
SVETLANA GORSHENINA

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE TSARIST RUSSIAN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF TURKESTAN: DESIGNING THE HISTORY AND THE PLACE BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE¹

This article endeavours to frame the history of Turkestan photography within the context of the controversial hybrid “modernity” introduced to Central Asia in the course of its conquest by the Russian Empire. Specifically, analysis of various socio-political practices of photography is used to clarify the role of its history in: 1) the process of distributing ideas, equipment, technology and people; 2) the rational reshaping of the regional culture; 3) the establishment of relations of authority and subordination in a colonial setting. Another aim of the study is to correlate the stages and nature of the development of photography in Turkestan with those in Europe, Russia, and neighbouring countries and regions, thus complementing the global history of photography with the lesser known history of photography in Turkestan. While not reducing the entire line of reasoning to the dualism between photography and power, this article attempts to show different levels of application of photography in creating the image of “Russian Turkestan” intended for both internal and external use.

Key words: *photography, circulation of ideas, technology, Russian Empire and the colonial situation, K. P. von Kaufmann, The Turkestan Album.*

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Studying the Photography of Russian Turkestan in the Context of “Modernity” and the “Colonial Situation”

A PARTICULAR “boom” in Imperial Russian photography of Turkestan emerged in the 1990s in the context of the “Archival Turn” and “Visual Turn,” as well as the broader “Cultural Turn” that had preceded them. Previously used mainly as “illustrative material,” Turkestan photography has finally become visible within the collection of studies of Central Asia. Nonetheless, despite the

fairly numerous publications of albums, books, articles, and dissertations, and the relative accessibility of public and private open repositories, this subject has not yet truly come into the limelight (Gorshenina 2021). Writing a detailed, analytical, and complex history of photography of Tsarist Turkestan, while combining the *micro* and *macro* levels of production and functioning of this medium, remains a task of future studies.

This article, without purporting to encompass a panoramic synthesis of the history of photography of the Turkestan governor-generalship, attempts to present the main stages in the history of photography of Turkestan in the theoretical context of “modernity,” with all the ambiguity and extreme vagueness of this concept in relation to the Russian Empire (AHR Roundtable 2011; Sporya o modernosti 2016). From a contemporary perspective, when working with the photography of Turkestan, one cannot avoid to analyse it as a symbol of the contradictory hybrid modernity introduced by the Russian Empire to Central Asia after its conquest as part of the so-called “civilising mission.”

¹ This article was prepared in the wake of the Conference *Photographing Asia: Images of Russia's Orient and the Far East in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, held in Munich in September 2015, then completed with a scholarship from the Gerda Henkel Stiftung (2018-2019). I am sincerely grateful to Sergei Abashin, Claude Rapin, Tatyana Saburova, Oksana Sarkisova, and Heather S. Sonntag for their comments. I would like to thank Marco Biasioli for copy-editing of this text. The source language for the translation of all quotations (with the exception of *Perowne* 1898) is Russian.

This approach appears justified, given that photography itself, as a specific medium, is a product of Western modernity that gained almost instant worldwide distribution due to colonialism. Concurrently, photography also acts as an agent of modernity. On the one hand, photography, by participating in the creation of a plurality of “intertwined modernities,” contributes to their dissemination through the circulation of knowledge, technical innovations, representations, ideas, and people. On the other hand, photography actively partakes in the formation of a new attitude towards society and the social sphere, taking a key place in the process of rational reshaping of culture and in establishing relations of power and subordination in the colonial situation.

It is to the latter aspect of photography and culture that this article will be devoted. Chronologically, the article focuses on the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. While not reducing the entire line of reasoning to the dualism between photography and power, I aim to show the different levels of application of photography in creating the image of “Russian Turkestan” for both internal and external use. In doing so, my analysis will exclusively concentrate on the socio-political practices of photography.

Photography Appearing in Russian Turkestan: A Well-Tested Innovation?

In order to inscribe Turkestan photography into the global history of photography while simultaneously decentralising it, it is necessary to connect the process at the local level with the key dates in the history of this medium both in Europe, where this technological innovation was first devised, and in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia.

Omitting the complex vicissitudes of the first experiments of the 1820s–1830s, the moment of the invention of photography is often associated with the famous patriotic speech of the French scientist and politician Dominique François Arago (1786–1853), who presented Louis Daguerre’s discovery at the Institute of France in January 1839 (Brunet 2012). Speaking of the virtues of the new technology in reproducing reality — in particular, its “documentariness” and “instantaneousness” — he proposed to immediately purchase a Daguerre camera for the Egyptian Institute in order to complete in detail the *Description de l’Égypte* ordered by Napoleon Bonaparte (1809–1822) (Behdad 2013: 13–14; Grimaldo Grigsby 2013: 115). Thus, one of the priority directions of the spread of the new medium – extra-European – was identified from the outset.

Indeed, just a few months later, Gaspard Joly de Lotbinière (1798–1865) and Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet (1817–1878) were already showing in Europe the da-

guerreotypes brought from their trips to Greece, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt (Ryan 2003: 9; Aubenas 2001: 19). In January 1840, a private firm in Calcutta was already selling the first daguerreotypes of the city (*Dehejia* 2000: 14), and, in March 1840, they were shown at a meeting of the Asiatic Society (Pinney 2008: 9; Falconer 1990).

On the basis of some rather shaky hypotheses, Turkestan could also be included in the process of dissemination of this technical innovation at its very initial stages, when the Frenchman Louis Daguerre (1787–1851) and the Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) patented their technologies — daguerreotype and calotype (talbotype) — in 1839 and 1841 respectively. According to an oral report by the Iranian studies French specialist, Chahriyar Adle, the British officer Arthur Conolly (1807–1842) tried to bring a camera with him to Bukhara during his second trip to Turkestan in 1841–1842, which, however, did not save him from execution by the emir in 1842 (yet, to date, I have not found any documentary evidence corroborating this information).² Just as elusive are traces of the photographs allegedly taken by the famous traveller and zoologist Grigorii Karelin (1801–1872) during his expeditions of 1840–1842 across the Caspian Sea and the Uzboi River.

It is also with regret that we have to reject the next equally appealing account of propagation of photography into Central Asia, which is associated with a portrait supposedly of Jahangir, Khan of the Qazaq Inner Horde (1801–1845). According to the identification of the curator of the *Kunstkamera* Museum, Valerya Prishchepova (2011: 18), this photograph was taken in 1845 by the Astrakhan photographer Stepan Vishnevskii. However, given that 1845 was the last year in which this Khan was in power, and given that this photographer’s active professional life fell mainly between 1860 and 1880; it would perhaps be more correct to revise the identification of the person photographed.³ Thus, it is more accurate to date this

² In this case, more research is needed in the British Library and in the library of the University of Durham, where the personal documents of this British intelligence officer are kept, in order to understand how Conolly was able to bring the bulky equipment (for daguerreotype or, is it for calotype in this case?). In the meantime, only five images can be associated with the Conolly mission, four of which were published in the report of the British missionary, Joseph Wolff (*Wolff* 1845, V. 1: just opposite the title page, and then on page 20; V. 2, the title page and opposite page 3). Wolff was sent on a mission to Turkestan in 1843–1845 by the Colonel Charles Stoddart and Captain Conolly rescue committee. The drawings were made by the Persian, Mirza Abdul Wahab, who accompanied Wolff as an artist during his travels (*Wolff* 1845, v. 2: 144). Prishchepova (2011: 245) associates one drawing with this mission, published in *l’Illustration* journal (1845, No. 280) titled “The Managers of the Bukharan People.”

³ Perhaps this photograph could be identified as that of the son

work to the 1860s, as suggested by Svetlana Nagaikina (2013: 19).

The fragility of these two examples concerning the very earliest penetration of photography into Central Asia only emphasises that the timeline for photography in Turkestan must be directly related to the initial stages of the Russian conquest of the region in 1850–1880 (*Gorshenina* 2012). Consequently, the development of this phenomenon in Central Asia lagged in comparison with India by two decades, which is in accordance with the general chronology regarding the establishment of colonialism. In addition, the pace and nature of photography's development in Turkestan depended on the level of this development in central points of the Russian Empire.

The early decades of photography in Europe saw this new technology become increasingly improved, simplified, and less expensive.⁴ Photography quickly became a habitual tool of the middle class. Young people, anticipating new experiences and following the fashion for the more and more exotic "Grand Tour," set out on trips to "discover" the legendary cities of Europe, North Africa (mainly Egypt), the Middle East (Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq), and North America. The photographic "discovery" of Turkestan, though, is due not so much to the representatives of the European middle class as to the Russian military. This owed primarily to the political situation. In the geopolitical distribution of the zones of influence among Western powers, the Turkestan khanates were unambiguously earmarked as being in the sphere of influence of the Russian Empire already in the 18th century, and were practically closed to Western visitors (*Gorshenina* 2003).

By this time, Russia was already a photography power, more or less comparable to France, Britain, or the United States. The speed of diffusion of this innovation was no slower than the dissemination of the myth that photography was a new wondrous technology that could accurately capture the real world on paper. Rumours have it that even before the official announcement of the discovery by Daguerre in January 1839, Nicholas I of Russia (1796–1855) offered the inventor 500,000 francs in order to obtain the secret of this new technology. Only a year later, however, the Tsar received three daguerreotypes as a gift from the inventor (*Watson, Rappaport* 2013: 153, 169, 270). Independently of these diplomatic negotiations,

within six months after the announcement of Daguerre's invention, daguerreotype became known in Russia, where Joseph Christian Hamel (1788–1862) brought descriptions of the technology, samples of images and the technique itself. Hamel was a full academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences for the Department of Technology and Chemistry, and was on a special mission to Paris and London, aimed at studying the technology of daguerreotyping and calotyping (*Barkhatova* 1992: 24–26). The Academy itself eagerly awaited this new invention, in particular, Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876), who believed that the natural sciences, as well as anthropology and ethnography, would benefit from the use of photography, especially if that was to lead to a classification of the peoples of the Russian Empire (*Barkhatova* 1992: 26; *Gorshenina, Sonntag* 2018: 330). By the autumn of the same year, the first daguerreotype cameras were available for purchase in the store of Karl Bekkers (1795–1874). One could also read a detailed brochure by Nikolaev-Stepanov about the "practical use" of the daguerreotype and even order photographs (*Bunimovich* 1950: 5–6). In 1840, the first commercial photography studio of Alexei Grekov (1800–1855) was opened in Moscow (*Elliot* 1992: 15), and in 1843 Sergei Levitskii (1819–1898) made several of the first landscape daguerreotypes of the Caucasian mountains for the Russian General Staff and Academy of Sciences (*Loginov* 2008: 853; *Sonntag* 2011: 128).

Moreover, the Persian monarch Mohammad Shah Qajar (1810–1848) addressed the Russian mission in Tehran and the Asian Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry with requests to purchase a Daguerre camera for his royal court. It can be assumed that this appeal was grounded in the admiration for the daguerreotypes that the Russian photographer Nikolai Pavlov made in Iran in 1842 (*Bonetti* 2013; *Tahmasbpour* 2013:7).⁵ One way or another, in the fall of 1842, the Shah received a camera from the Moscow office of the Foreign Ministry, accompanied with numerous photographs from Moscow to Tbilisi and Tehran, specifically of the Golestan Palace, taken by a specially "photo-trained" officer of the Asian Department (*Sheikh, Pérez González* 2013: 1; *Tahmasbpour* 2013: 7).⁶ A few years later, Russian photography appeared, rather modestly, in a military context, when Fyodor Orlov took part in the Crimean War of 1853–1854 as a war photographer (*Sonntag* 2012: 4–7; *Gorsheni-*

of the Jahangir Khan, Ubaydullah Chigiskhan (1840–1909), who people could have continued to call unofficially "khan."

⁴ In 1848, Frederick Scott Archer (1813–1857) invented the wet collodion process, which appeared in its dry version by the 1860s. Starting in the 1870s, thanks to the English photographer and physician Richard Leach Meddow (1816–1902), the photography process was enhanced by the use of gelatin instead of glass in dry plate photography. For details see Sixou 2000.

⁵ The French daguerreotypist, Jules Richard (1816–1891), who regularly created daguerreotypes of the Shah himself, his family, and the court entourage, appeared in Teheran later, in 1844. He also taught photography lessons to the Qajar princes.

⁶ In an earlier publication, Ali Behdad, referring to Yahya Zoka, writes that the cameras were donated to the Iranian Shah earlier, between 1839 and 1842, and almost simultaneously by Emperor Nicholas I and Queen Victoria (*Behdad* 2001: 144).

na, *Sonntag* 2018: 327). Simultaneously, photography began to be used in Russia to reproduce maps (by order of Nicholas I in 1854, this work was performed by Capt. Pisarevskii, an officer of the military Topographic Department of the General Staff).

The development of photography became a state program in January 1856. By order of Alexander II, a photography establishment of the Military Topographic Department (*Voенно-topograficheskii otdel*; hereafter, *VTO*), belonging to the War Office, was opened in the Winter Palace. The Department was initially under the leadership of Pisarevskii (1856–1861), who was subsequently replaced by the lieutenant of artillery Nikolai Sytenko (1862–1867). Modelled after the British Royal Engineers, this European-inspired Department had both German and French materials and equipment, and utilised a British printing process (*Gorshenina, Sonntag* 2018: 327–329). Shortly after, in 1857–1859, through the efforts of the *VTO* officers, albums dedicated to monuments and types from European Turkey, scenes of Tbilisi and coastlines of Europe, Palestine and Turkey came to light.⁷ The area of coverage of Russian photographers became closer to the once independent Tartary.

In 1857, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly recommended the use of photography for all expeditions to the Turkestan khanates (*Devel' 1994: 261*), though this recommendation was not always implemented. Despite the persistent requests addressed to the War Office for inclusion of the daguerreotype in the Khorasan scientific expedition of 1858–1859, Nikolai Khanykov (1822–1878), judging by the illustrations accompanying his published report, was forced to resort to the services of the Italian photographer Antonio Giannuzzi, who worked exclusively in Persia (*Devel' 1994: 261–262; Bonetti, Prandi* 2013: 19). However, previously acquired experience and the need to obtain more accurate information about the khanates, led to the gradual advancement of photography into the “heart of Asia.” This increasingly began to match the programs of the multiple political, diplomatic, commercial, scientific, and military expeditions of Tsarist Russia (*Maslova* 1955–1971).

The first expedition to Turkestan of this kind included, at the insistence of the Minister of War Nikolai Sukhozanet (1794–1871), a professionally trained military photographer, Anton Murenko (1837–1875). Murenko was a graduate of the Pavlovskii Cadet Corps and second lieutenant of *VTO*. He served under the diplomatic mission of the aide-

de-camp, Colonel Nikolai Ignat'ev (1832–1908), to Khiva and Bukhara in 1858. Consisting of 117 people, among whom was also the orientalist Peter Lerch (1828–1884), members of the expedition were able to deliver not only a piano, but also “six packs of photography instruments,” including fragile collodion glass plates, delivered by steamboat. With little trust in Murenko's abilities and a belief that it would be of far greater use to replace photography materials with artillery weapons, Ignat'ev saw the benefit of photography in its immediate diplomatic effect. He wanted to dazzle the Asians with the new technology and thus establish friendlier relations with them.

From the point of view of the expedition's ideological inspirer, General-Admiral Grand Prince Konstantin Nikolayevich Romanov (1827–1892), Murenko's photographs were to have primarily a commemorative significance. They were supposed to draw a comparison with the first Russian expedition of Lieutenant Alexei Butakov (1816–1869) to the Aral Sea in 1848–1849, captured in the pictorial album of Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861), a poet and artist later exiled to the Orenburg province. The underlying purpose of this publication was to assert the legitimacy of the newly arrived representatives of the Russian Empire in the Khivan lands.

This collection of 28 photographs created by Murenko (**Fig. 1**) was compiled with the assistance of Lerch into an album only in 1867 (*Morozov* 1953: 14; *Devel' 1994: 259–271; Dluzhnevskaya* 2006: 282–291; *eadem* 2011: 32–34). The album was entitled *From Orenburg via Khiva to Bukhara. The light painting (daguerreotype) of artillery lieutenant Murenko (Ot Orenburga cherez Khivu do Bukhary. Svetopis' artillerii podporuchika Murenko)*. It became the first photo album created directly in Turkestan, capable of competing with previous collections of drawings and watercolours as a photographic “documentary” rather than artistic coloured and complex compositional techniques (for more details about the first Russian artists in Turkestan, see: *Chabrov* 1948; *Prishchepova* 2011a: 47–57). In accordance with the Expedition's principles of organisation, the album was presented to Grand Prince Romanov and later awarded a Silver Medal by the Russian Geographical Society (*Morozov* 1953: 14).

On the one hand, the album should be seen primarily as a kind of test of the innovative technology's capabilities. The wet-collodion technique (which normally required the use of clean water for the development and setting of the negatives immediately after the exposure of the photography plate) presented a serious technical problem for Murenko in the dry climate of the area of Ustyurt located in the Karakum Desert and in the southern steppe area. On the other hand, this photography project should also be viewed

⁷ A photography collection of church antiquities and types of the Slavs in European Turkey by P. Pyatnitskii, 1857; Scenes of Tbilisi and its surroundings by Captain A. B. Ivanitskii, 1858; a series of photographs of the coastline by Riumin, 1858–1859.



