PRESENTING THE COLLECTION

A VIEW FROM THE OUTSIDE: URDA, JALAB, BACHCHA
(BY THE MAE RAS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTIONS OF 1870—1920)

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A view from the outside is selective. It registers the unusual, peculiar, that which will be interesting to talk about upon returning home. In which way were the women of Central Asia seen by the first photographers who worked here in the end of the 19th—the beginning of the 20th century? What passed in front of their lens? How "distorted" does the photo mirror become which we look into it after 100 years?

The collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences have a considerable number of images, historic photos, and ethnographic pictures related to female figures of the, above all, settled people of Central Asia. Thematically they can be broken down into several groups. Prevailing among them are single and group portraits of women, in which they are shown mostly in moments of rest, posing during tea-drinking in the female part of the house, dancing etc., women with children, snapshots of little girls. Separate images show women from harems (urda) and inhabitants of local brothels (jalab). Special place is taken by photographs of bachcha—boys dressed in women's clothes.

It was impossible for a strange man to see a woman with an open face. As one of the Russian authors touring Bukhara acknowledged, in order to view the home apparel of local women, he had to carefully look into "internal gateways through crevices of the gates or the wall bolts" [1].

V. V. Krestovskii, who had also been to Bukhara a bit earlier, underlines the difference between the conduct of women in the capital of the emirate and in the so-called Russian Turkestân. As an example of an extremely free conduct of Tâkhkent women he gave the following occurrence:

"They string all flat roofs of their houses and crowd doorways and even streets, and a prettier one would go and remove, as if in a trance, the ofnomat from her face and draw the tails of her paranja — hey, kafr, feast your eyes!" [2].

The photographs of the drawings by painter V. V. Verschagin [3] were the earliest images of the Museum's collections in which the female representative of the settled people could be seen. They were included in the album "Turkestân. Sketches from Life by V. V. Verschagin Issued by Order and Under Sponsorship of the Turkestân Governor-General. 26 Folios with 106 Drawings. St. Petersburg, 1874". V. V. Verschagin executed the paintings in 1867 when he was in Turkestan. These are black and white half-length images of young women. They show only headdresses, part of coiffures and necklaces of all adornments. The painter tried to convey in the first place the anthropological type of local females. In the spring of 1869 the Turkestân exhibition of V. V. Verschagin, then a little known painter, took place in St. Petersburg. It included the sketches and several paintings of the Turkestân cycle. To all appearances, these pictures were also exhibited and acquainted the viewers with the population and everyday life of the new lands adjoined to Russia.

The first photos of the Museum depicting women of the settled peoples of Central Asia were included in the famous "Turkestân Album", more known as Kaufmann's album which was acquired by the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in 1874 [4]. The "Turkestân Album" was issued with the purpose of a comprehensive acquaintance of the academic community with the life of the people of the region. Therefore, an entire series of photos was devoted to showing typical men and women. These are half-length portraits, by which only a partial idea of local costumes could be formed. Occasionally headdresses, neck decorations, and earrings were demonstrated (figs. 1—2).

Of women's headdresses these photos show: a scarf tied with the ends backward [5], a headdress ornamented with metal pendants, worn above the scarf. R. Ia. Rassudova suggested that one of the photos of the "Turkestân Album" shows a rare specimen of an elegant party mirzak, an ancient outer garment sewn out of expensive fabric (fig. 3). It was matched with a dress of corresponding colours and tresses. Sleeves of mirzaks in Fergâna were usually made short (above the elbow) and
wide, as shown in the snapshot, and only occasionally they were long [6].

In the crafts section of the “Türkistan Albümü” in one of the snapshots a woman is wearing a cotton braid, a trouser belt, on a device in the form of a wooden frame. This and several other snapshots demonstrated various trimmings on sleeves of women’s outer garments [7].

In one of the snapshots a group of men and women are posing to G. E. Krivtsov for the “Türkistan Albümü” before the beginning of court proceedings. All three attendant women are wearing a necessary veil [8]. Another snapshot in the album shows a manner of a woman’s riding: she is sitting on horseback behind her husband’s back (fig. 4). One of the photographs by N. Horodet titled “Buhkara. Children’s Cart” depicts girls with open faces. As can be seen in the snapshot, white muslin is descending from the head-dress, behind which it was possible to hide the face, when necessary. A girl’s veil was made out of red or white-and-red striped fabric, black veil was changed for white muslin (fig. 3).

In the photographs of the album “The Types of Peoples of Central Asia” compiled in 1876 by V. Kozlovskii [9] all half-length women’s portraits are executed in two versions, on face and half face, in order to demonstrate not only the anthropologic type but also the coiffures. Here the women are present not only with open faces but also without a head-dress. A Shishov wrote that a woman’s head should always be covered with a scarf tied at the back in such a way that its ends might be visible. In the morning a woman would slip a scarf on her head pressing her hair lightly with her hand. An especially great sin for a woman was to be present uncovered in a room containing the Qur’an, and also while it was being read. Many women even went to bed with a scarf on [10].

