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ARMS DECORATION FEATURES IN KHANATES OF CENTRAL ASIA (BUKHARA, KHIVA, KOKAND) LATE 18th – EARLY 20th CENTURY

Abstract: *The article discusses various techniques and styles of decorating bladed arms of the khanates of Central Asia in the late 18th - early 20th centuries. Based on the ornamentation of arms, production and jewelry centers in the Emirate of Bukhara, the Kokand and Khiva khanates are distinguished.*

Key words: *Bukhara, Kokand, Khiva, niello, cloisonne, shagreen, zorgar, shamshir, shashka, pichak, kard, khanjar.*

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TODAY, among researchers studying oriental arms, there is an acute problem of identifying samples from Central Asia and, in particular, their correlation with specific centers of production. Very often, the common name of the region is indicated as the place of manufacture of one or another sample: Turkestan (*Schwarz* 1900: 394-395; *Moser* 1912: XII, Taf. XVIII, XIX; *Zeller* 1955: 340-350) or Central Asia (*Semenov* 1909: 153-155; *Anisimova* 2013: 260-266; *Obraztsov* 2019: 136-144).

Given the well-known fact that edged weapons were made (*Meendorf* 1826: 220; *Butenev* 1842: 164; *Krauze* 1872: 217; *Valikhanov* 1904: 38) and decorated (*Yefremov* 1811: 85; *Meendorf* 1826: 221) in khanates, in our opinion, we can try to localize the places of their production. But there are a number of difficulties. First of all, the problem lies in the fact that before joining Russia, the region was practically closed to both Russian and European scientists. Foreigners entered the territory of the khanates mainly with embassy missions (*Burnashev* 1818; *Muraviev* 1822; *Blankennagel* 1858; *Khanykov* 1843; *Volovnikov* 1986), as captives (*Russov* 1840), less often with merchant caravans (*Yefremov* 1811) or secretly, usually disguised as native people (*Burnes* 1834; *Conolly* 1838; *Wolff* 1845; *Demezov* 1983). Most of them were limited by their routes and places of stay. And everyone, without exception, was interested, first of all, in interstate agreements, the collection of intelligence data on the administrative structure, condition and

armament of the armies, as well as the study of the terrain. Of course, other data was collected along the way. But, unfortunately, for modern researchers, the centers for the production of arms in the khanates and the features of its decoration were not within the scope of their interests. Ethnographers who tried to highlight this problem appeared in Central Asia towards the end of the 19th century. The first works related to the study of the production of arms in the khanates appeared in the 1870s (*Krauze* 1872: 213-217; *Brodovskiy* 1875: 48-49; *Schuyler* 1877: 177), and were further developed already at the beginning of the 20th century (*Schwarz* 1900: 394-395; *Semenov* 1909: 153-155; *Olufsen* 1911: 475-481). By this point, the region was practically demilitarized, the production of arms for the native people was prohibited (*Krauze* 1872: 217), and the vast majority of gunsmiths by the end of the 19th century had become ordinary manufacturers of household knives (*Semenov* 1909: 155). Battle arms, on the other hand, could only be seen in the people who were in power and in antiquarian rows in the markets of the khanates (*Olufsen* 1911: 477). Moreover, they aroused interest mainly among Europeans who visited the region (*Semenov* 1909: 155) and randomly acquired various exotic items, in their opinion, including armor and arms (*Zeller* 1955: 341-381). True, it is important to note that at the court of the Kokand Khan, expensive arms intended for the ceremonial exits of the Khan and his associates, as well as as gifts, were made until the 1870s (the

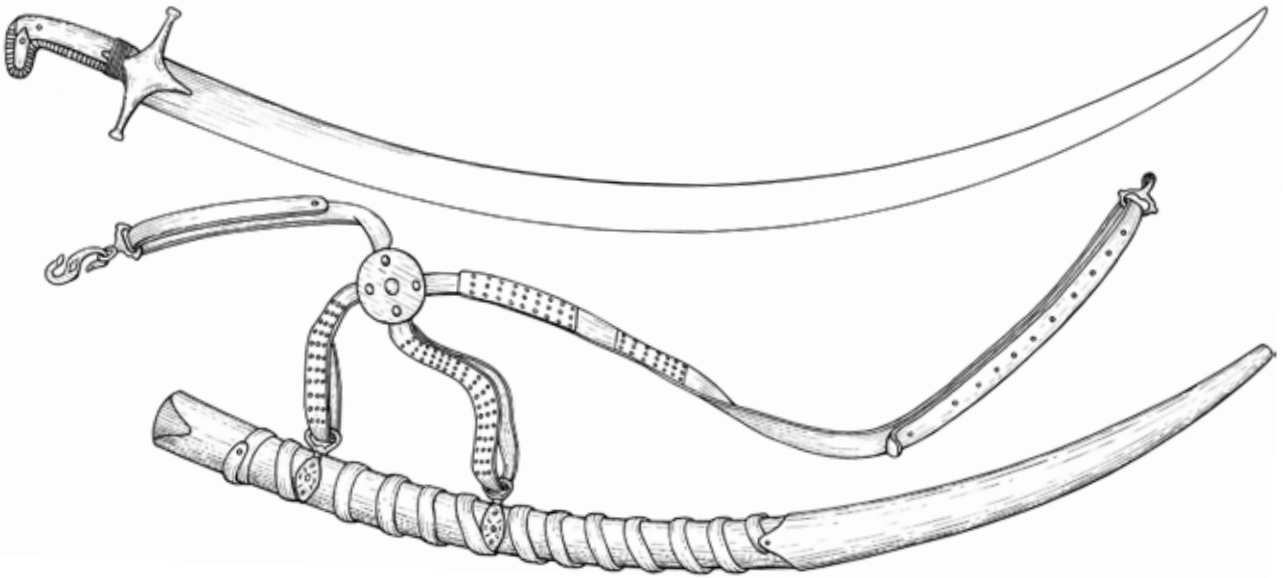


Fig. 1. Turkmen shamshir with a harness. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)



Fig. 2. Harness clasp. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

moment the Kokand Khanate was abolished). At the courts of the Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva, expensive arms were made until the early 20th century (Novoselov 2017/2018: 84-85).

