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K. K. YUDAKHIN PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS OF TRADITIONAL KYRGHYZ CULTURE IN ST. PETERBURG KUNSTKAMERA

Abstract. The article is devoted to the history of the MAE RAS collection on traditional Kyrgyz culture. Many generations of Russian researchers collected objects of traditional culture, annotated them, and compiled scientific museum inventories. Besides, they collected photographic material. The focus of this paper is on two photographic collections, donated to the museum by the famous Turkologist, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz SSR, Konstantin Kuzmich Yudakhin (1890—1975). The first collection is devoted to the life of the Kyrgyz people of the Issyk-Kul region, the second — to the inhabitants of the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The photographs were taken in the late 1920-s. They depict the life of average Kyrgyz people engaged in household crafts, children playing traditional games, the life of the ancient city of Osh, the sacred Suleyman Mountain (Takht-i Suleyman). These photographic materials are a wonderful source on the history and ethnography of Kyrgyzstan during the period when the traditional culture of nomads was being transformed under the influence of modernization processes of the 20th century.

Key words: MAE RAS, Kunstkamera, the Kyrgyz, K. K. Yudakhin, photo collections, history of museum collections

The collections of Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg got enriched in the course of numerous scientific expeditions, aimed to explore comprehensively both the natural resources of the untravelled lands and the lifestyle of the peoples inhabiting them. Also, the policy aimed to form museum collections included purchases of items and photographs from individual collectors and donations from art patrons.

Both in the times of the Russian Empire and of Soviet Union, the imperative to explore the culture of the peoples inhabiting the borderlands of the state was literally felt in connection with developing new mechanisms of maintaining political stability. One of the greatest achievements of Soviet ethnography is the collection, classification and arrangement of a vast body of ethnographic materials of the 20th century (field notes, item collections, and photographic materials). The efforts of Soviet ethnographers largely contributed to what we know today about the ritual and everyday life of the peoples of Central Asia during the period of modernization of the traditional life [1].

There are several collections in the MAE, donated to the museum by the eminent Soviet Turkologist, specialist in Kyrgyz Studies, DLitt, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz SSR, Konstantin Kuzmich Yudakhin (1890—1975). Yudakhin's academic career was closely linked to Kyrgyzstan and embraced studying both the Kyrgyz language and the culture of the country. His research work of many years resulted in the publication of the first Kyrgyz-Russian dictionary in 1940; the dictionary he compiled contains not only linguistic information, but also historical and ethnographic materials. That same year, K. K. Yudakhin was conferred the title of Honorary Scientist of the Kyrgyz SSR, and in 1944, he was offered to move to the city of Frunze (Bishkek) for permanent residence, where he worked for many years as Head of the Department of Kyrgyz Language at the Institute of Language, Literature and History, Kyrgyz Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as Professor of Kyr-

ghyz State Pedagogical Institute, and as Professor of the Kyrgyz language at Kyrgyz State University [2].

His whole life was connected with the East. He was born in Orsk, Orenburg Governorate, into the family of a clerk. He spent his childhood and adolescent years in Jambyl (former Aulie Ata, present-day Taraz, or Talas). It was as early as then that his aptitude for languages became obvious: he was fluent in Kazakh, Uzbek, Tatar and Bashkir languages. After secondary school, in 1906, K. K. Yudakhin entered Turkestan teacher's training college in Tashkent. The college trained teachers for *qishlāqs*, so the curriculum included advanced study of Uzbek and Persian languages. On graduating the college, K. K. Yudakhin taught in Mankent and Karabulak — Uzbek *qishlāqs* in former Chimkent Uezd. This is how he came to observe the intricacies of Uzbek dialects.

In 1915–1920, while in Kashgar, Urumchi, Ghulja and other cities of Xinjiang, K. K. Yudakhin studied the life and ethnography of Uyghurs and mastered the Uyghur language.

