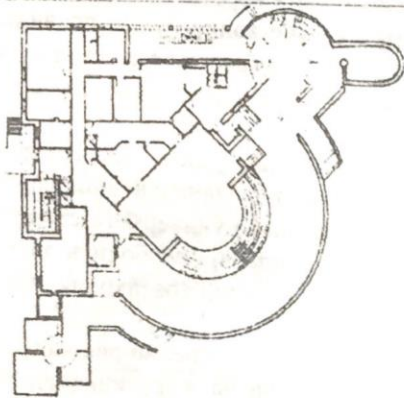
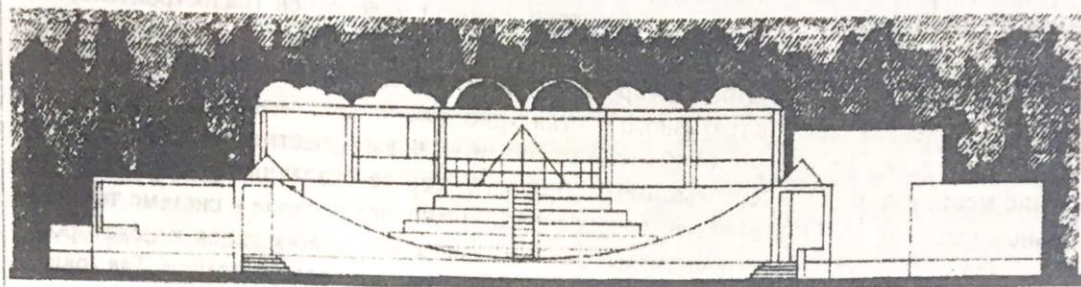
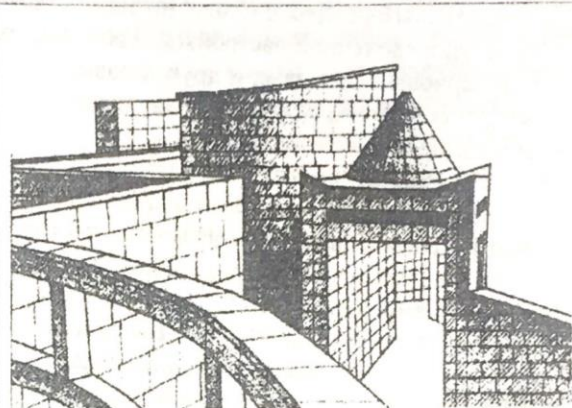


Figure 28 Housing proposal by Chynaliev, 1993, (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

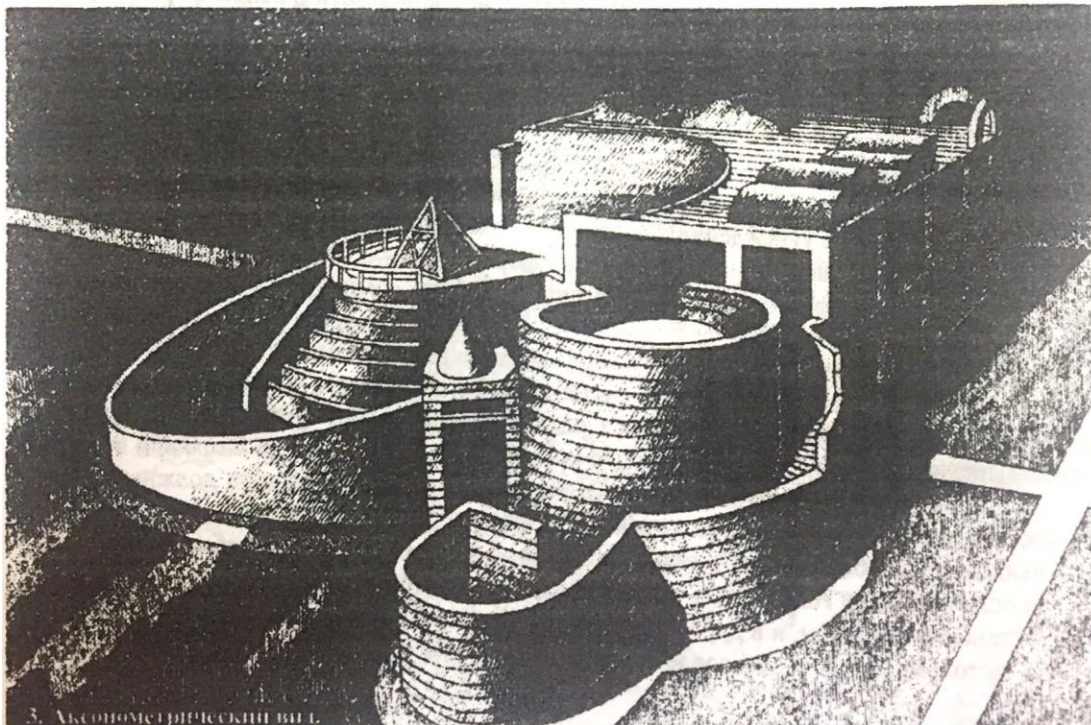
1. Южный фасад.



2. План.



Фрагмент.



3. Аксонометрический вид.

Figure 29 Kymyzhana by Kariev, Narbayev, (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).
1. Façade, 2. Plan, 3. Partial Axonometric, 4. Axonometric.

CHAPTER 4

4. THE GENEALOGY OF ETHNIC FORMS IN THE DISCOURSE OF DYUSHEN OMURALIEV

4.1 THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE OF DYUSHEN OMURALIEV

The architect Dyushen Omuraliev⁴ have certain critical points towards the architectural discourse on regional and ethnic character in architecture, therefore it is important to introduce them to be able to better immerse in the discussion. The book *Modern Ethno architecture of Kyrgyzstan* and personal interview with the architect are main material sources. In the book, Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev formulate an overall approach of regional and ethnic architecture in 90s in Kyrgyzstan under a term “ethno-architecture”. Therefore, Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev identify projects introduced earlier by architects Aliev, Kariev

⁴ Dyushen Omuraliev - is an academician of International Academy of East Architecture and the dean of the architecture department in the “Kyrgyz University of Construction, City Planning, Architecture and Transport”. He gives classes in architectural studio, supervises master and PhD students. He obtained his education during the Soviet regime, according to architectural standards of the SU, however his beginning of practice coincided with the establishment of sovereign republic. His field of research focuses on investigation of architectural theory, history, methodologies of Islamic world, architecture of Kyrgyzstan and modern West. He has several built projects, between which “Manas Ayili” and “Manas Ordosu”, which are the focus of the case study. He participated in several competitions and won various international awards. He is dealing with both architectural theory and practice.

and Narbayev, as well as projects Manas Ayili and Manas Ordo as examples of ethno architecture.

The term “ethno-architecture” is described as an approach, which investigates history and culture of an ethnic group, in an attempt of deriving and identifying potential architectural and non-architectural archetypes, which further could be translated into an architectural language (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003). In addition, it is crucial to point out that Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev refer the term ethnic architecture as an embodiment of a national architecture, which indicates continuation of Soviet approach towards the legitimacy of the nation through the reference to ethno genesis. As it is stated in the book, study of an ethnic can open a way towards a national architecture: “clear ethnic origin of the nation in architecture provides with a unique national architecture characteristic only to a certain nation, which makes it stand out among other states” (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003:76). Therefore, there is an attempt not only to visualize cultural abstract elements into palpable substance, but also to establish an architectural language. As Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state, with a set of principles it will derive forms carrying ethnic gene, which ultimately would embody national idea.

This approach presupposes an investigation of cultural forms, which serves as an archetype source for further interpretation of new forms. This leads to another term, which helps to evaluate architect’s approach, a “genealogy of forms”. Borrowed from Kenneth Frampton, the term refers to his analysis of buildings, through which it is attempted to identify the origin of an architectural elements in buildings (stairs, colonnades, façade elements and etc.) (Frampton, 2015). In case of Omuraliev, it is more of a reverse process, where he identifies a series of elements borrowed from Kyrgyz culture, which serve as archetype in the construction of ethnic architecture. According to him, there are particular values that are

important for creation of certain environments, a spatial basis for the architectural development. Omuraliev defines the two strongest Kyrgyz aesthetics - 1) a Kyrgyz ornament and 2) a relation of the Kyrgyz people to form (personal interview, March 15, 2019). He says that further he puts a theoretical question: “how to transfer those values into architecture?” It has to be pointed out that Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev refer to western critic as their guide in a formation of a discourse. They refer to Ranar Banham, Claude Levis-Strauss, Sigfried Gideon and Charles Jenks as important sources for a construction of their discussion.

4.2 ETHNO-ARCHITECTURE

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev suggest almost an anthropological approach towards the architectural design. Omuraliev himself defines ethno-architecture as a cultural approach for architectural form finding, through defining ethnic concept of space by historic and anthropologic analysis (personal interview, March 15, 2019). They justify it by referencing to works of anthropological scholars, who state that each ethnic develops its own concept of space and time, which further shape architecture an ethnic produce (Spengler, Gachev, Bayburin, Vinber in Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003). Especially they refer to the notion formed by Ahundov, who says that space and time are fundamental ideas of culture that play important role in consciousness of people. So fundamental that at certain period of development ancient mythology, religion and philosophy are considered as the genetic beginning of the world (zvran in Zoroastrism, chaos in the ancient Greek mythology, akash and kala in the ancient Indian mythology) (Ahundov, 1982). Therefore, in order to grasp the essence of traditional architecture the “ethnos”, it is important to investigate on ethnic understanding of space. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev refer to this as the way of finding the “soul” of national architecture and arts of Kyrgyz people.

A discussion in a way resembles an idea of *genius loci* that Norberg-Schulz developed as a contribution into phenomenology of architectural existentialism. Both are focused on the relationship between man and environment. As Schulz says, man's identification is a way man embodies environmental character (1980). "To find the soul of ethnic architecture" is similar to what Norberg-Schulz says about architecture, according to him, architecture has to identify and give a concrete embodiment to *genius loci* of the place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5). Yet, the major difference is a stressed reference to importance of "ethnic genesis", therefore in Omuraliev's and Kurmanaliev's discourse sources of architectural new forms have to belong solely to Kyrgyz ethnic. Omuraliev state that being rooted in Kyrgyz ethnic, such architecture transfer not only ethnic idea of space, but also a national idea of space. Another source, which serve Omuraliev as a basis for his theoretical approach is Gachev, Russian anthropologist and historian, according Gachev, an ethnic idea of space is in a culture of the folk (Gachev, 1999). Therefore, it is possible to derive ethnic idea of space from the cultural symbolic realm such as arts and crafts, traditional dance and games, ritual and customs. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev propose an analytical view on history and culture of Kyrgyzstan, through the study of Kyrgyz nationhood and evolution of material and spiritual culture (architecture and arts), as they state, it is possible to derive from it Kyrgyz ethnic perception of space and form (2003).

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev differentiate ethno-architecture from regional and religious architecture, because main element of those is not an "ethnos" but a territorial and an interethnic phenomena. Therefore, the rise of religious architecture after the collapse of the Soviet Union, is not considered as part of ethnic movement. By "not carrying Kyrgyz ethnos" they indicate that Islam and Islamic architecture does not solely belong to Kyrgyz culture, but the whole Central Asian region, therefore, according to them, it does not express an

Kyrgyz ethnic identity (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev call architecture as an element of ethnic culture, only when it organically growth from material and visceral substances of ethnos. They say that philosophy of a culture is a way to understand an essence of architecture of a culture, because philosophy is closely connected not only with culture and history, but also with architecture. All together, they portray “Kyrgyz imagery” of the world and space. Authors say that it is impossible to describe ethno-architecture of the culture, only through pragmatic reasons, such as climate, topography and geographical location. They suggest that such way of thinking is shallow and explain development of architecture only on surface. Their ethno-cultural approach tries to distance itself from pragmatic soviet architectural critic, because it ignores spiritual, cultural and historical aspect of architecture (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev derive certain principles upon which ethno-architecture should operate. It should pay high attention to existent ancient landmarks of Kyrgyzstan and nomadic culture. It should consider traditional values such as traditional crafts, ethnic perception of aesthetics and beauty. Ethno-architecture has to exploit motives and symbols of national folklore and poetry. In terms of materials and construction, the preference has to be made towards local material and local construction technic. Through design process, there should be conducted a systemic analysis and scientific synthesis. Ethno –architecture must be highly ritualized and convey historic and cultural symbols. It should re-create historic cultural motives and trigger associations. Ethno-architecture should be full of sculptural symbolic and decorative elements related to Kyrgyz culture. Therefore, architects suggest treating the source of form finding, not only via architectural historical references, but also non-architectural such as mythology, philosophy, ancient cosmology, poetry, crafts and etc. (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

On an international scholar level, there is no such term as “ethno-architecture” with the same theoretical meaning, especially in a western critic. The closest definition refers to “ethno-architecture” as an “indigenous architecture”, which is mostly associated with architectural discourse in the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Arctic Sea and other countries where indigenous people, have their own architectural tradition and aspire to translate their culture into built environment (“Indigenous Architecture,” 2019). Which in the way is similar to the definition of Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev, however they have a very specific focus on sources that carry exclusively Kyrgyz ethno genesis. Apparently, architects of different countries develop their own discourse; therefore, from the theoretical point of view, one example from one country would be different from another.

Yet, in Kyrgyzstan, a relation to “ethno-architecture” is tricky. During the interview Omuraliev indicated that in last years an “ethnic-approach” got an exploitive character (personal interview, March 15, 2019). Solely for commercial purposes, the word “ethno” is added for the all-possible functions from restaurant to bust stops, assumed that it would directly relate the building or the structure the Kyrgyz ethnic. However, the architect strongly disagrees with such approach and calls it surface and mundane. He rather suggests an ethnic approach for functions that are peculiar only to the Kyrgyz culture, for example ethnic approach for the buildings with ritual purposes (*tulookana*⁵). As Omuraliev points out, there are some values, which characteristic only to Kyrgyz culture and rituals that can be found only in Kyrgyzstan.

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev focus a lot on the existentialism of open space of Kyrgyz nomad culture and its relation to form. In an interview, Omuraliev adds that by understanding and

⁵ Tulookana- tuloo is a Kyrgyz tradition of oblation, in order to avoid calamities in future; therefore, tulookana is a place where those kind of rituals takes place.

imagining the endless mountains , strict forms of yurta, caves and temporal camps of a nomad, help to grasp the idea of Kyrgyz architecture (Personal interview, March 15, 2019. It is similar in a way to what Nordberg Schulz says (1980:6):

Our everyday life-world consists of everyday phenomena. It consists of people, animals, flowers, trees and forests, of stone, earth, wood and water... but it also comprises more intangible phenomena such as feelings. This the content of our existence. ...The concrete things, which constitute our given world, are interrelated in complex and perhaps contradictory ways.

Therefore, the ultimate goal of Omuraliev to recreate the experience of nomad and from that retrieve the form and order. It is also possible to find cross similarities with other theoretician Edmund Hasserl, who writes on phenomenology (as cited in Frampton, 2015:19):

‘...but this present is always meant as having endless past behind it and an open future before it. We soon see that we need the intentional analysis of recollection as the original manner of being conscious of the past, but we also see that such an analysis presupposes in principle that of perception, since memory, curiously enough, implies having-perceived. If we consider perception abstractly, by itself, we find its intentional accomplishment to be presentation, making something present: the object gives itself as “there”, originally there, present...’

The “past” is a repository of elements, which would be possible to use in the “future”, however through an intentional analysis and a deep understanding. It is possible to establish a relation with Rossi’s concept of permanence. Through the analysis of cities, Rossi comes up with the idea of *permanence*’s that consists in architecture throughout ages. The *permanencies* of Rossi are certain architectural and urban elements that are always persistent in a built environment and can be retrieved through the analysis of architecture of a city. Rossi does not have a single a definition for the concept, but rather a series of derived ones, therefore *permanencies* can be set of activities, spatial order, forms in building, city plans, certain orientation, dimension and etc., but only when it is possible to trace them over a long period of time (Rossi, 1982).

It is suggested that through the analysis of history Omuraliev tries to identify and address those permanence's in values of Kyrgyz people, and further to incorporate them into design. There is also possible to establish a link with Rossi's *type* and *classification* concepts. Rossi addresses *type* as an analytical method to trace permanent elements through study of a city maps (Rossi, 1982). Omuraliev provides series of typological classifications of spatial organizations used in Kyrgyz pre-Russian past, such as organizations of temporal camps, burial structures, settlement's and etc. He provides a study on varieties of organizational forms and spaces.

Discourse Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev share many overlaps with ethno-symbolism of Smith. Both refer to culture as a source for nation legitimacy. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev refer architecture that does not express ethnic character as mediocre and soulless. However, at the same time Omuraliev indicates, that architect who practices ethno-architecture should avoid literal copy of meanings and forms (personal interview, March 15, 2019). From the theoretical point of view, it can be correlated with a discourse of Frampton on *critical regionalism*, where Frampton stands for “deconstruction” of cultural values and interpretation of them into design, which means disarticulation of ethnic values and re-articulation of them into design. By classification of existing architectural and non-architectural archetypes into “types”, it possibly can be said that Omuraliev, in a way, tries to deconstruct the culture and further re-employ those elements into design.