In connection with this topical issue today is the exact definition of the place of production of arms, which in the literature quite often without clarification is attributed to Turkestan (Zeller 1955: 341-381) or Central Asia (Aleksinsky 2010: 92, 96; Anisimova 2013: 263-266; Obratsov 2015: 160). Unfortunately, due to the similarity of their design in different khanates, in the vast majority of cases it is not possible to localize ordinary models of edged weapons made in Central Asia, except for sabers and daggers of representatives of the Turkmen tribes. Their curved shamshir-type sabers have well recognizable features (Botiakov 1989: 50, 51). The crossguard and the pommel of the handle are iron, of a classical form. Handle scales are bone or wooden, covered with leather. The scabbard with two iron suspension rings is covered with green (Lyutov 2006: 222) or brown (Lyutov 2006: 221) leather, sometimes with a fringe at the end. Their lower part is reinforced with a peculiar chape made of denser brown leather. From the mouth to the chape, the scabbard is wrapped with a narrow leather belt. The leather chape and scabbard straps, as well as the hilt, are often decorated with hemispherical iron rivets (Lyutov 2006: 221) (Fig. 1). Sometimes the scabbard was decorated with small silver elements with flat oval honey-colored carnelians. The leather belt is formed by two crossed straps connected by a silver plate with a distributor or weave (Botiakov 1989: 51). The belt fastened over the right shoulder with a classic clasp, common throughout the region and probably of Persian origin (Fig. 2). Turkmen knives are also very peculiar and different from all the others. These are either kards in silver cone-shaped scabbards with a typical décor (Anisimova 2013: 265-266), to which we will return, or straight-backed



Fig. 3. Shamshir, Hermitage, presented in 1868 by the Kokand Khan to the Russian Tsar Alexander II. Chromolithograph from the book *Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal, or Collection of Weapons Belonging to His Majesty Sovereign Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich*. 1869. Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)



Fig. 4. Walrus ivory grips. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Museum item KMZ KOK 6862/1. Kostroma Historical, Architectural, and Art Museum-Reserve. Russia. (Photo courtesy of the museum)



Fig. 5. Saber handle made of silver, decorated with niello and gilding techniques. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Museum item IOKM 63525. D. G. Burylina Ivanovo State Museum of History and Local Lore. Russia. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

knives, reminiscent of the pichaks that existed in the region, in leather scabbards decorated with fringe (Botiakov 1989: 54-57).

But the above example is an exception. Ordinary models of edged weapons that existed in the khanates of Central Asia are almost indistinguishable from each other and from similar samples that came to the region from Iran. The situation is different with richly decorated arms. The ethno-cultural traditions of making sabers adorned with precious metals and stones in Central Asia are reflected in various sources, in particular, in embassy orders, letters, petitions and archival funds of the Russian state of the 16th-17th centuries. So, for example, in two petitions of the Bukhara ambassador Muhammad Ali to the Russian Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich in November 1585, among the gifts and goods he brought from Central Asia,

«wootz saber with gold, black scabbard; wootz knife with fish tooth (wahlrus) handle» are called (Chuloshnikov 1932: 98). In the same year, in an embassy letter from the Khiva ambassador Khoja-Muhammed to Tsar Fedor Ioannovich, among other gifts, they mentioned: «a wootz saber with gold, a wootz knife with a silver scabbard» (Chuloshnikov 1932: 99).

It is known that in the 19th century jewelers (Meendorf 1826: 221; Dadamukhamedov 2019: 139) «zargarchi» (Geyer 1908: 121; Sukhareva 1962: 185) were engaged in finishing such arms. At the same time, it is important to note that jewelry production in the khanates of Central Asia had a hereditary-family character, in which techniques and techniques of craftsmanship were passed down from generation to generation within the family, which kept technical secrets (Geyer 1908: 122). Jewelers competed with each

other. Each hid the secrets of his craft from others. Usually a jeweler in his declining years took his young relative as an apprentice (*Chvyr'* 1977: 70). Naturally, this led to the emergence of strong and in some ways even inert traditions in the jewelry industry (*Geyer* 1908: 122). Although, at the request of the customer or his own desire, the jeweler could choose any combination of details or ornaments in the manufacture of the product, all this variability was within the strictly regulated framework of the traditional set of elements. Extraneous, alien things took root very hard in an environment with an established artistic tradition. And since not only jewelers, but also their customers were «brought up» in the local artistic tradition, the master made mainly items decorated in such a way that they were considered beautiful and «their own» (*Chvyr'* 1977: 75), characteristic of a particular area. Comparing the decor, jewelry techniques and techniques used in the manufacture of traditional jewelry and in the finishing of elements of edged weapons, we can, by drawing parallels between them, roughly determine the regional centers for the production of richly decorated arms.

Unfortunately for researchers, most of the decorated arms from this region, made in the 19th century, as mentioned above, ended up in Russian and foreign museums from collectors who randomly acquired samples of it in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Central Asia (*Moser* 1888: 80; *Olufsen* 1911: 476, 478; *Zeller* 1955: 344-346; *Anisimova* 2013: 268-270) or officers who brought samples of arms as trophies. In addition, undoubtedly, the exchange of valuable models of edged weapons took place between the ruling houses of the khanates. So, in the treasury of the emirs of Bukhara, there could be arms decorated in Kokand or Khiva, subsequently sent as gifts to Russia. An example of such a «double donation» is the shamshir kept in the Hermitage (St.Petersburg, Russia). It was sent among other gifts in 1868 by the Kokand Khan Said Muhammad Khudoyar Khan III to the Russian Emperor Alexander II. This saber is recorded in the album with color chromolithographs «Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal, or Collection of Arms Belonging to His Majesty Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich», published in 1869, where it is signed as Kokand (*Kemmerer* 1869: XXXI) (Fig. 3). However, now it is listed in the museum's collection as Khiva (*Obraztsov* 2015: 152-153). This is due to the fact that the scabbard of the saber, apparently, was made in Khiva. This can be seen by comparing their decoration with large precious and semi-precious stones without cutting and floral ornament on a metal sheet covering the wooden part of the scabbard with numerous examples of bladed weapons originating from the Khiva treasury (*Buryakov* 2013: 146, 147, 170; *Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 94, 96-98).