In 1894 the Museum received N. Horodet’s photograph collection. In the snapshot titled “The Buhkara People” (fig. 6) a young woman is depicted with two little boys sitting nearby. The Buhkara woman has a dress on which can be identified by literary sources as a prosperous woman’s casual clothes. It consisted of a long silken or tunic-like semi-silken full-length chemise and similar breeches very wide at the top and tapering downwards. Elegant dresses were often sewn out of fabric of light colours as is shown in the snapshot of the young Buhkara woman. Traditional costume of local women was very wide, which was related to a custom to put on, especially on ceremonial occasions, two dresses at once, and for a bride even three ones [11].

Sleeves of dresses were made straight, wide, and long. Embroidered pieces were sewn up to the sleeve ends. The length of the sleeves with sewn-on pieces almost reached the ground [12]. A particular feature in the arrangement of the collar of the Buhkara chemise was a vertical slit in front which went almost as far as the hem, as is seen in the photo. If a dress was sewn out of expensive heavy fabrics, two strips of velvet with gold embroidery were sewn around the collar, which were joined on the chest and descended along the slit in the dress [13]. Prosperous Buhkara women wore outer garments embroidered with gold — jackets separating in front and allowing the silken gold-embroidered chemise worn under it to be seen, which was trimmed in front with a velvet lace embroidered in gold.

The photograph shows a head-dress characteristic of Persian-speaking people of Buhkara: a soft hat with a casing for plaits at the back, which covered the forehead, head, and hair [14]. Headdresses of Buhkara women differed according to age and family status. After the birth of a child the woman passed to the other social group. She began to wear a new silken dress and changed the single-collared skullcap of young women to a complex adornment consisting of a hat with a plait cover, scarf, and headband [15].

This band with gold embroidery in front could be silken or velvety. It was attached to the hat with decorative pins [16]. A head ornament could also appear as a golden diadem. It was a straight band with pendants of gems, plates, and chains descending on the forehead to the eyes. The diadem was made fast above the silken scarf folded diagonally, inside of which paper [17] was sometimes inserted. Onto the head-dress, as in shown in the snapshot “The Buhkara People”, a large scarf is thrown the ends of which are thrown behind the back. Of adornments, the young woman wears a great many necklaces which were often made out of golden pendants with corals.

In the snapshot of N. Horodet a young woman is leaning with her right hand on an embroidered pillow and holding a chžššš (a device for smoking). A chžššš was usually made out of a special kind of gourd, Lagenaria sicuraria. In the form it resembled a pear-like flask. It was inserted, as is seen in the snapshot, into a copper mount. Sometimes the case of a chžššš was exquisitely decorated with turquoise, carnelian, silver inlay and the like. Occasionally chžšššs were made of copper, preserving the pear-like shape, and decorated with silver, engraved patterns. In case of necessity chžšššs were carried around.

In the snapshot by N. Horodet “The Sart Women” (fig. 7) the photographer wanted to show the pastime of local women. In the first case a group of girls with varicoloured long-sleeved silken chemises and wide trousers on, with thin plaits, a great many chest and neck decorations are sitting in front of a low table. In the second case women are in a yard on a special elevation. A screen and a wide stretched tent are protecting them from sun beams. Spread clothes are covered with cakes, sweets, and fruit. Musical instruments are also here. Women in both groups are either uncovered or with skullcaps on. The literary sources have an insignificant number of fragmentary descriptions of women’s assemblages in the reviewed period. There are separate data on peculiar women’s “little feasts” “where tambourine sounds were incessant and noisy dances and songs were not dying away until late”, in the Fergana Valley they drew wives whose husbands on that particular day were visiting the same “men’s house” [18].

In Sanaqqand and Buhkara there also existed women’s meals. They joined fifteen—twenty neighbouring women. There are descriptions of hen par-
ties assembled by girls about to be married before their weddings, or of assemblies of young wives married during the previous year. Joint dinners were also arranged by peculiar women's arts for preparing ritual meals [19]. It is probable that N. Horod wanted to depict some of such women's joint treats.