In 1920, K. K. Yudakhin entered the Turkestan Institute of Oriental Studies, where prominent scholars of Oriental Studies worked: V. V. Barthold (1869–1930), E. D. Polivanov (1891–1938), A. A. Semenov (1873–1958), S. E. Malov (1870–1957). At the Institute K. K. Yudakhin studied Turkic languages and the ethnography of Turkic peoples under academic supervision of Professor E. D. Polivanov, specialist in General linguistics, the main opponent of “the new theory of language” proposed by Academician N. Ya. Marr (1864–1934), which resulted in him being arrested in 1937 and later executed.

K. K. Yudakhin graduated from the university with two degrees — in Turkic and Iranian Philology. For some time, he worked in Tashkent and then was sent to Leningrad, where he continued his research under the supervision of Professor S. E. Malov. K. K. Yudakhin taught Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Uyghur languages at the A. S. Erukidze Oriental Institute, and then at Leningrad State University.

In 1932–1944, he was Head of the Department of the Uyghur Language at Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies. In those years, K. K. Yudakhin participated actively in creating the script for Turkic-speaking peoples, particularly the new Kyrgyz script, and worked as a contributing scholar at the All-Union Central Committee for a New Turkic Alphabet.

K. K. Yudakhin's research work of many years resulted in the publication of the voluminous Kyrgyz-Russian Dictionary in 1940. The lexicographic principles behind this dictionary would be later used as the underlying principles of compiling similar dictionaries of many Turkic peoples. In 1941–1943, K. K. Yudakhin, together with his colleagues from the Institute, was evacuated to Ferghana. In the war years, they continued working, and Yudakhin, with his team of co-authors, published the first Russian-Kyrgyz Dictionary.

K. K. Yudakhin moved from Ferghana to Frunze, where, in 1949, he was conferred the degree of DLitt; in 1954, he became Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Kyrgyz SSR [3].

There are two collections of still negatives and photographs that K. K. Yudakhin donated to Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg. MAE collection No. 3793, almost wholly devoted to traditional Kyrgyz culture, was presented to the Museum in 1928. It is one of the biggest MAE collections on Kyrgyz culture, comprising over 100 still negatives and photographs printed from them.

The collection was registered in 1932 by MAE employee Elizaveta Parmenovna Nikolaicheva, who made an inventory of still negatives and photographs, allegedly using the notes of the collector while annotating the items. The photographs on the still negatives from MAE collection No. 3793 were made by K. K. Yudakhin during his business trip to Karakol. They depict yurts, stationary dwellings, men and women engaged in household crafts. Children playing traditional games, various ornaments and costumes. Unfortunately, two photographs of K. K. Yudakhin, allegedly made during his business trip, were removed from the collection in 1932 as “personal materials” and returned to the collector. Undoubtedly, today, after almost a hundred years, these materials would complement the collection and become a valuable historical document, illustrating the epoch [4].

The photographs feature the life of average Kyrgyz people in the late 1920-s. This period marked the beginning of transformation of the traditional culture of nomads under the influence of modernization processes of the 20th century, including socio-political and economic changes stemming from the establishment of Soviet rule in the region and the transition of nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples to semi-sedentary and then sedentary lifestyle. Some photographs feature the process of setting up a yurt (MAE Nos. 3793-12, 41, 53, 54, 55, 62 (*fig. 1*)), its interior decor, while other photographs feature mudbrick and brick buildings (MAE Nos. 3793-86 (*fig. 2*)), indicative of a gradual transition of Kyrgyz people to a sedentary lifestyle. We see faces of women, men, and children in traditional costumes, either posing for a picture or engaged in traditional crafts and work; at the same time, there is a photograph titled “Young Students at Rest in Their Local *Aul*” (MAE Nos. 3793-60 (*fig. 3*), 68, 23); the young people are wearing urban clothes: European cut shirts, short overcoats, boots, hats and caps. A wonderful illustration of the juncture of epochs, of two merging cultures.