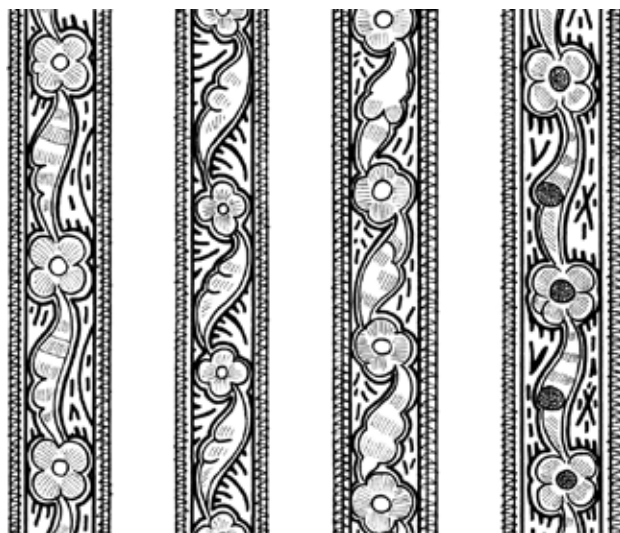


Fig. 6. Variations of a design using the niello technique on the back and underside of checker handles from Central Asia. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

However, there are a number of samples of arms that belonged to representatives of the ruling houses of the khanates of Central Asia (*Novoselov* 2017/2018: 84-85) or presented by them as a gift to Russian emperors and private individuals, and are currently stored in the State Hermitage (St.Petersburg, Russia) (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96), Russian Ethnographic Museum (St.Petersburg, Russia) (*Lyutov* 2006: 205, 206, 211) and Museum in Bern (Switzerland) (*Zeller* 1955: 107-109), the place of production of which is known quite accurately.

Referring to these gifts, to which the relevant official documents have been preserved, one can quite accurately associate the decor of their scabbards and hilts with the origin of these sabers from the workshops of certain khanates. It should be borne in mind that this regional division is rather arbitrary, since the number of arms that came from the khanates as gifts to Russian emperors, respectively documented in official papers, is limited. However, referring to its decor, one can outline general trends, linking the decorated arms with the centers of its production in Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand.

Precisely enough, today, it is possible to identify expensive models of arms made in Kokand. This can be done thanks to the gifts of the Kokand Khan, sent by him to St. Petersburg in 1868 on the occasion of a trade agreement with Russia: shashkas and elements of horse harness (*Kemmerer* 1869: XXXII; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 36, 39). Kokand shashkas are distinguished by an almost straight blade, reminiscent of an unusually narrow Afghan Khyber knife in shape. The handle scales could be made of white bone (walrus or ivory) (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 140)



Fig. 7. Pchak knife sheath, mouth and tip, decorated with turquoise using the takhnishon technique. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)

(Fig. 4), like the exhibits from the collection of the State Hermitage (St.Petersburg), received in 1868 as part of the gifts of the Kokand Khan Khudoyar, sent to St.Petersburg (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 94, 97) or from the exhibit from the Kremlin Armory (Moscow, Russia) (*Denisova* 1953: 153, Табл. XLI). There are also handles completely lined with turquoise (*Obraztsov* 2015: 154-155) and with scales made of rhinoceros horn (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 141). A sample of a shashka is also known, with a solid silver handle, decorated using the technique of niello and gilding, with a characteristic floral ornament (*Miloserdov* 2018:

52) (Fig. 5). At the end of the pommel of almost all such shashkas, a movable figured silver ring is fixed, to which a short lanyard made of silk threads is tied, with one, three or five tassels, usually red (*Miloserdov* 2018: 56; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 36). In front of the handles of Kokand shashkas with bone or horn scales (at the point of transition to the blade), there is a metal element. It separates the blade from the handle formed by the scales, and is called the «bolster». In Central Asia, according to informants from the region, this element is called «gulband» (*Botyakov* 1989: 54) by a part of the local population. It serves

to protect the front end of the handle and performs an aesthetic function. On the Kokand shashkas under consideration, the gulband is made of silver and decorated with a characteristic floral ornament made in the technique of niello and gilding. An ornament in the same technique adorns a strip of silver, which is called a «brinch», soldered to the gulband and encircling the handle along the back and belly, that is, covering the tang of the shashka located between the overlays. The decor on brinchs and gulbands of shashkas, which we attribute to Kokand and call «Kokandian», is always almost identical to stylized floral ornaments on silver bracelets from Khujand and Kokand, made using the «engraving-niello» technique with gilding elements. The niello ornament itself is always large, of a vegetative nature, more often with central-axial symmetry (Chvyr' 1977: 124) (Fig. 6). Between the gylband and the handle there is almost always a silver «belt» with square cells, in which pieces of turquoise are fixed, polished flush, on the same level with the surface of the gylband and the hilts or, more often, protruding above their surface. In the first case, the turquoise has a square shape corresponding to the cells, and in the second it is oval, slightly squared cabochons (Obraztsov 2015: 154-155; Miloserdov 2018: 51, 52, 56). On some samples of Kokand shashkas, this belt, probably at a later time, was replaced by a strip of silver, decorated using the technique of niello and gilding, in the same style as the gulband with brinch.