Группа Хивинцевъ.

Fig. 1. Group of Khivans. In Anton Murenko's album entitled *From Orenburg via Khiva to Bukhara: Light Painting (daguerreotypy) of Artillery Lieutenant Murenko, 1858*. Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences

as an attempt to become better acquainted visually with Turkestan society and its different social groups. This included people from important dignitaries and mullahs to soldiers and prisoners of the Russian Empire, surrounded by their typical belongings (household items, clothes, etc.). Analysis of the compiled photographs allows one to neither consider it as an example of racial categorisation of Central Asian society during that period, nor as an attempt to exoticise it. The lack of precedents of orientalist paintings and poetic descriptions of travel about Central Asia in this period does not allow us to speak about the influence of orientalist clichés on early photographs. It is also interesting that, even though the “monumental sites” were normally the first target deliberately chosen by European photographers in the “East,”

such monuments occupy a very marginal position in Murenko's album (it may well be that the architecture of the khanate of Khiva was not considered worthy of attention) (Gorshenina 2014).

The exceptional character of Murenko's album becomes especially clear in comparison with the unsuccessful expedition of Henri de Coulibeuf de Blocqueville (1800–?). Having been contracted to provide services to the Iranian Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (1831–1896), this French adventurer left Tehran for Merv in the spring of 1860 in order to take pictures of the Persian-Turkmen bordering territories. However, he was captured by the Turkmen and only freed at the end of 1861, following the payment of a large ransom. He emerged without a single photograph (Coulibeuf de Blocqueville 1866; Tahmasbpour 2013: 8).

Just as fruitless was the Italian expedition of Modesto Miro Gavazzi (1828–1868), Count Pompeo Litta Biumi Resta (1828–1881), and Ferdinando Meazza (1837–1913). They also intended to use their camera, but met the same fate and were captured in 1863 in Bukhara (*Gorshenina* 2003: 348; *Gavazzi* 2007: 64–97; *Bitto* 2014: 161–173).

These episodes, which complement the sad history of officers Stoddart and Conolly in 1841–1842 (see above), once again emphasise the closed nature of Turkestan, while in the Middle East, and particularly in Egypt and India, photography was experiencing a commercial boom. Between 1850 and 1860, the figure of a photographer, according to the observations of Gustave Flaubert (who was in Egypt in 1848–1852), became an integral part of the landscape of Cairo (*Aubenas* 2001: 25).⁸ The *Madras Almanac* of 1862 mentions the profession of photographer in the list of merchants (*Penn* 2014: XIV). In Turkestan, however, photography became possible only in relation to the process of conquest and colonisation of the region.

Key Precedents:

The Introduction of Photography Practices from the Caucasus and Orenburg to Central Asia

Just as with other colonial practices, the politically biased use of photography in the Caucasus and the Qazaq steppes constituted an important precedent for Turkestan. There, Russian rule was established much earlier than in the oases of Central Asia.

The appearance of VTO local departments in Southern Caucasus (Tbilisi in 1863) and at the margins of the Qazaq steppe (Orenburg in 1862 and 1865), occurred during the strengthening of the Russian positions in the southern frontiers of the Empire, with an eye on potential advancement (*Gorshenina* 2012: 37–94, 133–188; *Sonntag* 2012: 7–8). Here, topography, cartography, statistics, and photography mutually complemented each other, forming a new approach to the study and management of subject territories. They were designed to compile a systematic and comprehensive inventory of the new colonies and demonstrate imperial prestige of governance (or “rational government”) as an invariable sign of modernity.

The principle of integrating the work of photographers into the local military structures would subsequently become important for the future Turkestan administration. This structural organisation was most successfully implemented in the Caucasus,

where the chief of mining engineers of the Caucasian Army, Captain Alexander Ivanitskii (1811–1872), opened the first photography studio in 1859 as a branch of the St Petersburg VTO. Photographers who had completed their internship in the Empire’s capital gradually began to coalesce around this organisation. Through their efforts, by 1863, a Special Department of Photographers of the General Staff of the Caucasian Army was formed. It was directly connected to the Caucasian mining administration. According to Heather Sonntag’s research, within just three years of their activity, ranging from 1866 to 1870, several albums and almost two and a half thousand negatives were made. These presented in detail “scenes,” “types,” and “archaeological antiquities” of Kutaisi, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Grozny, and their relevant adjacent regions (*Sonntag* 2012: 9, 11–12; *Gorshenina, Sonntag* 2018: 331–333). These Caucasian collections were successfully shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 and set another precedent: Russia’s understanding of the need for a wide visual display of its colonial administration’s achievements on the international stage (*Sonntag* 2011: 121–155; *eadem* 2012: 12–13).

In 1866 at the Orenburg VTO, under Sytenko’s instructions, the administration began reconnaissance work to create modern maps of the region. These became even more important for Turkestan. Firstly, from the geographical point of view, photographing the territories of the Turkestan region would later become part of the Turkestan Governor-generalship, which was established in 1867 (*Gorshenina* 2012: 133–138). Secondly, through the lens of the military photographer and adjutant of the governor-general of Orenburg, Captain Mikhail Priorov (1842–1916), historical and archaeological settlements featured in the foreground. By order of the governor-general of Orenburg, Adjutant General Nikolai Kryzhanovskii (1818–1888), Priorov was assigned to the Steppe Commission in 1865–1866 under the leadership of Fyodor Girs (1835–1906). Girs, who started during the second year of the Commission’s work, informed Priorov that his duties were to accompany the orientalist Peter Lerch during the course of the archaeological expedition of 1867 “across the Kyrgyz steppes” which was included in the Commission’s agenda.⁹ During this second expedition Priorov not only took photographs (in particular in the towns of Sairam and Turkistan), but also created drawings and plans. This project included photographing the excavation of the

⁸ Flaubert’s observation, however, requires nuance. The Baedeker tourist guide mentions in 1898 three professional photographers in Alexandria, three in Cairo and one in Luxor, who produced not only photographs for sale, but also postcards (*Gregory* 2003: 205).

⁹ The original terminology of the Russian Empire used the ethnonyms Kirgiz, Kirgiz-Kaisak and Kara-Kirgiz. Later, the Kirgiz and the Kirgiz-Kaisak of the Russian Empire were, according to the Soviet terminology, defined as modern Qazaqs and the Kara-Kirgiz as modern Kyrgyz. Thus the “Kirgiz steppe” later became known as the “Qazaq steppe.”



Fig. 2. Khodzhent (Khujand) Madrasah (Islamic school). From the photograph of M. K. Priorov. Lithograph. Becker and Co. In *Pashino* 1868: 96–97

archaeological site of Jankent (Dzhankent), though the excavation was not a part of the photographs of the published album (*Lerkh* 1867a: 321–372; *Sonntag* 2011: 176; *Arzhantseva, Gorshenina* 2018).

It is possible that the idea of the album came from Kryzhanovskii in response to requests for “regional collections” specifically for the International Exposition of 1867 in Paris and the Ethnographic Exposition in Moscow that same year.¹⁰ Simultaneously, the desire to test the capabilities of the new structure of the local branch of the VTO, re-created under his command in Orenburg, could also have driven Kryzhanovskii to conceive the album.

¹⁰ For the exhibition in Paris, Kryzhanovskii was able to send only a small collection of agricultural tools from a Tashkent inhabitant, Khwaja Iusupov (*Gorshenina* 2009: 136–137).

Modernising the terminology of that period, we can say that the “mediatic impact” of Priorov’s album *From Central Asia (Iz Srednei Azii)*, published in 1867 and consisting of 39 photographs, was a major one, despite the fact that his name is barely mentioned within the album. In that same year, Peter Lerch, not paying too much attention to the endeavours of the photographer (with whom he had a strained relationship), utilised Priorov’s work in his report for the Russian Geographical Society. Likewise, one year later, the traveller and orientalist, Pyotr Pashino (1836–1891), without mentioning Priorov’s name on the title page of the book, published several sketches, manually copied from Priorov’s photographs. These photos accompanied the description of Pashino’s journey to Central Asia, titled *The Territory of Turkestan in 1866 (Turkestanskii krai v 1866 godu)* (*Pashino* 1868, in between pages 24–25, 32–33, 88, 96–97; **Fig. 2**). In 1869,

some photographs representing the archaeological sites were anonymously presented at an exposition at the Ministry of the Imperial Court, organised by the artist Vasilii Vereshchagin (1842–1904) and the first governor-general of Russian Turkestan, Konstantin von Kaufmann (1818–1882) (*Gorshenina* 2009: 136–147; *Sonntag* 2011: 164–175; *Sonntag* 2012: 14–15).

**The Opening of the Kaufmann
Photography Policy:
The Need to Perform
a “Photo-Cataloguing of Monuments”
and the Relative “Banality” of This Process**

Immediately after his appointment as the governor-general of Turkestan in early December 1867, Konstantin von Kaufmann contacted all the scientific societies of the Russian Empire — The Society of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography Enthusiasts (Russian acronym: *OLEAE*), The Imperial Russian Geographical Society (Russian acronym: *IRGO*), and the Imperial Archaeological Commission (Russian acronym: *IAK*) — with the request to send to Turkestan researchers who could help the regional administration with the management of their relevant activities.¹¹ At the time, no one doubted the need to use photography for the same purpose.

According to public opinion, this new technology and its related art had already reached a certain “age of maturity” in Europe, including Russia. This was evidenced by numerous photography societies, specialised expos, publications, regular journals, extensive networks of shops, and photography studios. The plain benefits of photography in a colonial setting were already proven; in particular through international expositions. These began with the first London show of 1851 (the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*), which became a showcase of the Victorian Empire (*Greenhalgh* 1988; *Hoffenberg* 2001; *Leapman* 2001; *Demeulenaere-Douyère* 2010). Important precedents were also set within the specific context of Turkestan. In addition to the aforementioned facts, it is worth noting that among the almost 2,000 images presented at the Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow in 1867 (*Nait* 2001), Turkestan appeared not only in the form of sketches or drawings in Pavel Kosharov’s (1823–1902) *Album of the Great Horde and the Wild Stone of Kirgiz [i.e. Qazaq] people (Al’bom Bol’shoi Ordy i Dikokamennykh kirgizov)*,¹² but was also represented by some mannequins in

traditional costumes, various collections by Captain Apolon Kushakevich, and several photographs (allegedly by Priorov?) (*Gorshenina* 2009: 136–137; *Sonntag* 2011: 184–185).

As for Kaufmann himself, he required no convincing regarding the importance of photography. During his service in the Main Regional Office of the General Staff under the command of Dmitrii Miliutin (1816–1912), Kaufmann participated in the implementation of military reforms. In particular, he was directly involved in creating programs for the VTO regional departments, involving the training of photographers spanning from the Caucasus to Orenburg. It is possible that Kaufmann could have attended the lectures of Nikolai Sytenko, head of the Military Topographic Department of the War Office at the Nikolaev Military Academy. During these lectures, Sytenko stressed the importance of military photography (*Sonntag* 2011: 44–45; *Sonntag* 2012: 4–6, 8). In this context, the appearance of the Turkestan VTO in Tashkent in 1869 was a rather logical consequence.

According to Kaufmann, the use of photography was an obvious necessity both for the study of the “production facilities and history” of Turkestan and for the “perpetuation of the feat of Russian soldiers in Asia.” The photograph, with its ability to compress time and space, was supposed to give Russia a clear image of the importance of the past of Central Asia and of the economic and strategic potential of Turkestan as a Russian colony. A better understanding of the reality of Turkestan would allow the parent state to more adequately build its relations with the population of Central Asia and, at the same time, enable Kaufmann to pursue his own policy of the “development” of Turkestan more independently from St Petersburg. In this regard, he perfectly understood the role of photography as an ideal means for collecting, classifying, and managing facts that were useful for the colonial administration. It is interesting, however, that one of the first areas of application of photography in Turkestan was the “photographing of antiquities” (*Gorshenina* 2014). Perhaps under the influence of intense correspondence with the Imperial Archaeological Commission, Kaufmann — who wanted to retain the glory of being an “enlightened ruler and philanthropist” — initiated a campaign to save antiquities since the very first years of his presence in Turkestan. He required his subordinates to add topographic plans and photographs of “ruins” and “inscriptions” in the descriptions of antiquities wherever possible.¹³

Kaufmann’s view on the need to photograph “cultural heritage” was shared by other scholars. In Sep-

¹¹ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 41. L. 2.

¹² For this album, the artist was awarded a bronze medal, and then the album was transferred in 1880 to the MAE (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography): *Maslova* 1956, t. 2: 12; *Prishchepova* 2011a: 47–49.

¹³ TsGA RUz. F. I–907. Op. 1. D. 99. L. 3ob, 4.



Юламейка, с. малая Кудымка.

Fig. 3. *Yulameika* (small tent) and two members of the [N. Ignat'ev's] mission [P. Lerch and K. Struve]. Anton Murenko's album entitled *From Orenburg via Khiva to Bukhara: Light Painting (daguerreotypy) of Artillery Lieutenant Murenko*, 1858. Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences

tember 1868, in his correspondence with Kaufmann and with Alexander Glukhovskii (1838–1912),¹⁴ the naturalist Alexei Fedchenko (1844–1873) insistently spoke of the necessity to produce photography collections of “anthropological types” and “monuments” that could “accurately reflect the reality” of Turkestan. This would act as a kind of “guarantor of the authenticity” of the image of the new colony. Additionally, he wrote that photographs would help preserve the features of traditional life that were rapidly disappearing under the pressure of modernisation. However, he failed to notice the internal contradiction of a “non-local” photographer simultaneously “catalogu-

ing and saving” the “disappearing world” while being a conductor of modernity and initiator of those radical changes. In 1870, Fedchenko further strengthened his reasoning by arguing that no aspect of life of Turkestan could be fully represented by a description not supported by photography.¹⁵ This belief in the “integrity” and “documentary value” of the photographic image was quite consistent with the common European understanding of the role of photography (Pinney 2008: 10–11).

For Peter Lerch — who had already experienced working with the expeditionary photographers Murenko (1857) (Fig. 3) and Priorov (1867) — the

¹⁴ The chairman of the Committee for the Preparation of the 1870 Manufacturing Exhibition of the Turkestan Department.

¹⁵ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 73. L. 5–5ob, 7–8, 14, 15–16, 21–22ob, 24–26ob.

meaning of photography was also unquestionable. At the request of the Russian Geographical Society, he elaborated instructions for the Russian military forces participating in the Amu Darya expedition as part of the Khiva campaign of 1873. He made the responsibility of the participants not only to gather collections in accordance with the several desiderata of orientalist and naturalists of the metropole, but also to complement these collections with literary descriptions of “monuments.” He also wrote about the need to supplement this information with sketches, layout plans, prints of epigraphic inscriptions and photographs of “antiquities” (*Lerkh* 1874b: 192–212; *idem* 1873: 1–37).

A small note from the artist Vasilii Vereshchagin serves as an indicator of a certain banality in employing photography during the decade 1860–1870 in the Turkestan context, including in the cataloguing of “antiquities.” At the end of the summer of 1867, after participating in a brief dig at the Jankent settlement and on his way to begin service at the Turkestan governor-generalship under Kaufmann, Vereshchagin published in the press his literary rather than scientific report on the work that had been conducted. Not having the slightest idea about the work of his predecessor at the site, he referred to it as the work “of a certain Lerch,” despite the efforts the orientalist made to popularise the results of his archaeological excavations by presenting them at the sessions of numerous scientific societies and published several detailed reports (*Lerkh* 1867a; *idem* 1867b; *idem* 1867c). Yet Vereshchagin expressed the hope that Lerch did take some photographs during the excavation in which he participated. Otherwise, Vereshchagin argued, it would be impossible to form any idea about the nature of the constructions and the location itself based exclusively on “ruins.” With regard to his own work, Vereshchagin reported that after selecting what he viewed as the most interesting finds, he partially sketched or photographed the numerous artefacts that he left at the site (*Vereshchagin* 1868: 255a, b, d). I must note, however, that Vereshchagin’s published essays feature exclusively his own sketches (*Arzhantseva, Gorshenina* 2018).

The Difficulties of the First Photographic Catalogues of the Turkestan Monuments

By studying the archives, it becomes clear that the photographic cataloguing of monuments was no simple matter. The best illustration of this in the early stages of the Turkestan governor-generalship is the activity of the orientalist Alexander Kuhn (1840–1888), whose work is representative of the initial phase of patrimonialisation in Central Asia.

From his appointment in Turkestan on 24 November 1868, Kuhn was extremely active in his research. He participated in all of Kaufmann’s military campaigns, during which he created and described all kinds of collections and conducted independent expeditions. He pursued a wide range of goals, from collecting oral literature in the upper Zarafshan region to the reconnaissance of the archaeological site of Khujand (1870). Moreover, in accordance with Kaufmann’s large-scale plan of 1869, Kuhn compiled a detailed description of the monuments of Samarkand.¹⁶ All his reports featured passages about the use of photography and the problems that arose with it.