Omuraliev approaches architecture in almost an anthropological way, what makes his approach stand differently from *critical regionalism* and *regionalism*, because the architect suggests not only use a “regional” reference but also an ethnic reference.

4.3 GENEALOGY OF FORMS

“Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times...From these elements, however genealogy retrieves an indispensable restraint: it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history-in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts: it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where they engage in different roles.”

Michel Foucault, Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” (cited in Frampton, 2015:6)

The term genealogy of forms was borrowed from a discourse of Kenneth Frampton addressing the modern architecture in 1923-1980 (Frampton, 2015). Study of Frampton attempts to identify layer-by-layer sources of spatial relationships, ideological philosophy, artistic intention and possible inspiration. In case of Omuraliev, the term genealogy therefore conveys slightly a different meaning. Omuraliev defines a set of criteria and values, which has to be addressed during design process. He classifies architectural and non-architectural values, which can be classified as an archetype. This would create a set of data of potential sources of forms, which carries Kyrgyz genesis. Therefore, in case of Omuraliev genealogy of forms is referred as a methodical approach towards establishing sources of forms. Kenneth Frampton refers “genealogy of forms” as an attempt to understand layered cultural traditions, which would further become sources of forms. As Frampton points out without understanding of tradition from which it stems, it is impossible to develop culture meaningfully (Frampton, 2015).

Architects divided sources of archetypes into two groups – architectural and non-architectural. Omuraliev identify Saymaly – tash, Sulaiman-Too, rock gardens of Cholpon – Ata, cultural grave structures, households, ayıl (villages) and attributes of nomad lifestyle yurtas. as architectural archetype sources for ethnic concept of space. Non-architectural sources of form are mythology of Kyrgyz ethnos, philosophical cosmological perception of

time and space, traditional crafts, aesthetic forms, rituals, customs, traditions, natural landscape, symbolism, language, writing and genealogy of Kyrgyz people. Authors indicate that it is important to approach those archetypes in order to immerse into ancient life-style and world of their perception. Only then, it would be possible to fully grasp the essence of the cultural value. They suggest that it is necessary to reborn ancient nomadic culture, because of a unique understanding and utilization of space (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Nomadic life-style is about being at home in multiple physical locations. Roughly, speaking nomadism is about constantly moving. Anthropologic observation of nomadic spaces seems to be correlating with concept of space by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, in which they divide spaces into smooth and striated spaces. Smooth or nomadic space is characterized as vectorial, infinite repetition of various surfaces (forest, steppe, sea, tundra and etc.). Whereas settled it striated places, delineated, divided and surveilled by the state (settlers) (Miggelbrink, Habec, Nuccio, & Koch, 2016). If dwelling is a reflection of a cosmos around, then dwelling is built according to what man sees around him, therefore it is possible to investigate spatial arrangement of the ethnicity through observation of a dwelling of an ethnic (Gachev, 1999). If to look at the dwellings of the Central Asian nomadic cultures, yurt then represents space perception of a nomadic ethnicity. Auezov suggests that yurt is circular because of the uniform openness of a space surrounding nomads, therefore it is necessary to be ready to be attacked from any side (Gachev, 1999). It is very different from Slavic, where there is a strict front and back, everything is angular and has certain sides. Many anthropologist and historians indicate, that because of this nomadic orientation in space, nomads were able to conquer settled civilizations in China, Russia, Iran and Central Asia for centuries (Miggelbrink et al., 2016). As Gachev says, a nomad military tactic was to attack from all sides by waves and then turn back, what was very confusing for Slavic people as

they are used to strict orientation. Because of the different orientation in space, they were defeated by nomads (1999).

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state that dramatic darkness of caves, colorful geometric yurtas, surrounding kurgans⁶ and unpredictability of serpentine trails caused certain behavior pattern and arrangement of spaces (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Each cave is unique and impossible to recreate artificially. Caves, in nomad culture, are full of peculiar symbolism. For instance, entrances are marked with totems, amulets or sculptures, which would protect from the outside threat. The relationship between outside and inside or “our” and “foreign” creates a strict borders in the spatial organization. (Gachev, 1999).

Kurmanaliev and Omuraliev emphasize that “kurgan architecture” is an important legacy of Kyrgyz culture. Kurgans create another association with space arrangement and perception; artificial hills together form an ensemble of various geometric forms. There is an assumption that those structures could represent cosmological model of the universe, which nomads tried to transfer into built structures. The cult of leaders and ancestors is a key in a culture of nomads, therefore inside of kurgans there would be buried tribe leaders.

4.3.1 INTERPRETATION OF THE WORLD IN KYRGYZ NOMAD CULTURE

As interpretation of ancient cosmogonies takes an important place in the discourse of Omuraliev, there is provided a series of references provided by Omuraliev and Kumanaliev on nomadic concepts of time and space. The model of the world of ancient nomads is a horizontal three-layered image (Akmoldoyeva, 1996). It is the immanent force that keeps together earth and cosmos. A uniqueness of nomadic worldview is dictated by a dominance

⁶ Kurgan- burial structures that look like a hill, usually there is an ensemble of hill that could take geometric forms.

of religious and mythological view. Nomads see everything as a unity with nature and perceive environment as an absolute one whole world (Stebleva, 1971). Such outlook is mostly presented with ideological and cultural substrates, which represent fundamental nomad values. It is closely related to the history of Turkic tribes in Central Asia and concepts of Tengrism, an ancient Turkic tribes' concept of cosmos and world (Stebleva, 1971).

The divine triad –Tengri, Umai and Jer-su are objects of main worship. It is a belief in a unity of all three elements: Tengri (sky) is a pantheon of Gods, earth (Zher) where human live and the flowing water (Su).Tengri (sky or heaven) is a cult, in which God is a space and the universe – is divinity (Stebleva, 1971). Umai is the goddess of grace, who patronages children, fireside and arts. Her main role is a reproduction and protections of tribes. Tengri was perceived as an ultimate deity, which rules human destinies and the universe. He establishes an order of things, movement of the sun and the moon, stars and comets and all elements on earth. Welfare of men and women would be depended on the will of sky. Tengri is a warrior who patronages military campaigns and holds the sky by his head. Turkic tribes would sacrifice domestic animals in order to avoid future disasters. Further, this tradition would be merged with the Islamic ritual of sacrifice (Stebleva, 1971).

Nomads had their own perception of space and time. A concept of space and time in minds of nomads stands as an organizing perception of the world factors. Nomads saw stability and immutability of the world, as a refusal to a human intervention into the world processes set by nature. Natural and climatic changes were first point for time orientation. According to nomads, time is an ultimate value, which controls drifting ice in rivers, first spring, autumn grass, snowfall and therefore a necessity to roam to the other territories (Stebleva, 1971). The time for nomads is not a line, which flows from past to present, but a repeating cycle. It means repetition of sequence of annual seasons. Nomads did not have a concept of a “certain time”

out of relation with natural processes, therefore, there was a domination of sensory perception, which lead to formation of peculiar understanding of the world and spatiotemporal features (Stebleva, 1971). The principle of cycle penetrates all aspects of lives of nomads. Therefore, human life is measured with a specific time intervals, which consists of 12 years. Human life is a transition from one to another with the beginning and the end of a new circle. It indicates that all the important events of human life are governed by principles of unity in accordance with the law of universe. It results in various number of rituals and customs in a nomadic culture (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev define “Manas” as another source for understanding of Kyrgyz ethnic perception of space. The following interpretation of the epic comes from historian and sociologists Akmoldoyeva and their own interpretation of the epic. The epic covers widespread of the world and at the same time shows actual locations. Image of the world in the epic is a result of ethnocentric and gigantic perception of temporal world. It does not provide a map with defined borders of foreign lands and “our” lands. The epic is perceived only from viewpoint of “ours”. The clear division “ours” from “others” is another model of mythological thinking. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev interpret aerial description of places as a peculiar narrative style of the epic. Instantaneous grasp of locations many miles apart as a connected interrelated realities and ignorance of details is unique portrayal of relation of Kyrgyz people to space (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). There is a selective description of landscapes. Landscape is not a constant element in the epic, within a change in storyline there is simultaneous change in landscape. Borders between real and unreal, sky and earth are not clear. At the center of earth, there is a sacred “Yssyk Kul” lake surrounded by enormous mountain “Alatoo”, which carries the sky. On the one of the summits, there is a saint tree “Bayterek” which connects upper, middle an underground worlds (Omuraliev &

Kurmanaliev, 2003). Kyrgyz had their own time, where a day consists out of 32 hours, and each hour would have its own name. Kyrgyz had calendar with 12 month (12 animals) and their own measure of distance.

Omuraliev indicates these spatial and temporal organizations derived from the old cosmogonies, experience of a nomads and portrayals from the Manas epic are eternal values, which have to be carried into ethnic architecture. Their own contribution is a development of diagrams and drawings, which visualize an abstract understanding of the cosmos and the world of nomad (Figures 32, 33). Each of these diagrams attempts to rearticulate some of former elements into a visual map where they shift from their symbolic realm to a formal dimension (some becomes axes, other path, other surfaces, areas, spaces, topographical arrangements, and so on).

There are several projects, where Omuraliev attempts to materialize these concepts into an architectural realm. Towards all projects he approaches with historic anthropologic research, which further attempted to be translates into built forms. All projects share similar principles where Kyrgyz ethnicity is the key foothold for design.

Museum Of Nomads

The “Japanese Architect” magazine announced a concept competition for defining visual and form sources in sculpture and architecture. The idea of a competition was to demonstrate architectural approaches, which could complement the sculptural art. Architects D. Omuraliev and A. Abishev came up with the idea of museum of a sculpture of ancient nomad Turkic ethnics. They started with an identification of basic sculptural elements, which will take place in the museum on a basis of which the structure of the museum will be further

developed. Balbals⁷, stone idols⁸, altyn bakan and kumush bakan⁹ became key elements of the museum.

A cosmological perception of the world dictates the spatial arrangement. The Tree of Life connects three vertical layers of the world together. Upper level has symbolic sculptures of birds, middle level traditional and modern sculptures, and lower level is organized according to the “cave architecture”(Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Community Center Of Village

The following project by architects Omuraliev, Baygojoev and Abishev is a “Communal Center of a Village”, a competition project conducted in 1984. The aim of the competition was to reconsider existing approach for Communal Centers at the time. The main requirement of the competition was to focus on commercial potential of the center. However, architects evaluated as a key element in the project a spiritual potential of Kyrgyz village, for being a rare attribute of Kyrgyz culture. Therefore, rather than a commercial approach, architects decided that main architectural ensemble should be dictated not by function, but by a historic space associations and cultural-artistic symbolism (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Omuraliev indicates that two main elements for inspiration are coming from his understanding of ethnic Kyrgyz space: nature and village lifestyle. According to him, architecture of communal center can and should portray nature. In the project the

⁷ Balbals- sculptures that can be found across the whole Central Asia and especially Kyrgyzstan. Those balbal could represent warriors, or tribe leaders, or be just a product of imagination and creativity. (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

⁸ Stone idols- fundamentally different from the balbals. Stone idols are not artificial; however carry sacral meaning in the mythology of Kyrgyz culture, such as stone hitching post of Manas. There is almost religious worship for the structures (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

⁹ Altyn Bakan and Gumush Bakan - are wooden pole hangers that would take place near the entrance of Yurta. “Altyn Bakan” stands for man beginning and “Kumush Bakan” for women beginning. (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

metaphorical elements of nature would be distinct element of Kyrgyz nature: mountain, valley and river. Those elements are being interpreted in various ways, for example, “mountain” can be interpreted as “hill” or “yurta”, and river can be interpreted as path through symbolic sculptures and structures. Architecture of “Communal Center” should convey the most essentials of village lifestyle. Ancient Central Asian cities had very peculiar space arrangement and were full of symbols, characterized by continuing division of space and rigid geometry. Architects derived a set of metaphoric values that should be embedded in the project. “Wall” a barrier between outside and inside, as a conditional divisor of space, which can be a fence or a continuous shrub. “Gates” – approximate place for welcoming and grand entrance. “Courtyard” – enclosed place for social gatherings, there are located dance hall, recreational spaces, sport areas and sculptural exhibitions. “Ordo” (center) a place for national traditional games. “Kuduk” (well) – a symbolic element that represents source of life and a human warmth, includes fountain and place for dates. “Ak Orgo” (white settlement) is a group of yurtas, which serve weddings, celebrations and national rituals. “Bakcha” (garden), in the project is playground for children. Main spatial arrangement is an enclosed space on the perimeter of which functions are located (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

Pantheon of Great People of Kyrgyzstan

Pantheon of the Great Kyrgyz people is a materialization of great individuals who embody Kyrgyz soul and ethnos. The Pantheon is a part of main national arena and was suppose to be a part of the Manas Aili complex. The function of Pantheon is a celebration of important national holidays, funerals of important people, memorial services, episodic visits of pantheon during religious celebrations and initiations of young generations. The concept of the Pantheon is new type of structure, which would have several features such as museum, a

temple, a landmark and *kumbez*¹⁰. Spatial arrangement transfer mythological perception of space and the world. Again consists of three layers: upper, middle and lower layers. Upper layer is a sky, where there are ancient gods and heroes; middle layer consists of relict *kumbez*, artificial hill and sacral circle. It is enclosed with inner slope of *World Mountain*, which symbolizes protection. Lower part is a system of *kurgans*, which are embedded into *World Mountain*. Pantheon associates with ancient Kyrgyz imagination of the world both vertically and horizontally (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

4.4 DISCUSSION

All projects share same principles towards design. First is a relationship between the nature and the place. There is an attempt to cast natural elements in the architectural fashion or vice versa and to recognize the architectural character in the natural ones. Although Omuraliev does not use natural motives in the direct manner, there is a strong relation of projects to a natural character of the Kyrgyz landscape. Therefore, it is suggested the first value through which the architect's approach will be analyzed is a *locus* – as a relationship of Kyrgyz people to Kyrgyz land. The second value, which will facilitate the further discussion is an exploitation of *metaphors*. All projects highly saturated with symbolic meanings, which require a procession and interpretation by a participator. Cosmologic metaphors, cultural symbolism and animalistic symbolism persist in all projects. The third value is the *type*, towards each project Omuraliev approaches not only with investigation of culture, but also with the study of existing architectural archetypes. Further, he tries to derive fundamental principles such as order, form, spatial organization, axial organization and so on. The last final value, which was extracted, is the *diagram*. The architect produces series of diagrams, where he studies different variations of forms and spatial arrangements from the sources

¹⁰ Kumbez- burial structures, that are usually located above the grave.

provided by the first three values. Diagram serves him as a generative device, which ultimately ends up in a final design. *Locus*, *metaphor*, *type* and *diagram* serve the architect as facilitation of design process in the translation of ethnic roots into architectural language.