A curved «belt» with square cabochons of turquoise usually runs along the upper part of the mouth of the scabbard of such shashkas, stylistically corresponding to the belt on the handle (in some cases, turquoise alternated with transparent stones or red glass). The scabbard itself is most often richly decorated with turquoise, in a technique that the ethnographer Olga Alexandrovna Sukhareva calls *takhnishon*. According to her, this jewelry technique was developed by Bukhara masters (Sukhareva 1962: 48). But judging by the objects known to us, it received special development from the Kokand jewelers, who decorated arms for the needs of the khan. The tahnishon technique is called by European researchers «Bukhara cloisonné» (Flindt 1979: 25). Translated from French, the word «cloisonné» means cloisonné enamel. This term reveals the technique of execution: cells are made from copper (gold, silver) wire, which are soldered onto the metal surface of the object. The cells, in turn, are filled with enamel chips and then the item is fired. And so on until the cells are 100% filled. After a series of enamel chips and firing, the object is polished in order to give the product a noble shine and brightness. The peculiarity of the Bukhara cloisonné (*takhnishon*) is that small pieces of turquoise are used instead of enamel. As a result, the surface of the prod-

uct was covered, as it were, with scales of silver and turquoise, resembling the aforementioned cloisonné enamel, in which polished turquoise occupied the place of enamel. Such things were made as follows: cells of silver wire were soldered onto the surface of the product. In the cells, with the help of mastic, pieces of turquoise were strengthened (Sukhareva 1962: 48), located close to each other, to which the jeweler previously gave a certain shape, for example, a triangle, square or flake shape (Flindt 1979: 25). Then the product was given to a polisher, named in the work of Sukhareva – a cutter (*khakkok*), who polished it on a special grinding machine (*charkhi saigtaroshi*). The grinding machine had two interchangeable wheels: first they ground (*metaroshidan*) on a sandstone grindstone (*charkhi regi*), then the product was finished (*pardoz medodan*) on a walnut wheel. The turquoise and the wire forming the cells were ground off, forming a flat, smooth surface (Sukhareva 1962: 48). If some pieces of turquoise fell out during grinding, they could be replaced with mastic that matched the color.

The scabbard could be either completely covered with turquoise using the *takhnishon* technique (Miloserdov 2018: 56) (Fig. 7), or not completely decorated with this ornamental stone. In the second case, the wooden parts of the scabbard, free of turquoise, were covered with red or crimson velvet (Obraztsov 2015: 154-155; Obraztsov, Malozyomova 2019: 139, 141), and on top of them were fixed the mouth and chape, decorated using the *tachnishon* technique, between which there was a strip of alternating diamond-shaped elements or crescent-shaped elements, decorated in the same style with turquoise (Obraztsov, Malozyomova 2019: 139-141). Samples of shashkas are also known, on the scabbard of which elements of continuous turquoise decoration alternated with silver gilded slotted plates, with floral ornaments lined with velvet, for example, purple (although it is possible that before the fabric faded, it had a crimson color), so that it seemed that the turquoise scabbard seemed to be «wrapped» with a silver ribbon (Anisimova 2013: 260-261). In rare cases, the sheath of Kokand shashkas was completely covered with precious metal, combined with turquoise elements made using the *takhnishon* technique. Such samples include a shashka (inv. V.O. 3514) from the exposition of the State Hermitage (Russia, St.Petersburg), which the Emir of Bukhara presented as a gift to Alexander III. Its scabbard is covered with smooth gold leaf embossed with repeating designs in the form of large rosette frames connected by small stylized six-petalled flowers. At the same time, the large mouth and chape of the scabbard with a characteristic teardrop-shaped completion are decorated with turquoise using the *takhnishon* technique, in exactly the same way as on



Fig. 8. Pchak made in Kokand. 19th century. Fragment signed by the master craftsman. Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)

Caption: عمل استا بلال خوقندی ۱۲۷۹

"The work of master Bilal of Kokand, 1279 (Hijri)" (1862–1863 CE)

other Kokand shashkars. Considering that the shashka itself was made completely in the traditions of the Kokand craftsmen described above, it can be assumed that this item came to Bukhara as a gift to the emir from the Khan of Kokand. We will return to the issue of similar models of arms, which, in our opinion, were objects of donation between representatives of the ruling houses of the Emirate of Bukhara and the Kokand and Khiva khanates, a little later.

As in the whole region in Kokand there were sabers – shamshirs (*Kun* 1872: 9) and knives. In our opinion, the scabbards of the shamshirs, entirely decorated with turquoise using the takhnishon technique, testify to their Kokadian origin. At the same time, the hilts of such sabers could either fully (*Anisimova* 2013: 255-256) or partially (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138) match the scabbard in terms of decoration technique, or be completely simple, with bone scales (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138), like the ordinary samples of these arms in the region under study. The iron crossguard and suspension rings may be plain and undecorated (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138), or may be decorated with gilding (*Anisimova* 2013: 255-256), carvings, or incisions. Samples of shamshirs are also known, the suspension rings and the pommel of the handle, and sometimes the entire handle of which are decorated using the takhnishon technique (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138). Based on the decoration with turquoise of the entire (or most) surface of the scabbards of knives and sabers using the same technique, we also attribute them to Kokand, as well as velvet belts, the patch plates of which are decorated exclusively using the takhnishon technique (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 144-145). A distinctive feature of expensive traditional knives (pichaks) made on the territory of the Kokand Khanate is an elegant handle made of solid walrus or ivory (in more rare cases, rhinoceros horn), which is separated by a silver belt with square castes, in which turquoise is fixed, from a long silver bolster decorated using the technique of blackening and gilding, as well as an elegant blade with a straight back (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 144) (Fig. 9). Blades are often forged from wootz steel, both imported and, apparently, locally produced. In addition to the general visual similarity with the Kokand shashkas and the use of the same technological methods when decorating the above-mentioned shashkas and knives, which we attribute to Kokand, there are samples of those with the signature of the master, testifying in favor of our version (Fig. 8). Probably,



Fig. 9. Pchak made in Kokand. 19th century. Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)



Fig. 10. Bukhara handle. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Australia. (Photo Gavin Nuget)

these knives were very popular in the region, including after the abolition of the Kokand Khanate in the 1870s. It is difficult to say whether such knives were made only in Kokand and its environs, or if Bukhara craftsmen also reproduced this shape and design of knives. In any case, judging by the acquisition of such knives by Henry Moser during his travels, they were sold in bazaars on the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara (Moser 1888: 142; Moser 1912: p. XII).