The use of photography was regularly presented as an indispensable element in the description of monuments (this trope can be found in the publications of all international experts specialising in oriental studies; see *Behdad* 2013: 14–15). Thus, discussing the mosaics of Shah-i Zinda (a necropolis in the north-eastern part of Samarkand), Kuhn wrote to Kaufmann that one could not do without a camera because it was extremely difficult to draw the architectural décor. A pencil was not capable of conveying all the “subtlety of the drawing, delicacy of the bricks, the mosaic of the ceramic tiles,” especially when it involved sketching a view of the entire facade of a building.¹⁷ At the same time, photo cataloguing required extensive efforts, not only in the installation of special scaffolding structures for photographing the building tops, but also in terms of “putting in order” the monuments being photographed. Much later, the photographer and artist Samuil Dudin (1863–1929) wrote in a letter to the orientalist Vasilii Radlov (1837–1918) that in order to obtain high-quality photographs prior to taking them he was forced to wash “those areas that could not come out well, due to the dust and dirt accumulated on the ceramic tiles and mosaics. I do this wherever the dimensions of my ladder suffice” (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 100).

However, Kuhn could not engage in full-scale photography due to the lack of funds necessary to purchase cameras and photography chemicals. Blunders and failures accompanying the photographing of these monuments are found every now and then. On the one hand, Kuhn reported that by February 1870 he would be able to take photographs of *all* the monuments. On the other hand, in a letter to Kaufmann in May 1870, Count Sergei Stroganov (1794–1882), first president of *IAK* between 1859 and 1882, along with his gratitude for the drawing of the giant structure of the Bibi Khanum Mosque and its epigraphic decor, requested that imprints or photos of the epigraphy be sent to the *IAK*. Kaufmann communicated this re-

¹⁶ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 3–3ob.

¹⁷ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 8.



Fig. 4. Samarkand antiquities. Bibi-Khanum Mosque. View of the marble stand (laukh) for the Quran. In *Turkestan Album. Archaeological Section*. By order of the governor-general of Turkestan K. P. von Kaufmann whose first edition was compiled by A. L. Kuhn and N. V. Bogaevskii. 1871–1872. Volume 2. L. 78. Library of Congress

quest from the capital to Kuhn, who chose to make two imprints on paper instead of using photography. Somewhat later, after another request from the IAK, he also took photographs (Fig. 4).¹⁸ Perhaps this sequence of events was associated not only with the material problems, but also with the position of the Chairman of the St Petersburg orientalists, Victor von Rosen (1849–1908), who wrote that good imprints were always better than a freehand drawing or sketch and that photography could only compete with this medium in exceptional cases (*Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia* 1899: 265).

However, soon IAK again sent insistent recommendations to make wider use of photography when working with “monuments.” Following the instructions of IAK, in October 1870, Kaufmann reinforced Kuhn’s group with infantry battalion officer Krivtsov, who, for a salary of two roubles a day, engaged exclusively in photographing the decorations of the monuments of Samarkand and the ethnographic types of people from Khujand, Ura-Tepe (Ura-Tyube) and Zarafshan.¹⁹ Kaufmann also ordered the urgent purchase of two new lenses and allotted additional funds for photography operations.²⁰ Inspired by this turn of

¹⁸ TsGA RUz. F. I-1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 51–51ob, 77; TzGA Ruz. F. I-1. Op. 20. D. 2519. L. 92.

¹⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I-1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 72.

²⁰ TsGA RUz. F. I-1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 84–84ob, 87.

affairs, Kuhn hoped to quickly add photographs to his own written descriptions of the “monuments” and the drawings of the ornaments made by Staff Captain L. A. Shostak.²¹

Contrary to original expectations, however, Kuhn’s activities took a slightly different turn. According to a report by the head of the Zarafshan region, Alexander Abramov (1836–1886), as of December 1870 Kuhn had collected for 49 roubles a large number of tiles, weighing 40–60 *poods* (ca. 656–984 kg), from Zhah-i Zinda, Bibi Khanum, and Gur-Emir. He spent another 30 roubles for shipping them to St Petersburg for research and for high-quality photo-shoots by better-trained professionals.²²

The metropole-centred Orientalist initiative was backed by Kaufmann, who paid for the difficult and costly delivery of this cargo to Russia. The cargo travelled from Samarkand to Chinaz by an *arba* cart (chariot), then by boat to Kazalinsk (now Kazaly), followed by a trek to Orenburg on springless carriages. It eventually went by way of the Imperial Post and finally reached St Petersburg by means of a carrier company.²³

The reaction of the archaeology community was immediate. In April 1871, Kaufmann received a letter from IAK in which Count Stroganov thanked him for sending the collections to St Petersburg and for his interest in the ancient history of Turkestan. He wrote about the need to “continue to familiarise the public with the region’s antiquities and to inform about any accidental finds [...]” Speaking about the future, the IAK president expressed his confidence that “the success of such a business will be guaranteed thanks to the photography work that Kaufmann permitted” to be conducted.²⁴

The problem around the inability to carry out full-scale photography of monuments was even more serious in the remote regions of Turkestan. Thus, when undertaking the very first digs in Khujand in 1870, the military commander Flavitskii sent 2,000 local residents to work on the settlement. After a week of excavations — which occurred according to the rules of the *tamosha* traditional holiday — not a single photograph was taken, neither was a sketch done of

the numerous finds, nor were any descriptions given about the location of the finds. Kuhn, who arrived in Khujand a few months after the completion of these excavations, conducted a small archaeological reconnaissance of his own, during which he photographed several finds.²⁵ Kuhn reported that even in Samarkand, which was chosen as the centre of Kaufmann’s patrimonialisation activities, only three cameras were at the disposal of professional photographers.²⁶

Later, thanks to the efforts of the Russian administration and IAK’s pressure, photography of archaeological excavations and finds became a more widespread practice, yet maintained its exclusive character. In 1882, Vsevolod Krestovskii (1840–1895) upon completion of the excavations of Afrasiab, prepared an album of 40 artefacts from a total collection of 564. The album was intended for IAK and the Archaeological Society in Moscow (*Shishkin* 1969: 22). Two years later (1884–1885), several photographs based on the results of the excavations of Nikolai Veselovskii (1848–1918) at Afrasiab were taken.²⁷ In 1886, Nikolai Ostroumov (1846–1930) prepared an album of Buddhist idols from part of this collection (*ZVOIRAO* 1886, vol. I, t. I, issue 3: XVI). Nevertheless, the relationship between discovered and photographed archaeological material of that period demonstrates that photography had still not acquired a systematic nature. This was the case despite biblical scholar and Egyptologist August Adolf Eisenlohr (1832–1902) devoting his speech to the exceptional importance of photography during archaeological excavations at the sixth Congress of Orientalists in Leiden in 1883 (*ZVOIRAO* 1886, vol. I, t. I, issue 3: 46).

The situation had improved by the 1890s: academic expeditions sent to Turkestan by IAK or the Russian Committee for Oriental and Central Asian Studies now regularly included photographers. Equally, thanks to the efforts of IAK, it was considered indispensable to require mandatory photographic cataloguing of monuments and artefacts when submitting reports on expeditionary work (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 25). For instance, in 1893, Vasilii Barthold (1869–1930) was accompanied in his research expeditions in the Chu and Ili Valleys by Samuil Dudin, who was instructed to conduct regular photographic cata-

²¹ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 71.

²² TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 70–70ob, 105–105ob. It is difficult to identify exactly to which photographers of the capital Kuhn referred. In her research, *Dluzhnevskaya* mentions that during a later period, starting from the 1880s until 1891, the photography of archaeological finds was conducted by the photographer M. E. Romanovich. From 1891 to 1895, it was done by a IAK member, V. G. Druzhinin, and later by S. M. Dudin, I. F. Chistyakov, I. F. Barszczewski and N. Marr (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2007).

²³ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 105–105ob.

²⁴ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 122, 123, 130, 130ob.

²⁵ TsGARUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 110–112.

²⁶ IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 58.

²⁷ *Dluzhnevskaya* (2011: 43) writes that “photographs of clay statuettes, vessels, and fragments of ossuary walls and a lid of an ossuary with a handle in the shape of a bust of a man were deposited in the photography collection of the national archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IIMK RAN). Several photographs by Veselovskii that had been sent over to Sergei Oldenburg are now kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St Petersburg), AF–46. Inv. 17.

loguing of the sites. Two years later in 1895, Nikolai Veselovskii's second expedition focused exclusively on the compilation of descriptions of Samarkand's architectural monuments from the Timurid era. The task of photography was again assigned to Dudin together with IAK staff photographer Ivan Chistyakov (1865–1935) and assistants including two students of the Academy of Arts, one of whom was Nikolai Shcherbina-Kramarenko (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 99, 106–107). This program continued during the course of the subsequent expeditions of 1900–1903 and 1905–1907, led by Dudin himself. His photographic legacy extends to approximately 2,000 photographs. Photography also played a significant role during the course of numerous archaeological reconnaissance operations in the Semirechie region (from 1884 to 1903) conducted by Nikolai Pantusov (1849–1909). Pantusov was a senior special duty official under the command of the military governor of the Semirechie region and was usually accompanied by his comrade and associate, A. M. Fetisov, who was an urban landscaper from Verny (today's Almaty), and by professional photographer Abram Leibin (d. 1920), who came to Verny from Tomsk in 1873 (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 37–40). Some of the important results were also produced through the expeditions of the orientalist Valentin Zhukovskii (1858–1918). In 1890 and 1896, he was instructed to take photographs of the sites of Merv and Khorasan, of the ancient settlements of Anau and Nisa, and of the architectural structures of the Transcaspian region.

This collection of photographs from scientific expeditions includes pictures taken by Aleksei Bobrinskii (1861–1938) in the Pamir Mountains between 1895–1901 (*Khudonazarov* 2013); Aleksander Samoilovich (1880–1938) in Khiva from 1908; Ivan Umnyakov (1890–1976) in Bukhara in 1912; Evgenii Tsyanovich-Klimovich in the Trans-Caspian region in 1913; the artist Boris Romberg in Bukhara in 1913; and, finally, Ivan Zarubin (1887–1964) in the Pamir Mountains in 1914–1916 (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 105, 107, 109, 114). Accompanying these, however, while representing a separate category were the photographs taken during military expeditions by Carl Mannerheim,²⁸ Alexander Iyas (1869–1914) (*Tchalenko* 2006), Bronislav Grombchevskii (1855–1926) (*Baskhanov, Kolesnikov, Matveeva* 2017) and by Pavel Rodstvennyi in the Pamirs (1870–1921) (*Baskhanov, Shevelchinskaya* 2019).

While the presence of a photographer was becoming the norm in academic expeditions, the scope of the work performed still seemed limited. For example, the project of making an archaeological map of Turkestan, devised by Kaufmann as early as 1877, was to be ac-

companied with a detailed description of archaeological settlements and architectural monuments, including photographs. Yet the project remained long unfinished. In April 1902, after numerous requests, the IAK contacted the Turkestan governor-general Nikolai Ivanov (1842–1904, governorship term 1901–1904) requesting a detailed list of the monuments of Turkestan with photographs, sketches, and written descriptions.²⁹ These regularly renewed requests indisputably testified to the stagnation of the initiative. Despite all the efforts of several Turkestan governors, the compilation of such a list kept being delayed. One of the reasons is perhaps apparent in a report by the head of the Amu Darya Department in 1909, which stated that the administration of the Department had neither a photographer nor the means for photography.³⁰ It is also worth noting that, by 1900, India Office had already published a catalogue of archaeological sites of India. The preface states that the publication included photographs of almost all significant features. This statement appears reasonable given that the Archaeological Survey Office of India, supported by the colonial administration, consistently conducted the work of photographing monuments ever since the 1850s (*Falconer* 1990: 271–272).

Major Photography Projects of the Colonial Administration: Programming the Perception of the Future

The largest of Kaufmann's photography projects is undoubtedly the *Turkestan Album* which contained four parts and six volumes, with 1400 photographs, sketches, and maps. Many researchers have studied in detail the history of its creation and significance. Here, therefore, we will discuss only a few details that are relevant to the context of this article.

The *Album's* creation was connected with the description of the Samarkand monuments, a task initiated by Kaufmann and carried out by Kuhn. In addition, it was associated with the preparation of the 1872 Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition (*Gorshenina* 2009: 155–168) (**Fig. 5**), whose organisation was led by Fedchenko. His pen wrote out the exhaustive instructions and justifications for this large-scale photographic cataloguing. It is important to observe, however, that after some hesitation Kaufmann entrusted the preparation of the *Album* to Kuhn and left the organisation of the exhibition with Fedchenko. This did not prevent the naturalist from taking a large number of photographs of plants and animals for the exhibition, directly related to his field of research.³¹

²⁸ *Koskikallio* et al. 1999; *Alymova* 2015; <http://humus.livejournal.com/5038673.html>; <http://humus.livejournal.com/5046687.html>.

²⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I–907. Op. 1. D. 99. L. 43–43ob; TsGA RUz. F. I–907. Op. 1. D. 97. L. 48–48ob.

³⁰ TsGA RUz. F. I–907. Op. 1. D. 99. L. 95.

³¹ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 127. L. 8ob–9.

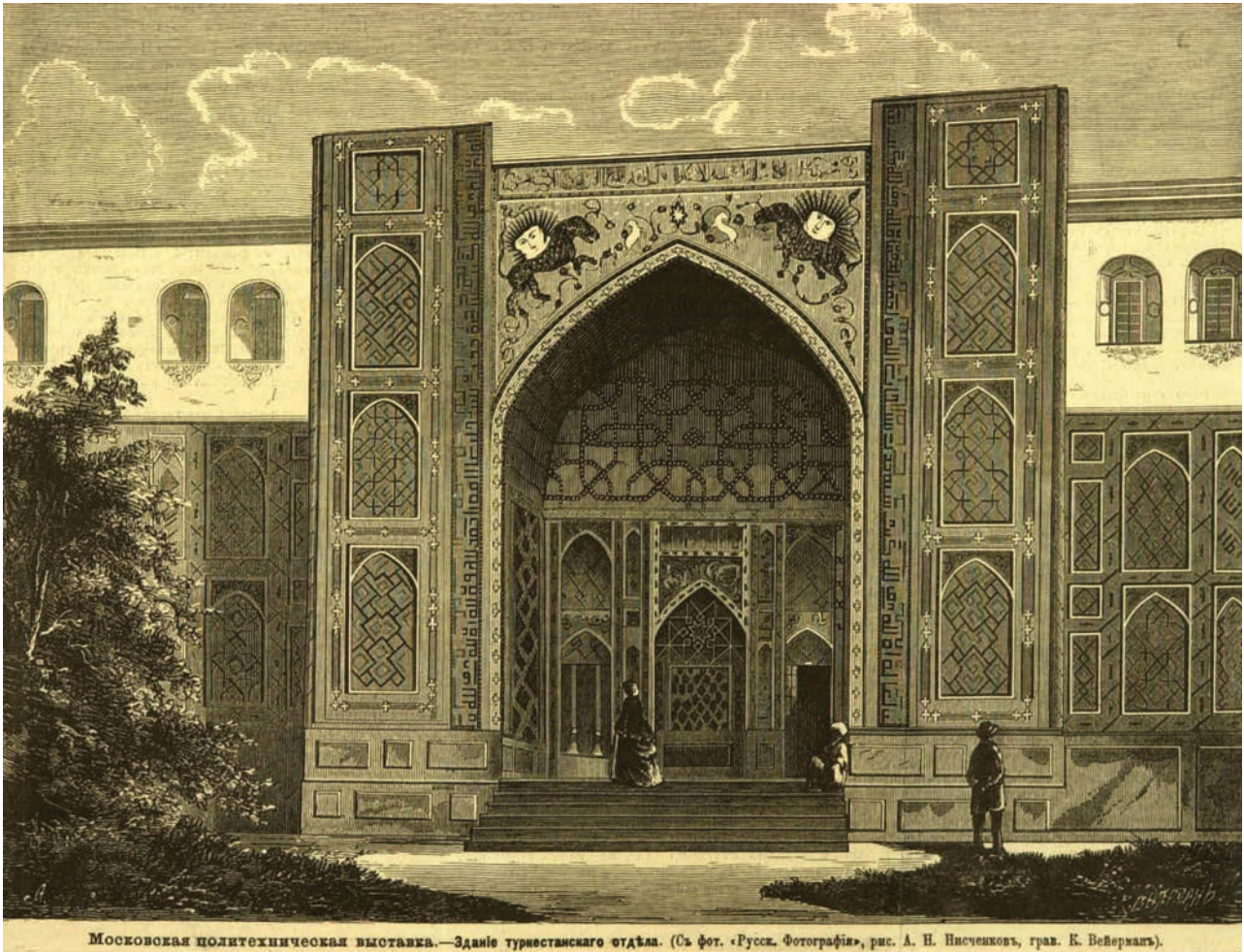


Fig. 5. Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition [1872]. The building of the Turkestan Department (sketch by A. N. Nischenkov; engraving by K. Weiermann). In *Turkestanskii Sbornik*, Vol. 42: 83

According to Kaufmann himself, the purpose behind the album's preparation was to present this unfamiliar land to Russia, shaping an image of Turkestan that could be as positive and detailed as possible:

Considering that one of the main responsibilities of the first administration in our Central Asian possessions is the comprehensive acquaintance of Russia with this new unknown region, [...] I undertook to compile this photography album. [...] This photography album will give people the opportunity to get visually and thoroughly acquainted with the variety of interesting areas and nationalities of the lands we have conquered in Central Asia.³²

Behind this quite philanthropic formulation, one could assume Kaufmann's desire to prove to Russia the importance of Turkestan as a colony and to obtain *carte blanche* from the metropole for the realisation of his own political goals.