4.5 TABLES

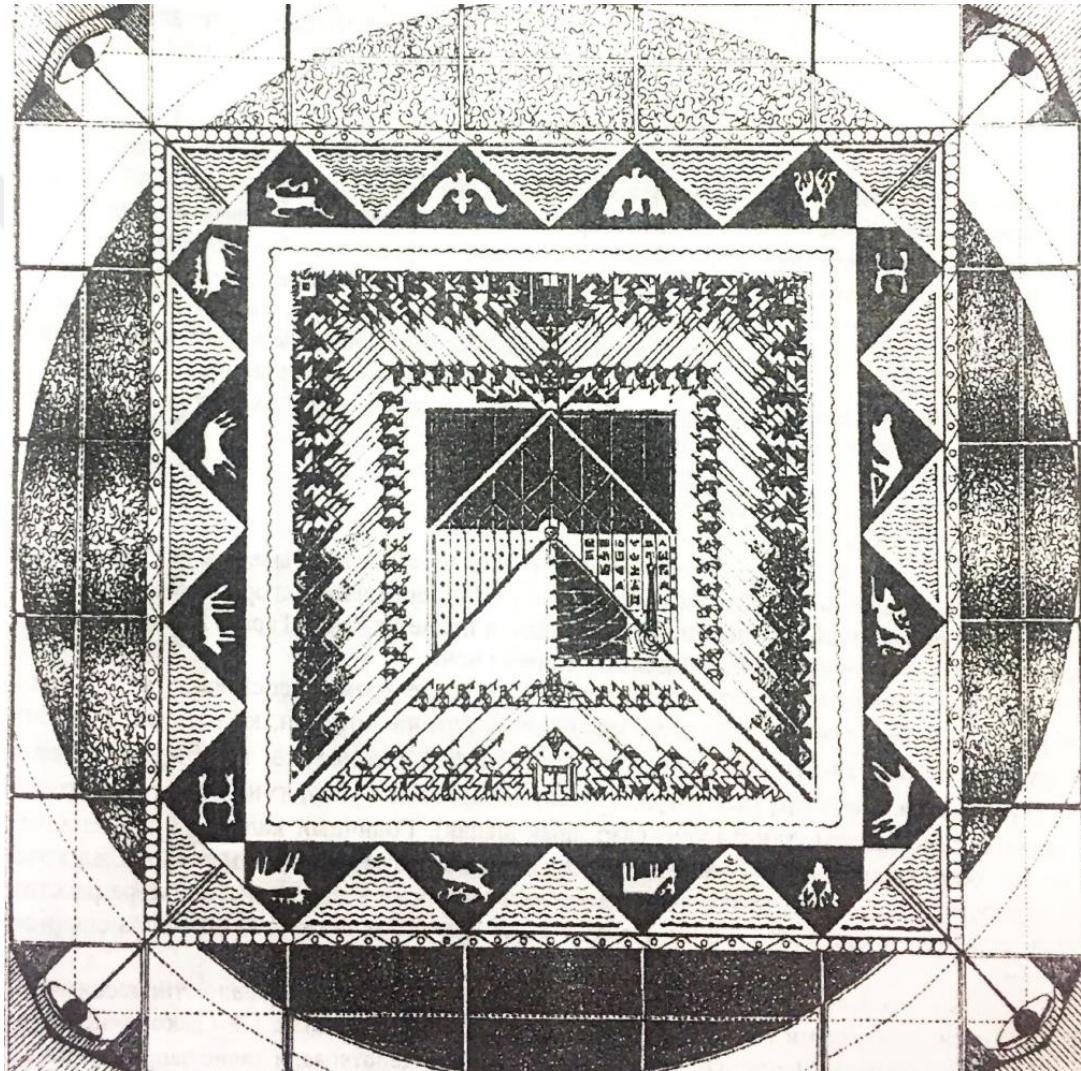


Figure 30 Space arrangement of rock garden based on the horizontal image of the world

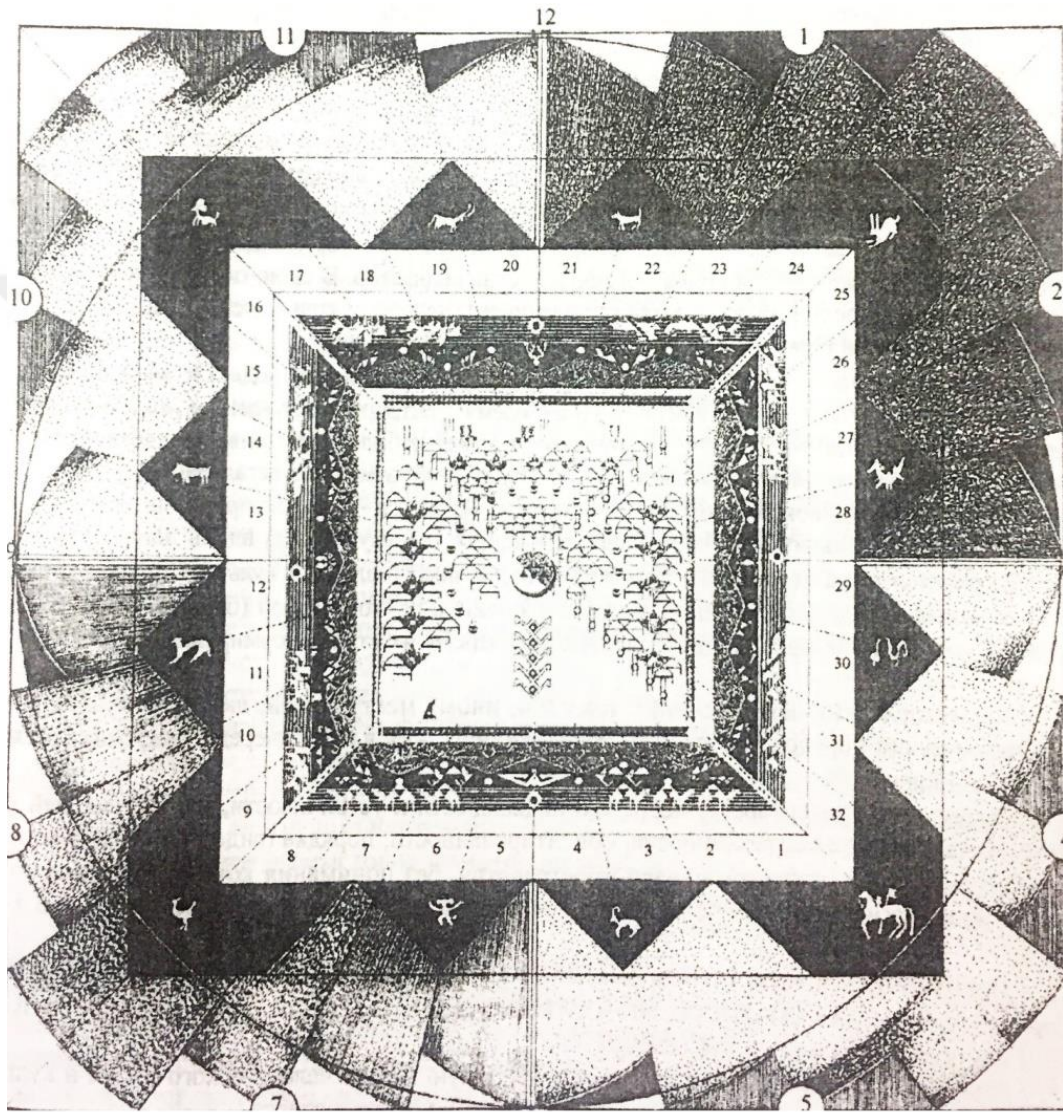


Figure 31 Idea of eternal natural cycle of cosmos, Law of nature of Tengri.



Figure 32 Balbals (https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn%3AANd9GcTWZWxqai2rnu0KXC1_aDbaxDb8ClPP2KG957PzQq5z2WBIvhQD)

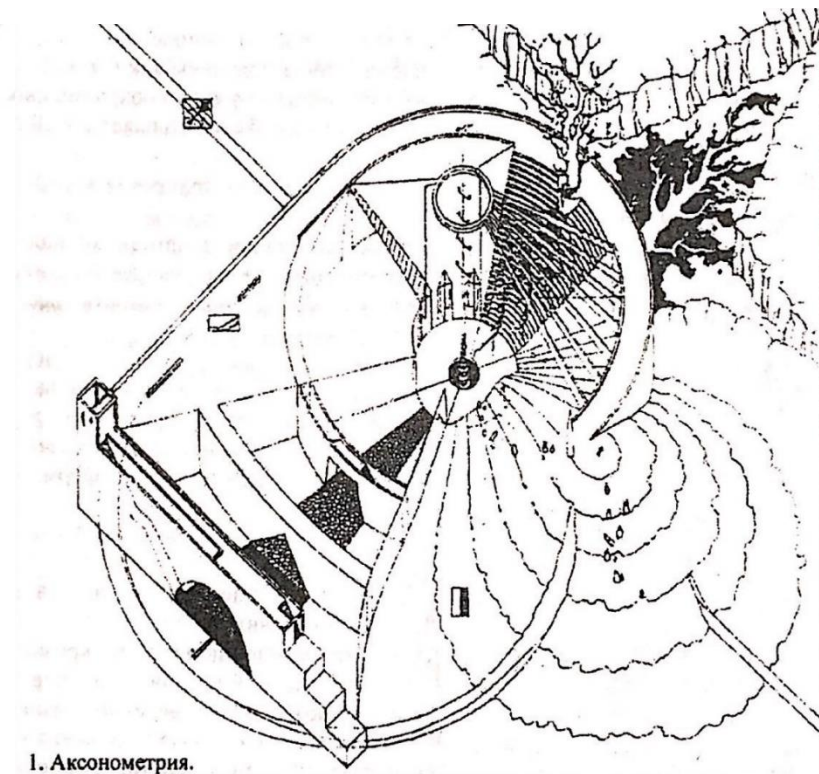


Figure 33 Museum of Nomads, Axonometric View (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003))

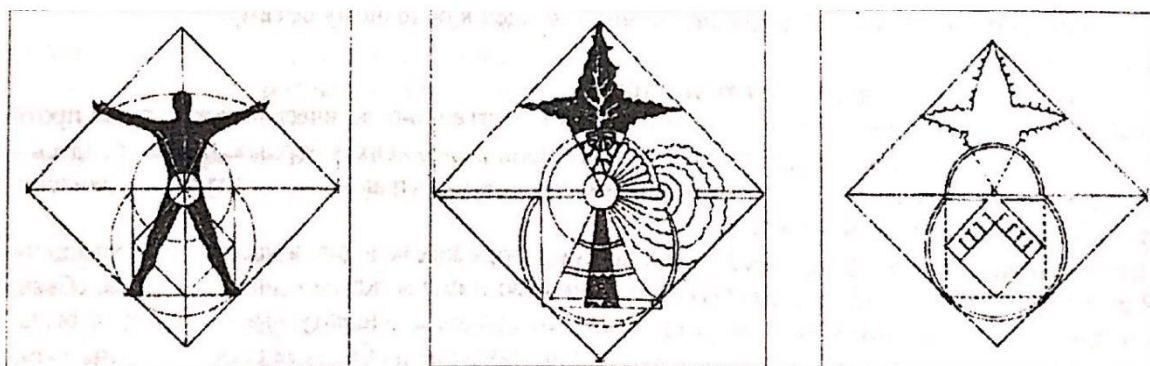


Figure 34 Museum of Nomads, ideogram (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)

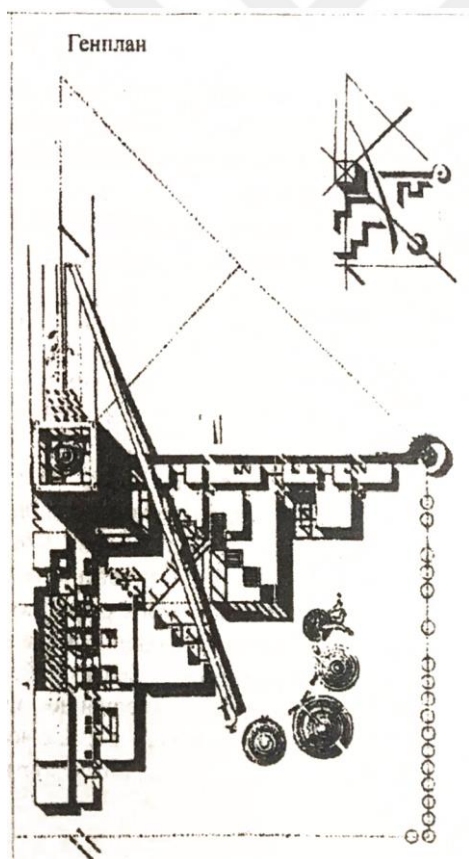


Figure 35 Communal Center of the Village, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

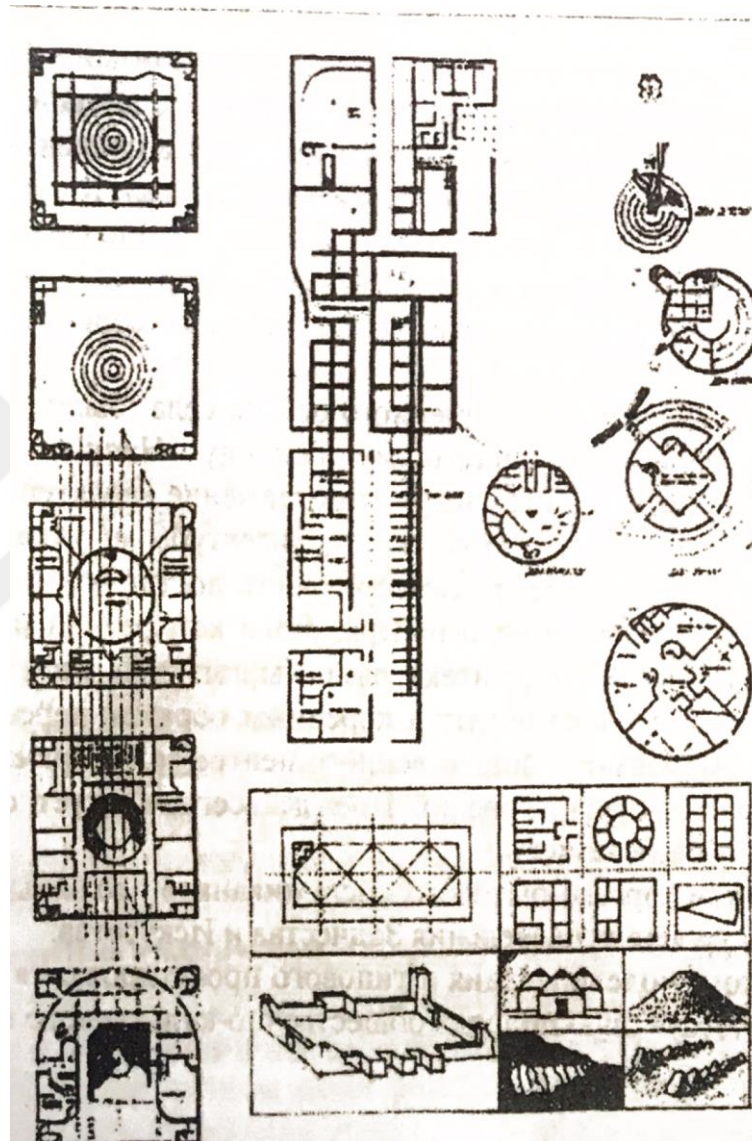


Figure 36 Communal Center of the Village, plan development, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).)

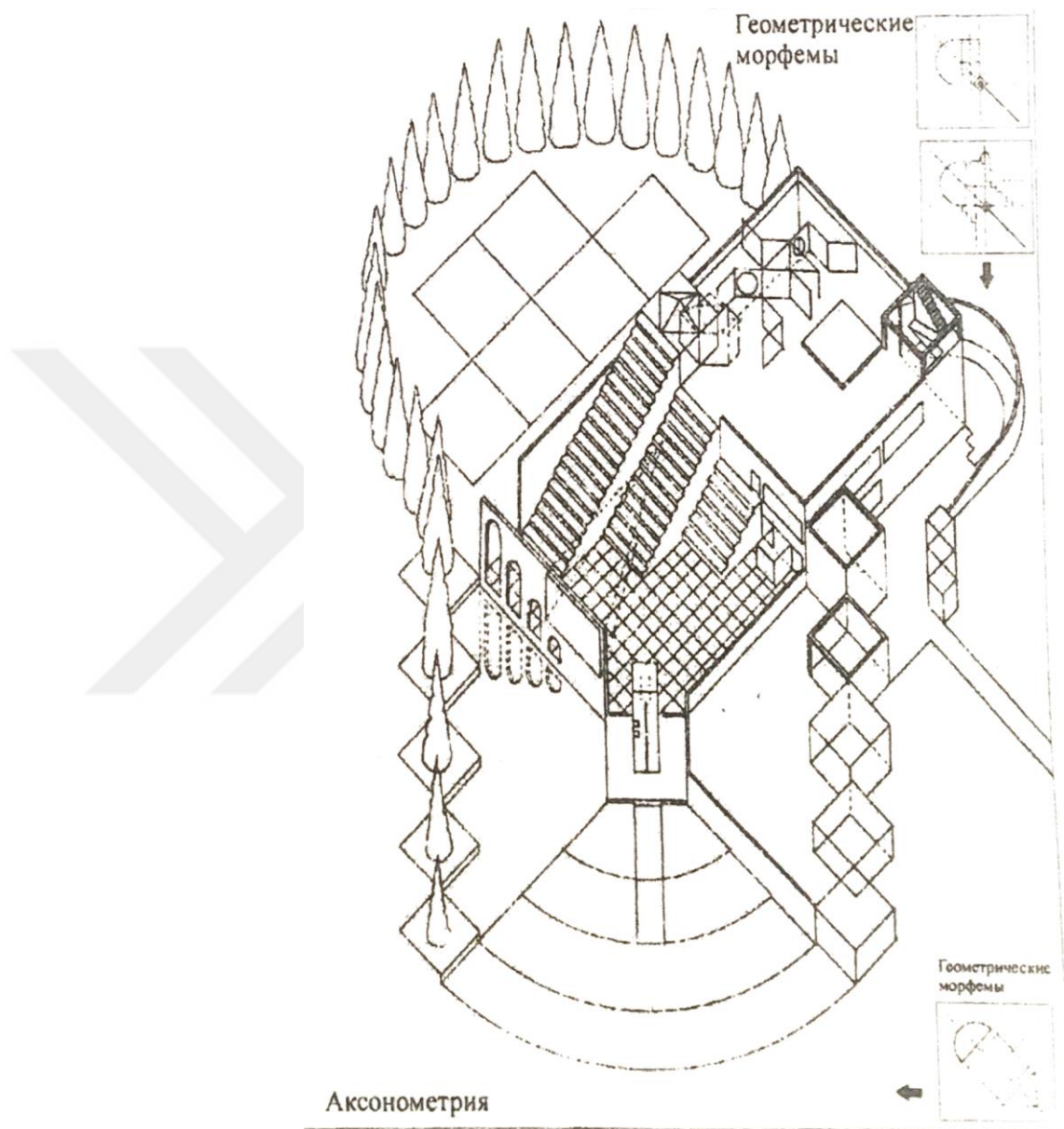


Figure 37 Community Center, axonometric view, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)



Figure 38 Community Center, investigation of forms, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