To get an idea of the appearance of one of the inhabitants of a Khoshqan harem (urda), khân Khudalyr's wife, one can by a rare snapshot from the collection by N. Horod of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, titled "The Khoshqan Khatun" (Fig. 8). The details of the history of private life of Central Asian khân's courts, their families, wives, and also those who surrounded them, were kept secret until the 1920s. In the 1940s M. S. Andreyev was able to gather evidence from conversations with witnesses on some aspects of life of the Bukhara Citadel [21]. Unfortunately, there are no other detailed generalizing works on the life of Khujaran and Khoshqan courts. Separate evidence in this theme is scattered in numerous publications of Russian-speaking authors of the late 19th—early 20th centuries. As witnessesses noted, wedding ceremonies of a Khoshqan khân were usually modest, without special festivities. Muzaftar-khan, the Bukhara emir, had four official wives and about forty concubine slaves. Among his subjects he enjoyed the reputation of a zambez, a womanizer [22].

As contemporaries report, the harem of Khudalyr-khan consisted of 3—4 wives and 30—50 (according to some sources) 70 (according to other sources) female slaves (qâhin). Usually slaves were Persian girls who were acquired in Kuhawa or Bukhara, and Shugnâna [23]. Each khân's wife (qânem) had her own staff of qâhin. A. L. Crouzet who was born, grew up in a harem and collected materials on harems called the life of women in its walls a "being in the state of cocoon" [24].

Most rulers came to their concubines by rotation, avoiding encounters between them. In Bukhara there was a list of girls with whom the emir had sex [25]. There was an old wise rule for all emirs that they could not break: an emir could not and did not stay in a harem all night long [26]. When a monarch's attention was not equal to all his women, it caused a tempest of passion and hatred, plots were being designed, noiseless wars were levied. By a verbal statement of F. D. Lushchkevich, during her expeditions in Central Asia she succeeded in getting acquainted with an elderly woman, a former inhabitant of the harem of the last Bukhara emir. During all the years of her stay in the emir's harem he never visited her. If there became too many of such girls, the emir gave them off in marriage [27]. It was not infrequent in Bukhara for the former wives of an emir to be married to supreme public officials. Unlike them, in the harem of the Khoshqan khânate the divorced wives of Khudalyr-khan did not remarry, nobody was entitled to marry them; they were kept at public expense.

In choosing a wife one was in most cases guided by political reasons. Names of two wives of Khudalyr-khan are known. Among his wives Shâ-aïm was noted, a daughter of Ismat-ull-khan of Darwâz, but she died in labour. The Khân had a son by her. Her place in the khân's heart was taken by Aqaush-aïm, a daughter of a Karakhâr broker. She and Khudalyr had a son. Later on, Aqaush brought up the both boys. To all appearances, it is her portrait that is kept in the Museum. It is known that after that Aqaush-aïm lived with her sons in Tashkent. It was suggested that she had preserved many expensive ornaments including pearl beads of the khân and his aigrette [28].

The harem of the Bukhara emir was formed out of several sources. Beautiful girls were usually sent in as annual levies of governors of certain districts. They were also picked out with the help of special old female agents. Prospective brides were first kept at the emir's mother's. Then they were reared in an urda (harem). They were taught etiquette, games, songs, dances [29].

In Khoshqan wives passed time from morning to evening in leisurely idleness, drank tea, ate sweets, kept incessant conversations on divers little things. In good weather the women of the Khoshqan ruler's harem went on a walk in a garden surrounded by high walls. Here Khudalyr-khan might appear. Strange women, mostly Jewsesses, were admitted to the interiors of harems in Central Asia, who brought city scandal together with merchandise. Great excitement in a harem was manifested when choosing fabrics, women's knockknacks which were bought by boy messengers [30].

The entrance to the Khoshqan khân's harem was guarded by porters not only from strange men, but also from strange women, relatives of Khudalyr's mother, "an honourable, but lively and jolly Kiriqz" [31], kept order and safeguarded the harem honour of the khân. The institute of emuqshas was absent in Central Asia.

Sir Alexander Burnes reported the rules of conduct in the streets of Bukhara upon an encounter with inhabitants of the emir's harem:

"When a woman from the regal harem passes, the persons she walks by are prescribed to look away, otherwise a bit on their head will remind them to do so: thus, it is prohibited to even lay an eye on the beauties of Bukhara" [32].

As the Russian press of the time reported, after the Russian troops took the Khoshqan khânate, Khudalyr-khan with his family, jewels, and part of the treasury (he took a greater care of his wives and slaves, that is why he was unable to carry away the entire treasury), left Khoshqan on 80 carts and got to Khujand.
In the course of studying the first illustrative collections of the Museum with images of women a question involuntarily arises: why are the Muslim women's faces in the snapshots open (fig. 9)? They were photographed by a strange man, a foreigner, after all. Many women posing to Russian photographers had a skullcap on as a headdress [33]. As E. M. Peschereva thinks, women of the upper valley of the Zarafshin River began wearing skullcaps from the 1920s, i.e. from the time when they started casting off the veil. Prior to that time it was deemed improper for women to wear a skullcap [34].