As well as the clearly identifiable Kokand shashkas, the samples of this arms, which were made in Bukhara, are quite well recognizable. The blades of Bukhara shashkas are usually wider and heavier, and can also be significantly curved (Pink 2017: 32-33; Obratsov, Malozyomova 2019: 139-140). The handles are more massive than those of Kokand, with an extension in front of the blade and a pronounced «beak-shaped» pommel. Most often, the handle is formed by two horn (Miloserdov 2018: 40-41) or wooden (Hales 2013: 233; Anisimova 2013: 263-264) scales, which are usually riveted to the shank with three to five steel



Fig. 11. Bukhara shashka with scabbard. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Australia. (Photo: Gavin Nuget)

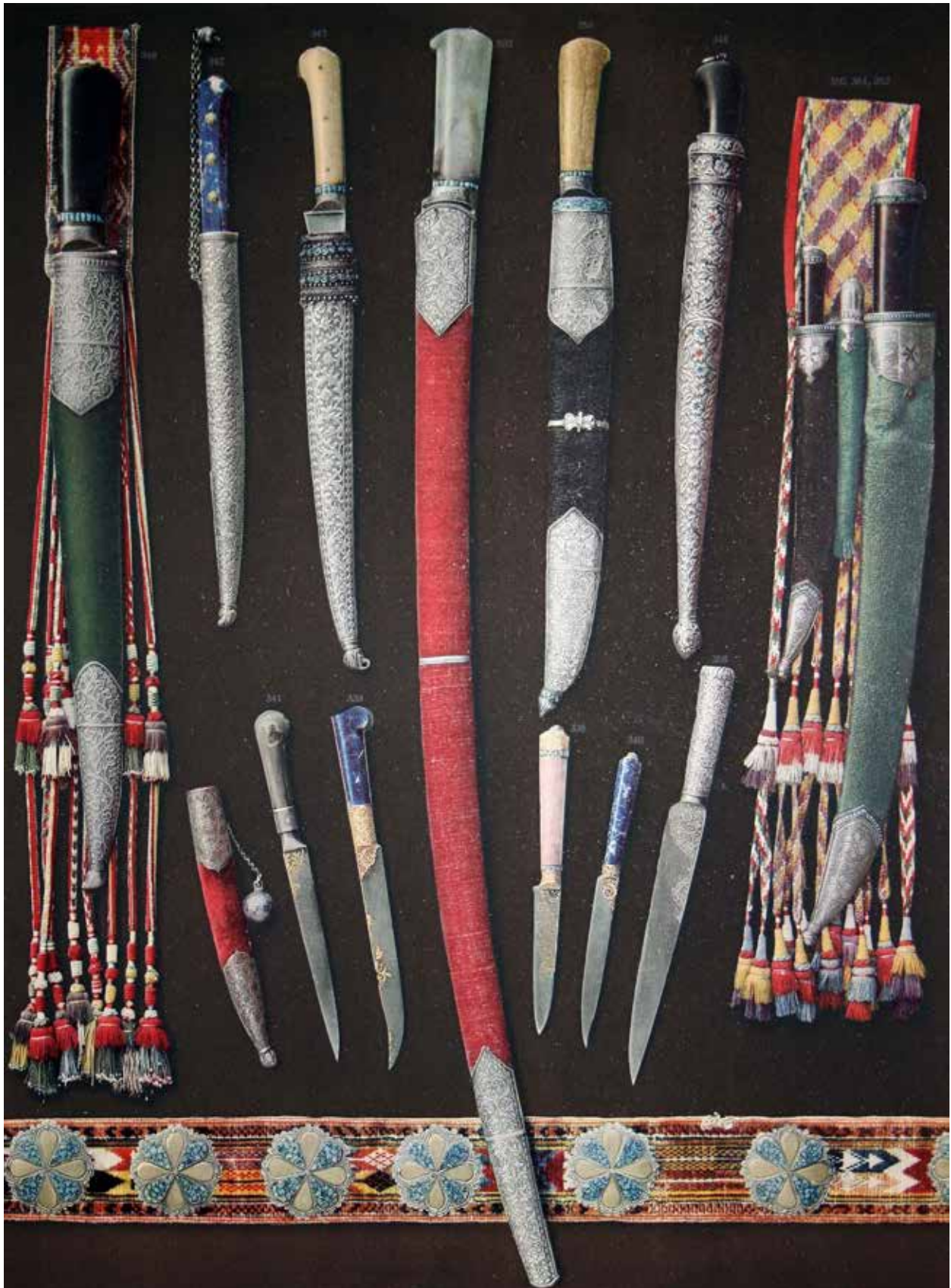


Fig. 12. A Bukhara shashka with jade handle. Chromolithograph from the Moser collection. *Oriental Arms and Armour*. Leipzig: Karl W. Hierseman, 1912, p. xii, Table xix, No. 502. Private collection, UK. (Scanned copy)