K. K. Yudakhin demonstrated the ordinary life of a Kyrgyz *aul*. Women are carrying chatwood (MAE No. 3793-1), gathering *kizyak* (dung cakes) (MAE No. 3793-111), dressing skins (MAE Nos. 3793-44, 67, 108), milking the cattle (MAE Nos. 3793-15, 88), weaving (MAE Nos. 3793-2, 19, 20, 70), laying rope (MAE Nos. 3793-11, 105, 116), and fulling felts (MAE Nos. 3793-34, 92); a man is working in a smithie (MAE No. 3793-58). The author of the photographs was fully aware of how valuable the traditional ornamental motifs, compositions, and the cut of traditional clothes were for the ethnographer (MAE Nos. 3793-28, 30, 35, 73, 114).

In the late 1920s, the traditional nomadic lifestyle was still predominant among the northern Kyrgyz in the rural regions; urban culture and industry had a minor effect, so the costume still preserved items characteristic

for nomadic life — comfortable and sensible for everyday wear. A few photographs feature wrap-around waist-cloths, *bel'demchi*, which used to be a part of the costume of married women (MAE Nos. 3793-28 (fig. 4), 52, 94, 109). This type of skirt was indispensable during migrating in cold months, while working in the open, or when the temperature changed rapidly in mountainous areas even in summer. Researchers of the 1950s wrote that this type of women's attire would pass out of use in a few decades, still remaining part of the costume of women in advanced maturity, besides, *bel'demchi* would be made of dark fabric without embroidery [5]. The photographs we have feature wonderful samples of wrap-around skirts, ornamented with embroidery and characteristic of the northern women's traditional costume. Such skirts were made of three wedge-shaped pieces of cloth, quilted to a broad solid waistband and richly ornamented with traditional embroidery.

Married women in K. K. Yudakhin's photographs are wearing a headpiece known as *elechek*, which is often considered the most “informative” piece of women's costume. The shape of the head-wrap was indicative not only of the woman's tribal affiliation, but also of her age and social standing. In Yudakhin's photographs, *elechek* head-wraps of Kyrgyz women are of the shape characteristic for northern regions of Kyrgyzstan and have a special band for fastening (MAE Nos. 3793-39 (fig. 5), 79 (fig. 6), 109 and some others). Judging by the photographs, however, by the late 1920s, *elechek* in northern regions was replaced with a bright-coloured manufactured Russian kerchief (MAE Nos. 3793-50, 105 and some others), while head-wrap became a ritual and festive headpiece for women of mature and old age. A few decades later *elechek* would become obsolete, at least in Issyk-Kul region, and would be replaced with a silk manufactured kerchief or a white fringed knitted shawl as a festive headpiece [6]. Kyrgyz women would adopt knitting, crocheting, and cross-stitching from Russian settlers.

There is another peculiar thing captured in one of the photographs: K. K. Yudakhin managed to take a picture of a mourning widow (MAE Nos. 3793-75, 78 (fig. 7)); so, we can see not only the costume of a woman during the annual mourning, but also the posture and comportment of a widow during mourning over her late husband. The mourning status of a woman was marked in a number of ways, most notably by her appearance and costume. A widow's costume, just like everyday or festive female costume, has regional traits, connected with the traditions of her late husband's extended family. Behavioural taboos for a mourning woman often prevent a researcher from talking to a widow, that is why the photographs made by K. K. Yudakhin are a truly unique source, illustrating the mourning traditions in Issyk-Kul region.

The most “informative” piece of the widow's costume is the headpiece. The kerchief is not tied and covers part of the face, its tips falling on the woman's shoulders; there is a mourning band wrapped around it at the top of the head. The kerchief is of a dark colour with a floral ornament, fringed with decorative tassels and

most probably made of cashmere. There is a dark *chapan* over the widow's shoulders. The woman is sitting, with her legs doubled up and her arms akimbo -- this so called “mourning posture” is tabooed in everyday life. The woman's hands are ringless, while rings were the basic jewellery without which a woman was considered “impure” and was not allowed to cook food. A women's costume is not complemented with jewellery only on three occasions: in childbirth, after death (all jewellery is taken off before a dead woman is dressed in grave clothes for burial), and in mourning for her husband [7]. The kerchief covers the widow's hair-do, but her hair is sure to be loose.