Basing on this, it can be supposed that in the snapshots of the first illustrative collections of the Museum the photo models demonstrating clothes, headaddresses, adornments, etc. were local prostitutes.

A. Denisov reported the existence of the institute of prostitution in the pre-colonial period in the region. Describing the times of the emir Muzaffar, he wrote how prostitutes were delivered to the ruler on carts [35]. Travellers of the 19th century also reported that quite a few Turkestán women were engaged in the oldest profession. Some authors considered that prostitution in the area appeared with the advent of the Russian:

"To all vices rooted in the depths of true Islam, two are added: prostitution and drunkenness. Samarqand has a whole quarter in the houses of which prostitution became a professional occupation" [36].

In Bukhara prostitution was prohibited and punished by beheading.

In colonial times prostitution existed overtly in certain cities:

"thus, in Tashkent prostitutes did not cover faces, they were constantly to be seen walking along the streets or passing on carts to picnics or places of rest. In Samarqand officially those who reached 15 years of age might become prostitutes, but many concealed their age and could start this trade in the age of 10, they also did not cover their faces, they had their own districts with brothels where dancing and singing was on" [37].

V. and M. Nalivkins noted that in the Fergana Valley in the 1880s public prostitutes were called jalab; secret ones were called qipiyu (Kazakh qyýow) without adding the word jalab; thus, it was as though a qipiyu were not acknowledged a prostitute. They wrote that the secret prostitute had effect within the recent

3—4 years a bloodless revolution among a considerable portion of Muslim people:

"She nearly expelled baches (boy prostitutes). A rare male friends' party died without her; she appears here as a dancer or just a lady of light conduct. At such parties... you can come across representatives of native administration, and large native merchants, and sometimes of native clergy" [38].

Some portraits of prostitutes from the town of Qish were received in the Museum as part of the collection of Lutche in 1899 [39] (fig. 10). They display, beside skullcaps as headdresses, adornments, such as hoop earrings with beads in the lower part and very long pendants, a necklace of coins or metal plates. In one of the snapshots by N. Hordet several women demonstrate various designs of casual and street clothes [40]. Photographs by a famous photographer S. M. Dudin were shot in Andijan in the late 19th—early 20th centuries. He inscribed his portraits openly: "Brothel Women" [41]. S. M. Dudin's task was in the first place to show the type on face and half face. In the photographs one can see their coiffures, headaddresses such as skullcaps or a scarf turned as a braid and tied on the forehead, and also outer garments such as a white chemise with a sleeveless blouse or a silken gown, adornments such as hoop earrings.

Of group women's portraits several photographs by N. Hordet are distinguished. He inscribed one of them: "Samarqand. Prostitutes" (fig. 11). In it four girls are sitting on the floor, one of them is smoking a chilim. The fifth one is standing behind their backs. Two have scarves on tied with the ends backward, the others have tousled tresses. The postures of those sitting on the floor are curious. There were certain etiquette rules related to it. Women usually sat drawing up both feet on one side, or one foot was drawn in, and the other remained bent at the knee. The posture taken by the brothel inhabitants in N. Hordet's photograph, curled up, was considered a man's posture.

The other photo was titled by N. Hordet "The Sart Women. The Washing" [42]. In it five women are sitting near a water body and washing in basins. Apparently, these are the same prostitutes presented in the previous snapshot. It seems that, it was jalab that most women's images registered by photographs in Central Asia in the end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century represented.

**Baches**

In photo collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography images of dancer boys are preserved. baches from Tashkent, posing beside their admires; during popular festivities of the celebration qurban-bayram among a group of musicians; from Samarqand sitting on a carpet together with jolly men; from Fergana region dancing; from Khoquand in company with Sart women; Pamirian and others [43] (figs. 12—14).

In dancing a baches imitated women's movements being encouraged by cheers of those who were present. Not of less interest, according to the opinions of visitors, were musicians who went into a trance with an accelerating rhythm even more than spectators. For a tambou-
rine to sound higher, braziers with hot coals were put in front of the musicians who held from time to time their tambourines over them for the skins on them to become tighter.

In Khoqand N. Horodt succeeded in making a rare shot, "Khoqand The Sart Women and bpeciesu". But the title did not correspond to the contents of the image: in the snapshot a boy, banchesu, is standing near a girl (fig. 15). Around them women are sitting with musical instruments in their hands, uncovered or with skullcaps on. The banchesu is not dressed in a woman’s clothes. Being dressed in his everyday clothes he copies women’s dances and body movements of the girl who is standing nearby. This documentary snapshot which registered a woman’s bazam, allows us to supplement the data, for instance, on the fact that banchesu were taught only by former banchesu. The role of banchesu can be performed by girls:

"A banchesu is a young girl with quick eyes, who was responsible for entertaining guests with dancing and songs" [44].