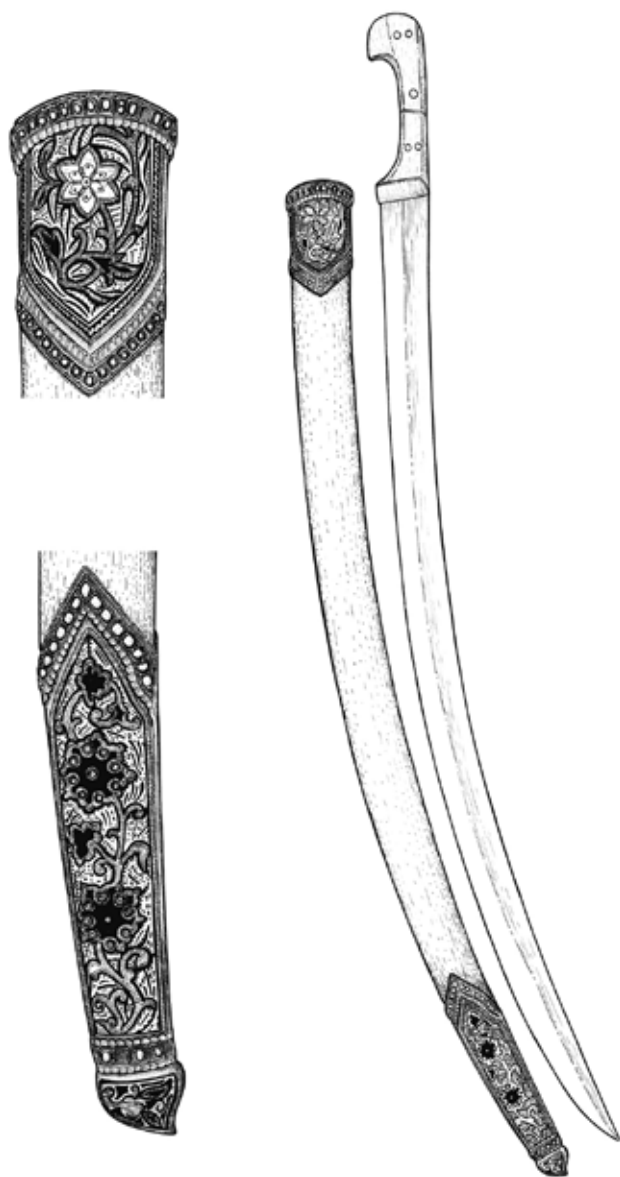


Fig. 13. Decor of the Bukhara shashka brought from the ethnographic expedition of Ole Olufsen to Bukhara at the end of the 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

rivets (Flindt 1979: 24) (Fig. 10). In the case of using horn or wood as a material for overlays, the rivets are large, which can be considered a characteristic feature of the Bukhara shashka (Flindt 1979: 25). A massive handle with large rivets helps to accurately identify even undecorated shashkas made by the masters of Bukhara (Miloserdov 2018: 50-54). The scales handle on the side of the blade often covers strips made of iron or sheet silver, decorated with primitive engraving or niello floral ornaments (Pink 2017: 32-33). The handle of the traditional Bukhara knife «pichak» looks the same (Olufsen 1911: 477-478; Zeller 1955: 349-350; Flindt 1979: 24; Lyutov 2006: 200; Anisimova 2013: 268, 270). In some cases, the material for the

handle can be bone, silver, jade, agate or jasper (Hansens 1989: 76). Analyzing the Central Asian shashkas acquired by Henry Moser during his travels in Russian Turkestan, it can be assumed that checkers were also made in Bukhara, the handles of which were made of an array of stone, for example, jade (Moser 1912: XII; Zeller 1955: 346) (Fig. 12). In this case, the main part of the stone handle is separated from the blade by a small, as if flattened silver gulband with a simple engraved or niello ornament. Between the gulband and the main part of the handles of such shashkas, as on the Kokand samples of this arms, there is a silver «belt» with square cells, in which pieces of turquoise are fixed in the form of slightly squared cabochons (Moser 1912: XII). Despite some visual similarity between the assembly of such handles and Kokand samples, we, as mentioned above, tend to attribute these shashkas to Bukhara. Such a conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the shape and width of the blades, the absence in the technique of decorating the silver gulband of such a technique typical for craftsmen from Kokand as gilding, as well as a completely non-Kokand style of scabbard decoration, in which there is no turquoise. The scabbards of shashkas from the Moser collection are covered with red and green velvet, on top of which there is a silver mouth and chape, decorated with floral ornaments using the chasing technique.

In general, the sheath of Bukhara shashkas, depending on the design of the arms itself, could be either as laconic as possible and even rude, or pompous, decorated with precious metals and precious stones. Undecorated samples of shashkas, which we attribute to the Emirate of Bukhara, with handles made of horn or wood, were completed with wooden scabbards covered with brown or black coarse leather (Obraztsov, Malozyomova 2019: 36, 39). In place of the mouth of such sheaths, there is often a fixed «thickening» made of leather, most likely preventing the sheath from slipping out from behind the belt (Miloserdov 2018: 54-55) (Fig. 11). In some cases, the wooden parts of the scabbards were completely covered with chased silver leaf. The mouth and the tip on such scabbards were conditionally distinguished by narrow turquoise belts (Obraztsov, Malozyomova 2019: 139-140). For more modestly decorated shashkas, the wooden parts of the scabbard were covered with velvet or high quality leather. In the second case, the scabbard has metal parts, most often made of silver: a chape and a mouth (in rare cases, there is also one suspension ring). The specimens known to us with scabbards covered with velvet are equipped with silver details decorated using the chasing technique (Zeller 1955: 346). The scabbards of Bukhara shashkas, covered with shagreen, could be even with massive details made of smooth silver (Flindt 1979: 22),



Fig. 14. Bukhara shamshir with its décor. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Russia. (Photo: A. Varfolomeev)

or the leather could be decorated with embossing, and the silver details could be decorated using niello and turquoise. I would like to dwell on the last option in more detail. An example of such work is a shashka acquired by the Danish ethnographer Olufsen in Bukhara at the end of the 19th century (*Hansens* 1989: 76). Wooden scabbard, covered with black pebbled leather with embossed front side. The small graceful mouth and chape, made of silver, are distinguished by turquoise belts, fixed in square, triangular and diamond-shaped deaf castes (gemstone setting) (*Marchenkov* 1984: 106) soldered to the details of the scabbard. A cartouche is depicted on the mouth using the niello technique, in which a climbing shoot of a plant is located, the stem and leaves of which are additionally highlighted with engraving strokes. The shoot is crowned with a six-petalled flower made of thin applied gold, with oval petals pointed at the ends. The edges of the petals are engraved in the same style as the borders of the shoot, and the center of the flower and the base of the petals are marked with indentation points, presumably made with a tool similar

to the kern. The space inside the cartouche, around the shoot crowned with a flower, is filled with stylized shoots and leaves made in the same niello technique. The chape of the scabbard is decorated in the same style as the mouth. But since it is much longer, the composition of the shoot is somewhat changed, it is elongated and, according to the jeweler's plan, it should have had two flowers made of gold, similar to the one located at the mouth. Unfortunately, in the process of existence, the gold from the chape was lost. But, the contour of six-petal flowers made in black and the pits located respectively along their center and the bases of the petals, which, along with soldering, held gold (Fig. 13), have been preserved.