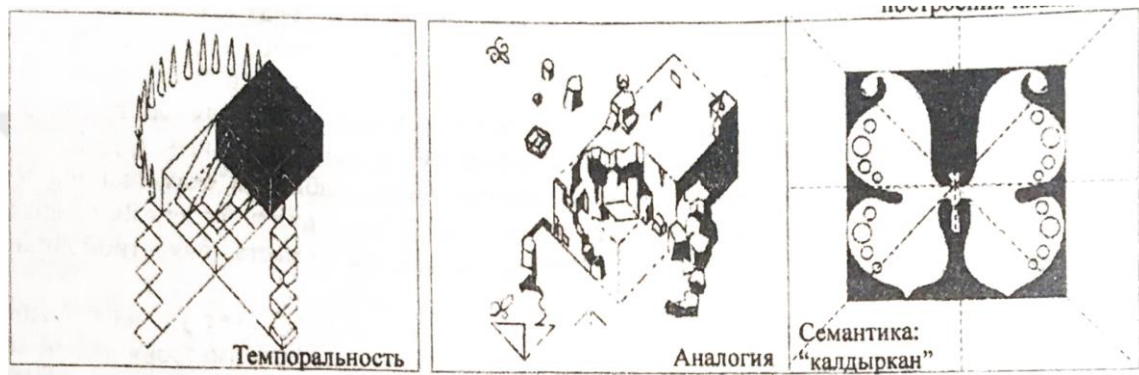


Figure 39 Community Center, temporality, analogy, semantics (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)

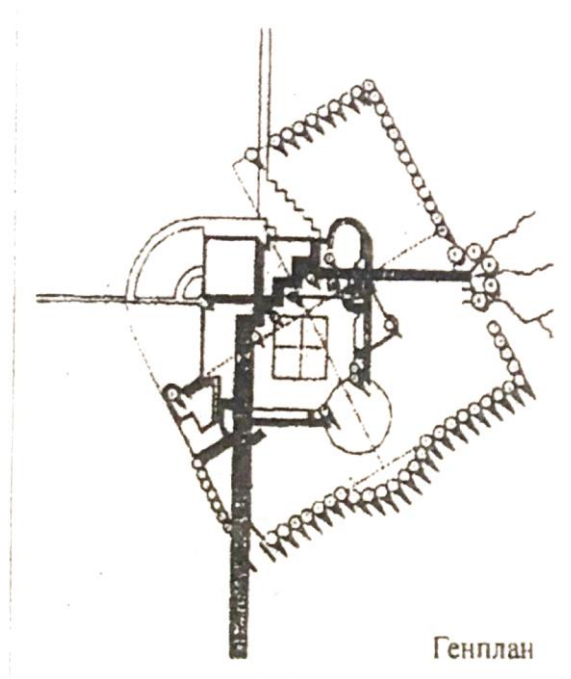


Figure 40 Master plan (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

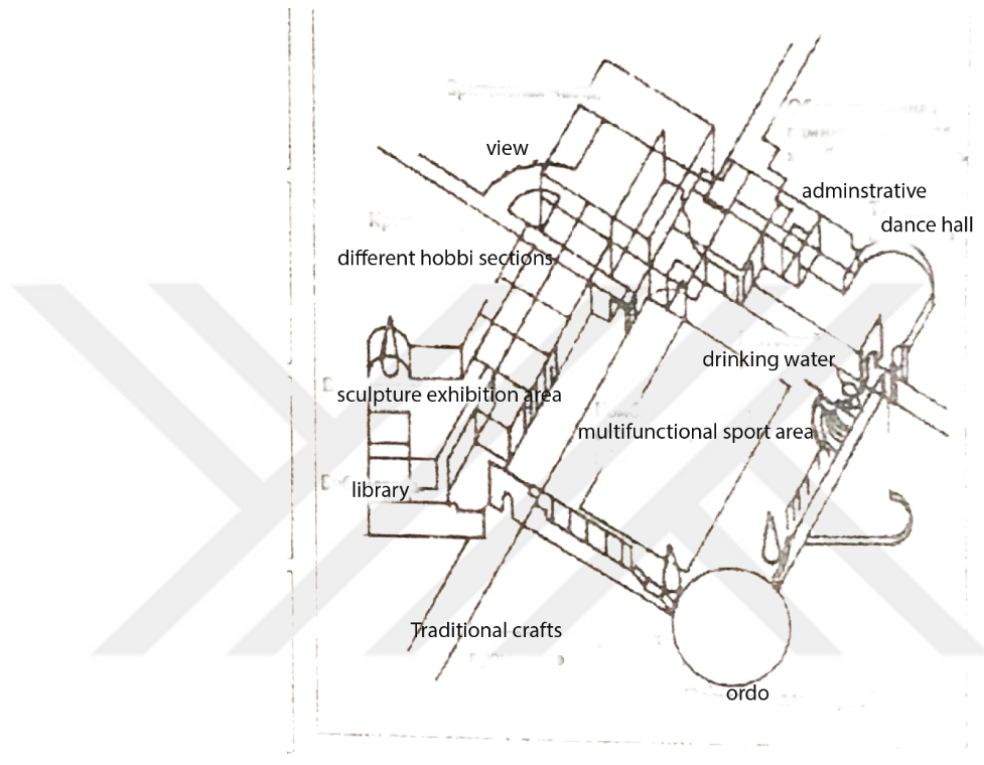


Figure 41 Community Center, functions, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Figure 42 Community Center, formal compositional investigation, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Figure 43 Kyrgyz Pantheon, investigation of burial structures typologies, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Figure 44 Kyrgyz Pantheon, the front view, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Figure 45 Kyrgyz Pantheon, section, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

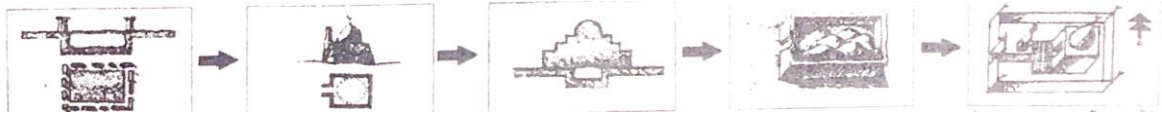


Figure 46 Typological investigation, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

2. Главный фасад Пантеона.

3. План.

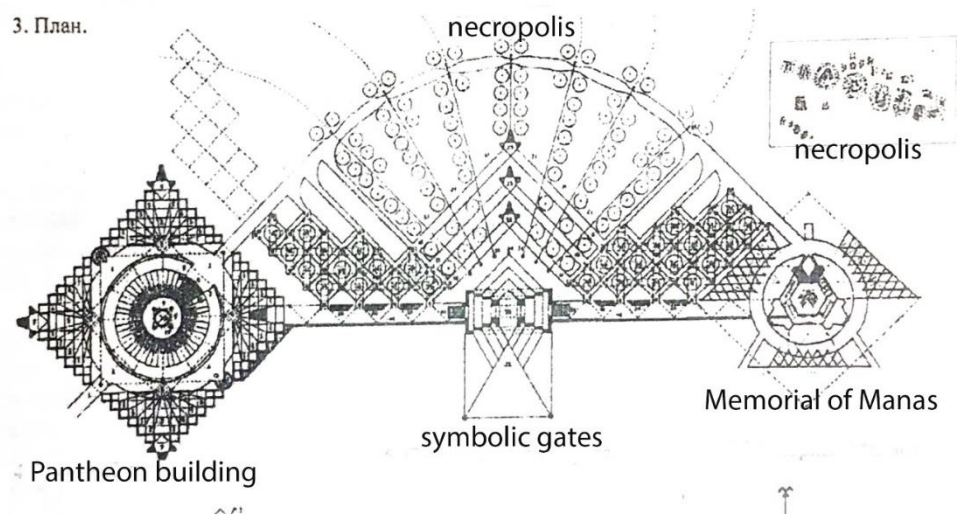


Figure 47 Kyrgyz Pantheon, plan and functions, (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

CHAPTER 5

5 THE CASE STUDY “MANAS AYILI”

5.1 THE PROJECT INTRODUCTION

“Authors looked for their architectural and artistic language of the unique expression of aesthetic ideas, basing on national traditions and cultural values. Similar in its essence, there can be found other memorial complexes in Central Asian region, which are saturated with sacral and religious meanings. Those ideas embodied into protean forms, which reflect architectural style of the time and regional conditions of the place, which organically unites imaginary and ethical ideals of that time.”

Rustam Dadabayev in the journal “Architecture, Construction and Design” about Manas Ayili (as cited in Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)

The year of 1995 in Kyrgyz Republic, was marked as a year of celebration of 1000 years of the epic Manas. On a government level, there was established a committee, with a Prime Minister Jumagulov at the head. They decided to organize an international architectural competition for an investigation of theoretical approach, as well as methodologies for architectural and artistic expression for the first open-air ethno-cultural parks in Bishkek - Manas Ayili, and in Talas – Manas Ordo. The challenge of a competition was to transfer Manas mythology and symbolic language into architectural and artistic medium (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Organizers of the competition understood that for the creation of such architectural urban and historical complex as Manas Ayili, the conceptual work with

establishment of principal outlines is required. Therefore basic spatial principles, systematic analysis and further artistic conceptual approach for the Manas Ayili were crucial factors at the competition. Obviously mythopoetic language of the epic “Manas” had to serve as conceptual basis for further architectural modelling. “Manas Ayili”, therefore, was conceived as a unique product of architectural and urban design that would not have analogies in the world (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Many young architects with different conceptual proposals entered the competition. According to jury, the most prominent project, meeting requirements of the competition, was project “002” conducted by D. Omuraliev, J. Isakov and Ch. Choturalieva, where Omuraliev was the head architect. They succeeded to propose solutions for complex theoretical, functional, planning, artistic, architectural and urban tasks (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

As the main conceptual principle for design strategies, they referred to cosmological model of nomads, storyline from the epic “Manas”, space and time perceptions of ancient Kyrgyz, motives from traditional crafts and religious rituals of ancient cultures (animalistic style of Scythians).

By the results of the competition, it was decided that the park will be located at south part of the Bishkek city, near the exhibition center and a hotel “Yssyk-kol”. It is close to center and placed nearby two major streets *Sovetskiyi* street and *Manas* street. The area of the park is 6,2ha, with a main entrance from the north side (Figure 50). Dyushen Omuraliev was actively involved during construction process.

“Ayil” in Kyrgyz language means village, however in case of Manas Ayili it refers to “the world of Manas” or “The Land of Manas”. The main function of the park is serving as an ethno-graphic museum for celebrations of national and cultural events. As it is described in

the book *Modern Ethno-architecture of Kyrgyzstan*, the main idea of it was to find relationship between cultural and historical legacy, and transfer to architecture: “Manas Ayili should be a place, which would be a cultural center, pantheon of heroes, museum, a place for cultural appreciation and recreation”(Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003:86). The challenge was to establish a language of architectural forms, which would become the national architectural legacy.

Unfortunately, at the present, Manas Ayili is abandoned and deteriorated. There was no any maintenance since the opening in 1995. Omuraliev indicates that Mr. Akayev was rushing a construction process for the first government elections. Therefore, construction had to be completed in 6 month, which affected the endurance of the park. In addition, the architect originally considered other construction materials (wood and marble). He indicates that if those materials would be used, today Manas Ayili would not be in this condition (personal interview, March 2019). Moreover, because of the tight schedule, only 1/3 of the whole project idea was built, and further it would not be finished.

Manas Ayili is an ideological project, which was supposed to become a place for grandeur national narratives, celebrations and glorification of Kyrgyz culture (Figure 51). However, besides ideological and national narratives, throughout years the place also attracted domestic narratives. The park, other than national celebration, also managed to answer other different uses, which showed its multiple-usability. For years, people would visit parks on their wedding days, organize pre-parties and photoshoots. High school and university graduates would go to Manas Ayili, for graduation celebration with their families. Besides a political agenda of the project, it was successful, because while carrying national narratives, it also created the live place with domestic narratives and rituals, what makes the initial ideological message even more powerful.

5.2 SYMBOLISM AND METHODOLOGY OF INTERPRETATION BY AN ARCHITECT

As Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state central theme for space formation and hierarchy is a geometry of horizontal “image of the world” of nomads. Ancient “image of world” is full of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, astral and religious symbols. The plan was developed based on “the image of the world”, which consists of concentric circles and hierarchal squares. On their intersection, there are symbolic barriers and serpentine lines, which represent the destiny route of the hero Manas. Authors describe Manas Ayili as multi-layered system of mythological, real, geometric and artistic-symbolic spaces (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

At the center of Manas Ayili there are yurtas called “Kyrgyz Ayili” (Kyrgyz Village). Located not in a typical planning way for Kyrgyz settlements, rather considered as a three layered system, which stand for upper, middle and lower worlds (cosmology). The square of *Kyrgyz Ayili* is devoted for national ritual – *ziyarat*¹¹. West and east gates of the park are vertical focal points. At the east part there is an alley with sculpture of famous *manaschys*, *akyns*¹², and *manasovedy*¹³ (Figure 54). *Kyrgyz Ayili* has three zones, one for official celebration of 1000 years of Manas and two others for placement of system of *yurtas* (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

West side consists of traditional arts and crafts zones. In the structure of “Manas Ayili” “stone garden” plays a vital role. Based on exploration of stone gardens in Japan and stone sculptures of ancient Turks, new Kyrgyz-ancient Manas Ayili stone garden was proposed. Composed from different sizes, colors and forms such “garden” can represent different stories from the

¹¹ Ziayrat – ritual of worship to ancestors

¹² Akyns – writer and poets in Kyrgyz language.

¹³ Manasovedy- people who study Kyrgyz culture through the Manas epic.

epos, such as military order or horizontal “image of world” (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

At the entrance, visitors are welcomed by sculptures of forty allies of Manas. There are two options to enter the park, first by the main gates and second by stairs. It symbolizes national legend that a person, who crosses water and mountain is a guest. Behind the gates there are “*bosogo*” (threshold) and sculptures of *kyrk kyz* (forty girls), which take form of *shokulo*, traditional women hat. This represents hospitality of Kyrgyz nation. Shyrdak (carpet) is a main square on sides of which there are symbolic interpretation of horses “Ak-kula” and “Tay-toru” (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

The complex consist of “Ak-saray”, square “Shyrdak”, historic museum of traditional habitus, museum of memorials and cemeteries, center of traditional games, pantheon of famous and important Kyrgyz figures, Kyrk-Chatyr”, alley of Manaschy, sanjyrajy and tulookana, center of national religion, cultural centers, administration building, touristic hotel and stone gardens (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

As it was already mentioned, the overall complex Manas ayili is composed of three layers, upper, middle and lower. Lower layer stand for “*Sanjyra*” (genealogy), which represents ancient history and genealogy of Kyrgyz nation. Middle layer called “*Ata-Meken*” (homeland), represents the real world and stands for patriotism, culture and traditions. “*Aalam*” (cosmos) is a third upper level, which stands for model of cosmology, cults and rituals (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003).

If to generalize the approach Omuraliev takes on expressing his architectural language, it seems that there are derived four important elements that drive his creative process: *locus*, *metaphors*, *type* and *diagrams*. Although, he personally does not refer to the concepts, from

the analysis of his architectural discourse, personal interview and his design process material, it is possible to relocate discourse of Nordberg-Schulzz, Vidler, Rossi, Jenks, Eisenman and ect. and evaluate the project through the stated concepts.

It is suggested that his methodology of translation and interpretation of forms helps to derive forms, spatial and axial organizations, hierarchy of spaces, plan and site organizations. This approach in particular is interesting because, the architect approaches not only architectural theory, but also anthropological, social and cultural studies. Moreover all of concepts in one or another way interlace with approach of formalization of *invention of tradition* of Hobsbawm and *ethno-symbolism* of Smith. Through *locus*, *metaphors*, *diagram* and *type*, the architect approaches the past, not only the architectural past, but also cultural, ritual, artistic and historic. Therefore when the architect approaches tradition (architectural or cultural), he tries to analyze, understand, modificate and further reinterpret it into new principles of spatial arrangements and form finding.

5.3 LOCUS

In the discussion of Omuraliev, there is no direct reference to *genius loci* of Schulz, phenomenology and existentialism of a place. However, if to follow his discourse, existentialism of Kyrgyz nomadic culture serves as departing point for defining his design language. Norberg-Schulzz says that a place is a foothold for an investigation of the totality which forms structure of the world and character of a space (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). In addition both refer to finding a soul, Omuraliev refers to finding a soul of Kyrgyz architecture and Schulz to a soul of place. Can it be that in different forms both refer to similar things? What can it mean, “to find a soul of architecture”? Omuraliev in that sense refers to understanding of ethnic space, understanding of the world of nomads, their perception of space, understanding of nomad environment and cultural beliefs. All those elements serve

him as a source to extract values which ultimately, as he says, forms a soul of Kyrgyz architecture. The architect refers to Manas epic as a good portrayal of understanding of a space of Kyrgyz people. In Norbergh-Schulz, soul of the place is the complex of totalities of “modes of the natural understandings”, which form a soul of the place. And the role of architecture is to understand it and further express it in design: “Architecture means to visualize genius loci, and the task of architect is to create meaningful places” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5). He defines place, as a space with distinct character and *genius loci* as a “spirit of place”. When a person can orient and identify himself with an environment a place becomes meaningful to him. Therefore, according to Norberg-Schulz an architect has to identify the character of place and visualize it in the way, so that people would be able to orient and identify themselves within the place. It is very relatable to the discourse of Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev, they state that soul of Kyrgyz architecture states in Kyrgyz ethnic concept of space, myths, epics, poetry, folklore, music, dance, crafts and nature (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Omuraliev indicates that relation of Kyrgyz people to the Kyrgyz nature is especially a source of rich architectural inspirations (personal interview, march 15, 2019). It can be interpreted that by analyzing ethnic concept of space, folklore, nature and landscape it is possible to create meaningful places for Kyrgyz people. As Schulz defines it, human identity implicates the identity of place (1980), therefore for both Schulz and Omuraliev& Kurmanaliev – place is an essential foothold in which, an architect has to understand it and further transfer it into architecture.