³² TsGA RUz. F. I-1. Op. 20. D. 6636. L. 3-3ob; IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 11; the text of the letter was reproduced with minor changes in *Stasov* 1894: 1537-1538.

Kaufmann's ambition was to create an unprecedented collection. According to Lerch, none of the regions of the Russian Empire, where photography had begun much earlier, could boast such an anthology (*Lerch* 1874a: 97). Even at the international level, the *Turkestan Album* occupied a special position. Among other European counterparts its closest rival was the eight-volume album *The People of India*. Also known as the album of the British governor Lord John Canning (1856-1862), this work was completed by John Forbes Watson (1827-1892) and John William Kaye (1814-1876) around the same time (1868-1875). It included 480 annotated photographs, taken mostly by the military, of the castes and tribes of India.³³ In

³³ It is this album that Nikolai Maev cites as the most similar to the *Turkestan Album*: M-v [Maev] 1888. Meanwhile, the history this album's creation differs from that of the *Turkestan* one. Originally it was conceived by Canning as an informal collection of photographs in memory of India. It was only after the uprising of 1857 that the album became an official project of the Political and Secret Department, which began funding its implementation and later selected only half of the published photographs (out

quantitative terms, the most comparable example is a later album from 1880–1893, which was prepared over a much longer period. This was the *Album of Turkish Sultan Abdulhamid II* (1842–1918, in power from 1876 to 1909). Presented at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, this album included 1,819 photographs in 51 volumes, and was donated to the US Library of Congress and the British Museum.³⁴

Despite the financial difficulties of the region, the desire to create a unique compendium drove Kaufmann to generously fund the project, which provided a “total photographic portrait” of Turkestan. It ultimately cost the treasury 9,627 roubles and 51 kopecks (*Gorshenina* 2007: 330).³⁵ As a result, the *Album* significantly outgrew the scale of the exhibition, in which only a few of its photographs were displayed, together with description of the Samarkand’s “monuments of antiquity.” Geographically, however, the *Album* covered territories from Orenburg in the north, Semipalatinsk, Aulie-Ata and Ghulja (Kuldja) in the east, Shymkent, Tashkent and Samarkand in the south, and Kazalinsk (Kazaly) in the west. Kaufmann denied Kuhn’s request to include the emirate of Bukhara in the *Album*.³⁶

On a practical level, Kuhn, whose name is officially associated with the creation of the *Album*, shared the responsibility with the chief of the engineering department, Captain Nikolai Bogaevskii. Similarly to other projects, the *Album* was not the result of the labour of just one person, or even two. Several photographs were borrowed from Priorov’s earlier album (Fig. 6), while some photographs were taken by Grigorii Krivtsov, officer of the Third Turkestan Infantry Battalion, photographer and war correspondent (later captain and special duty junior officer under the military governor. He was replaced by the professional photographer Nikolai Nekhoroshev).³⁷ In the final stages of work, the main publishing responsibility was assigned to the special-duty senior official, Mikhail Brodovskii. He arranged the printing of the *Album* in St Petersburg in the lithography house of A. Arga-

makov, the photography studio of K. Petrov, and the printing houses of A. Sokolov and I. Mordykhovskii (the initial stages of printing were conducted by the Tashkent lithographer Olivitskii, whereas the idea of printing in the Moscow photolithographic facilities of Leontiev, Lehman & Co. was not realised).³⁸ Among the direct creators of the *Album*, one should also name the artillery captain Pyotr Kablukov and his deputy Pichugin (who, at the very outset of the project, was suspended from work by the military tribunal). Additionally, it is necessary to mention the Tashkent-based photographer of Austrian origin Friedrich (?) Mauer, who took photographs of the Saint George military officers.³⁹ Along with Kuhn, Brodovskii, and Bogaevskii, the purchase of photography materials in St Petersburg was also conducted by the mining engineer and collegiate assessor Myshenkov. Also listed among participants, until October 1872, was a certain “learned mirza,” who was allegedly commissioned in St Petersburg to transcribe the Arab, Persian and Turkic inscriptions. The participation of this individual remains unclear since the album does not contain any captions in oriental languages.⁴⁰

The scale of the project and the political expectations associated with it are also evidenced by Kaufmann’s detailed strategy for its dissemination, which affected the highest political and intellectual elites of both the Russian Empire and the world (*Gorshenina* 2009: 324–331). It is not surprising that the *Album*, even with its fairly limited display at exhibitions, later became a genuine representation of the region for many. It served as a foundation on which to build “correct” ideas about Turkestan and the role that Russia was playing in the region. The selection of the topics covered in the *Album* directly correlated with the Russian programs at various levels and included the following:

— Commemorative. Images were selected to perpetuate the history of accomplishments of the Russian military in Asia by showing the locations of key battles with accompanying cartographic material. Battles included Ak-Meshet (a town of Turkestan, today’s Kyzylorda), Khoqand and Samarkand. From Heather S. Sonntag’s point of view, this is why Kaufmann included photographs by Priorov, which had

of the eight volumes) for official use, in the hope of preventing new unrest (*Pinney* 1990: 254, 258). For the history the album’s creation, see *Falconer* 2002: 51–83.

³⁴ <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/>. This album was only part of the Yildiz collection of 800 albums with 25,000 photographs put together by Sultan Abdulhamid II: *Akcan* 2013: 95–96.

³⁵ By way of comparison, The People of India, a print run of 200 copies, cost £ 4,250 after eight years of preparation: *Falconer* 2002: 75.

³⁶ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 69. L. 136.

³⁷ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 2519. L. 39.

³⁸ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 2519. L. 4, 23; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 4058. L. 5; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6606. L. 1; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6461. L. 4, 5; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6636. L. 1; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6597. L. 70–70ob; *Sonntag* 2011: 206–207.

³⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6652. L. 66; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6583. L. 3, 5.

⁴⁰ The fee payable to the Sart Mirza amounted to 35 roubles per month, whereas Alexander Kuhn received 90 roubles of daily subsistence allowance per month and the fixed salary of a titular adviser: TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6461. L. 33ob.



Fig. 6. Syr Darya region. Ruins of the city of Sauran. Photo: M. K. Priorov, 1866, originally published in his album *From Central Asia* (1867) and republished in the *Turkestan Album*, Archaeological Section. By order of the governor-general of Turkestan K. P. von Kaufmann whose first edition was compiled by A. L. Kuhn and N. V. Bogaevskii. 1871–1872. Volume 1. L. 1. Library of Congress

originated from a previous album commissioned by his rival, the governor-general of Orenburg Nikolai Kryzhanovskii (*Sonntag* 2011: 243–244). The “historical part,” among the four volumes of the *Album*, contained photographs of Russian participants during the conquest of Turkestan, which further emphasised this feature of the collection (Fig. 7). This section, compiled by Mikhail Terent’ev, was conducted under the direction of V. N. Trotskii, who (possibly thanks to Krivtsov’s original idea) proposed to Kaufmann to shoot not only “historical antiquities,” but also features that had a bearing on the Russian conquest. According to a note by Fedchenko, this section

also meant to be a “scientific reconstruction” of Turkestan’s recent past.⁴¹

— Economic investment and progress. This included photographs of various wholesalers, bazaars, shops, caravanserais, traditional handicraft production, “types of traders,” “agricultural implements,” and “crafts.”

— “Civilising mission”. This section directly related to the establishment of new rules of social life

⁴¹ TsGA RUZ. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 2519. L. 23, 3; Arhiv RAN, Sankt-Peterburgskoye otdeleniye. F. 809 (A. Fedchenko). Op 1. D. 2. L. 24ob.



Fig. 7. The Saint George (the 3rd degree) military officers. The military governor of the Semirechie region, Lieutenant General G. A. Kolpakovskii. Head of the Zarafshan District, Major General A. K. Abramov. In *Turkestan Album*. Archaeological Section. By order of the Governor-General of Turkestan K. P. von Kaufmann whose first edition was compiled by M. A. Terent'ev. 1871–1872. L. 9. Library of Congress

and to rewriting the regional history. It featured, in particular, panoramic photographs of monuments and “mounds representing the traces of ancient cities” (Fig. 8).

— Coexistence with the functioning social rules of Central Asian society. This included rituals and customs such as weddings and funerals as well as urban contexts.

— Anthropological classification of peoples / nationalities. This was in accordance with the requirements of the Moscow Anthropological Society⁴² and the desiderata of Anatolii Bogdanov, who, while reasoning in the context of the Polytechnic Exhibition, suggested giving preference to ethnographic photography. This involved full-length pictures with subjects wearing costumes, which emphasised the exotic aspect of the images (more “traditional” anthropological photographs were meant to be devised, published and sold separately).⁴³

⁴² TsGA Ruz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 2519. L. 2; IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 220.

⁴³ TsGA Ruz. F. I–1. Op. 15. D. 96. L. 132.

The preface to the *Album* provides a good summary of its character:

[...] the range of information about the lands [...] subject to the Khoqand and Bukhara khans was very limited. [...] The occupation of Tashkent and Samarkand opened Central Asia to Russian researchers. [...] In order to quickly familiarise themselves with the newly annexed territories, the main task of the album was to visually present: 1) the past life of the region in the form of the preserved ancient monuments (archaeological section); 2) the modern life of the population — types, beliefs, rituals, customs, costumes, etc. (ethnographic section); 3) the culture of the country in its industrial and technical aspects (craftsmanship section); and 4) the areas where the Russian forces were to demonstrate their distinction in their art and skills along with portraits of those figures who were the first ones to open the way to Central Asia (historical section) (Preface to the *Turkestan Album*. Archaeological section 1871–1872: 3).

This list of the *Album*'s intended functions lacks a clearly formulated idea concerning the “scientific” role of photography, which was designed to capture the historical context disappearing under the pres-



Fig. 8. Samarkand antiquities. The tomb of the Saint Kusam-ibn-Abbas (Qassim-ibn-Abbas) and the adjacent mausoleums. In *Turkestan Album*. Archaeological Section. By order of the Governor-General of Turkestan K. P. von Kaufmann whose first edition was compiled by A. L. Kuhn and N. V. Bogaevskii. 1871–1872. Volume 1. L. 27. Library of Congress

sure of modernisation. This function was present in Fedchenko's original recommendations of 1868 (see above), which matched the most common European point of view in relation to the "East" (*Behdad* 2013: 20–22). Moreover, this concept was clearly formed by the orientalist Valentin Zhukovskii, for whom visual and literary cataloguing of monuments were integral part of his programme of work in Merv and Khorasan in 1890 and 1896:

First of all, one should be aware of what has survived on the surface. We should conserve and preserve for science the ruins of towns and monuments through drawings, photographs, paper prints of inscriptions on stones, layouts, and accompany them with simple but conscientious descriptions and explanations (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 44).

This situation reflected the standoff between two viewpoints among the Russian Central Asia scientists, which lasted until the early 1930s. In Vasilii Barthold's obituary of Samuil Dudin, he stated:

An excellent photographer, S. M., perhaps somewhat exaggerated the importance of photographic registration for the study and protection of monuments. Chairman of the Committee [Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia in Historical, Archaeological, Linguistic and Ethnographic Aspects — S. G.] V. V. Radlov fully shared S. M.'s enthusiasm. It seemed to Radlov that photographic registration would not only preserve for science what was in danger of destruction, but would also make possible to prosecute people whose negligence or malice caused the destruction. It seemed that the photograph would enable to control and establish exactly what damage had occurred since the time the previous photograph had been taken. As a means of management, however, photography could hardly be used, since it was hardly possible to oblige the caretakers of the buildings to take every single damage into account. Moreover, not all committee members shared the enthusiasm for photography as a source for the scientific study of buildings. Some thought that sketches in paints, drawings, etc., were of no less importance, although, of course, everyone recognised that photography could only be supplemented, not replaced, by other work (*Bartold* 1977: 775).

In creating his own image of Turkestan, Kaufmann wanted to ensure an exclusive right to it. An agreement with the St Petersburg lithographic institution of Petrov and Kablukov forbade printing houses to distribute negatives without his consent.⁴⁴

Even more illustrative is the contract agreed upon with the photographer Nekhoroshev. It stated that the photographer was obliged to re-equip his studio, re-adapt it to being moveable, and “provide his photography services for anything and anywhere that would be indicated,” in order to complete at least 1,500 photographs within eight months, that is, 150–200 negatives monthly.⁴⁵ At the same time, he was prohibited from printing impressions from negatives (with the exception of proof prints), forbidden to distribute these (negatives and photographs were declared the property of Kaufmann), not permitted to take photographs while traveling for himself, and he could not “produce paid photography cards for third parties [and] engage in private work.” In addition, he was not to photograph, even after the end of the contract, from the same vantage points where the photographs were taken for the *Album*, and he was to avoid taking any similar photographs. In the event that pictures taken under the Kuhn program were found in the wrong hands, Nekhoroshev would have to pay a fine. Such “enslaving” conditions were slightly eased at the end of May 1871. Nekhoroshev was then allowed in his free time to compile his collection of scenes from the visited localities. He was to do that without harming the work on the *Album* preparation, using exclusively his own material (since materials for the *Album* were provided by Kuhn), and not exceeding 70 scenes, excluding ethnographic types. However, an addendum to the contract specifically stipulated that Nekhoroshev had no right to publish these scenes prior to the publication of the *Album*.⁴⁶ The photographers’ fear of violating the contract was so strong that Kuhn and Nekhoroshev specifically requested (and received) Kaufmann’s permission to photograph while traveling with local Russians on a private basis, since they regularly asked their project participants to pose.⁴⁷ As a balance, during his travels around the region Kuhn managed to assemble his personal collection of photographs that did not overlap with the *Turkestan Album*.⁴⁸ At the same time, neither

Kuhn nor Nekhoroshev were able to create their own collection for commercial purposes. This is different, for example, to what was done in the Bourne & Shepherd photo studio in Agra, one of the many commercial photography establishments in the British India. Here, since 1863, Bourne & Shepherd systematically produced photo catalogues for sale (albums reached a total of 77 pages in 1869). An interested client could select photographs of landscapes, architectural monuments, “types” of the local population, and portraits of British officials in India (*Falconer* 1990: 266).

Between the lines of the contract one can trace Kaufmann’s intention to be the only owner of the right to the “true” and “scientific” view of Turkestan. This correlates with his purpose of inventorying and archiving the past and present of Central Asia in accordance with Kaufmann’s vision of the developmental prospects of the region, irrespective of local past traditions and future plans. As Christopher Pinney noted, the colonial authorities saw a panacea in photography only if its results were completely under their control (*Pinney* 2008: 30–38), not to mention that the very fact of owning and using a camera implied a relation of power.

This urge to control the creation and promotion of his own views of Turkestan underpinned Kaufmann’s decision to fund the photo album of selected paintings from Vereshchagin’s *Turkestan: Sketches from Nature (Turkestan: étude s nature)* (1874). Of all the works in the *Turkestan Series* Kaufmann only chose those artists who depicted reality to resemble a photograph. Thus, in content, these paintings had something in common with his own *Turkestan Album* (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 35–38; *Chernyshova* 2015). Subsequently, after the death of the artist, this selection of images would be widely replicated on postcards between 1904 and 1905 (*Mozokhina* 2022).

Subsequent Turkestan Albums and Postcards: the Replication of Kaufmann’s “View”

Immediately after the completion of work on the *Turkestan Album*, the prominent art critic Vladimir Stasov (1824–1906) wrote:

The album, apart from being a rarity, is also of scientific and artistic interest. Here are a huge number of scenes from nature, architectural images, folk types, such as the Kyrgyz, Kalmyks, Mongols, Afghans, Jews, Persians, Turkestanis,⁴⁹ etc. and presentations of folk customs and occupations, crafts, religious rites, amusements, costumes, etc. Altogether, they wait for a conscientious publisher to put this rich material into general use. They equally wait for

⁴⁴ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6583. L. 5ob.

⁴⁵ IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 200–204ob.

⁴⁶ IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 215.

⁴⁷ IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 221.

⁴⁸ This collection of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK), according to the description of Dluzhnevskaya (2011: 63), includes two groups of photographs and negatives: architectural monuments and scenes from various localities such as the towns of Turkestan, and the People of Turkestan, including types, social life, production facilities, trade and religion.

⁴⁹ The appearance of the term “Turkestani” in this list of ethnic groups inhabiting the region raises the level of knowledge of the great art critic. “Turkestanis” is not an ethnonym and means only “inhabitants of Turkestan.”

scholars to explain it and artists to use it for the creation of new art (Stasov 1894: 1538).