By observations of Europeans, handsome boys aged 9—15 were bought of poorest parents by ‘impresarios’ who were dancers and singers with completed careers and taught banchesu to it" [45].

According to later evidence of dancers of groups subordinated to a master he taught them to the art of dancing himself [46]. Impressions from a bazam, a banchesu’s dance, were described by V. V. Virevitchagin. The best decoration of any toy (a family festival with treats), of various performances such as tomahhu, which were arranged almost every day in various houses, was a banchesu singing and dancing accompanied by beats of drums and tambourines, shouts and applause of the satisfied spectators [47]. During receptions of Russian embassies in Bukhara dances of boys were arranged as well.

V. V. Krestovskii was present at performances where banchesu participates, boys aged 10—14, “some of whom were dressed in women’s dresses” [48]. They danced between clowns’ numbers:

“The little boys were dressed in light print gowns coloured red, and some in semi-caftans and wide trousers of women’s cut, all girdled with bright sashes and all in brocade caftanigans” [head-dresses — V. P.], from under which long, minutely braided plaits of black silk, five in number (two on each side from the temples and one at the back), like a girl’s hairstyle called "bajgakil" [49], descended in those who were dressed as girls”.

The writer perceived banchesu as part of a court entertaining group that included clowns — maskharaizes, singers, musicians, puppeteers.

V. V. Virevitchagin happened to observe before his very eyes how several men were transforming a boy into a girl. Long, minutely braided plait, with rattles and tassels, braided with one end under the skullcap, were tied to him, the head was covered with a large silken scarf and above the forehead another one was tied which was thinly folded. During this the boy was coquettishly looking in the mirror.

“An extremely fat Sart was holding candles, others reverently, hardly breathing, were looking at it and were honored to lend a hand” [50].

Banchesu were often kept by several people — ten, fifteen, twenty men — who tried in turn to please the boy [51].

By the end of the 1890s the custom of keeping banchesu started to disappear. V. Duchkovskaya described one of the celebrations in Tadjkent with banchesu dancing, which occurred when her husband S. M. Duchkovski was Governor-General of Turkestán:

“In Tadjkent, due to the absence of real banchesu, their dances were performed by elderly, even grey-haired men, among whom there were only two adolescents” [52].

Reviewing the terms applied to dinners in “men’s houses” among the valley’s Tajik, R. R. Rahimov called also bazam in the meaning of “meriment”, “feast, orgy” [53]. A necessary, prestigious personage of a man’s house, especially in trade and craft centres, was a “banchesu, or as he was also called, javan (guy), buiylqul (beardless guy)” [54].

“Sometimes out of the number of those present at a meeting. Both banchesu and buiylqul were not only general idols, but also birds of bazam. During bazams they imposed most unbelievable penalties on those who were disobedient to them” [55].

In the gatherings of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography two photographic collections of a later time as well as preserved, incorporating images of dancing banchesu gathered from other groups of Central Asian people. One of them is stereoscopic negatives executed by I. I. Zarubin during his travel in the Pamirs and Mountainous Bukhara in 1915—1916, under orders and sponsorship of the Russian Committee on studying Eastern and Central Asia. In several snapshots a boy’s dance [56] is shown (figs. 16—17). Curious is the fact that in these images a banchesu is dressed in men’s daily clothes: a girdled gown and skullcap. There are even no hints of any women’s clothes in his apparel.

The latest images of banchesu in the body of illustrative collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography are the photographs made by R. G. Gafterberg and G. G. Gulbin. They participated in the Central-Asian Ethnologic Expedition of the USSR. Academy of Sciences which was active in 1926—1929 under the guidance of I. I. Zarubin. Despite the fact that the 1929 collection contains photographic materials from the life of Jamylkis, a number of snapshots of banchesu are referred to Bulaghis [57].
As the collectors report, in everyday life

“a bachcha’s dress was not different from the dress of the rest of the people. Before the dance he puts on a kind of caftan tightened at the waist and wide at the hem with narrow sleeves. A triangular cloth amulet is sewn on the back. Trousers are very narrow at the ankle with bells attached at the sides” [58].

It can be seen from this description of the bachcha’s costume that his dress contained elements imitating women’s attire: a narrow-sleeved caftan slim at the waist and wide at the bottom, Bachcha’s trousers narrow at the ankle were, to all appearances, the influence of the 1920s fashion, when women’s trousers traditionally wide at the bottom began to be shortened and narrowed [59]. Completing the dance, a bachcha immediately changed into everyday clothes.

The description of the collection contains curious details of terms and payments of the dancer’s and musicians’ work in 1929: dances and music in the open air before the inhabitants of a village were not paid; the performers were just treated by tea. But when they were invited to perform in a house, money was given for that.