There is an interesting inscription under the photograph MAE No. 3793-78: “A Kyrgyz Woman Is Mourning for Her Husband. Mourning Garment *Tul*”. The expressions “to do the *tul*” means “to become a widow”, but the word *tul* can be used to refer to either a widow or a widower [8]. K. K. Yudakhin gives two definitions of *tul* in his dictionary: (i) representation of a late husband (his overclothes and hat on a wooden structure), set up over the marriage-bed (the widow mourned over her husband sitting under this representation); (ii) widow (also a fiancée after her fiancé's death); *tul katyn* widow (during the first year after her husband's death) [9]. E. K. Zhanpeisov writes, “evidence from some Turkic languages suggests that the term *tul* is etymologically connected with the meaning “appearance”, “looks”” [10]. Obviously, in this particular case, the term *tul* is used to denote a widow.

Another portrait is of a singer of Kyrgyz epic *Semetej* -- *semetejchi* (MAE Nos. 3793-5 (fig. 8), 72). A good-looking man in traditional costume is sitting in a place of honour in the yurt, his status emphasized with a white textile waistband. The gift of story-telling in the Kyrgyz culture is treated as shamanic gift, it is transmitted by heredity. Real story-tellers can cantillate the epic for hours, if not for days. Judging by the inventory of the collection and the inscription under the photograph, the singer's name is Zhakshylyk, nicknamed Qaraychy. Relying on contemporary research, we know his timeframe: 1880—1934; he came from the family of Belek, Bugu tribe. He was born in the village of Kjojochju, Issyk-Kul region, and gained the blessing for his gift at the age of 12 [11]. Thus, far back in 1928, K. K. Yudakhin made a photograph of the famous singer and improviser of the bygone era, whose name is in the list of the best story-tellers of Kyrgyzstan.

A group of photographs is devoted to children's games, entertainments, and traditional wrestling. Little children are playing cat-and-mouse (MAE No. 3793-100 (fig. 9)), older children are playing “*Chikit*” (MAE Nos. 3793-16, 24 (fig. 10), 25, 71 and some others), a game similar to the well-known one called “*Chizhik*” (tipcat), and “*Choo*” (literally translated from Kyrgyz as “Jackal”), a game for girls and boys aged 9 to 13 (MAE No. 3793-106 (fig. 11), 117). Young girls are playing on the traditional *selkinchek* swings, probably singing all along, as is often the case during the wedding entertainment (MAE Nos. 3793-38, 65 (fig. 12)). Men square off — K. K. Yudakhin made photographs of