The visual image of Turkestan, created by Kaufmann and meeting the expectations of the imperial elites, soon became the official hallmark of the new Russian colony, suitable for use at different levels both inside and outside of the empire.

As such, in 1873, the Minister of Finance Mikhail Reiter (1820–1890) sent the *Album* to the Vienna International Exhibition where it was presented in the Education Section.⁵⁰ In 1875, the *Album* was exhibited at the International Geographical Exhibition in Paris and timed to coincide with the Second International Geographical Congress. Coming up third after the works of the geographer Fyodor Litke (1797–1866) and the traveler Nikolai Przhhevskii (1839–1888), the *Album* was transformed into a real visual guide of Turkestan. Every day, a dozen artists in Paris sketched Kaufmann's photographs at the exhibition (IIRGO, 1876, vol. 12, t. 2: 174; Morozov 1953: 28.). The photographs of Samarkand received by the Franco-Hungarian anthropologist Charles-Eugène de Ujfalvy (1842–1904) from Kaufmann served as the basis for Emile Soldi to create a model in Paris of a town from the Timurid era (*Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 191). Several photographs from the *Turkestan Album*, transcribed into engravings, served as illustrations for the description of the Ujfalvy-Bourdon expedition, published by Ujfalvy's wife, Marie Bourdon (*Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 87, 89) (Fig. 9, 10).

This new but much appreciated quality of the *Turkestan Album* — that of becoming an object of imitation and a source of future research — manifested itself in Russia as well. When preparing for his work in Samarkand, Nikolai Veselovskii completed his scientific dossier with reproductions from the *Turkestan Album*, made on his request by the IAK photographer Ivan Chistyakov (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 37).

Parallel to the *Album's* acquisition of status of “scientific” source of knowledge, Kaufmann's own reputation as “facilitator and sponsor of Turkestan,” was enriched by his new standing as “expert on this region.” Many scientific societies turned directly to Kaufmann to resolve purely scientific questions, delegating to him the tasks of initial classification of certain empirical facts.

Thus, the Organising Committee of the 3rd International Congress of Orientalists in April 1876 requested that Kaufmann appoint someone who knew Turkestan to supervise the work of the photographer Stanislav (Vladislav?) Kozlovskii (1845–?), who had

been instructed to prepare an album of the ethnicities of Turkestan (*Gorshenina* 2007: 334–337). As a course of habit, he took the preparation of this album under his patronage. His support included organising a temporary studio for the photographer in Samarkand, before delivering the finished album to the Tsar's library in 1877 (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 42–43). Kaufmann placed his subordinates, Arendorenko and Spitzberg, in charge of the choice of the ethnic “types” to be photographed. Their responsibilities were to select four “typical” representatives — two women and two men — for each “ethnic type” (such as Tajiks, Yagnobis, Uzbeks, Afghans, Lyuli-Gypsies, Jews and Shiapush) and to send them to the photographer with a note indicating their name, age, place of residence, and ethnicity (and for the Uzbeks, additionally, their clan).⁵¹ Moreover, integrating the comments and criticism of the ethnographic section of the *Turkestan Album*, in which models were photographed in three-quarters, in festive clothes, and with their heads covered (*Lerkh* 1874a: 97–99), Kaufmann ordered the execution of all portraits in front and in profile, with models to be photographed against a neutral background and in accordance with the requirements of anthropological taxonomy. This was guided in part by the previous work of Ujfalvy in Turkestan in 1873 (*Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd* 1879b, vol. IV) (Fig. 11). In accordance with the instructions of the Paris Anthropological Society (*Broca* 1865), and most likely with direct participation of the same Kozlovskii, he was to avoid nude photos of the models. Some of the photographs for the album were also taken by a Russian photographer of Polish origin, who was specially assigned to him in Ferghana and remained anonymous (only being designated by the initial of “K”).⁵² Thus, the initial selection of “ethnographic types” for subsequent scientific research was made by Kaufmann's subordinates, who already had at their disposal the photo-classifications of the first albums of Turkestan. These previous classifications had also been made by the order of the governor-general. In turn, their roots could be traced back to earlier racial classifications, based on a set of

⁵¹ TsGA RUz. F. I–5. Op. 1. D. 263. L. 1–2, 6.

⁵² Despite the assistance of various representatives of the colonial administration, the production of the photographs was not easy for Ujfalvy. He was allowed to take 60 photographs of “anthropological types,” naked to the waist, and 40 “landscape scenes.” This limitation is explained by the fact that most of the illustrations in his volumes are either sketches made by the Swiss-born Tashkent gymnasium teacher Miller, or engravings from photographs and sketches by other authors. The photographer accompanying the researcher joined Ujfalvy only in Marghelan and quite soon, having fallen seriously ill, left Osh for Tashkent without completing the program in full. Ujfalvy described Miller's work as mediocre and the overly bulky studio equipment as unsuitable for the conditions of travel: *Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd* 1879, vol. I: 72–73, 90–92, 101–102; *Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 305–306.

⁵⁰ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6652. L. 59; *Catalogue* 1873: 635; *Sonntag* 2012: 18.



Fig. 9. Kirgiz Kibitka (Tente kazakh). In *Ujfalvy-Bourdon 1880: 87*

photographs of “ethnographic types” that anthropologist Anatolii Bogdanov (1834–1896) was employed to make mannequins for the 1867 Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow (*Nait 2001*).⁵³ This was not an isolated practice as almost the same principle was used earlier by Ujfalvy as well. He lacked time to complete all the photographs of “anthropological types” during the trip, due to his sick photographer’s (Kozlovskii?) departure to Tashkent. He reassigned him the task of supplementing his photo collection with the missing types of Uzbek women, Kara-Kyrgyz women (i.e. Kyrgyz women) and Lyuli-Gypsies. He also provided him with the preliminary drawings of the Tashkent teacher Miller, who accompanied him on the journey, and referred back to Bogdanov and to Paul Broc’s descriptions of the Turkestan population (*Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd 1878*, vol. I: 90).

Further evidence of the role played by Kaufmann’s *Album* in establishing interdependent and mutually

influential relationships between the authorities and the producers of knowledge is found in the reaction of the chairman of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, Vasiliï Grigor’ev (1816–1881). After receiving the abridged Turkestan, Khiva and Samarkand albums, the orientalist wrote to Kaufmann that his society “will use all the necessary efforts to ensure that the archaeological issues raised by the albums” (including those regarding the “Aryan roots of the Russian people”) would be soon resolved.⁵⁴

These examples — among many — demonstrate that Kaufmann’s view of Turkestan, presented as “exclusively scientific,” became canonical and determined not only subsequent perception on mass and popular culture, but also the direction of further research for the scholarly community. In addition, the success of the *Turkestan Album* contributed significantly to the development of “album-mania” in Central Asia. Moving beyond the initial tactics of further

⁵³ Compare with the principles of creating “types” for *The People of India*, in which selection of the “natives” for photographing was preceded by detailed literary descriptions compiled by the British military: *Falconer 2002: 61–63*.

⁵⁴ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 7247. L. 43, 52.



Fig. 10. Syr Darya region. The interior of the Kirgiz khibitka (tente kazakh). In *Turkestan Album*. Ethnographic Section. By order of the governor-general of Turkestan K. P. von Kaufmann whose first edition was compiled by A. L. Kuhn and N. V. Bogaevskii. 1871–1872. Volume 2. L. 36, No. 103. Library of Congress

sequential “completion” of the *Turkestan Album*,⁵⁵ various levels of colonial administrators began to compile individual albums based on the same principles, either explicitly or implicitly. Presenting himself as the “discoverer” of the khanate of Khiva, a country “just opened to science and civilisation by the feats of the Russian troops” during the 1873 campaign, Kaufmann instructed Krivtsov “to take photos of scenes of certain localities and various nationalities that inhabited the khanate “in order to satisfy the hunger for information existing in society”⁵⁶ and provide

more “realistic” pictures of Khiva, in comparison to the drawings of Dikgof, Karazin and Agapi.⁵⁷ In 1874, the *Samarkand Album* was published, reflecting to an even greater extent (than the *Turkestan Album*) the latest accomplishments of the colonial authorities.⁵⁸

Inspired by these examples, in September 1876, Mikhail Annenkov, the then incumbent military governor of the Amu Darya Department, informed Kaufmann about his project to create an album of Petro-Aleksandrovska and its environs.⁵⁹ According to Annenkov, the future album was supposed to be more detailed than Krivtsov’s in relation to “ethnic types,” and contain a large number of “beautiful and original scenes” of the ancient monuments of Kunya-Urgench. Annenkov planned to entrust the creation of the album entitled *Scenes of the Amu Darya District*

⁵⁵ Thus, wishing to supplement the *Album*, Kolpakovskii engaged the photographer Leibin at the end of 1873 to take pictures of Semirechye. This very first issue of supplements to the already published ensemble was dedicated to the technical industries of the Turkestan territory (TsGA RUz F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 7258. L. 4–6; TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6652. L. 71).

⁵⁶ The importance of the Khiva campaign to Russian society is evidenced in particular by the example of the poet Feydor Tiutchev. Having just come to his senses after another heart attack, the first question he asked of the priest who had come to give him the Eucharist was “What are the details about the capture of Khiva?” (*Correspondence* 2016: 302–303).

⁵⁷ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 7247. L. 42ob; IVR RAN, SPb otd. F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 555; *Prishchepova* 2011a: 39–40.

⁵⁸ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 7247. L. 52.

⁵⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I–20. Op. 1. D. 10095. L. 1–1ob, 3–3ob.

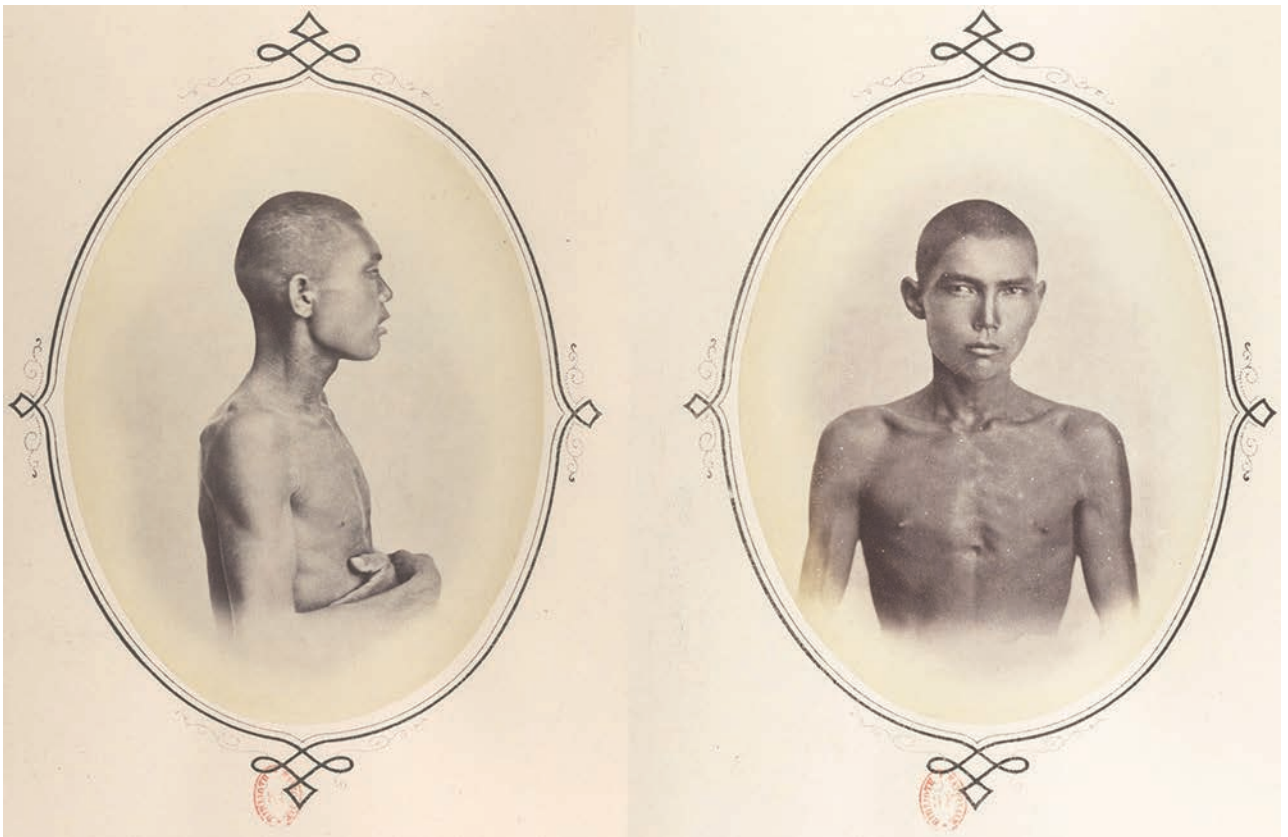


Fig. 11. Anthropological portrait, face and profile, made in Ferghana. Tajik Nor-Muhammad, Khoqand, 27 years old, 167 cm. In *Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd*, 1879, Vol. 4. Fig. 7. Pl. 13–14. Bibliothèque nationale de France

(*Vidy Amu-Dar'inskogo raiona*) to the captain of the 8th battalion, Savenkov, who was familiar with the technical aspects of photography and had brought the necessary materials and negatives from St Petersburg. Annenkov, according to his own admission, was not sure how best to organise the work and whether he should give freedom to Savenkov or give him preliminary “scientific instructions” and put the album under his own direct control. Without reacting to these reflections, in November 1876 Kaufmann ordered the issuance of 730 roubles for the album’s production. Since the sum was drawn from “extraordinary credits,” it is possible to imply that Annenkov received state money and would control the project himself in accordance with the previously established plan.

During this same period in 1876, Kaufmann began financing another *OLEAE* expedition together with Moscow University. A university candidate, Alexander Tikhomirov, was appointed as the expedition leader by the president of the society, naturalist Grigorii Shchurovskii (1803–1884). The expedition’s results were supposed to be used to organise an anthropological museum at Moscow University’s Department of Anthropology and to be part of the Anthropological and Archaeological Greater Russian

Exhibition. The latter was planned for 1879, in concomitance with the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology. According to the expedition programme, specially developed by Anatolii Bogdanov, Tikhonov was to be accompanied by a photographer and sculptor on his trip to Turkistan. Their participation in the expedition and the necessary materials for the trip were to be paid for by Kaufmann.⁶⁰

However, at the turn of the 1880s along with the albums authored by the military or researchers who worked under Kaufmann’s direct support; other collections also appeared. These were less dependent on the finances and instructions of the colonial administration. Photography on the imperial outskirts by this time was developing at approximately the same pace as in the centre of the empire. Cameras ordered from abroad were delivered to all the towns of Turkistan. However, these private photographs, as a rule, still reproduced the already established line of “scenes” and “types.” As one of the many examples, we can consider the 1879 album *Types and Scenes of Western Siberia* (*Vidy i tipy Zapadnoi Sibiri*) by Liubov Pol-

⁶⁰ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 19. D. 284. L. 1–3ob.

toratskaya (1853–1940?), who was the first woman photographer and the wife of the military governor of the Semipalatinsk region, Major General Vladimir Poltoratskii (1830–1886, governorship from 1868 to 1878). Without rejecting the already established standards, she managed to expand the thematic area of Turkestan photography. In contrast to previous photographers of the region, for example, she presented in her album fragments of the family life of local women (*Matkhatova* 2009; *Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 33). In the subsequent decades, Turkestan remained the centre of this “album-mania,” and a wide range of photographs was collected in several albums. These were thematically more homogeneous, but remained practically unknown to the general public.⁶¹

Starting in 1899, the issue of postcards representing Turkestan marked the opening of a new era in the replication of the already established scenes and ethnographic clichés of the region. The start of their production was marked by a delay not only in relation to photography, but also to the global context. It should be noted that the development and the first publication of postcards was carried out by the Austrian postal service as early as 1869. France recognised these postage products in 1872. Twenty years later, in the 1890s, Germany began mass commercial production (*Simpson* 2016). In the Russian Empire, the first individual postcard was published in 1886 in St Petersburg and featured a view of the city. The very first series of four postcards “Greetings from Tashkent” was published only 13 years later, in 1899, at the typo-lithography of the Trading House of the Brothers F. K. and G. K. Kamenskii in Tashkent (*Golender* 2002: 14; *Mozokhina* 2022). In the first half of the 1900s, Moscow and Odessa printing houses were

the main mass production centres for postcards of Turkestan. From the second half, however, this domination was challenged by local Turkestan publishers (*Mozokhina* 2022).