Thus, participants of the expedition witnessed performers negotiating the terms of their show in a village. The troupe wanted to get twenty rubles for that, and the inviting party offered only ten. One of the snapshots depicted a bachcha accompanied by three musicians: a drummer and two performers on bow and wind instruments, sitting before a Janahids nomad who invited them to perform [60]. It is curious to compare the reports of the expedition of 1929 on changes in payment to musicians and a dancer and those of the late 19th—early 20th centuries: in the beginning of the century in Bukhara showmen received two fifths of all proceeds [61].

In comparison with descriptions in published sources of bachcha dances and the way they were treated by men’s portion of the settled people in the second half of the 19th century, the changes are evident which had taken place by the end of the 1920s. Bakhashim were called in those years, along with Janahids and Hazrati, “nomadic Iranians”. Clothes of Balodi bachcha, just as their remuneration, were very sparse. The nature of the dances was apparently unchanged:

“The dance consisted in smooth circular and diagonal movements. The dancer’s arms take various attitudes. Now they are spread like wings, now they are folded crosswise, now they are stretched forward, and so on. As the dance progresses, the bachcha accelerates the tempo” [62].

Among Balodi there was little excitement around the person of bachcha, what is characteristic of settled people.

As M. S. Andreev reported, in bachcha dances or, more precisely, in music for them, there were “two schools — Merwan (marwət) and Bukhara. In each case there is a different, according to Bukhara, music, even to the extent that each type of music requires particular dīvrudā (tambourine men). Those who play ‘Merwan’ melodies do not fit for ‘Bukhara’ music, and vice versa. When dancers are getting ready to dance to Merwan music, they girdle themselves with cloth sashes. When they are to dance to Bukhara music, their gowns are not girdled” [63].

In most cases in photographs of the illustrative collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography bachchas are shown in girdled gowns. To all appearances, Merwan melodies were more popular than Bukhara ones.

“Beardless boys” — “who are respected and revered unbelievably, who are followed by ostriches of fascination” [64], were pointed out as one of the peculiar features of the local culture by a Hindu traveller who visited Bukhara in the early 20th century. M. E. Nikolskii believed that

“bachchas are encountered everywhere, in Persia, in Turkey, and in Asia Minor. These are young boys, lads. In a market place such can be followed by a whole pack of his elderly and old admirers who are eager to satisfy his smallest wish. Bachchas often drive their followers to bankruptcy” [65].

By the example of the materials collected on Afghanian R. R. Rahimov also gave evidence of daily gatherings of young men with one or two soloing dancers in each company. As with people of Central Asia, a dancer was in a woman’s attire. Such parties ended deep at night. The adolescents remained to sleep there, and went home at dawn [66].

The custom of bachcha bulak of the settled peoples of Central Asia draw attention of travelling foreigners of the late 19th—early 20th centuries and aroused contradicting impressions in them:

“Handsome boys (bachcha) were sold to rich men. They lived in families, providing sex services to their masters and entertaining guests with music and dancing” [67].

In his recollections I. I. Kempel wrote of ghulibghānum, public institutions in which

“boys were kept who were used to satisfy lustful desires of the emir, his court, court guests and the like” [68].

Prohibiting private bachcha bulak, the emir introduced his monopoly in bachcha. If an official came to know of a sale of bachcha-children, the bachchas were taken away. Those who were found guilty in bachcha bulak, were sent to a ghulibghānum. It was a yard consisting of 8—9 rooms. A bachcha superintendent was sitting at the gate; about twenty bachchas and forty musicians were in his charge:

“bachchas from anywhere were brought there. Mostly they were children without kish or kin” [69].

Bachchas performed in groups with musicians and received gifts for that.
M. S. Andreev called the *bachecha* dances affordable to everybody *chulaj bâzâl*. He noted that when an *emir* resided in the Bukhârân Citadel, *choqal* were never arranged. The author underlined:

"*Chulaj* is the name of the *bachecha* dance affordable to people, but when an *emir* arranged such dances for himself, the *bachecha* dance then had a different name: it was called "*bâzm-i khâlq*." [70].

M. S. Andreev described an arrangement of *bâzm* for the Bukhârân *emir* in the following way. Usually after the last namaz, i.e. nine o'clock in the evening, the *emir* gave secret orders as to which dancers (one or two) should be brought for a show and also selected the best singers and dancers himself. In a small room, reclining on a pillow, there is the *emir* with nearest companions:

"One or two boys, dancers (also by the *emir*’s orders) let their ‘kaklîk’ down, letting them fall on both sides of the neck to the chest" [71].