By analogy with the ornamentation of the shashka discussed above, we include the sheath of shamshir, made in a similar style, to the work of Bukhara jewelers. True, unlike the previous item, the scabbard of the saber in question is completely covered with fairly thick silver. On the front side of the scabbard, the mouth and chape are marked belts with turquoise inserted into square castes. In a thin double

frame made in niello, the space between the borders of which is filled in the same technique with a zig-zag line, there is a six-petalled flower with oval petals, slightly pointed at the ends, as in a flower on a shashka, with narrow leaves located on the sides of it, a pair of which is turned up, and a couple down. The edges of the petals, flower stamens and leaf veins are underlined by engraving. But unlike the previous item, the flower and leaves connected to it are made using the technique of gilding, and not applied gold. The space inside the frame around the flower is filled with niello lines of a primitive ornament. The herbal composition located on the chape of the scabbard is balanced with the composition of the mouth. A double niello frame encloses a winding shoot with leaves, made using the gilding technique, on which three six-petal flowers are located at an equal distance from each other, slightly decreasing from top to bottom. In the lower part of the chape, the shoot is crowned with a bud turned sideways so that the center of the flower is partially visible. The leaf veins and flower petals, as on the mouth, are engraved. The space inside the frame, surrounding the gilded shoot, is filled with a dense floral ornament depicting leaves. The scabbard between the chape and the mouth consists of three silver elements of approximately the same size, bounded by double frames of niello, inside of which the same plant composition is depicted in the center, made in the same technique: a winding stem with leaves, on which at the same distance from each other the other has three six-petalled flowers. The flowers are depicted schematically - only their outline is outlined. The space around the shoot is filled with niello floral ornament, made in the same style as the shoot itself. Elements of floral ornament similar to the ornament on the scabbard, made in the same technique of niello and gilding, decorate the silver details of the saber suspension (Fig. 14). The inside of the scabbard is decorated with embossing in the form of scales, the borders of which are outlined in black. In our opinion, it is important to note that niello is not often found on Bukhara products. This technique, as mentioned above, was usually used in the manufacture of expensive silverware by Kokand craftsmen (Sergeev 1960: 10). The typical use of silver to decorate arms is mentioned by the Russian Orientalist Pyotr Ivanovich Pashino, who wrote that «of the noble metals in products, silver is most often found, which goes into service: plaques on the belt, harness and scabbard» (Pashino 1868: 147).

Unfortunately, most of the shamshirs that existed in the Bukhara Emirate are practically indistinguishable from Persian samples (Flindt 1979: 23; Anisimova 2013: 250). This was noted by many travelers visiting the region (Meendorf 1826: 272; Moser 1888: 80; Olufsen 1911: 476). However, there are exclusive sam-

ples of these sabers, which can be tried to identify the Bukhara work. So in a special storehouse of the Russian Ethnographic Museum (St. Petersburg, Russia), among the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara presented to the Russian Imperial family, there is a shamshir (REM 4467-3 a, b), the scabbard of which is covered with a gold leaf with a small chased floral pattern (Lyutov 2006: 205). Its mouth, chape and suspension rings are marked with single belts of turquoise cabochons. We assume that it is the objects made in this technique that can be attributed to the Bukhara work. First of all, such a conclusion can be drawn because the master used gold, although, as we mentioned above, in Central Asia, silver was mainly used as a material for jewelry (Velyaminov-Zernov 1856: 123; Geyer 1908: 121, 123, 126; Chvyr' 1972: 40; Yershov 1975: 96; Ishbuldina 2013: 238). This was due to the fact that, according to Sharia, men were forbidden to wear gold items (Abdullaev 1986: 159; al-Bukhari 1997: Vol. 1: 371, Vol. 4: 1962; al-Askalyani 2000: Vol. 4: 145; Vol. 14: 21). Nevertheless, the nobility in Bukhara neglected this prohibition or tried to circumvent it. Products were made not only from silver, but also from an alloy in which gold and silver were mixed (Abdullaev 1986: 159; Lyushkevich 1989: 73.). The result was a very malleable pale yellow metal, which was called «milk gold» – «tillaye dzhurgoti» (Sukhareva 1962: 43). Also, items made of silver were completely gilded, so that they visually looked like gold, although they formally met religious requirements (Abdullaev 1986: 159). Gilding with mercury – «khali simobi» was well known to Bukhara masters. Gold, together with mercury, was melted in a crucible over low heat. The alloy was poured into cold water, poured either into a cup (if you worked with a small amount of metal) or into an earthen tub. After draining the water, a gray substance was obtained, like liquid clay. Having smeared with it the object intended for gilding, they heated it. Mercury evaporated, and the object turned out to be covered with a thin, but very durable layer of gilding (Sukhareva 1962: 47). However, the jewelry business of Bukhara was distinguished by the fact that pure gold was also used here on a relatively large scale (Olufsen 1911: 530; Sukhareva 1962: 43). By the way, it should be noted that in Bukhara, in addition to jewelers who carried out private orders, about twenty craftsmen with their students worked in the palace workshop, making various gold and silver items exclusively for the emir's court (Sukhareva 1966: 196), such as arms parts, dishes, elegant harness and other riding accessories (Sukhareva 1962: 41). In Bukhara, unlike masters of other branches of craft, court jewelers occupied a privileged position, received titles and ranks (Dadamuhamedov 2019: 141). According to old jewelers interviewed by ethnographers in the middle of the 20th century, the use of gold has espe-