For nearly three decades, publishing houses in Turkestan,⁶² Russia,⁶³ and Western Europe⁶⁴ managed to organise the publishing of postcards in large quantities and often by serial number. According to Boris Golender’s count (2002: 18), the published styles of postcards depicting the towns of Turkestan numbered about 3,000, which was significantly fewer than other cities of the Russian Empire (for example, St Petersburg, not including the suburbs, had about 11,000 varieties of postcards, while Astrakhan and Tula numbered 1200 each (*Mozokhina* 2022)). During this time, postcards were published in different languages depending on the intended market. Furthermore, local publishers, some of whom were owners of bookstores, stationery stores and even pharmacies, resorted to reproducing photographs from already known photographers and albums, as well as from published works by practically unknown authors. For non-Turkestan publishers, obtaining original etching clichés or moulds was a more challenging task. Upon publication, mistaken photo captions were common and in most cases the photograph’s authorship mark was omitted. A particular example were the photographs of Dmitrii Ermakov, published anonymously by the contracting agency of A. S. Suvorin & Co., which bought the rights to all the work of this photographer. Likewise, some of Hugues Krafft’s pho-

⁶¹ In particular, several albums are stored only in the archive of the St Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, which seems to be the least studied as of today. Some of these are not dated and remain anonymous: *Samarkand*, 1908 (No. 2182/3); *Types of Erosion. Tejen-Merv*, 1903 (B–166); *Scenes and Types of the Ferghana Region*, 1895 (A–15); *Scenes of the Pamirs* (A–25); *Scenes of Bukhara* (A–36); *Ashkhabad. Scenes and Types* (A–46); *Types of Old Bukhara and Tashkent* (A–51); *Scenes of the Banks and Settlements of the Amu Darya River* (A–71); *Album of the Report of the Bukhara Expedition*, 1913 (A–73; No. 2316); *Scenes of Antiquities of Turkestan* (A–76); *Scenes of Central Asia* (A–140); *Tashkent and its Environs. Album of the Daughter of local historian N. I. Ostroumov* (A–184); *Central Asia, Scenes* (A–200); *Scenes of Samarkand* (B–170); *Bukhara. Album in Three volumes* (B–173); *Scenes and Types of Central Asia* (B–178); *Andijan earthquake* (B–179); *Antiquities of Bukhara and Samarkand* (B–187); *Drawings and Photographs* by S. Dudin (B–189); *Photography Materials of Academician V. V. Barthold* (B–236); *Scenes of Central Asia*, 1880 (B–256); *Central Asian Mosques (work of S. M. Dudin)* (C–1); *Scenes of Samarkand and Bukhara* (C–9); *Scenes of Samarkand* (C–31); *Scenes of Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva (donated by V. N. Kononov, photographer of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of AN SSSR)* (C–36).

⁶² Among the Turkestan publishers of postcards mainly beginning in the early 1900s, particular mention should be given to: I. A. Bek-Nazarov, photographer N. I. Voishitskii, A. L. Kirsner, K. S. Larkin, M. I. Svishchul’skii, E. K. Khlubna, A. G. Khodzko (Tashkent); I. P. Morozov, photographers N. Litvintsev, V. Lentovskii, G. A. Pankračev, Vvedenskii and the owner of the “Znanie” publishing house (Samarkand); G. I. Sakharov and M. F. Pushin (Andijan); the bookseller A. N. Mishin, and the pharmacist S. A. Gordon (Marghelan/Skobelev); M. V. Polikarpov (Namangan); the pharmacist E. A. Wilde, and the owner of the Bukinist publishing house (Khoqand); the photographer A. A. Puzrakov (Termez); and (without specifying the cities) D. P. Efimov, the Kamenskii brothers, I. N. Glushkov and Polianin. Some of these publishers have been mentioned in *Golender* 2002: 16–17; *Mozokhina* 2022.

⁶³ Publishing houses of the Community of St. Eugenia; Scherer, Nabholz and Co. (Moscow); Eckel and Baloch (Moscow); B. A. Schneider (Odessa); The Partnership for the Trade in Printing Products at Railway Stations “Kontragentstvo Pechati” (a united collective for postcard publishing that included the print houses of A. S. Suvorin, I. D. Sytin and D. P. Efimov), renamed in 1911 into “Kontragentstvo A. S. Suvorina i Co.” or “Counterparty Press A. S. Suvorin” (Moscow).

⁶⁴ Kunstanstalt Friedewald und Frick, Berlin; Granbergs Brekfort (Granberg Joint Stock Company), Stockholm; and also, according to Golender’s russified transcription, Franz Raupach, Hirschberg, Prussia; Adolf Schleifer, Stargard; Georg Brückan, Berlin; Karl Schwidernoch, Vienna; Vilim, Prague (*Golender* 2002: 15–16; *Fitz Gibbon* 2009: 22–23).



**Fig. 12. Hugues Krafft. Sart (Turkestani) child and his nanny. Community of St. Eugenia.
From collection of the author**

tography portraits were also published without mentioning his name. In other cases, postcards issued by the Community of St. Eugenia included Krafft's name, but failed to mention his book from which they were republished (Mozokhina 2022) (Fig. 12). Yet, some of the postcards provided the warning "Copying is prohibited" (for example, the postcards published by Dmitrii Voishitskii).

Photography extended beyond elite circles to a more popular audience. Postcards gradually replaced albums compiled by photographers, who offered the possibility for anyone to reproduce their

favorite moulds according to each individual order. Their production, both massive and commercial in nature, was focused on selling to the general public from the start. Connected with the early stages of development of tourism, postcards provided ready-to-use images. Moreover, postcards served not only to convey information, but were also admired as a collector's item (and a cult object). Initially, according to the prevailing European tradition, they were said to cultivate a "passion for the East" (offering a suggestion as to why "ethnographic types" dominated in the Western examples). Not only did postcards draw

the attention of a potential traveller to Turkestan, but they also predetermined what deserved attention and, therefore, what a tourist should visit during his or her stay in the region. Additionally, the postcards themselves depended on the already well-established etching clichés or moulds that were available in the photo studios. These included topographical scenes, individual monuments, portraits of the population in their “traditional” attire, generic scenes (often at a bazaar or in an “old indigenous Asian” city) and images of craftsmen at work. These scenes dominated the production of postcards. It follows that through this thematic framework, Kaufmann’s original visual choices were reinforced and undeniably dominated the collections. However, it became almost impossible to hide information about the poor condition of the historical monuments. The exotic, romanticised image that Kaufmann had tried to build increasingly disappeared.

At the same time, the “European” quarters of Central Asian towns, whose presence in themselves promised a pleasant trip to Russian Turkestan, began to occupy an important place in the postcard theme, especially among Turkestan publishers. The dominance of postcards with scenes of the “new / Russian / European” towns of the Turkestan governor-generalship directly corresponded to the strategy of the colonial administration, which sought to show the positive results of the “civilising mission” of transforming the “barbaric” khanates into a “flourishing Russian colony” by successfully introducing “European civilisation” (Fig. 13).

The Special Position of Photography in Russian Turkestan: The Restrictions on the Freedom of Photographers

The position of photography in Turkestan, which retained its military status throughout the entire imperial Russian period, remained highly peculiar. The activities of the first photographers, usually military officials or administrative staff, depended directly on Kaufmann. The governor-general personally determined the range of their work and allotted finances as part of individual projects, as demonstrated by the *Turkestan Album* and subsequent albums. Professional photographers such as Nekhoroshev were sometimes involved in the creation of these collections.

Simultaneously, Kaufmann initiated the emergence of “independent” photography studios. In 1869, he decided to create a photography studio in Tashkent, operated by Engineer-Captain Makarov. The equipment was purchased exclusively in Moscow with funds from a special budget of 800 roubles, defined as being “for unforeseen expenses.”⁶⁵ By comparison, it should be recalled that four years earlier,

in 1865, Moscow boasted more than 40 officially registered photography establishments (*Shipova* 2006: 16), while more than 400 photography studios were already operating in Paris by 1867 (*Sixou* 2000: 104).

In 1870, Kuhn wrote about the availability of three cameras in Samarkand at the disposal of professional photographers, without specifying whether they had photo studios or not.⁶⁶ By 1873, at least one commercial studio was already functioning in Tashkent, and the professional photographer (Friedrich?) Mauer was working in it.⁶⁷ Another professional photographer from Tomsk, Abram Leibin, settled in the city of Verny (modern Almaty) in 1873 (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 37–40), and at the end of December of the same year opened his own studio.

However, it took several more years to create a rather extensive and widespread network of photography studios in Turkestan. One of the reasons for this slow development in the region was not only the constant problems with the replenishment of photography materials and equipment — quite typical of the peripheral cities of the Empire — but also the strict control established by the administration over the production of photographs. Persons engaged in photography were placed on a special list, as were their establishments, the importance of which was equated with printing houses and bookstores, in accordance with the regulations adopted by the metropole in 1858 (*Popov* 2010: 18). The difficulties in opening a photo workshop were such that numerous reports, reference books, and address books mention a very modest list of the region’s photography studios. Most of these, initially and almost exclusively, were concentrated in the Turkestan capital.

As a result, Tashkent in 1876–1877, according to official statistics, had only four photography institutions: the lithographic typography of Lakhtin and Pastukhov, the photo studio of Konstantin Stsiborskii, the photo studio of Nikolai Nekhoroshev (which belonged to the merchant Khludov for two years), and the workshop of the noblemen Stanislav / Vladislav Kozlovskii.⁶⁸ The “Gornaya” photo-laboratory in Tashkent, to which Kuhn handed over all the materials and cameras in 1872,⁶⁹ no longer appeared in the official list. Equally absent from it was Mauer’s workshop.

Despite all the restrictions and constant monitoring, from the mid-1880s the range of people involved in photography expanded. It is worth noting that neither Armenians nor Greeks with a pharmaceutical or chemistry based education had any advantage in this

⁶⁵ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 3766.

⁶⁶ IVR RAN, F. 33 (A. L. Kuhn). Op. 1. D. 267. L. 58.

⁶⁷ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 7258. L. 4–6.

⁶⁸ TsGA RUz. F. I–17. Op. 1. D. 504. L. 7, 9.

⁶⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 20. D. 6461. L. 33–33ob.



Fig. 13. Opening of the monument to K. P. von Kaufmann and the troops that conquered Central Asia, inaugurated on May 4, 1913. Publishing house of I. A. Bek-Nazarov, Tashkent, 1913–1914. Julia Pelipai's collection

area of activity, as was the case in Ottoman Turkey (Özandes 2013: 36–38). The same could be said for former artists, unlike the earlier stages of photography in British India (Falconer 1990: 268). A small cohort of photography lovers from representatives of the colonial administration (military and colonial officials)⁷⁰ was filled with new professional photographers from various social strata.

Concurrently, the amount of photography studios increased. In the hope of more detailed research, it can be outlined as follows. Nikanor Ivanov, a drawing teacher at the Tashkent Pedagogical Boys Gymnasium, together with another teacher, Dmitrii Nazarov, voiced their desire to open a photo gallery in Tashkent in 1885, for the purpose of working during their free time.⁷¹ After them, on 21 November 1887, Stanislav Nikolai opened his own facilities.⁷² A few years later, on 23 June 1895, the “Sibirskaya photo studio” was opened, through the efforts of the peasant Egor Korkin. Also, as recorded in the official registry,

⁷⁰ Among them was the head of the Lepsinskii District, Konstantin de Lazari; head of the Trans-Caspian region Alexander Komarov; Leon Barszczewski; the future Russian consul in Kashgar Nikolai Petrovskii; and the Russian political agent Yakov Liutsh (See Fitz Gibbon 2009: 18; Prishchepova 2011a: 68–75; Dluzhnevskaya 2011: 48; Baskhanov, Rezvan 2021).

the reserve paramedic Shalam Nemtsovich opened a photography studio on 9 March 1899. The peasant Ivan Zverev opened the photography office “Universal'naya” on 13 April 1899.⁷³ All of these photo studios continued to appear on the official lists as of 1902.⁷⁴ According to Tashkent historian Boris Golender, there were also studios operated by I. K. Lozinskii and B. Kh. Kapustianskii. By 1910, twenty photo studios could be found in Tashkent (Golender 2002: 9–10).

By 1891, three photographers⁷⁵ were registered in Samarkand. Two years later, in 1893, the address book mentioned only one, Georgii Arshaulov (6 Dzham-

⁷¹ TsGA RUz. F. I–17. Op. 1. D. 879; TsGA RUz. F. I–3. Op. 1. D. 5043. L. 119; TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 1. D. 126. L. 1.

⁷² TsGA RUz. F. I–3. Op. 1. D. 5043. L. 119; TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 1. D. 126. L. 1. In the light of these official statistics, it remains unclear from what sources B. A. Golender (2002: 9), whose works, as a rule, contain no documentary references, calls the studio of Stanislav Nikolai as the first commercial photography studio in Tashkent, opened in 1873. This statement may be based on confusion with a different person, Nikolai Nikolai, who arrived in Tashkent in 1873.

⁷³ TsGA RUz. F. I–3. Op. 1. D. 5043. L. 119; TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 1. D. 126. L. 1.

⁷⁴ TsGA RUz. F. I–3. Op. 1. D. 5043. L. 119; TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 1. D. 126. L. 1.

⁷⁵ The guide specifically stated that all the photographers were men (*Reference and Statistical information*, 1891: 99).

skaya Street) (*Spravochnaya knizhka* 1894: 51). In 1906, Gavrilu Guzik, a former resident of Astrakhan, received permission to open a photography studio in Samarkand, only after a thorough check by the police.⁷⁶ Similarly, Ilya Grossman, a common townsman (*meshchanin*) from Nizhny Novgorod who had previously lived in Khoqand, received permission to open a studio also in Samarkand in 1906.⁷⁷

Under circumstances that were not entirely clear, the governor of Ferghana allowed Nikolai Baranov to open a studio in the city in 1886, however only on a temporary basis.⁷⁸ In September 1905, Aleksei Poliakov, another common townsman from the city of Buzuluk, received official permission from the military governor of Ferghana to open his laboratory in Namangan, through intercession of the chief of the Namangan district.⁷⁹

Simultaneously, there were working photographers who did not have their own photography studios and established their activities between 1890 and 1900. They were formally identified as photography enthusiasts, despite the professional level of their work (*Fitz Gibbon* 2009: 18; *Dluzhnevskaya* 2007; *eadem* 2011: 47–48). Among them, some who worked in Samarkand deserve mention, such as Kozlovskii (see above), I. Vvedenskii (most active between 1894–1897) and G. A. Pankratev (active between 1894–1904). The latter is particularly known for his work *The Album of Historical Monuments of Samarkand*,⁸⁰ commissioned by Count Nikolai Rostovtsev for 300 roubles. It presents in detail the architectural monuments of the city and is accompanied by translations of Kufi Arabic inscriptions made by Serali Lapin and included albums of 20, 50 and 80 photographs (*Lapin* 1895; *Perevod nadpisei* 1895).

Special mention deserves V. Orden (N. Orde?), the most mystic from this group of photographers. He is predominantly known for his series of photographs sold in a four-volume album entitled *The Caucasus and Central Asia (Kavkaz i Srednyaya Aziya)*⁸¹ (Fig. 14). It seems that Orde was the type of commercial photographer who had already become well known in the Middle East and India. When complet-

ing photography albums for commercial purposes, he willingly reproduced photographs of his colleagues without mentioning their names. It is possible that the following people belonged to the same category of professional photographers who did not have their own permanent studios: Captain I. A. Brzhezinskii, E. A. Vilde in Khoqand, V. Vyrskii in New Marghela (*Golender* 2002: 12, 17), and Valent Tresviatskii, head of the Land Surveying Department of Turkestan during the 1910s, whose album I have at my disposal. As one indicator of the development of photography in Turkestan we can mention the district physician from Samarkand, K. E. Ostrovskikh, as accounted by Valeriya Prishchepova. He offered, as one of his many services, to compile photo collections for museums in St Petersburg from the several studios in Turkestan at that time (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 23). Construction of the Trans-Caspian Railway in the 1880s–1890s brought with it not only new opportunities associated with this recent technology (for example, the album by Alexander Engel' [1848–1918] with scenes of this railway),⁸² but also the emergence of a new group of amateur and professional photographers who passed through Turkestan as part of various missions or expeditions.⁸³

In any case, photography turned into a public commodity and took an increasingly important position in the personal sphere through family albums. Accordingly, photography could no longer remain the business of only the colonial administration, despite the administration's attempts to retain control over it. This is demonstrated by fact that the first photography society — the Trans-Caspian Photography Society in Ashgabat⁸⁴ — was approved in August 1897 with the permission of the Minister of War Pyotr Vannovskii (1822–1904). Two years later, in 1899, the Society of Enthusiasts of Photography and Fine Arts of Turkestan was created in Tashkent, after the go-ahead of the governor-general Sergei Dukhovskii (1838–1901) and the new Minister of War Alexei Kuropatkin (1848–1925). His vice-chairman Pavel Rodstvennyi (1870–?) (Adjutant of the commander of the Turkestan Military District) referred to the activities of St Petersburg and Trans-Caspian photography societies as examples.⁸⁵ In October of the same year, a special committee began to operate under the leadership of K. Timaev and the head of irrigation of the Samarkand region N. P. Petrovskii. They organ-

⁷⁶ TsGA RUz. F. I–18. Op. 1. D. 8115.

⁷⁷ TsGA RUz. F. I–18. Op. 1. D. 8116.

⁷⁸ TsGA RUz. F. I–19. Op. 1. D. 1831.

⁷⁹ TsGA RUz. F. I–19. Op. 1. D. 28687.

⁸⁰ One of the numerous copies of the album is at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St Petersburg) (A–19, 53 photos). See its digital copy at: <http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/bo4kameda/post364725263/>.