In the opinion of V. R. Maasalâkkî, the custom of *bâzm*, entertainments with music and dances of *bachecha* "took root long ago on account of segregation of sexes" [72]. Isolation of women from public entertainments, closed environment of men, continuous contacts among themselves encouraged men to have contract with boys. Handsome talented *bachecha* aroused fascination, songs and poems were devoted to them. The status of people was determined as whether they can afford to keep a *bachecha*. Whereas ten or twenty men could afford to keep one effeminate *bachecha*, khâlq had in their staffs in courts dozens and hundred *bachecha*. M. S. Andreev wrote that the *emir* Muzaffar-khân was not noted to have a weakness for boys, but 'Abd al-Abad-khân and 'Ali-khân to a larger degree had such a sin [73].

At the same time, it should be noted that *bachecha-bâzm* has deep cultural traditions related, above all, to the history of popular theatre. The motif of bisexuality is encountered in many cultures. The study of sources allows a conclusion to be made that the peoples of the Pamirs also had *bachecha* dance, but the design of his clothes did not necessarily include elements of women's costume. The review of the Museum's collected snapshots concerning *bachecha* led to a conclusion that *bachecha-bâzm* existed in the territory of Central Asia not only before the beginning of the colonial period (when it was legally banned), but until the 1930s it was preserved amid "nomadic Iranians" who appeared in the 1920s in the territory of the Turkmen Republic. (They came from the lands adjacent to Afghanistan).

As we saw, the richest illustrative materials of the late 19th—early 20th centuries preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, are now an important source for studying a series of interesting customs and traditions, many aspects of everyday life, women's traditional costume and adornments, coiffures, and local cosmetics, peculiarities of the traditional interior. At that, peculiar features of local culture and everyday life, photographers' own interests considerably "distorted the mirror", which should necessarily be taken into account in a scientific analysis of Central Asian photo collections.

**Notes**

2. V. V. Krastovskikh, V posyâlakh u emira bukhârskogo (Being Guests of the Bukhârân Emîr) (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 117.
3. MAE RAS, Nos. 1:674-127, 129.
4. Ibid., Nos. 1:674-117.
5. Ibid., No. 1:718-107.
9. Ibid., No. 1:2205.
11. P. B. Lyschkevich, Ocherk Pushkinskoi etnograficheskoi iistorii i etnograficheskikh chter kul’tury naseleniya Bukharskogo okruga (Characteristics of Ethnical History and Culture of the Bukhârân Oasis Population) PhD manuscript (Leningrad, 1976), Archives of MAE RAS, 1/1, No. 842, p. 105.
12. Ibid., p. 108.
13. Ibid., p. 110.
15. Ibid., p. 115.
17. Ibid., p. 74.
19. Ibid., p. 54.
20. V. I. Massalski, Rossia, Turkostanskii kral (Russia, Turkестанский кра́л) XIX (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 401–2.
22. Ibid., p. 125.
26. Ibid., p. 111.
27. Ibid., p. 125.
28. Alibekov, op. cit., p. 94.
30. Alibekov, op. cit.
31. Ibid.
32. A. Borm (Sir A. Burtis), Puteshestvie v Bakhara (Travels into Bakhara) transl. from English into Russian (St. Petersburg, 1850), p. 394.
33. MAE RAS, No. 1-1718: 305.
36. V. D. Sokolov, Moscow—Samarkand (Moscow—Samarkand) (Moscow, 1884), p. 51; muslims'ke schiltsche v Turkestanском krae ("Muslim schools in Turkestan Region"), Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prozvescheniya CLXXVII (Tashkent, 1871).
37. A. Tabshahleva, Otrazhenie vo vremeni (Zametki k izvestii polozhenia shovshiya Central'nui Azi (Reflection in Time. (Notes to the History of Women's Status in Central Asia)) (Bishkek, 1998), p. 49.
40. Ibid., No. 255-279.
41. Ibid., Nos. 4516-56, 73, 74, 76.
42. Ibid., No. 255-288.
43. In addition to the illustrations shown, see ibid., Nos. 255-286; 512-145; 1-1447-24, 84.
44. N. S. Lykoshin, Svedniaia Azii (Central Asia) I (Tashkent, 1910), p. 19.
45. Appendix to the journal Novoe Vremia (1895), No. 153.
46. Rahimov, op. cit., p. 44.
47. Lykoshin, Khovskih ton na Vostoce (Manners in the Orient) (Petrograd, 1915), p. 69; ibid., Svedniaia Azii I, p. 38; Svedniaia Azii III, p. 75, etc.
49. Ibid., p. 175.
50. V. V. Vereschagin, Ocherki, nabroski, vospolowaniia (Essays, Sketches, Reminiscences) (St. Petersburg, 1883), p. 54.
51. Ibid., p. 58.
52. V. Dukhovskaya, Turkestanskie vospolowaniia (Turkestan Reminiscences) (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 71.
54. Ibid., p. 44.
55. Ibid., p. 46.
57. Figs. 16—17 = Ibid., Nos. 3854-70, 72, 74, 75, 79.
58. Ibid., description of No. 3854-31.
60. MAE RAS, No. 3854-79.
61. Quoted from Rahimov, op. cit., p. 44.
62. MAE RAS, description of No. 3854-31.
63. Andreev, Chekhovich, op. cit., p. 123.
64. Abd-Ur-Rauf, Ranstazy indiiskogo puteshestvengka (Stories of a Hindu Traveller) (Samarqand, 1913), p. 18.
66. Ibid., pp. 66—7.
69. Ibid.
BOOK REVIEWS