Yet, it would not be right to call Omuraliev approach phenomenological, as an approach of Tadao Ando. Tadao Ando actively uses light, wind, water and landscape, therefore *Genius Loci* is crucial in his design (Hsu, Chang, & Lin, 2015; Maruyama, 1994). “Through architecture I strive to make the wind dance and the land and the sky reverberate for this can

awaken the movement of *genius loci* to fresh vigor and restore vitality to its life” (cited in Maruyama, 1994:13). He actively uses interaction between a natural character and architecture, as he says, approaching environment actively, by means of experience of natural characters around (sky, wind, light, land), it stimulates conversation with an environment (Tadao Ando in Maruyama, 1994). If to compare the approach of Omuraliev to the approach of Tadao Ando in relation to *genius loci*, there is no a desire for creation of direct interaction with an environment around, however to “re-create” the sensation of the nomads of the past, through the analysis of *locus*.

Schulz defines the “modes of natural understanding” as an existential experience of the meaning in the environment around a person. Those totalities make people feel as if they are “at home” makes place meaningful to them. If in the discourse of Ando, existential experience of the meaningful spaces goes through the experience of natural characters (wind, water, light and sky), for Omuraliev it is the understanding of fundamental understanding of nomads about the Kyrgyz land.

Norberg-Schulz calls thing, order, character, light and time the array of forces around people, which form these modes of natural understanding (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). The first of the modes is ancient cosmogonies, the way people would interpret the world around, the world structure. Schulz by this explains how environment fostered certain mythologies, which further people transferred into their dwellings. Here, in the *Manas Ayili*, Omuraliev re-creates the cosmogony of ancient Turks, the three-levelled world of Tengri. The General Headquarters (Table 6) is an *Axis Mundi*, a world mountain that connects all three cosmic zones of the world: the sky, the earth and underworld (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). A visualization of cosmological order of space and time, by the authors Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev (Figure 32, 33) is an attempt to abstract cosmic order of the

nomad, which is a second mode of natural understanding according to Schulz. The diagram represents a spiral perception of time of the nomad, which is cyclic and eternal. As Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state, understanding of Kyrgyz ethnic concept of space means to understand spatial and time relationships of the ancient nomads.

The attempt, in some way, resembles mandalas in Buddhism, the two-dimensional and three-dimensional representation of cosmic model of the religion. Both represent geographic cosmic model, where the mountain Mount Meru is the center. The example of mandala is also relatable to the discourse on Manas Ayili, as mandala's became especially famous, because in Tibet religious architecture, it was actively used in a structure of spatial organization and integration into the landscape rich symbolic meanings (Xu, 1995). Many Buddhist temples in China were built under the supervision of Buddhist master, where the mandala model dictated the selection site for temple, plan layout and an overall architectural design (Xu, 1995). Temples designed in accordance with the mandala model, is a visualization of the cosmogonies of Tibet religion, the first mode of natural understanding of Schulz. As Buddhist temple recreated the mandala, perhaps Omuraliev tried to recreate Kyrgyz ancient cosmogony the cult of Tengri. *Thing* and *order* are spatial relations and organizations (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) that Omuraliev tries to derive in order to “find” a soul of Kyrgyz architecture.

The third mode of natural understanding of Schulz is the character of natural space, as he says each landscape has its own peculiar character and individuality. Omuraliev states that the whole complex Manas Ayili is a representation of Kyrgyz landscape and nature (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003). Then, it can be interpreted that the whole complex represents the endless mountains of Kyrgyz region and valleys where nomads would put their camps and graze cattle.

If to generalize, Omuraliev tries to give physical embodiments to natural characters and cosmogonies of nomads living before. This reference to an old tradition, or in this case old beliefs are exploited in the complex Manas Ayili. The approach of Omuraliev, in terms of concept of *locus*, in the discourse of Norberg-Schulz, is an imposition of the old meanings in the form of the built project, as an embodiment of the Kyrgyz past. Omuraliev attempts to “re-discover” Kyrgyz identity, through the discovery of a soul of Kyrgyz architecture. *Locus* here is highly overlaid with symbolism and metaphors, because the modes of natural understandings of Schulz are highly interconnected with them. According to him, natural environment essentially forms the myths and beliefs of people, which further forms the essence of a culture. Thus, the further step in the analysis of Manas Ayili is the analysis of metaphor and symbolism by Omuraliev.

5.4 METAPHORS

Symbolism and metaphor take a special niche in a design process of Omuraliev. Especially, in the case of Manas Ayili, as it was one of the major expectations by competition requirements. The project was expected to be highly full of meanings, which transfer the idea of Kyrgyz culture and identity. Therefore symbolic and metaphoric language are one of the key concepts, through which an approach of the architect should be evaluated.

The embodiment of cosmological understanding of the world in architecture was conducted by ancestors for thousands years. They developed a relationship of spirituality to nature, which stimulated emotional investment to sacred places such as fear, wonder and sacredness (Otto and Swan in Xu, 1996). First architectural constructions were an interpretation of the world and cosmos, the order which was not chosen, but discovered by a man (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). The exploitation of cosmology in the project is especially important part of design of Manas Ayili, as at all levels, the architect does reference to the cosmology of

ancient nomads. However, here the thesis attempts focus on specific meanings that the architect tried to input.

The whole complex represents three layers of Tengri world. There is a created topography, which divides complex into three. Lower layer stand for “Sanjyra”, which represents ancient history and genealogy of Kyrgyz nation. Middle layer called “Ata-Meken”, represents real world and stands for patriotism, culture and traditions. “Aalam” is a third upper level, which stands for model of cosmology, cults and rituals. Also the Sanjyra tower in the same way represents the vertical thee layers. Ping Xu says that integration of cosmological symbolsim into architectural language can facilitate exploration of design with meaning: “The ancient architecture cosmology possess a great power, which reflect beliefs of the culture. If they would be used today, it could help architects to investigate on embodiment of cultural values in the built environment” (Xu, 1996:260).

Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev cite Charles Jenks in terms of importance of imputing of meanings, according to Jenks metaphors play an important role in perception and further reaction of a public. Architects have to saturate architecture with symbols and metaphors, so it would communicate to people (Jencks, 1977). In some similar way Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev approach the ethno-architecture. They indicate that ethno-architecture has to be highly full of ethnic symbols and metaphors.

Schulz says that usage of metaphors in architecture is an attempt of a man to express his understanding of nature, he visualizes nature and tries to complement it by what is abcent there. Schulcz says that object becomes cultural, when the meaning is free from the particular situation, which later allows to it object to another place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Essentially

what Omuraliev does is identifying the cultural objects, which would be possible to transfer into Manas Ayili, without losing its meaning.

Ping Xu suggests approaching ancient cultures through rethinking, but not a direct copy. He says that direct imitation, is just soulless and meaningless, because it is not related to time. However, what has to be learnt is an understanding of how to deal with the world, what means to integrate spirit and matter. “Turn back” means to develop a tradition with orientation to contemporary world, through learning how iconic traditional objects or buildings were created, without direct copying them (Xu, 1996). Here again stands dilemma before an architect whether to imitate or invent. Omuraliev is imitative and at the same time inventive in his interpretation of forms.

If to try to classify metaphors and symbolism, portrayed in Manas Ayili, they can be divided into 1) literal and 2) metaphoric (Tables 4,5,6). Also they could be divided into 1) direct reference to epic Manas, 2) historic and 3) ancient nomad cosmos. Architect uses literal symbols such as horses, women hats and man warrior helmets. He directly depicts square as “shyrdak”, through the paving material. Those are very literal symbols that can be interpreted right away and it is not necessary to be from Kyrgyz ethnicity. However the direct symbols also represent abstract meanings which require deciphering. For example, concepts of genealogy and the world of Tengri require knowledge of these concepts in the culture.

Petila in the project Sief Palace, in Kuwait, had similar task, to retrieve national identity and to “re-introduce” the Kuwait identity, through the palace. Petila’s responsibility was to design extension of an existing Sief Palace. His building had many indirect local references. For example wooden modernized *mashrabiya*¹⁴, with colored mosaics (Botz-Bornstein, 2016).

¹⁴ Mashrabiya- is an architectural element, which characteristic to Arabic architecture (Wikipedia).

Cutouts in walls that resemble camel heads and colonnades might be referring to Arabic traditional style. “Coral fountains” might be also had a local reference, as Petilla thought that there were coral reefs under the building once. Botz-Bornstein calls the project a perfect example of *critical regionalism*, a synthesis of modern and regional. Although interpreted, Petilla makes references to mostly concrete things such as corals, camels, and size of existing tiles. Whereas Omuraliev as a source for metaphors approaches myths, folklore, cultural and ethnic values. Omuraliev portrays direct things, however tries to convey symbolic ideas. Women and man hats, horses, mountains and sculptures of people, which obviously indicate direct imitation, yet at the same time represent abstract ideas. For example woman hats at the top of the bridge structure represent hospitality, therefore “kyrk kyz” welcomes visitors to the area, or sculptures of man hat at the top of the gates represent noble Kyrgyz warriors, who greet people at the gates (Table 3). The image of the horse can be related to the fact, that in Kyrgyz culture horse is a primary animal:

“a horse is a natural cosmos, driven and carried in a blood, the initial state of the world. As if to Kyrgyzstan innate, destined to feel and think the world with a horse and talk about yourself through a horse” (Gachev, 1999:320).

As Omuraliev tries to identify Kyrgyz cultural values and express them, similar approach takes Ricardo Porro, in Cuba. Ricardo Porro tried to transfer erotic aspects of Cuban culture in the School of Plastic Arts, in Havana. The project is peculiar due to its extensive reference to female body such as curved outlines, vagina-like passageways and breast-shaped domes. The architect chose local brick and Catalan vaults, as a response to dominating American international style (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 2003).

In Europe there are some open air parks that have similar outline and purpose. For instance, the Skansen open air museum in Sweden, which further served as a prototype for other museums of this kind in Europe. Artur Hazelius the founder of the park, bought a land

“skans”, where he relocated 150 ancient buildings from the whole Sweden. The whole area of the park/museum is inhabited by real people and farm animals, which portrays Sweden rural life. The ultimate goal of the park was to represent unique traditions of Sweden (Stromberg & Trotsenko, 2015). Manas Ayili and Skansen, were ultimately conceived for the same reason, to portray unique culture. Yet, Manas Ayili is an architectural project, designed and planned by architects, therefore the embodiment of tradition is portrayed in an architectural almost sculptural language, whereas the Skansen exhibits actual buildings (relocated housings, churches and ect.) and life of traditional Sweden.

It is possible to establish parallels between the methodology of Omuraliev, the *ethno-symbolism* and *invention of tradition* of Smith and Hobsbawm. Just as in *ethno-symbolism* and *invention of tradition*, there is a “look back” to golden ages, glorious heroes and myths of the past. There is an investigation of past, and search for potential symbols and metaphors, which can be used for the imposition of necessary ideas, defined by government. Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev state in the book that each country has its golden ages and it is important historical and cultural legacy. It is in a very direct way refers to methodology of Smith and Hobsawm, an imposition of new material through the study of the past. Although Omuraliev’s intentions could be not political at all, the overall patriotic and nationalistic propaganda that happened during the transition into sovereign state, strongly shaped an overall approach.

5.5 TYPE AND FORM FINDING

“we must return to the source, to the principles, and to the type”

Richard de Chamoust (as cited in Vidler, 1977:95)

Type or typology in architecture is known in architectural science for decades. Typology is a study of the built environment and identification of it into distinct type by physical or other characters (Güney, 2007). During the enlightenment period, architects searched for the origin of architecture, in order to discover fundamental principles in architectural forms and structures (Vidler, 1977). Quatremere suggested a notion on typology, which became one of the most fundamental, according to him, a concept of typology, just as philosophy and science, has to investigate the reasons for having variety of different options (Güney, 2007). Theorists, symbolists and materialists of enlightenment period, approached type as an “active principle”, “a mode of design itself” (Vidler, 1977:99). Gunay defines type as another way of identifying build environment, which can help to discover basic forms, and find differences and similarities between architectural objects (Güney, 2007). Rossi defines typology as a study of elements, which represent the *type*, in which it is a cultural element that can be studied and investigated. Therefore, typology is an analytical methodology in architecture (Rossi, 1982).

In the design process of Omuraliev, it seems that a type is an essential part of it. Towards each project, there is a study of existing type in Kyrgyz ethnic spatial arrangements of traditional nomad camps, huts, dwellings, memorials and burial structures. He tries to classify metaphorical order, metaphysical order, architectonic elements, building typologies and etc. Although, Omuraliev does not refer to type, as an essential tool for his design process, if to carefully observe it is possible to establish a link. Therefore, the *type* is one of the key concepts in the analysis of “Manas Ayili”.

For an investigation of the case study, three main definitions of type are considered as a key:

- 1) from *type* it is possible to derive fundamental principles (Abbe Laugire in Vidler, 1977),
- 2) *type* –as a mode of design (Vidler, 1977:99) and 3) *type* – as a study of cultural elements

(Rossi, 1982). With this definitions it is possible to establish a correlations with discourse of Omuraliev, in terms of his expression of ethnicity in architectural language. Those definitions of type enable to justify a methodology of Omuraliev and locate the discourse of ethnic values in the different perspective.

Type as a Source for Fundamental Principles

Quartermere was the first one to suggest the existence of “general character” that is possible to identify (Vidler, 1977). Quatremere approaches type not literally, but metaphorically, in his definition, type is a fundamental principle, the idea of building – the ideal, which is abstract and intangible. He criticizes architects, who completely ignore *type* in any sense, as he says, it reduces design to anarchy (cited in Vidler, 1977). Metaphorical theory of type, by Quartermere, is based on three concepts: origin, transformation and invention (Güney, 2007) However. By origin, he refers to a general structure or a form, which distinguished by a particular type. By imitation he means not a direct copy, but an identification of a basis, fundamental principles and the spirit, which would further boost a creative process of invention (Güney, 2007).

For architecture, invention means synthesizing the constructive, formal, functional and ecological principles in nature through an original and imaginative synthesis that creates the houses, temples, monuments and cities.

Quatremere de Quincy (as cited in Güney, 2007:7)

In similar way Omuraliev, derives persistent forms and tries to understand fundamental principles, which further possible to exploit in Manas Ayili, through the investigation of forms and plasticity of silhouettes (Figure 63). It is possible relate to Frampton’s commentary on *critical regionalism*, where he says that architect has to “deconstruct” culture and further interpret it. In this case, it is suggested that Omuraliev attempts to deconstruct culture through *type* and interpret or “invent” new forms.

Type as Mode of Design itself

Le Corbusier says that “the architectural design should be founded in the production process itself” (Le Corbusier in Vidler, 1999), although he mostly referred to a confrontation with mass production of the nineteenth century, it is still possible to link his ideas to *type* as one of the essentials in a design process. Omuraliev uses *type* to extract spatial organization, site organization, plan orientation, generation of patterns and so on. As he uses Manas history as a source, it indicates that by using a “type” the design becomes “ethnic”. He investigates compositions through type, which means that *type* is a mode of design in the discourse of Omuraliev. It seems that circular forms and centrality are very common, because it is possible to meet radial forms in yurtas, arrangement of Kurgans and domes of Kyrgyz medieval architecture.

Type as a Study of Cultural Elements

In the case of Manas Ayili, architect derives a series of conceptual diagrams, which represent an investigation of spatial and plastic forms, rhythm, compositions and dynamics by analysis of typology of potential architectural archetypes, cultural values and folklore (Figure 64). It is suggested that through an investigation of *type* Omuraliev tries to identify permanent forms of Kyrgyz architecture. Similar to what Rossi says about *permanence*’s, elements, which continuously persistent in architecture and culture throughout decades and even centuries. Like a form in a plan, where plan layout can be changed, but the primary form still will be the same (Rossi, 1982). Viollet de luc says: “in the art of architecture, the house is certainly which best characterizes custom, tastes, usages of people, its order, organizations, changes only over long period of time” (cited in Rossi, 1982:70). Therefore, according to Omuraliev the form of circle is one of the permanent forms in Kyrgyz ethnicity. Like Rossi identifies centrality as one of the tendencies that can be traced from early antiquity to Byzantine Empire

(Rossi, 1982). Omuraliev identifies centrality since ancient burial structures to yurtas, which are still the most iconic example of nomadic architecture today. Therefore, through the investigation of *type*, Omuraliev identifies certain forms and dynamics, which are fundamental to Kyrgyz culture. Therefore, exploiting fundamental cultural forms and understanding historical layers is his way of culture interpretation into an architectural language.