⁸¹ An album of photographs *The Caucasus and Central Asia* by Orden in 4 volumes, 1890–1899, is in varying degrees of completeness in St Petersburg at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in the Russian National Library at the MAE (Kunstkamera). See also *Prishchepova* 2011a: 57–68.

⁸² See its digital copy at <http://humus.livejournal.com/2601073.html>.

⁸³ Within this category is the album *Scenes of the Erosion of Tedjen, Merv. 1903. Central Asian Railway*, published by the photography studio and printing house of K. M. Fedorov.

⁸⁴ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 28. D. 427. L. 12.

⁸⁵ TsGA RUz. F. I–1. Op. 28. D. 427. L. 2, 12, 23, 24.



Fig. 14. Orden. Askhabad. Sali-Khanym, Akhal-Teke khansha. No. 1524.
 Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences

ised the First Traveling Photography Exhibition on 19–26 September 1899 in Tashkent. Its goal was to show the exhibit in Samarkand, Khoqand and New Marghelan in order to familiarise residents of these towns with the geography, history, and agriculture of Turkestan.⁸⁶ The scope of this exhibition spoke of the real success of photography in Turkestan, as more than 2,500 stamping clichés were presented in its 12 departments. These belonged to Leon Barszczewski, Bykovskii, Boris Kastalskii, Nikolai Nekhoroshev, Svyatoslav Nikolai, Grigorii Pankrat'ev, Alexander Polovtsev, Pavel Rodstvennyi and others (*Golender* 2002: 14; *Fitz Gibbon* 2009: 22; *Strojecki* 2010, 2017).⁸⁷

Despite the increase in the number of photo studios and amateur photographers, censorship of photography still remained strong in Turkestan. The region was regarded as a strategic zone, and permis-

sion from the governor-general was required for the production of photographs (the earliest example of censorship in relation to photography occurred in 1842 during the trip of the St Petersburg daguerreotype artist Alexander Davignon to Siberia [*Abramov* 1997]). All attempts to weaken this rule failed. Consider, for example, the démarche of the Publishing Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in May 1892. Responding to the queries of the Russian Technical Society, the Photography Society of Odessa, and the Photography Department of the Moscow Society for the Dissemination of Technical Knowledge, the Publishing Department requested the governor-general of Turkestan, Alexander Vrevskii (1834–1910), the right to take photographs without his special permission. The refusal by the governor-general was enforced by a decree of the War Office in August, confirming the prohibition of taking pictures of strategically important objects, especially bridges, ferries, reserves, barracks, and railways. In particular, restrictions involved areas in the front-line zones and even more so the distribution of these photographs. They also required photographers to have special permis-

⁸⁶ TsGA Ruz. F. I–18. Op. 1. D. 11925; TsGA Ruz. F. I–19. Op. 1. D. 6043. L. 4.

⁸⁷ For more information on the role of photography in creating the image of Turkestan during national and international exhibitions, see *Keating* 2016.

sion from the local departments of the colonial administration.⁸⁸

Notwithstanding this severe approach, the control was not total. The experience of foreign travelers is illustrative in this regard. The relatively closed status of Turkestan implied overt or covert control of visitors' movements. To enter the region, visitors required an *open list* (*otkrytyi list* – an administrative document similar to a visa), in which they also had to detail their movements within the region (*Gorshenina* 2016: 568–572). Visitors also required all kinds of “road permits,” usually obtained from representatives of the local colonial administration (*Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 160), as well as special permits for photography. From 1889 onwards it was necessary to have an *open list* from IAK for the implementation of any programme related to “antiquities.”⁸⁹

This also applied to Russian photographers: even the well-known master and professor, Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii (1863–1944) requested in 1905 an *open list* from IAK “for the safe production of photographs of the ancient mosques and other antiquities in Samarkand and in the Samarkand and Trans-Caspian regions” (*Dluzhnevskaya* 2011: 19).

Despite all of its specificity, this freedom / control balancing was not unique to Turkestan. In Ottoman Turkey, Western photographers were also under tight state control. Turkey not only required special permission to travel according to a pre-arranged route under secret control of local authorities, but also demanded the photographers to work within a strictly limited range of topics (as an example, it was forbidden to photograph destroyed houses in the Armenian quarters) (*Akcan* 2013: 96).

As a rule (and when all documents were in order), the Russian colonial administration was relatively committed to Western travellers. Many of them, especially researchers, received comprehensive assistance from the state (*Gorshenina* 2016: 568–572). This benevolent support was described by the French anthropologist Ujfalvy, head of the first French scientific expedition to Turkestan in 1873 (*Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd* 1878, vol. I: IV–V, and 1879a, vol. II: XII–XV, 43–44, 82). Among several hundred travellers, important and extremely diverse photo collections were created by Léon Blot (who travelled in 1905), Émile Antoine Henry de Bouillane de Lacoste (1867–1937), Aymar de La Baume Pluvinel (1860–

1938), Hugues Krafft (1853–1935), Louis Martin, Henri Moser (1844–1923), Ole Olufsen (1865–1929), Raphael W. Pumpelly (1837–1923) and others.⁹⁰ The most famous, however, were the works of Paul Nadar (1856–1939), who came to Turkestan to photograph the Russian experience of building railways in the desert (most of his photographs are devoted to this topic). He was also the first to photograph Turkestan with a Kodak camera (*Dopffer* 1994; *Çagatay* 1996; *Malécot, Bernard* 2007: 17, 22–23, 28, 30, 33).

On the eve of the First World War, the situation became more difficult. In June 1910, the General Directorate of the General Staff and the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reminded the governor-general Alexander Samsonov (1859–1914) of the 1897 report. According to this document, as part of the struggle against foreign agents, it was necessary to restrict private individuals' right to take pictures in the border zones and in important strategic and military locations.⁹¹ Especially noteworthy was that this requirement applied to all photography studios, printing houses, and lithographic publishers associated with the production of visual documentation. Additionally, a separate memorandum specified what was forbidden to photograph. This was signed by the district general of the military district of Turkestan, Major General Odishelidze, and sent to the military commanders of Syr Darya, Ferghana, Semirechie, Samarkand and Trans-Caspian regions in December 1910. It stated that the prohibited areas for photography in Turkestan were: the border zone, for a width of one hundred versts (107 km); the entire coast of the Caspian Sea; railways and stations, 8 versts (8.5 km) on both sides; the Amu Darya River and its surroundings, 8 versts on both banks; fortifications and their surroundings within a radius of 25 versts (27 km); the Pamir and Naryn territory; and the postal route along Osh-Andizhan-Kashar-Dzharkent-Kulja-Novodmitreevskoe-Naryn, 8 versts (8.5 km) on both sides of the road. This memorandum also completely closed the cities of Bukhara and Khiva to foreigners. According to a clarification from the police department in April 1911, sent at the request of the governor-general of Turkestan Samsonov, violators would now be prosecuted under Article 1035.

In such a context, it is not surprising that the “moral qualities” of the photographer entered the forefront when it came to the use of photography permits. In March 1910 the Second Department of the General Staff officially informed the head of the Turkestan Military District about the “dubious moral character”

⁸⁸ TsGA RUZ. F. I–18. Op. 1. D. 4266.⁷⁹ Cm.: <http://humus.livejournal.com/2601073.html>.

⁸⁹ As *Dluzhnevskaya* writes (2011: 9), from March 11, 1889, “the IAK received the ‘exclusive right to perform and permit excavations in the empire on state and public lands,’ that is, the right to issue *open lists* and oversee the protection and restoration of monumental architectural structures.”

⁹⁰ E.g., *Daney* 1980; *Janata* 1984; *Balsiger, Kläy* 1992; *Kenneth* 1993; *Akas* 1995; *Gorshenina* 2000; *Fihl, Nicolaisen* 2002; *Koehlin* 2002; *Giese, Volait, Varela Braga* 2020.

⁹¹ TsGA RUZ. F. I–1. Op. 31. D. 731. L. 2, 3, 7–7ob, 8, 12, 13.

of the senior officer of the First Advanced Battery of the Warsaw Fortress Artillery, Captain Priklonenkov. Although he had a license to conduct photo sessions of the Russian army for an album commissioned by the War Office, it was recommended that he was placed under strict surveillance, given his “bad moral reputation,” his “marriage with a Jew,” which could easily turn him into “a tool in the hands of foreign intelligence.”⁹² Given these conditions, when in June 1913 A. Khanzhonkov (president of the joint-stock company Khanzhonkov & Co. and owner of a cinema studio) applied to the Ministry of railways for permission to shoot a film along the railways of Turkestan, a positive outcome was hardly to be expected.⁹³

Police directives from December 1915⁹⁴ rejected all requests to open a photo studio at railway stations and near railways, as well as banning photography in these areas, due to the required level of military security. Moreover, the photo studios already in existence at the stations were shut and their photography permits revoked. Photography studio owners were placed under surveillance, especially those who had recently requested such permits. According to this memorandum, by January 1916 railway stations at Samarkand, Katta-Qurghan, and Khujand closed all their photo studios.⁹⁵ With the outbreak of World War I, Turkestan photographers and postcard publishers acutely felt the lack of access to technological equipment (i.e. cameras, printing equipment) and materials such as film, paper, and ink. However, these circumstances did not prevent the sale of postcards with images of sites along the Trans-Caspian Railway. These were issued by the Press Counterparty (later Press Contractor) of A. S. Suvorin, who received the right to possess a monopoly in this transaction at specialised kiosks in railway stations (*Golender* 2002: 16; *Khilkovskii* 2009: 15–16).

For the Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, who by 1915 numbered approximately 40,000 people, the production of photographs was prohibited. According to a report from Colonel Prigar of the separate Corps of Gendarmes to the chief of the General Staff of Turkestan dated 1 December 1915, prisoners of war Adolf Puhes and Lieutenant Stanislav Komzak, stationed in Novaya Bukhara, placed orders for cameras in Tashkent. In addition, two unknown Austrian prisoners of war bought lenses and photography booths from the pharmacy. These two facts, regarded as suspicious, were enough to prohibit the issuance of permits to prisoners of war for the production of photographs.⁹⁶ Perhaps it is precisely in this context

of censorship of photography in Russian Turkestan that one should seek an explanation for the existence of only isolated examples of visual images from the numerous uprisings against Russian authorities in the region.⁹⁷

Photography between Diplomacy and Violence

The first appearance of photography in Central Asia in 1858 already displayed the specific character of oscillation between diplomacy and violence that it would then have in the pre-colonial and colonial situation. By hiring Murenko, Ignatiev hoped to use his camera in two ways. On the one hand, to “impress the natives” with new technology, aiming at emphasising the technical superiority of the members of the Russian mission. On the other hand, to use the effect produced in order to establish subsequent “friendlier” relations. Judging by the descriptions of N. G. Zalesov, one of the expedition members, the desired result was achieved in Khiva without any special effort:

At first, upon our arrival, they looked at the camera almost with horror. Then they considered the photographer to be a magician, especially when he covered his head with a black oilcloth. Later, seeing no harm to themselves and receiving their images almost instantly, the Khivans not only got used to the camera, but even asked for portraits themselves. The first example in this regard was set by the divan-baba [Divan-baba Mohammed-Kerim, was a part of the mission], although at first he took the slide for the barrel of a cannon and was afraid it would fire at him. He was followed by Darga [Darga, Minister of the Yakshi-Murat court], who was photographed not without fear, and, finally, one fine day, the Khan sent several boys from his harem and his beloved dog to have their portraits taken, and these immediately appeared on paper (*Zalesov* 1859: 294. Cited according to *Devel'* 1994: 267–268).

Comparison of photographic equipment with the barrel of a cannon, conveying unequal, one-sided relational interactions, and fear from the person being photographed in front of the photographer (who was often compared to a magician) appeared with relative frequency in the descriptions of Turkestan travellers. They also have direct analogies with Egypt,⁹⁸ and

⁹⁷ Anti-colonial protests are represented by several photographs of the Andijan uprising of 1898. According to the official inventory of the guide to the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent 2011), these photographs show the leader of the uprising, Ishan of the Min-Tyube Mohammed Ali-Caliphate, and the suppression of the uprising along with its individual participants in chains. According to experts, the largest uprising in 1916 had practically no photographic evidence.

⁹⁸ Photographer Maxime Du Camp (1822–1894), who traveled through Egypt in 1849 with the writer Gustave Flaubert, compared his camera to a cannon: *Steegmuller* 1972: 102; *Gregory* 2003: 214–216.

⁹² TsGA RUz. F. I–17. Op. 1. D. 31324. L. 1.

⁹³ TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 2. D. 394. L. 4, 4 ob.

⁹⁴ TsGA RUz. f. I–18, op. 1, d. 5043, l. 3–3ob.

⁹⁵ TsGA RUz. F. I–18. Op. 1. D. 5043. L. 5, 6, 7.

⁹⁶ TsGA RUz. F. I–462. Op. 2. D. 394. L. 2.

British India (*Bourne* 1863: 268; *Falconer* 1990: 264).

Fear in the presence of the camera is also found in the descriptions of Nikolai Shcherbina-Kramarenko. Despite his adequate mastery of the Uzbek language and the traditional clothes in which this artist-photographer dressed, he recorded in 1895 that he could not organise photography at his will because “in the kishlaks [villages], women and children recognised an ‘Urus’ [Russian] in him, ran away and hid” (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 106). The same situation was familiar to the French researcher Ujfalvy (*Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd* 1878, vol. I: 1–12).

An interesting example that describes the mechanisms for assuaging this fear comes from another member of the 1858 Ignatiev mission. Mikhail Galkin wrote that the portrait of Iset Kutebarov, a famous Qazaq *batyr* (warrior / hero), was “made under a plausible pretext.” The leaders of the expedition assured the *batyr* that, in case any information emerged “about new riots in Iset, it (the photograph) would serve as a guarantee of the implausibility of these rumors” (*Galkin* 1868: 174).

Another effective method involved providing monetary remuneration for the person being photographed. Such an instance is recorded by the French-Hungarian explorer Ujfalvy and his wife Marie Ujfalvy-Bourdon in 1873. According to their repeated observations, ranging from Penjikent to Marghelan, these types of monetary handouts were not customary for the people of Turkestan. A few kopecks were offered after anthropological measurements or photo sessions during which the “natives” trembled with fear, as the experience made their “Muslim souls tremble”:

Their Muslim temperament was bewildered. Accustomed to doing everything by order, they could not understand that their obedience [as well as the experienced fear] could be rewarded (*Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 220–221 [quote], 230, 306, 314, 321, 329).

This method, however, could be used only after the intervention of the colonial or local administration. Turkestan people, most often young, frequently fled from Ujfalvy, in the belief that this was an initial attempt to attract them to military service. Thinking that they had been captured, they viewed their situation as being forced to “surrender” to the researcher. Despite the monetary reward, there were cases when women, such as Lyuli-Gypsies, refused to be photographed, even if a large sum of money was offered (*Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd* 1879, vol. I: 90). However, the intervention of the authorities did not guarantee that researchers would not encounter strange or amusing incidents. In Marghelan, with the permission of the local *aksakal* (the village elder man) but without the

consent of her husband, the French anthropologist persuaded a Jewish woman to pose for a photo shoot for money. The next day her husband appeared in a rage to Ujfalvy, stating that the researcher forced his wife to take pictures, after which his wife fell ill and was now dying. The scandal was initially resolved with one rouble. The next day, however, the man returned and demanded additional money. Having received another rouble on this second visit, he tried to present his claims to the researcher the next day, but Ujfalvy refused to pay the third time (*Ujfalvy-Bourdon* 1880: 321).⁹⁹

The earlier experience of Vasilii Vereshchagin and the subsequent practice of Samuel Dudin speak of the typical character of this situation (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 21). The latter, between 1890 and 1900, wrote about the difficulties of photographing Muslims who did not want to spontaneously become objects of photography, on the pretext of the Quran’s prohibitions against the portrayal of humans as images. Dudin viewed this as an annoying obstacle to his work of “photographing types and costumes.” He complained about the need to “ask for permission to photograph every subject,” and noted that the presence of an official permit and especially support from the local administration such as the chief of police could make it easier to find a way through the situation (*Prishchepova* 2011ab: 629–630; *Dmitriev* 2006: 103). An alternative method was to take photographs in brothels, which Western travellers resorted to repeatedly. According to Henry Norman, it was an inexpensive exchange: “A couple of roubles and a handful of cigarettes” (*Norman* 1902: 303) (**Fig. 15**).

The British tourist Woolrych Perowne also mentioned the effectiveness of administrative coercion for photography:

We found the elders of the village drawn up to receive us, who, after submitting to the concentrated fire of every available photographic instrument, were glad enough to disperse to their houses and tents, and we were taken to see the manufacture of carpets and felt in primitive fashion in the open air. We inspected some kibitkas, photographed the women and children [...]. Someone expressed a wish to photograph some of the native women, so the orders were given, and out they came in all their glory of silver-bespangled headdress, and made a very effective group squatted at the foot of one of their kibitkas (*Woolrych Perowne* 1898: 86, 89).

Moreover, not only could the administration parade the “natives” in ceremonial clothes in front of the photographers, but also organise actual shows.