In this volume, Dr. Sergio Noja Noseda has continued the fine precedent begun in the first volume of the Sources series by including informative and historically important articles with the text of ḫāṣṣ Qurʾān manuscripts. After opening with a short history of the contributions of Silvestro de Sacy and Michel Amari to Qurʾān studies, Dr. Noja Noseda provides a helpful description of the Qurʾān script entitled ḫāṣṣ (p. XIV) and an analysis of its relation to the scripts described in Ibn al-Nadim’s Fihrist. He also includes a summary of the current state of knowledge concerning this early Qurʾān script together with questions that remain unsolved.

This is followed by a brief section entitled “Collections containing manuscripts in the ḫāṣṣ style” (p. XIX). Here he presents an important observation shared by himself and Dr. Déroche that when the contents of known extant ḫāṣṣ manuscripts are surveyed (excluding the Sana’ī finds) substantial portions of the Qurʾān are not represented, particularly from sura 77 through 114. This writer found himself wanting more description of the contents of the manuscripts and also more reflection from Dr. Noja Noseda as to the significance of this observation, and of any other general observations that he and Dr. Déroche could share. A table describing the contents of the extant ḫāṣṣ manuscripts and their location would be an excellent addition to a future volume.

The next section (p. XX) gives information concerning the Amari project that supplements what is found in the first volume. Dr. Noja Noseda gives a description of the contents and uses of the CD-ROMs accompanying the volumes. A useful feature of the CD-ROMs is that their Arabic text files are named according to the folio page to which they relate. A further refinement could be to add a brief description of the contents of the Qurʾān portion represented by each folio, either on its facing text page, and/or in the title of the text file on the CD-ROM.

The next section is “Comparisons between individual manuscripts and the Vulgate” (pp. XXII). This is an excellent beginning to a topic that these volumes make possible, and should be supplemented and expanded in future volumes. This section describes the absence of the perpendicular alif, which is perhaps the most noticeable difference encountered when initially surveying the text. Its importance in the history of the transmission of the text and in the development of Arabic orthography is well deserving of the mention it receives. Also, an intriguing software package is mentioned and demonstrated: “IL COMPARATORE,” for making comparisons between the text in the facsimile and the “Vulgate” of the King Fu’ad edition. A brief but very helpful list shows the variety of words in which this variant of missing perpendicular alif is found.

My only criticisms of this section are that first, it could have been expanded to provide a sampling of other kinds of orthographic variants. For instance, there are other variants concerning alif, as well as variants concerning the use and orthography of ya’ in its various forms. General observations similar to those in Dr. Pain’s concern the Sana’ī texts in his article in Stefan Wild’s book would have been helpful. Second, it was left unstated as to if “IL COMPARATORE” is available to scholars or if it is being developed further.

Also, as the series of volumes grows, it could be mentioned how these particular variants compare to those in other volumes in the series. For instance, in volume 1 which presents Paris BN 328a, the tail of the ya’ often returns to the right under the line of text, as with
CONTENTS

EDITORIAL BOARD .......................................................... 3

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH .......... 4
H. T. Toh, Kalmyko-Tibetica: Apropos of Sansai, Baum Se in Medical Literature .......................................................... 4

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION .......................... 20
E. Rezvan, M. Rezvan, The Qur'in, Woman and Her Clothing in the Magic Sphere of Central Asia ......................... 31

PRESENTING THE COLLECTION ...................................... 43
V. Prischepova, A View from the Outside: Urdar, Jalal, Bangcha (by the MAE RAS Photograph Collections of 1870—1929) ......................... 43

BOOK REVIEWS .......................................................... 69

Front cover:
Precious silks — presents of emir of Bukhara to the Russian tsar. MAE RAS. Photo by T. Fedorova. Courtesy of the Museum.

Back cover:
"Auricular points", 33×35.5 cm (painting), Tibet, 18th—19th c. Courtesy of Soo Tao Oriental Antiques (Tasmania).