5.6 DIAGRAMS

“An abstract machine in itself is not physical or corporeal, any more than diagrammatic (it knows nothing of the distinctions between the artificial either). It operates by matter, not by substance; by function, not by form. The abstract machine is pure Matter-Function- a diagram independent of the pressions and contents it will distribute.

(Deleuze cited in De Landa, 2000:34)

Diagram has very wide spectrum of definitions and meanings to convey in all kind of fields, from science to music. Therefore the definition of diagram goes all the way through from “marked out by lines” to a gamut (Vidler, 2006). It is an abstraction, which gives a “general” information of what it stands for. It can represent something without directly imitating it; portray different variations, mental processes, scientific explanations and etc. In architectural field, diagram performs on two levels: representational and performative. It benefits from both generative and representational qualities. Architecture exploits diagrams as a representation of certain design qualities and generative force for production of new forms (Dortdivanlioglu, 2018). Eisenman defines diagram as a generative device within the process of design. It is a medium in the generation of real spaces. (Eisenman, 1999).

It is a trace or phantom, which acts between something which can be canalised interiority of architecture and the specific capital: between some explicit geometric formation which is then transformed by the diagram or intermediary process onto result. (Eisenman, 1999:29)

In the discourse of Omuraliev, diagram plays similar role. As Eisenman states, it can be interpreted that Omuraliev produces “ideograms” of various numbers and different levels of

abstraction, for example the diagram of an “investigation of plasticity of forms” (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003:80). It is possible to observe such diagrams in many of his projects and especially in the design of Manas Ayili. There are series of different diagrams: diagrams for investigation of silhouettes, diagrams for plasticity, diagrammatic sections, formal-compositional investigation of site plan structure and diagrams of graphic artistic symbolic language from the epic Manas (Figure 58. 59, 60, 61).

Following an analysis of *type*, *locus*, *metaphors*, diagram becomes a tool for processing and generation of new, yet “ethnic” forms. After deriving spatial and axial principles, rhythms and forms through the study of *type*, the architect starts to produce a variety of diagrams or ideograms, which further can be translated into an actual design. Similar with plasticity of forms, Omuraliev studies them through sections, where it is possible to identify forms of chatyr (hat), mountains, domes (Karahaniid architecture), warrior helmets and so on. It is possible to observe changes in levels, through the section, which might indicate a study of three-layered system of the world (cosmology). The diagrams on the study of Manas symbols, helps him to extract form, which would have “Manas origin”. As Somol says, diagrams help to open new territories for practice, “diagram is a possibility of the fact...” (Deleuze cited in Somol, 1999).

Many architects used diagrams as a generative force. For instance, Kazuya Sejima’s architectural approach was called by Toyo Ito a “diagram architecture” (1996). As Ito states, according to Sejima building can be analogue to diagram of space, which describe daily human activity (Ito, 1996). The major difference in the diagram approach of Omuraliev and Sejima would be an exploitation of culture. According to Ito, Sejima rejects previous architectural history, as Ito says, there is a discontinuity with architectural past (1996). Whereas in the discourse of Omuraliev diagrams are used in order to establish a continuity

with the past, therefore he approaches existing archetypes, which are further reinterpreted through the diagrammatic process.

Eisenman introduced study on diagrams in his PhD, as a response to Collin Rows and Rudolf Wittkower contribution on this theoretical discourse (Eisenman, 1999). He indicates that diagrammatic analysis of Wittkower and Rows is analyzing formal stable condition, whereas in the work of Eisenman diagram became an entrance to the architectural interiority. Eisenman defines architectural interiority as a search for internal rules without contacting exterior (Eisenman, 1999). Omuraliev's intentions seems to answer to the definition of Eisenman. Initially, similar to Row and Wittkower, Omuraliev tries to extract permanent elements in Kyrgyz architecture. Further, he moves to architectural interiority and studies varieties of solutions within the frame of initial analysis. Yet, Eisenman's strive to autonomous process of pure form, is in a way contrary to Omuraliev's, as Omuraliev focuses on the production of solely ethnic forms.

In John Hejduk schematic ways of design, the design process is closely linked with semantics during repetition, fragmentation, appropriation and layering processes (Søberg, 2012). Søberg describe Hejduk's approach as a search for architectural ethos: "decomposition of form while still insisting on the possibilities of the program, meaning, communicability and symbolic potentials of architecture, even suggesting that formal decomposition could be instituted through programme and vice versa"(2012:114). Similarly, Omuraliev's diagram approach cannot be separated from symbolic, metaphoric and figurative aspect. Hejduk is concerned with a search for architectural ethos; Omuraliev is concerned with a search of Kyrgyz architectural ethos, which makes him focus only on elements that are peculiar only to Kyrgyz culture. It has to be pointed out that in the projects other than Manas Ayili, it seems that diagram process goes further into what Eisenman says architectural interiority and in

Manas Ayili, it stays more to “readable” and “understandable” forms, such as hat and helmet references.



5.7 TABLES



Figure 48 Aerial view Manas Ayili (Zanoza.k

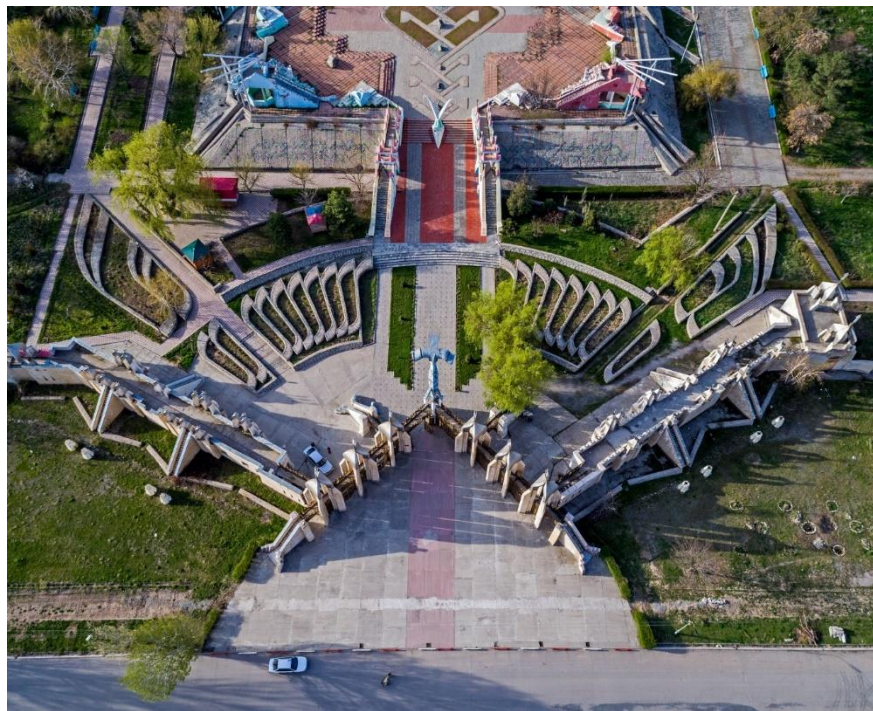


Figure 49 Aerial View, Manas Ayili (Zanoza.kg)



Figure 50 Google maps



Figure 51 Manas Ordo, the Grand opening Ceremony, 1995 (Zanoza.kg)



Figure 52 Wedding celebration at the Manas Ayili,(Doormedia)



Figure 53 Festival of ethnic crafts (Sayfa Tur)



Figure 54 The alley of Heroes, Manas Ordo.

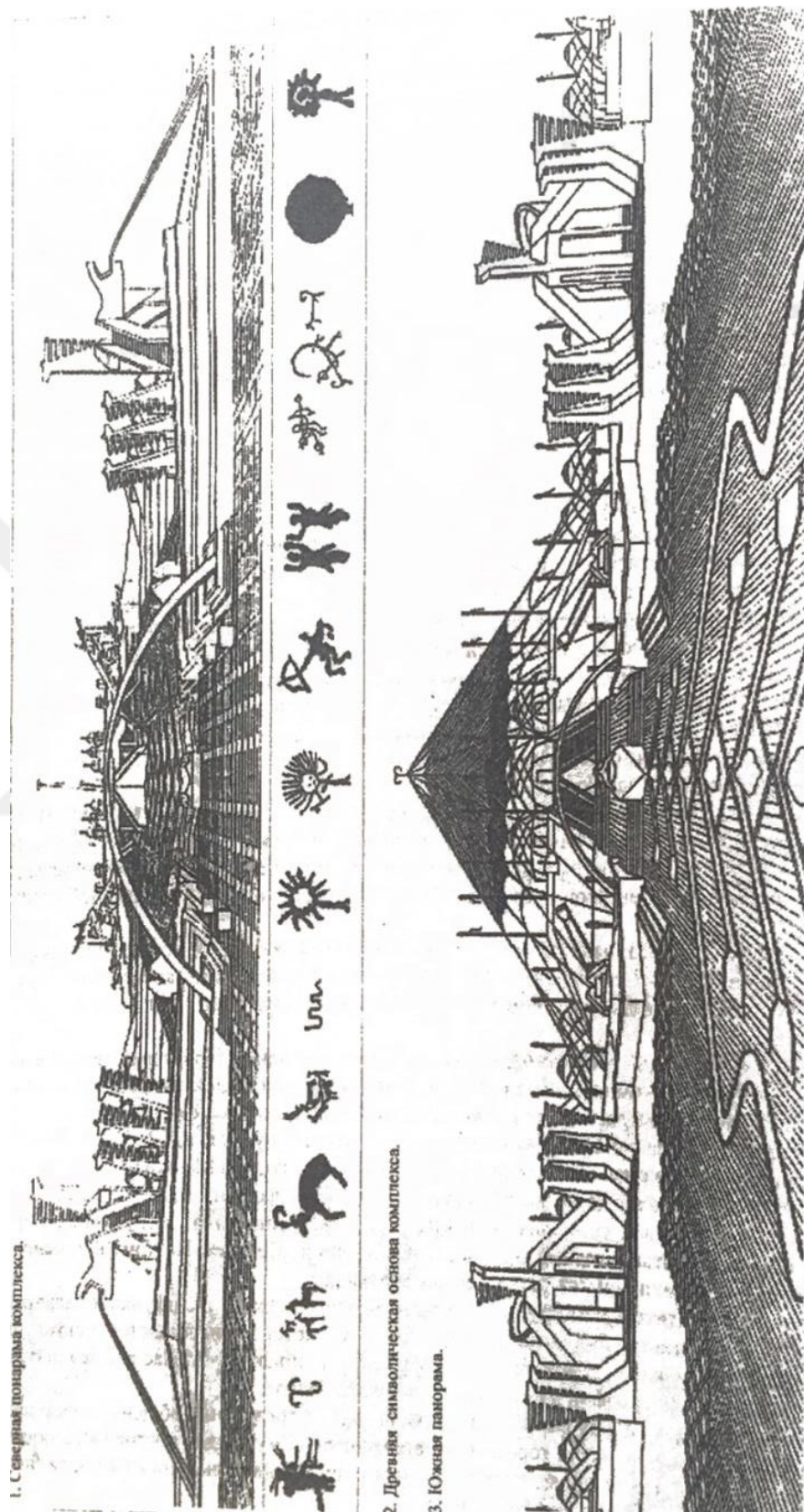


Figure 55 Manas Ayili Perspective (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)

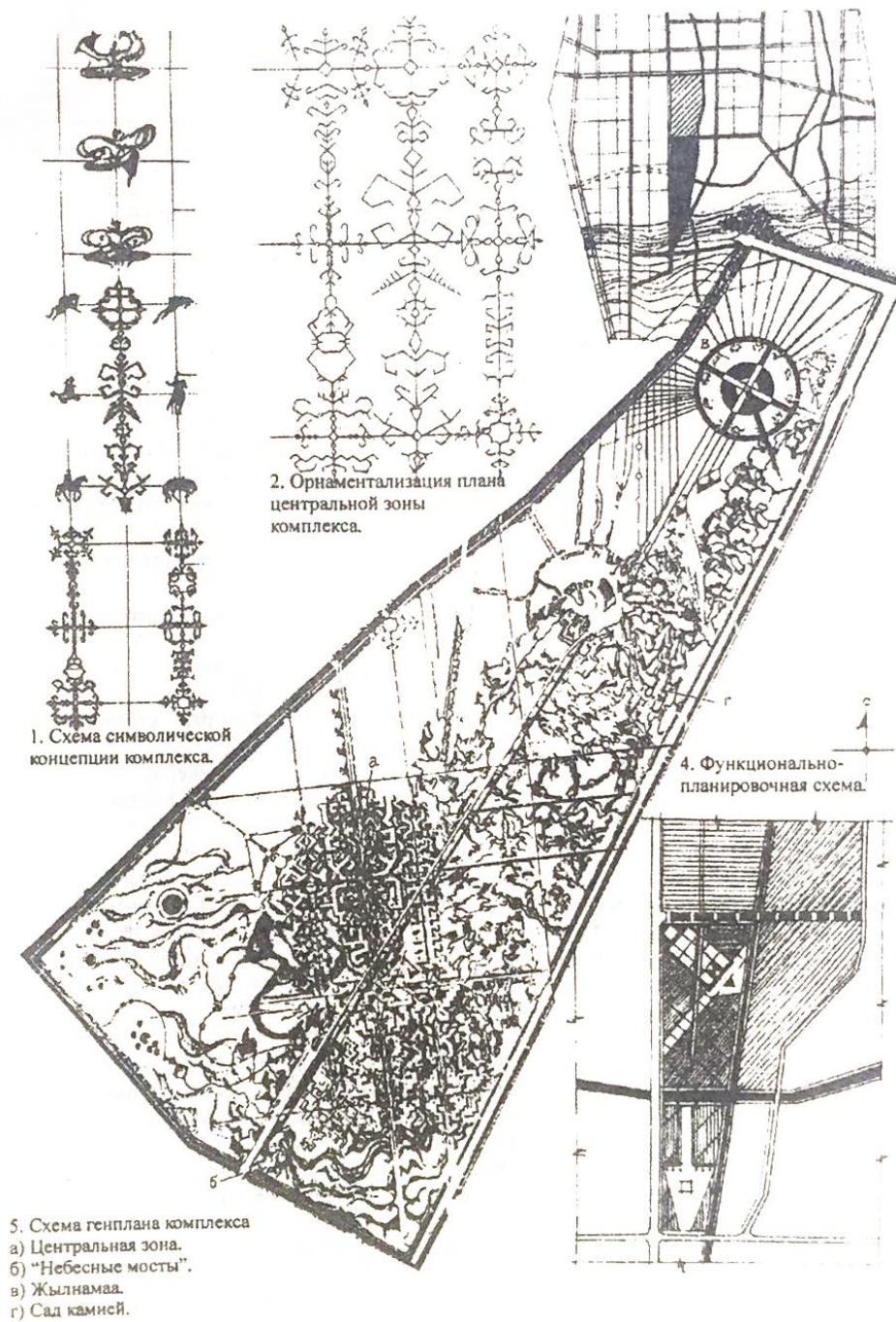


Figure 56 Manas Ayili, conceptual plan. 1 Symbolic concept of the complex, 2. Ornamental composition, 4. Functional scheme, 5. Scheme of the masterplan. (Omuraliev & Kurmanaliev, 2003)

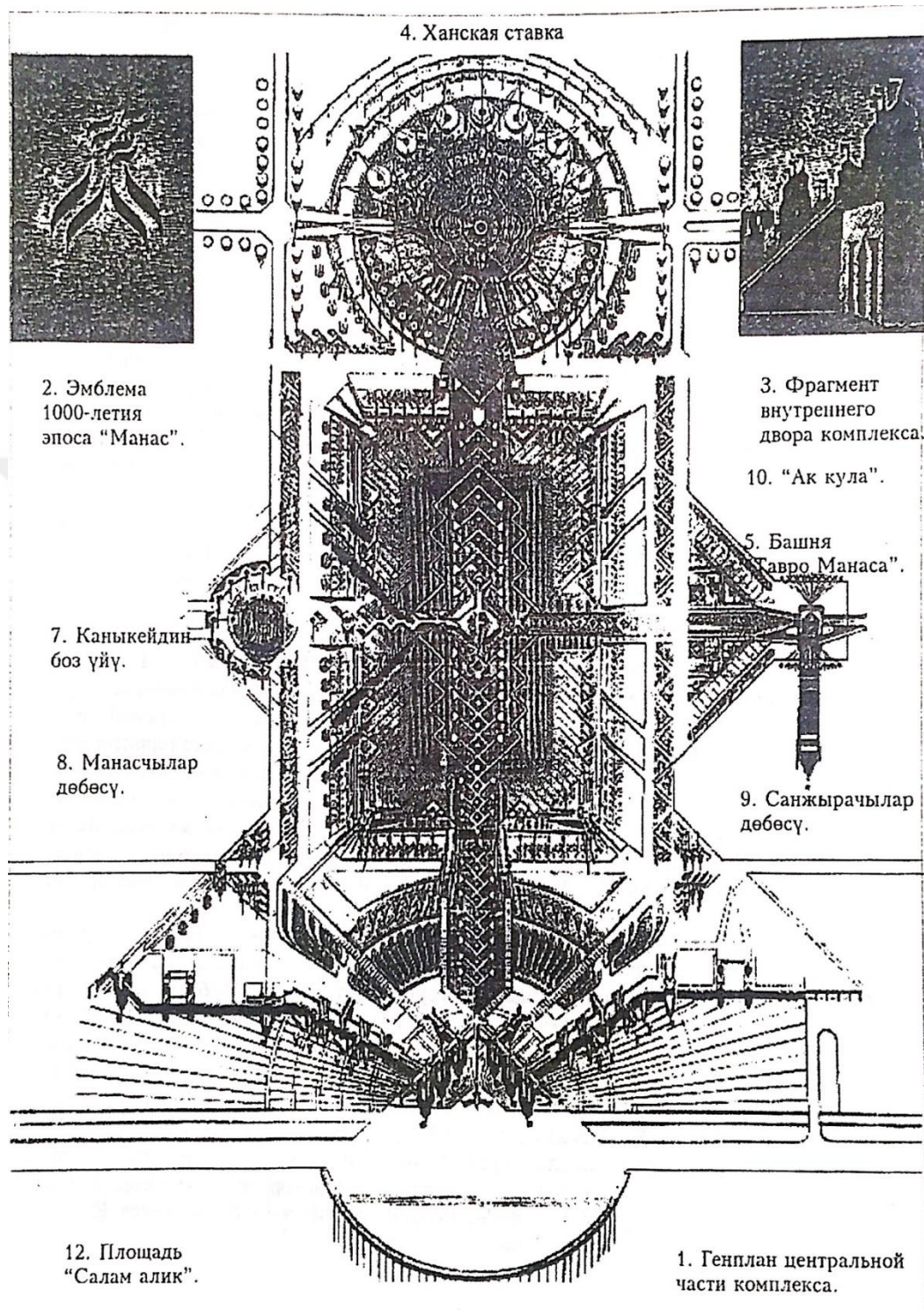


Figure 57 Manas Ayili, master plan. 1.The master plan, 2.Manas logo, 3.Fragment of inner courtyard, 4. General headquarter, 5Manas Earmark, 7. Kanykey's yurta 8. Manaschy dubosu, , 9. Sanjyra dubosu,, 12. Salamalik square.