Fig. 1

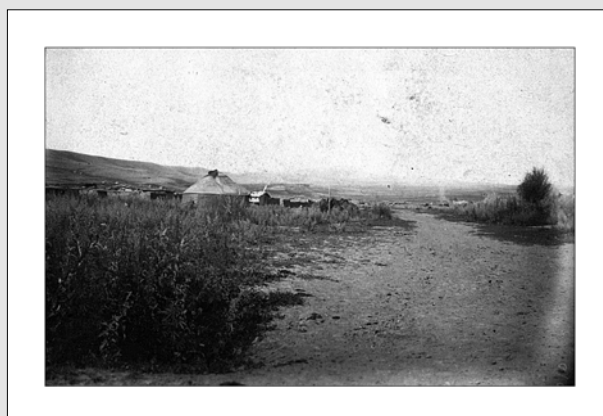


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

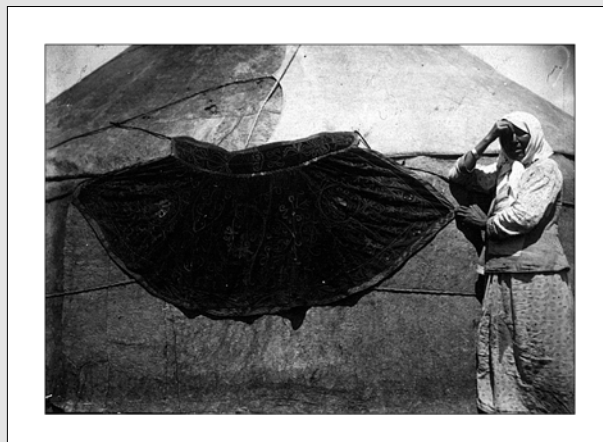


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

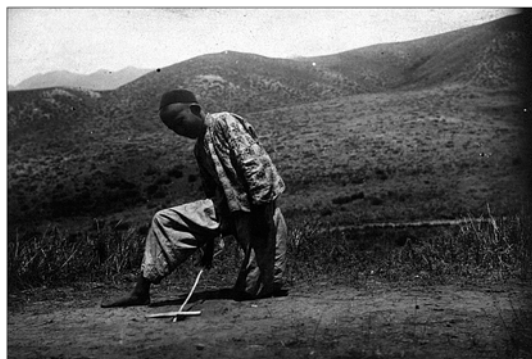
*Fig. 7**Fig. 8**Fig. 9**Fig. 10**Fig. 11**Fig. 12*



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



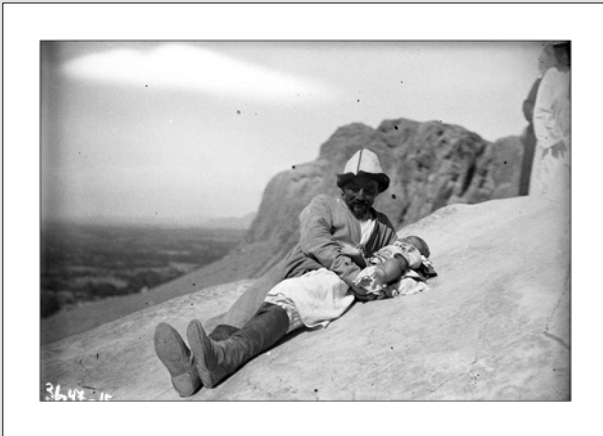
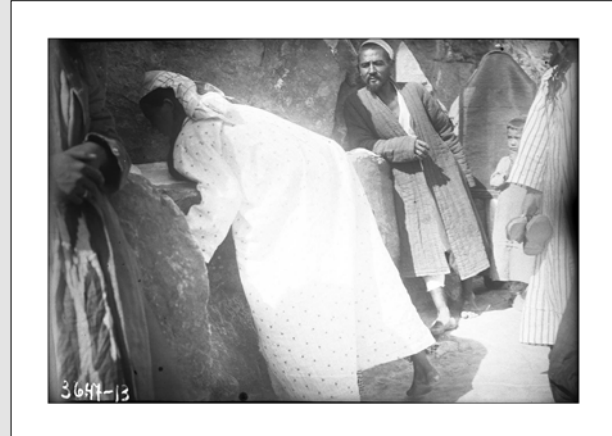
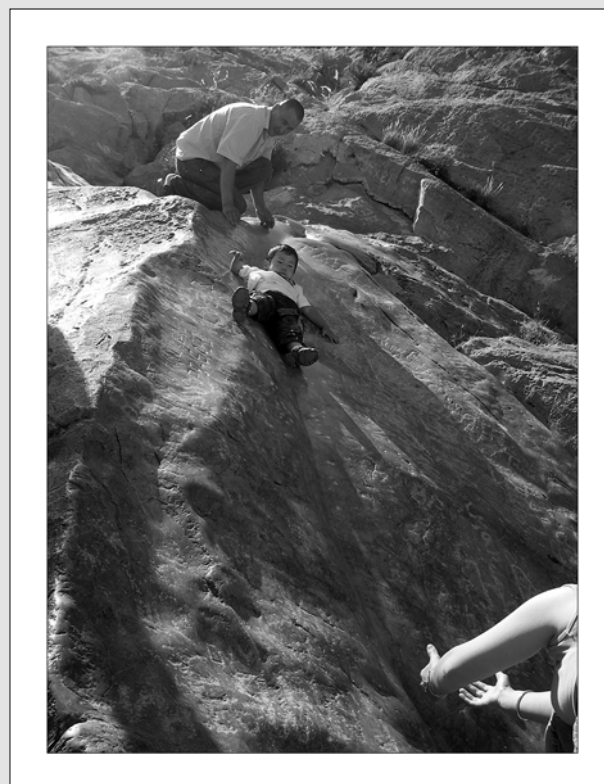
Fig. 21