⁹⁹ Direct analogies to this practice can be found in Egypt, where obtaining permission to photograph women was most often solved with the help of *baksheesh* (*Gregory* 2003: 216–217).

A performance was staged at Geok Tepé station for Western tourists invited to the inauguration of the Transcaspien Railway in 1888. The ceremony reproduced the capture of the Teke fortress with the participation of Turkmen veterans from the real battle playing as extras. This enabled the invitees to take “full-scale” photographs (Woolrych *Perowne* 1898: 48–51, 53). The degree and significance of injuries from this situation can be judged by an observation, made by one of the travellers. French diplomat and writer Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé observed that at the first chords of the military bands Turkmen women and children began to cry, because memories of the bloody massacre were still alive among the local population and were triggered by the music, which had also been played during the capture of the Teke fortress (Vogüé 2015: 48). This practice of staging key events of the conquest of Turkestan was soon given a commemorative character. Thus, in 1878, on the tenth anniversary of the defense of the Samarkand citadel, a real performance was staged. It involved the making of a whole series of photographs, which today have yet to be fully identified.¹⁰⁰

In this context, the relationship between the photographer and the person being photographed was often based on deception. In fact, Dudin deliberately made deception of the photographed person one of the foundations of his conception of photographic skill, and emphasised its necessity in his lectures at the Faculty of Geography of Petrograd University:

In order to get the truth of the movements from the actors in the scene, there is no need to rush to shoot, and release the shutter only when the participants in the scenes carry on no longer paying attention to the camera. To do this, it is beneficial to deceive them by saying that the shooting has already been done (*Prishchepova* 2011a: 83–99).

In summary, it becomes clear that photography studios in Turkestan did not become a place of equal relations between the colonialists and the colonised. The resistance and protests of the local population against the Russian military presence in the region persisted. Turkestan people could only passively accept the new Western technology brought into the region by the Russian military. This technology shaped the visual image of the Central Asian world without the consent or advice of its native people. Their role was reduced either to being the subjects of photography or acting as the assistants of Russian photographers. This was the case with Yakub Izmailjanov, Leon Barszczewski’s irreplaceable assistant, who was



The Unveiled Ladies of Bokhara.

Fig. 15. The unveiled “Ladies of Bokhara.”
In *Norman* 1902: 303

not only responsible for the camera but also sometimes took pictures himself (*Kaim* 2019). There was also the category of “indigenous photographers” who, in one way or another, were affected by the assimilation process through the new technology.

The last two categories were extremely small. Following Barszczewski’s assistant Yakub as an example, one of the first locals to work closely with Russian photographers was the Central Asian scholar Serali Lapin (1869–1919). In 1896, he was involved in Pankratev’s work. Lapin translated epigraphic inscriptions on several selected monuments of the city for Pankratev’s album *Samarkand*. Lapin compared the originals with photographs taken by Pankratev and handwritten copies created by a Samarkand resident, Mirza Abusaid-Magsum (*Lapin* 1896: 1–2). The local merchant Valikhan Iuldashev, from Jarkent, responding to a request by Dudin, sent twelve photographs of the Semirechye region to the Paris Exhibition in 1900 (*Popov* 2011: 103–104).

According to Boris Golender’s research, the photography studio “Ilkhom-jan Inogamjan Khodjiev”, run by Ilkhom Inogamjanov (b. 1874), opened its doors in the “native” section of Tashkent in 1902 (*Golender* 2002: 11–12). Among the first Turkestan photographers, the Tashkent-based Adil Inogamjanov and Nazyrbek Akhmetbekov also deserve mention. They opened studios, respectively, in the Khauzbakh *mahalla* (neighbourhood) in 1905, and in the Merganchi *mahalla* in March 1908 (both in Tashkent). Furthermore, Khudaibergen Devanov (1879–1940),

¹⁰⁰ See two photos from this series: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/179399492874859/permalink/833495604131908>.

defined as “the first Uzbek” (*sic!*) photographer,¹⁰¹ started work in Khiva between 1907 and 1910, while Akhmed-Garifa Zeinullin received permission to open his studio in Verny (Almaty) in the summer of 1910. Ataulla Utemyshev worked in New Marghelan in 1907. The interest of the local population in photography is further evidenced by Jadid and poet Abdurauf Furkat (1885–1938). After visiting Dmitrii Nazarov’s studio, he decided to compile a detailed description of a camera apparatus (*Golender* 2002: 10–11).

This list seems very modest both in comparison with the total number of photographers (approximately 400) who worked in Turkestan before the October Revolution of 1917, as well as in the global context. For comparison, I will give only a few examples. In British India, the Photography Society of Bombay (founded in 1854), which had three local Indian people in its ranks among 30 founding members, gathered around itself many local amateur photographers who compiled their own photo albums. From 1855, several commercial photography studios run by local residents were already functioning in Calcutta and Bombay (*Falconer* 1990: 276–277; *Pinney* 2008: 10–11, 30–38). In Tehran, the first public photo studio opened in 1868 under the direction of the local photographer Abbas ali Beyk (*Tahmasbpour* 2013: 9). In the early 1870s in the Middle East, a number of photo studios appeared, founded by local, Greek, or Armenian photographers such as Sebah, Abdullah Frères, and Lékégian (*Aubenas* 2001: 36).

Current research material does not make it possible to analyse whether the first local Turkestan photographers were able to create a real alternative to the Russian vision of Turkestan that could compare to what had been developed, according Zeineb Çelik’s research, in Ottoman Turkey for the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (*Çelik* 2000: 77). From my contemporary perspective, the results of their work were rather congruent with the principles of Russian photography: a photographer’s professional training and awareness of his target audience were more important than his origin or nationality. In particular, we consider the example of Khudaibergen Devanov, who — after his first lessons from the amateur photographer Wilhelm Penner, an inhabitant of a village of settler-Mennonites near Khiva — was sent to St Petersburg for a more detailed study of pho-

tography (*Golender* 2013). In addition, photography did not find a worthy place for itself in the courtyards of either the emirs of Bukhara or the khans of Khiva, who officially remained in their status as Russian protectorates.

Having failed to maintain the independent development of their own diplomatic system, the Turkestan rulers could not, even with a gap of several decades, follow the example of the Persian shahs Muhammad Shah (1810–1848; in power in 1834–1848) and Nasraddin Shah (1831–1896; in power in 1848–1896), who surrounded themselves with Western instructors and military experts of photography (*Behdad* 2001: 145). Nor did they create their own court workshops (such as those in Tehran, which began to function in 1848), let alone introduce special training courses related to photography in educational institutions, as was the case at Dar-ol-Fonun College in Tehran. It was here that photography and chemistry became compulsory subjects from 1851. What is more, the Turkestan rulers did not send their subjects to study photography in Europe (in contrast, the first group of students from Tehran was sent to Paris in 1858) (*Tahmasbpour* 2013: 7).

Equally significant is the comparison with the Ottoman Empire, where the Ottoman-Armenian photo studio of the Abdullah brothers (Abdullah Frères) operated as the official studio of the Ottoman court since 1863. The studio produced both sanctioned images of Porta and orientalist photographs for European tourists. Moreover, eventually, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1842–1918, in power in 1876–1909) equipped a photo laboratory for himself in his Yildiz Palace. In 1892, despite the fact that the position of his empire was far from tantamount to that of the great European powers, he issued a decree regulating the way in which European travellers could photograph his subjects (*Gavin et al.* 1988; *Pinguet, Gigord* 2011; *Roberts* 2013: 53; *Roberts* 2015; *Deringil* 1998: 152). In the same photographic images that were created by Abdulhamid II himself, one can discern an attempt to present the Ottoman Empire as an equal to European countries. His photographs convey the desire to assert himself on the world stage as the monarch of a great European-Asian power undergoing rapid development in accordance with the general trends of modernisation and with a variety of technology and modern education. He was able to present, without any exotic parallels, his symbols of personal wealth and success, such as his collections of yachts and horses (*Deringil* 1998: 152).

Unlike the Persian or Afghan shahs (*Seraj, Dupree* 1979; *Shah Mahmoud Hanifi* 2014) or the sultans of the Ottoman Porte, or the Ethiopian rulers (*Sohier* 2012), the emirs of Bukhara and the khans of Khiva could not export to Russia or Europe a visual im-

¹⁰¹ Uzbekistan as a state-political structure was formed in the course of successive political and administrative decisions of the Soviet government between 1924 and 1936 (*Haugen* 2003; *Gorshenina* 2012: 189–300). It is also surprising that despite the existence of a precedent — Ilkhom Inogamjanov — it was Khudaibergen Devanov who was identified as the “first” photographer of the region for the official version of the history of photography in Uzbekistan (*Qo’ziev* 2005; *Golender* 2013).

age of their own possessions and prestige. Although the Bukhara emirs took an active part in exhibitions with their ethnographic collections, they remained dependent on pictures taken by Russian photographers. For instance, it took several months — from February to June 1884 — and long negotiations at various ministerial levels, for the Emir of Bukhara Sayyid Muzaffar (1834–1885) to be able to receive the 25 photos taken by Mikhail Savenkov during his trip to the Emirate of Bukhara.¹⁰²

Admittedly, there were exceptions. According to the research of Valerya Prishchepova (2011: 21–22), Khudoyar Khan of Khoqand and his son Nasriddin Bek, the governor of Andijan, became interested in photography in 1872, when Grigorii Krivtsov took pictures of Khudoyar Khan for the *Turkestan Album*. At the request of the khan, Krivtsov soon sent a camera and photography materials along with detailed instructions to Khoqand and Andijan (oral instructions were also given to a certain “Khoqandian Berdykul,” the Khan’s envoy). However, the first independent experiments were unsuccessful, and in 1876 the khanate of Khoqand was completely conquered by the Russian Empire.

Conclusion

The emergence of photography in Turkestan made an important contribution to the creation of its image, shaping a new, accessible way in which to show both the past and present of the region, based on selected facts. The development of the principle of selection for what constituted “significant images” was directly related to the colonial situation, together with the emergence of elements of modernisation. Among these was the large-scale revolutionary change in communication systems of the 19th century, which included the creation of a postal network, the invention of the telegraph and the construction of railways (Natale 2012: 451–456). These elements of modernisation, which the Russian colonial administration introduced from outside and during the military conquest, stood in opposition to the “traditional” Central Asian reality, as the former attempted to radically transform the latter.

In this context, the photographic process did not reflect autochthonous perspectives. The local population did not have their say in how to represent the present and how to visually convey the local tradition of displaying the past. This group was practically excluded, even at a consultative level, from the overall photography project. This was evident during the selection of objects and subjects for shooting, as well as from the perspective of being involved as an actor in

the photography process. The only available role for Turkestan natives was that of photography extras (the several, fairly late exceptions to the rule only highlight their marginality). Throughout the photography process, decisions were made only by the colonial administration and their photographers. In the early stages, these were exclusively military personnel or colonial officials. Photography, directly related to anthropometry, documents for social reforms, statistical calculations, and projects of conquest served as a surveillance apparatus. Promising “integrity” and “accuracy” in its descriptions, photography trivialised governmental intervention and control.

Both the scale of photography undertaken and the variety of actors involved suggest that photography was embedded in a broader intellectual inventory and archival project of newly taken territories. Photography was viewed as the most effective form of visual appropriation and it perfectly correlated with the project of creating a total library designed to combine all the knowledge of Central Asia within the framework of the *Turkestan Collection*, compiled for more than 20 years by Vladimir Mezhov (1830–1894) on Kaufmann’s orders (Gorshenina 2011).

As a result, it is possible to argue that during its initial stages, photography of Russian Turkestan was an effective technology for colonial expansion and colonial rethinking of the history of the region. The efforts of the new colonial elite were aimed at popularising Turkestan as a Russian colony, including on a visual level. The reality being shown, selective in nature, was used as a diplomatic tool, nationally and internationally, in relation to the central authorities of the metropole, the Central Asian protectorates subject to it, and the competing European countries. In St Petersburg, it was necessary to “acquaint” the top elites and the general public with the new Russian colony and its “brilliant past”, the “preservation” of which was the important role of the Russian military. It was also necessary to demonstrate the magnificent prospects for future development of the region. With regard to the Central Asian protectorates and the local population of Turkestan, it was essential to show the protectionist orientation of Russian policy and the superiority of the Russian “civilisational model” along with the capabilities of modern technology. In Europe, however, photography had the task to evidence the “full-fledged” character of Russia as a European empire, by showing its success in mastering the colonisation and development of Turkestan. To this end, the Russian administration willingly presented abroad their image of Russian Turkestan. This was accomplished through numerous photographic exhibitions, or by sending ready-made prints or even albums to all kinds of scientific societies and universities, or by giving out ready-made photography prod-

¹⁰² TsGA RUz. F. I–5. Op. 1. D. 1378.

ucts to Western travellers, like at the inauguration of the Trans-Caspian Railway in 1888.¹⁰³ At the same time, the Russian administration strictly controlled the right to take photographs, which was specifically stipulated in the travellers' *open lists*. Photography, in this case, was a symbol of presence. It marked the border between what was considered Russian ("modern," "civilising," and "European") and "Asian" (understood through the paradigm of Orientalist "spreading of culture").

The specificity of these tasks formed the particularities of Russian photography in Turkestan, where the presence of Orientalist motives (in particular, the naked exotic nature) was reduced to a minimum. In addition to the "ethnographic types," a wide range of "scenes" with images of "monuments" and urban settings dominated this broad thematic repertoire. The explanation for this must be sought in the absence of an orientalisising pictorial tradition (this tradition dates back particularly to Delacroix, who played a decisive role in the formation of "documentary-erotic" photography of the Near and Middle East). In search of an allegorical representation of present and past, photography, choosing certain viewpoints, formed the "familiar," the amplitude of which was repeatedly amplified due to numerous reproductions of these images in different contexts and techniques. At the same time, for those involved, the process of photographing monuments was linked to their preservation for the future (see, in particular, Dudin's reflections), which corresponded with the general European trend (*Behdad* 2013: 20–22). The didactic aspect was extremely important in these photographs. The general context and manner of presenting "antiquities" turning into "ruins" were intended to emphasise that majestic monuments, both in real and virtual terms, must be saved by the imperial administration, which was simultaneously engaged in the "modernisation" of Central Asia.

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¹⁰³ Specifically, this refers to the provision by Annenkov of an album of the Trans-Caspian Railway, specially published for the day of the inauguration (*Gorshenina* 2016: 574).

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Epilogue

**THE OPEN CENTRAL ASIAN PHOTO ARCHIVE:
A MEANS FOR RE-WRITING THE HISTORY
OF CENTRAL ASIAN PHOTOGRAPHY**

On March 27, 2021 *The Open Central Asian Photo Archive* [in Russian *Otkrytyy Tsentralnoaziatskiy Fotoarkhiv*] went online. It provides a virtual photographic database of Tsarist Turkistan and Soviet Central Asia and is equipped with a powerful search engine (<https://ca-photoarchives.net/>).

This project was established by the international *Alerte Héritage* Observatory and supported by the Eur'Orbem research group of the National Center for Scientific Research of France; the Sorbonne University (Eur'Orbem-UMR 8224, CNRS-Sorbonne Université); the Department of History of the University of Geneva (Maison de l'histoire, Université de Genève); and the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Ghent University, Belgium.

The project's goal was to create an open photo archive from private family archives, photo and postcard collections, and personal collections from professional and amateur photographers.

An important component involves the collaborative data collection process for the archive's photographs including an extensive referencing system and, where possible, to determine the photographer, the studio(s), the postcard publishing house(s), biographies of photographers, specific exhibitions, providing attribution of persons in the photos, location designations of various historical and archaeological sites, and offer bibliographic information.

The nature of this repository is considered “collectively common” and open,” which implies first, an opportunity for anyone to participate in the project, and second, totally gratuitous access to the database's intrinsic search engines making it possible to view the actual materials posted on the site.

The Open Photo Archive's purpose is to preserve this vulnerable and fragile medium of cultural heritage by digitizing photographs and uploading them to the database with a guaranteed preservation for the next 30 years. It also systematizes and catalogs the visual documentation; its inclusion in various research, museum, and exhibition projects; and broadens its availability for a larger pool of researchers and history lovers.



More in-depth information on the Open Central Asian Photo Archive can be found in the following articles:

“Open Central Asian Photo Archives: A Visual History of the Region in Private Collections” : <https://voicesoncentralasia.org/open-central-asian-photo-archives-a-visual-history-of-the-region-in-private-collections/?fbclid=IwAR1WjW4wC34Y5Gp-mrgWAc2lNosXEm-vA63myNviuYuIEiPr2WjdLJs-DRKaE> An identical Russian version can be found at: “Tsentralnoaziatskiy Otkrytyy Fotoarkhiv: Vizualnaya istoriya regiona v chastnykh kollektsiyakh”. Intervyu Snezhany Atanovoy so Svetlanoy Gorsheninoy // Snezhana Atanova's interview with Svetlana Gorshenina, CAAN (Central Asian Analytical Network), 26.03.2021. <https://www.caa-network.org/archives/21610/czentralnoaziatskij-otkrytyj-fotoarkhiv-vizualnaya-istoriya-regiona-v-chastnykh-kollektziyah>.

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