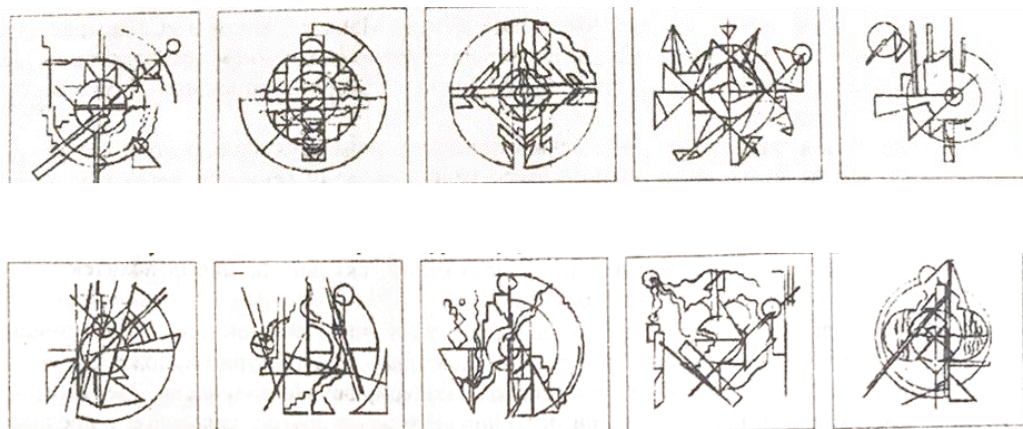


Figure 58 Formal compositional investigation (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

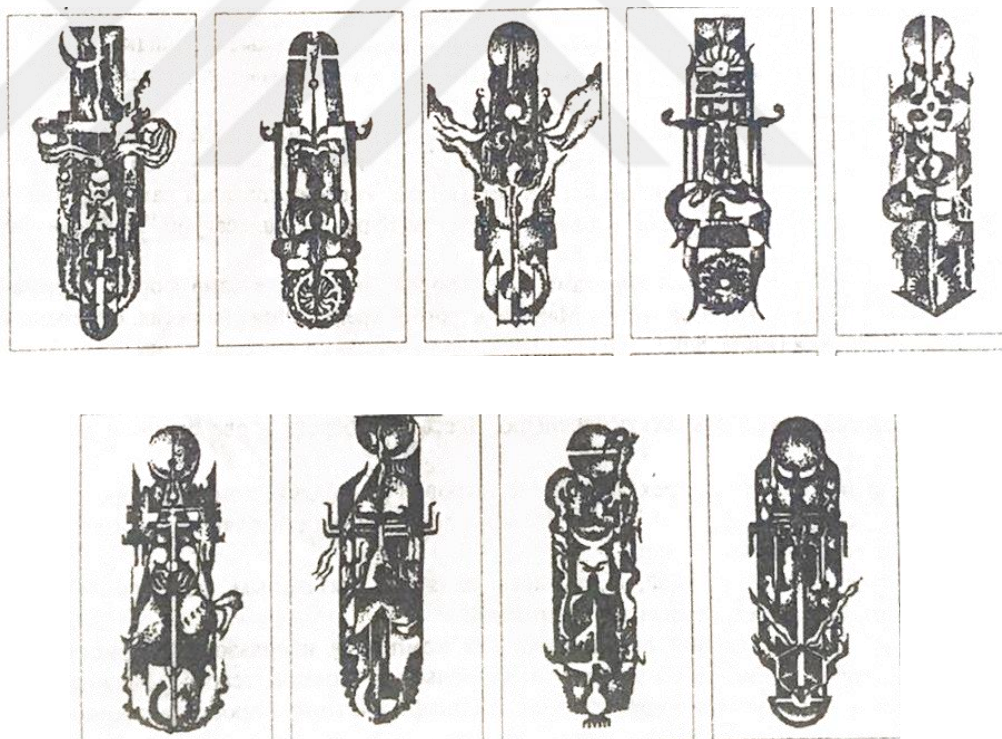


Figure 59 Graphic investigation of artistic symbolic language from the epic Manas (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

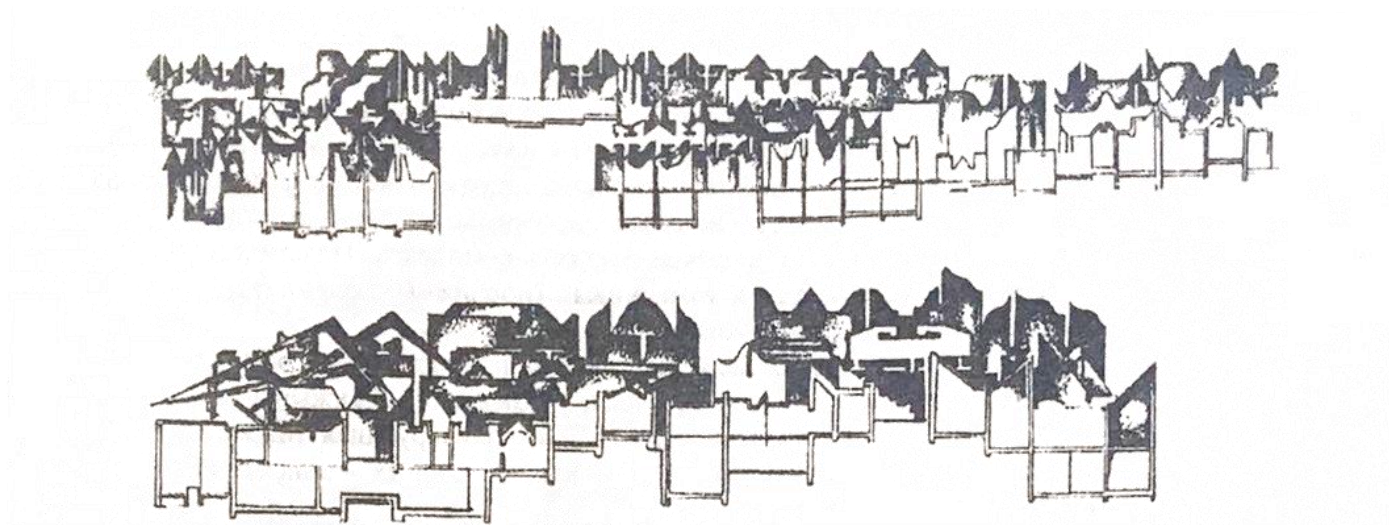


Figure 60 Silhouette and plasticity of forms, (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Figure 61 Petroglyphs, Cult of the horse (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

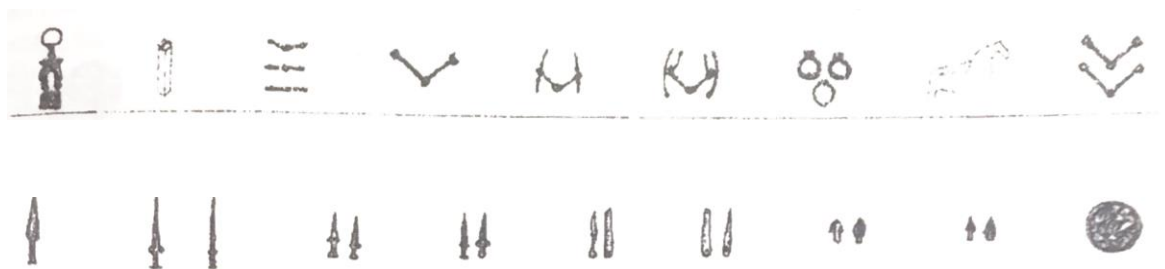


Figure 62 Spearheads of the warriors (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

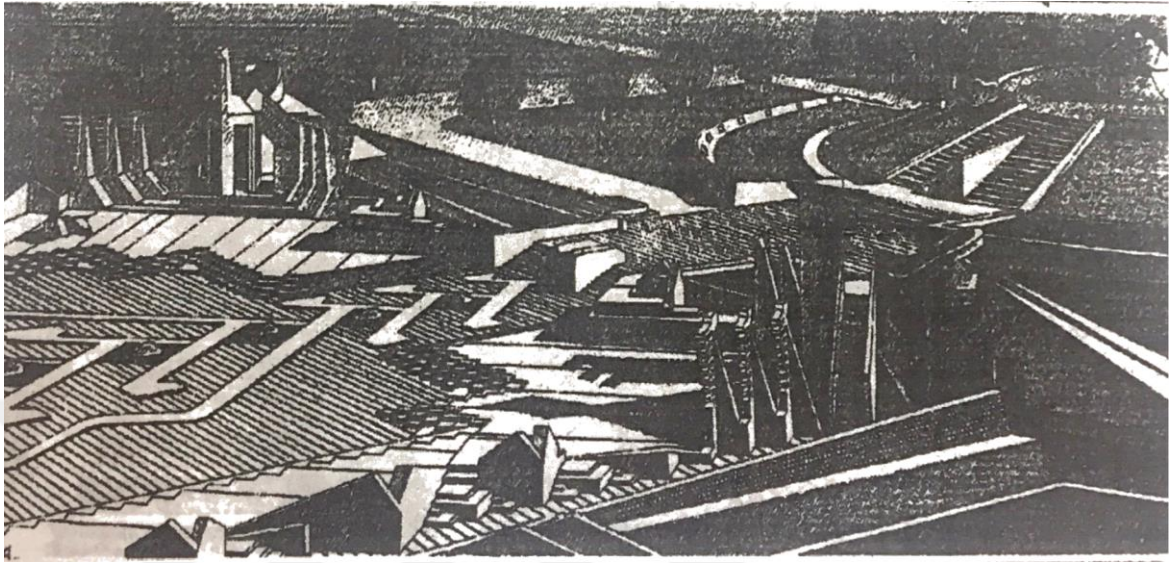


Figure 63 Manas Ayili, cult of horse (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

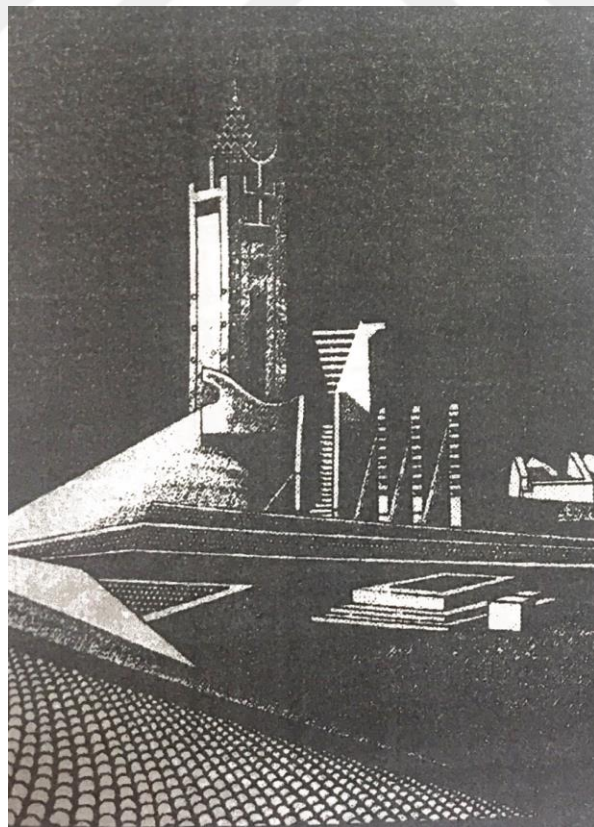


Figure 64 Manas Earmark (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).

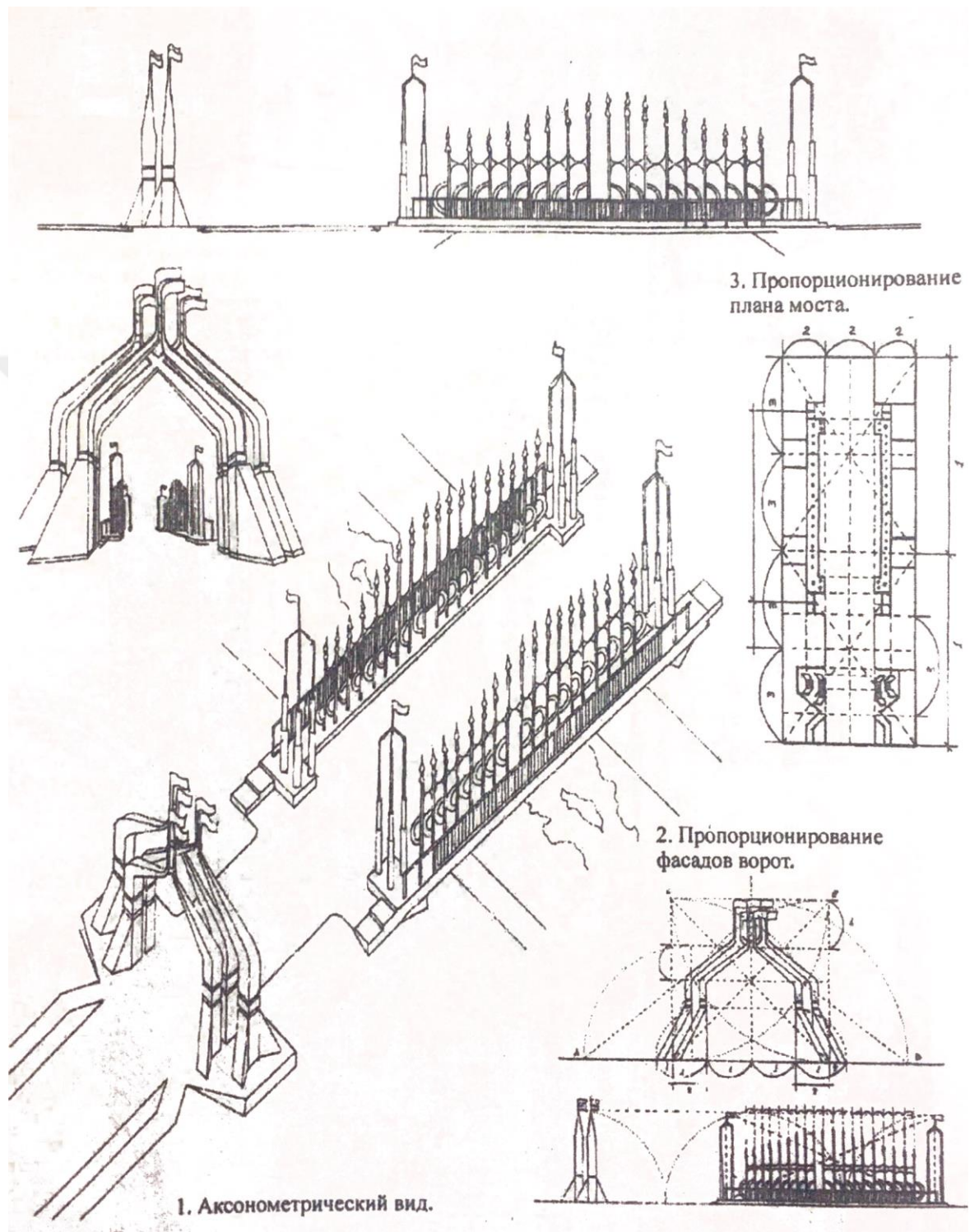
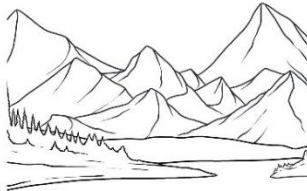


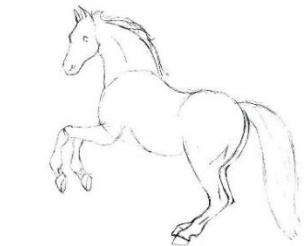
Figure 65 The gates (Omuraliev&Kurmanaliev, 2003).