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

*Fig. 16**Fig. 17**Fig. 18*

oodarysh fight between two horsemen (MAE No. 3793-18 (fig. 13)), of two fighters on foot (MAE No. 3793-33 (fig. 14), 69), of stunt riding called *tyjyn jenmej*, during which the horseman picks up a coin from the ground at high speed (MAE Nos. 3793-21, 80). Several photographs feature a group of men playing *ordo*, a still popular traditional game (MAE Nos. 3793-9, 14, 27 (fig. 15)). These games were widespread and popular among Kyrgyz people of all ages and various social standing.

While the first collection donated to the MAE by K. K. Yudakhin is devoted to the life of Kyrgyz people of Issyk-Kul region, the second one is devoted to the inhabitants of the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The photographs from MAE collection No. 3647 were made in Osh and in Chirchik Uezd, Syr Darya Governorate of Kazakh ASSR, in the villages of Karabulak and Mankent, where K. K. Yudakhin came to work as a teacher on graduating from the college and where he subsequently came to conduct dialectological research. The collection was donated to the MAE in 1928 and registered by G. G. Gul'bin. We can see Uzbeks, Kyrgyz and Kashgarliks on the photographs. One of the photographs feature the old fortress of Karabulak, where the first settlers lived (MAE No. 3647-3). There are portraits of locals: the whole family of Karabulak dweller Juldashbek Nigmazboev, his two wives, three children and his mother (MAE No. 3647-18). There is a portrait of an Uzbek old woman from Osh — her name is Narzii-Bibi Marzaboeva (MAE No. 3647-21), a photo of the family of an Uzbek man from Mankent village (MAE No. 3647-19). When Yudakhin made photographs of people, he often inscribed their names on the photos. Unfortunately, there are very few photos of Kyrgyz people, but there are wonderful photographs of the old city of Osh and the famous Takht-i Suleymān, rising in the north-western border of the city. Takht-i Suleymān, despite the antireligious propaganda of Soviet times, maintained the status of a national shrine and was often attended by pilgrims [12]. Presently, thousands of religious believers from Central Asia strive to perform a pilgrimage to Suleymān Mountain. Pilgrims still believe that a true Muslim must at least once in his life pilgrimage to Takht-i Suleymān. The shrine is a complex of venerated objects: caves, caverns, rocks and stones. Believers have come here for centuries to render worship to the main holy relic of the shrine — a stone with the traces of hands and knees of Prophet Suleymān in prayer, or, according to another legend, of Prophet Muhammad; believers come here to pray for relief from disease. One of the photographs features a young Kyrgyz with a baby on his lap, sliding down the so called “lower back rock” in the hope to get rid of pain (MAE

No. 3647-15, fig. 16). Another photo features a woman inserting the head of her baby into the hollow in the rock, guided by a mulla, -- obviously praying for cure (MAE No. 3647-12), yet another shows a young woman leaning over a large stone praying for a cure for barrenness (MAE No. 3647-13, fig. 17).

In 2011, one of the authors of this paper was fortunate enough to visit Takht-i Suleymān. Time seems to have frozen here. Pilgrims continue to come here, asking for relief from illnesses (fig. 18), praying on top of the mountain, and the local mulla receives women with children who are believed to have been born after their mothers performed a pilgrimage to Suleymān Mountain.

The city (MAE Nos. 3647-1, 2, 5 (fig. 19), 6) at the foot of Takht-i Suleymān did change, though (fig. 20). K. K. Yudakhin visited the famous markets of Osh: there is a woman in *hijāb*, walking along the rows of milkmen at the Milk market (MAE No. 3647-8), Uzbek women selling kerchiefs at the Kerchief market (MAE No. 3647-9), a group of cheerful Kyrgyz men on their way from the market (MAE 3647-27, fig. 21). Each image is so lively, each photo is like a frozen moment from the life of an ancient city.