Shyrdak - Kyrgyz traditional carpet.



Mountains



Pegas-



Warrior helmet in Kyrgyzstan



Shokulo- women hat that wear young women.

Table 4 Literal symbols



Petroglyphs



Manas's Lion



Warrior



Argali - wild goat, with large horns, that lives in Central Asia.

Table 5 Literal Symbols



Sanjyralar dubosu (genealogy)- visual and contextual ideological focus. Vertical image of the world. Has all three layer: upper, medium and underworld.



Kyrk Choro (40 warriors) - forty warriors of Manas who meet guests at the gates. Offers two type of entrances: through the gate and through the stairs.



Manaschylar ordosu- hill of Manaschy's, a place where Manaschy can sing Manas Epic.



Khan's General Headquarters - world mountain. The highest level, upper world.



Kyrk kyz (40 young women)- hospitality and cordiality

Table 6 Metaphoric symbols

6 CONCLUSION

An establishment of architectural language was an essential element in a formation of the new unifying identity that would embody national and ethnic motives of the Kyrgyz culture. A political ideology formed by national leaders, shaped a framework according to which an embodiment of national identity operated. Even if artists did not pursue political goals, still they were deeply affected by the idea of “nation”, which influenced their philosophical and aesthetic prospects. Continuing Soviet tradition of approaching ethnicity in terms of ethno genesis, on the basis of which legitimacy of the Kyrgyz nation was claimed, reference to ethnic past and ethnic culture became a part of nationalist movement. The park Manas Ayili became an attempt not only to embody Manas symbolism, but also to establish a national architecture. In the discourse of Omuraliev the term ethno-architecture is always interchanged with the term national architecture. This can be explained by an influence of the Soviet Union, which fundamentally shaped a general approach towards terms ethnicity and nation. The Soviet approach indicated a legitimacy of nation based on an ethnic genesis of it. Due to it, it is almost impossible to separate notions of nationalism and ethnic identity to a solely architectural discussion in the discourse of Omuraliev. This is one of the major issues, which cause a confusion between terms: nation, ethnicity, national architecture and ethno architecture.

No matter how strongly Omuraliev and Kurmanaliev reject Soviet architectural approach, still from the very outline, strict formal geometric shape, void and space organization, it can be seen how rigorous Soviet formal education still overhangs behind the “ethnic”.

Despite it all, the thesis attempted to demonstrate methodology behind the process of form finding. With the architect’s strict concern of architecture carrying Kyrgyz ethno genesis, the thesis aimed to evaluate this process of transfer of visual and visceral values into the architectural project. He tried to identify fundamental principles and forms that existed in the region throughout centuries and grasp an ethnic concept of space. However, by rejecting “revivalism” on the paper (the book) the architect, still in some or other way approaches architecture in a historicistic way, as his very approach towards architecture very much correspond to ethno-symbolism of Smith and invention of tradition of Hobsbawm. It also has to be indicated, that during interview, Omuraliev said, that one of the issues he encountered was that the Manas ideas had to be translated in the most readable way for the audience with no architectural background, so at some point, the project itself presupposed literacy of meanings.

Another question that rises, is the project Manas Ayili self-conscious? If to approach it from the Frampton’s formulation, in many ways it is not. Because it does not interact with place in terms of topography, nature, water, sun, wind and light, but rather artificially recreates the landscape the architect wanted people to immerse. It does not use local peculiar construction technics, nor does it exploit local material. To be fair with the limited budget; constructors went with cheaper materials, not the one that the architect intended to. In addition, in the architect’s discourse, focus was on the ethnic character, which differs from what regionalism stands for, as regionalism refers to localism, climate, topography, and ethnicity refers to cultural realm of an ethnic.

The place provides a strong formal space, as it was intended to be. It was iconic for many years and attracted many domestic narratives aside with formal ones. Omuraliev takes inspiration not from a particular place, but from the whole Kyrgyz region and existing architectural landmarks. Understanding of cultural values is the crucial part, as the architect address them through the all stages of design process.

The thesis aimed to demonstrate systematized methodology of a transfer of cultural realm into the tangible architectural surface and evaluate the project according to four values: *locus*, *metaphors*, *type* and *diagram*. The architect uses *locus* and *metaphors* as a source for forms, symbols and spatial organizations. Through the analysis of *type*, he tries to derive fundamental spatial and formal principles, which belong to Kyrgyz culture. Further, with the diagrammatic study, architect produces series of forms, which has an ethnic origin. The architect is not trying to make his architecture to look old or traditional, but rather to make it carrying the ethnic gene and by this to recall an emotional investment and a pride for the nation.

Many architectural theoreticians address a lack of cultural investigation during design process, however Omuraliev does the opposite thing, in his design a cultural investigation is taking the highest priority. As he says himself, the ethnic design should be highly saturated with cultural values and meanings (personal interview, March 15, 2019). As Rossi says (Rossi, 1982:34)

Sometimes I ask myself why architecture is not analyzed in these terms, that is, in terms of its profound value as a human thing that shapes reality and adapts material according to an aesthetic conception. It is in this sense not only the place of the human condition, but itself a part of that condition, and is represented in the city and its monuments, in districts, dwellings, and all urban artifacts that emerge from inhabited space.

In this sense, Rossi's critic cannot be applied to the approach of Omuraliev, as the profound analysis of a culture is an essential foothold in his design process. Each decision of Omuraliev is dictated by the values borrowed from a culture, which shape the whole Manas Ayili Project.

The whole ethno-architecture approach does overlap with *ethno-symbolism* of Smith and *invention of tradition* of Hobsbawm. Because, the very essence of approaching history for the production of new identity is an approach of ethno-symbolism. The process of construction of an architectural identity, which will embody the national idea and ethnic character is an *invention of tradition*, as it presupposes the building of architectural tradition in national architecture. The thesis aimed to demonstrate the process of invention of a new architectural tradition with relation to Smith's and Hobsbawm's discourses and the architectural critic worldwide. It aimed to demonstrate, from the one hand the architectural discourse in the unknown Kyrgyzstan and from the other is to open the general discussion on architectural regionalism.

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APENDIX

Appendix A: Interview
Interview with Mr. Omuraliev on March 15, 2019

Z.Baiborieva -Have you had any examples in head before developing design concept of Manas Ayili? For example abroad? Or some specific project, maybe?

D. Omuraliev – You mean what was my source of inspiration at the beginning of process?

Z.Baiborieva – yes, exactly

D. Omuraliev- First of all, I have spent a lot of time investigating on Near East architecture, Far East architecture and I have realized, that this is not a way to proceed. As we – a nomadic culture, did not preserve architectural landmarks and it left far behind, for architect it is important to understand the values of our culture. For example, the first value I have identified is a relationship of Kyrgyz people to their land. For example Mountain Ala-too has a particular cultural value Kyrgyz people, more than any other mountain in the country.

Horses were always of a high value, which can also be seen in our myths, birds were very important, for example Manas's bird which was portrayed to be 6-7 meters long. Even on our national cognizance is portrayed goldeneagle. Such prideful, strong predator birds, as eagles were always used in hunting..... It means that there are particular values that are important for creation of certain environment and those values makes up spatial basis. So it is necessary to use those forms of arrangement of spatial relationships and maybe the order of their perception. Starting from this, I have put a theoretical question – how to transfer those values into architecture? I think there are several ways. One of them is to use aesthetic symbols of Kyrgyz culture. The strongest aesthetic symbols of Kyrgyz are ornaments. But ornaments are always being used, so other aesthetic symbol of Kyrgyz people is a relationship to a form...therefore when I was developing design of “Manas Ayili” I was questioning myself what idea should it convey? And I realized that is a very important form is a “shyrdak”, then “boz uy”, therefore I interpret ‘Boz uy’ as a mountain and “shyrdak” as a path to mountain... Another important value for Kyrgyz people were territorial border relationships... Kyrgyz would indicate border by stones and etc., therefore the entrance is very important, there would be huge gates in past times. Even manaschy when starts to sing Manas epic he almost entrances a trans, where they see the event of epic alive. Therefore, his idea was to put visitors into different world, where they would enter the park and see a story...and today I don't regret that this is how I have approached a problem, I believe I went with a right way, because this way it is possible to find unique architecture which does not resemble any architecture examples abroad. And this a theoretical way of approach. Another way of approach, is to take forms directly from the local material, such as “boz uy”, “kalpak” and etc which is a very literal, naïve surface approach. I teach my students to work with theoretical approach, to deeply investigate and research, in order to do a better design. I was working on the project

“Manas Ayili” 10 years, because I had personal motivation and interest at that time the competition was announced. In this case, I was somewhat lucky; we - with a team developed a project and eventually won it. Some main elements I wrote in my book “Modern Ethno-architecture of Kyrgyzstan”.

Z. Baiborieva – My thesis advisor and me went through some examples in Kyrgyzstan, such as a bus stop which looks like “*Kalpak*” as you said, or there is an example in Almaty Kazakhstan a building which looks like a *boz uy*, what do you think of those examples, in terms of sources of forms?

D. Omuraliev- (shortly laughed) yes, I know this examples, in fact, I know people in Kazakhstan, for example mr. Bekribayev. Architects of Kazakhstan started to explore on this field after us, and they are also proceeding it in two ways. There may be two or three examples today, for example “Khan chatyr” hotel, which in fact was designed by western architectural firm, with advanced building technologies. However, other than main form, inside of the building does not express any Kazakh character unfortunately.

Z. Baiborieva- So there is no much analogy in the world, as “ethno-park” we can say, right?

D. Omuraliev- Yes, this specific term “ethno-architecture”, we introduced on 80s 90s years.

Z. Baiborieva- what do you think of the “ethno-park” term and in what sense it is different from cultural park?

D. Omuraliev- today, in Kyrgyzstan everything can be called “ethno”. “Ethno-restaurant”, “ethno bus top”, and they become too much. It is an examples of surface approach into design process. But for example there are such buildings, which due to their function are very specific to Kyrgyz culture, for example *tulookana* are very often consumed by public in Kyrgyzstan, because the building is very closely related to the specific peculiarity of a culture.

Z. Baiborieva- okey, you said earlier that “Manas Ayili” is kind of abandoned today, not visited and maintained, how do you think what are the reasons of that?

D. Omuraliev- well, this is not architects fault. Mr Akayev was rushing the construction of the project for the first president elections. Therefore, there were many political actions behind the project. After the project winner were announced, they devoted only six month for project construction. Construction started in winter and already at August 31, there was a grand opening and celebration of 1000 years of epic Manas antiquity. Authorities were rushing construction process, other materials were used later, instead of what we had in mind. What we were initially planning is completely different from what was built eventually, also only 1/3 of the project was built. Authorities said that they would built the rest after the celebration. Another reason for abandonment is that as it is government property, it cannot be sold or rent to private businessman, however government would not maintain the park as well.

Z. Baiborieva- Yeah, I have read that the research of one scholar who said, that project of a such kind require ideological maintenance along with physical maintenance.

D. Omuraliev- Exactly, this is very crucial for such kind of projects. Because those are iconic object. In case if someone would be invited from abroad, this kind of place would be the one to show and visit, but unfortunately it was not built, as we were planning it to be. For example, recently Kyrgyzstan hosted World Nomad Games and there were no iconic architectural and urban landmarks to show to tourists that came for the event. What does it mean? It means that the situation with national architecture is just the same as 20 years ago. I was invited to participate in the construction of facilities for WNG event, and I refused the offer (laughs). Maybe it is possible to organize a theatrical festival, but not an architectural iconic project.

Besides Manas Ayili project I proposed a center of Nomad Life Portrayal, in the north side of Bishkek city, with 20 ha territory. I developed project, proposal and presented it to authorities, however, unfortunately Kyrgyzstan does not possess such budget for this kind of grand projects.

Z. Baiborieva – In terms of Manas Ayili, what kind of scenario, you have had in you mind, about the visitor experience?

D. Omuraliev- well, first, I put such questions, as: 1) Why would we visit this place? 2) What values should it convey? 3) And when visitor leaves the place what should stay with them in their minds? What kind of impression? Systematically I tried to identify those values. For example, people would climb to *Manas Tavro* Tower, they would see the whole complex and realize: oh that, damn it! (laughs). From the other side Kanykeys ¹⁵Boz Uy was suppose to be big and there were suppose to be restaurant. Other than Manas Ayili there were many projects of this kind, which we would work on, just the limit of budget of the country do not allow us. For example, Kazakhstan has financial resources, but there is no much academic and architectural research.

Z. Baiborieva – You have mentioned earlier that, the you had different materials in mind what kind of?

D. Omuraliev- Of course, granite should have been used, marble, wood, the old wood, Kyrgyz stone, because the quality of Kyrgyz stone is very high. It could have been a “stone garden”, which would have sustain harsh Kyrgyz winters and summers. It would not have been that deteriorated today then.

¹⁵ Kanykey- the wife of Manas

Z. Baiborieva – Right, with different materials it would have been entirely different today.

Were there any restoration works done after the construction?

D. Omuraliev- No, there were not, we just ourselves went to do some minor restorations, somewhere paint, somewhere touch some drawings. Because drawings started to lose their shapes.

Z. Baiborieva – My thesis is based on that your usage of symbols is deliberate decision aimed to recall direct connection and recognition?

D. Omuraliev- yes, those symbols should be introduced gradually. I had to explain each decision and references to authorities. Therefore, in general the scenario was to introduce the Kyrgyz aura to people, especially in terms spatiality. Considering details, for examples “Manas hill”, and “Sanjyra hill” had to be filled with different imagery inside as well, like clouds and etc which further was not realized. I had a ton of ideas, I tend to fantasize. And at that times I was young, had optimistic belief those are possible to incorporate, today I am not, today I don’t believe (laughs).

Z. Baiborieva –What was a public response?

D. Omuraliev- Responses was different, there were positive and negative as well. For example, the negative one – in “Boz uy” there should be “left side” and “right side”, as well as “tor” (farthest place from an entrance in a room), “*bosogo*” (threshold) the critic was, that I changed this order, they said that this is not right. Another critic, which was right, I agree, that it does not bring economic income. It had to be based on commerce at some point. If there built some “tulookana” or a café, it could produce income.

Z. Baiborieva – but the place was visited as a cultural place, during school and university graduations or weddings.

D. Omuraliev – yeah, right. I think the park should be given to under private property and some executive could invest in it and work the place. He should be a patriot at the same time, so it would not be solely based on commercial interest, so he would develop and facilitate place. Another point, the park was supposed to be located nearby the road, where is actually the restaurant “Yssyk-kol” located. It would be accessible from the main road.

Z. Baiborieva – Yeah, during my research I was wondering about all this behind processes that affected the project.

D. Omuraliev – right, there were 1500 people working on a site, with three shifts for six months. People from peripheries and other cities would come for this period for a work.

Z. Baiborieva –Is there any documentations left? Such as photographs, drawings and etc. I went to several archives.

D. Omuraliev –I have all this materials, I even wanted to write a book on it, then it just stopped. There was also another project “Manas Ordo” which is in Talas, 20 ha of territory. It was build around the Manas Kumbez. The place has a great potential, but because it was a project of the first president, following presidents were not excited about facilitating it. World Nomad Games event could take place there, but the president Atambayev proceeded to Yssyk-kul region, where brand new construction had to be happen in order to be able to serve the event.

Z. Baiborieva – what about architects today? Bus stops with a form of traditional hat, buildings that are excessively literal?

D. Omuraliev – Well, it is not their fault. It is not like they want it. Usually clients are the one, who obviously are not architectural theoreticians, dictate the project. They have to get money after all. They are all my students otherwise.

Z. Baiborieva – Well, this is a reason I wanted to make interview, to get an information behind, stuff that are not in books or other people dissertations.

D. Omuraliev – Yeah, we also have conducting master and PhD researches here and the one who are writing on “ethno-architecture” a very challenged, because there is no writings, right? So that we have to create this theoretical basis (laughs). But today “ethno-architecture” is very developing and very popular. There no need for proving it anymore. Back than I had to prove that there is a need for it. The human consciousness is changing. Now we have to bring economy to it, than “ethno-architecture” will thrive.