Before K. K. Yudakhin, there were hardly any illustrative materials or item collections in the MAE on the life and culture of the Kyrgyz people. He donated to the museum photographic collections and one item collection (MAE No. 3763). It comprises just a few items: a felt sack with an embroidered velvet upper side, a musical instrument -- *guimbarde temir komuz* — in a wooden shell case, and a traditional wrap-around skirt *bel'demchi*. These items, however, are truly unique artefacts; the man who bought them (according to documents, he paid 5 roubles) was very well aware of both the needs of the museum and the value of these Kyrgyz articles of daily use for the future generations.

Konstantin Kuz'mich Yudakhin's contribution to linguistics has long been acknowledged by the international community of scholars, but he also played an important role in accumulation and propagation of ethnographic knowledge. Without knowing the culture of the people under study it is quite impossible to get the full picture of its lexicon. K. K. Yudakhin used all the possible instruments of perception and documentation. Using a camera, he captured the life of Kyrgyzstan at the moment of rapid development of the region, when tradition foundered on modernization, which was the beginning of Soviet Kyrgyzstan's formative years. It is debatable whether modernization had positive or negative implications for the Central Asian region, but one thing is certain: we should not overlook the human factor, the role of academic staff in the study of the region and the formation of the national school of thought.

Notes

1. Stasevich, 2019a: 48—49.
2. Prishhepova, 1998: 44—54; idem, 2000: 116—117.
3. *Ibid.*: 114—117.
4. Stasevich, 2019b: 89.
5. Abramzon, Antipina *et al*, 1958: 179.
6. *Ibid.*: 182.
7. Stasevich, 2011: 70.
8. Tenishev & Dybo (eds.), 2006: 554.

9. Yudakhin (comp.), 1965: 265.
10. Zhanpeisov, 1989: 62.
11. "Ushedshie skaziteli" (2011).
12. Stasevich, 2018: 79—80.

13. The names of the negatives and photographic prints are given as they appear in the inventories of the MAE RAS collections.

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Illustrations [13]

- Fig. 1.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Setting up a Yurt, a Kyrgyz Dwelling*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-62. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 2.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Sedentarization: A Settlement. Mudbrick and Brick Buildings and Yurts*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-86. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 3.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Young Kyrgyz Students at Rest in Their Local Aul*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-60. Courtesy of the Museum.
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- Fig. 5.** K. K. Yudakhin, *A Headpiece of a Married Woman*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-39. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 6.** K. K. Yudakhin, *A Headpiece of a Married Woman*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-79. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 7.** K. K. Yudakhin, *A Kyrgyz Woman Mourning Over Her Husband. Mourning Garment Tul*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-78. Courtesy of the Museum.
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- Fig. 9.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Children's Game Ala Chuchuk (Cat-and-Mouse)*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-100. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 10.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Kyrgyz Children's Games: Chikit*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-24. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 11.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Kyrgyz Entertainments: Chөө (Jackal)*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-106. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 12.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Kyrgyz Entertainments: Selkinchek Swings*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-65. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 13.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Kyrgyz Entertainments: Odarysh*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-18. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 14.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Wrestling*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3793-33. Courtesy of the Museum.
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- Fig. 17.** K. K. Yudakhin, *A Kargashlik Woman (from Asake) Leaning over a Stone Praying for Cure for Barrenness*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3647-13.
- Fig. 18.** "Slithery rock". Takht-i Suleymān. 2011. Photo by I. Stasevich.
- Fig. 19.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Suleiman Mountain or Solomon's Throne. View from Kaun-bazar (in the Old City) of Osh*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3647-5. Courtesy of the Museum.
- Fig. 20.** View of the City of Osh from Takht-i Suleymān. 2011. Photo by I. Stasevich.
- Fig. 21.** K. K. Yudakhin, *Kyrgyz Men on Their Way Back from the Market in Osh*. Negative image (9.0×12.0 cm), photoprint. Kyrgyz ASSR, 1928, the Kyrgyz. MAE RAS No. 3647-27. Courtesy of the Museum.