Fig. 15. Classical Bukharan design made with the chasing technique on the scabbard's metal elements. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

cially spread since the end of the 19th century under Emir Seyid Abdulahad Khan, when pomp and extravagance came into fashion. During this period, gold even began to be specially imported in large quantities from Russia. Bukhara also received a certain amount of gold from Gissar, where there were its deposits. These metals were especially valued in their pure form. Noble low-grade metals were not used at all in Bukhara in the 19th century, since they are poorly forged and do not correspond to the cold forging technique developed in Central Asia (Sukhareva 1962: 43; Lyushkevich 1989: 73).

Cold forging lends itself to precious metals (gold, silver), as well as copper. Therefore, this technique is rarely used, mainly in jewelry production. The technological process of cold forging consists in the plastic processing of metal without its preliminary heating. Chasing was the next stage in the processing of the product, as can be seen from the scabbard of the shamshir in question. The ornament on jewelry was

applied with a pencil directly by hand. The pattern was minted using a set of tools for chasing «kalam», consisting of iron or bronze chisels with a working part of various shapes. Some chisels had a convex pattern at the end. The master, incuse a pattern, changed the chisels, selecting them in accordance with the intended ornament and building a pattern from the elements that he had at his disposal. Deciding the construction of the ornament, the master always counted on his own set of chisels, and, if necessary, made a new chisel of the desired profile. Thanks to this technique, a complex and thin chased ornament was made quickly and easily. They worked by lightly striking with a hammer on the opposite end of the chisel from the worker, so that the pattern was easily imprinted on soft metal (Sukhareva 1962: 42, 45). Researchers note that Bukhara master chasers worked by creating an ornament on metal from memory. Therefore, it is impossible to meet a literal repetition of the same pattern. There is always at least a slight change in composition (Sergeev 1960: 10). In addition, the *zorgarchi* also had a set of stamps «kolib» (Sukhareva 1962, 42) and copper boards «shingila komob» with ornaments carved on them by the jeweler himself, which were also used to quickly obtain an «embossed» ornament. A silver or gold plate was superimposed on a board with an ornament, which was closed on top with a thicker lead plate. The master struck the lead plate with a hammer. Under this influence, both plates, both lead and precious metal, were bent, so that a pattern was squeezed out on the latter (Geyer 1908: 127).

In the case of the considered shamshir from the treasury of the Emir of Bukhara, it is difficult to determine what kind of technique was used by the master: chasing or stamping, for applying a small stylized floral ornament to the metal of the scabbard. On the one hand, when stamping, the jeweler worked with very thin sheets of gold or silver (Chvur' 1977: 17), which would have been damaged by during use sabre. On the other hand, we have, of course, arms for the parade, which were practically not used by the owner. Returning to the ornament, it should be noted that it is formed by six petal rosettes and four and three petal rosettes arranged in a «profile». All flowers are combined and edged with convex curved stems with leaves (Fig. 15). The ornament is complemented by stripes on rosette petals and leaves, presumably applied with a chisel. The mouth, suspension rings and the chape of the scabbard are edged with strips of false granulation and highlighted with turquoise cabochon belts fixed in teardrop-shaped deaf castes (Marchenkov 1984: 106) soldered to the scabbard (Fig. 16) from narrow gold strips. An exception is the tip of the scabbard tip, which is highlighted by a strip of «S-shaped» castes. This is a traditional for Central Asia method



Fig. 16. Turquoise attachment on scabbard mouth from a Bukhara shamshir. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item IOKM 9915. D. G. Burylin Ivanovo State Museum of Local History. Russia. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

of mounting small cabochons made of colored glass and stones, when they are inserted into a caste made of wire or narrow metal strips soldered to the base, and attached by bending the thin edges of the ring or crimping the wire (Geyer 1908: 127). In our case, the castes do not tightly clamp the turquoise cabochons, so it is logical to assume that they were additionally fixed with special mastic. This method of fixing turquoise in the products of Bukhara jewelers is mentioned by the ethnographer, a specialist in Central Asia Olga Alexandrovna Sukhareva (Sukhareva 1962: 48). It is important to note that the teardrop-shaped setting of stones is often found on women's jewelry made in Bukhara in the second half of the 19th century (Sychiova 1984: 30-33, 46-47; Abdullaev 1986: 228). In our opinion, this is another evidence that the scabbard was made by Bukhara master jewelers.

The details of the shamshir scabbard (REM 5183-1 a, b), also related to the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara, are made in a similar style (Lyutov 2006: 206). The

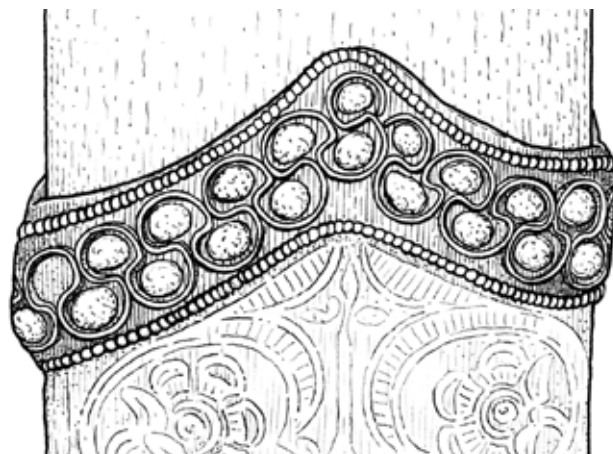


Fig. 17. Mounted turquoise on Bukhara shamshir scabbard tip. 19th century (Ills: A. Dementieva)

scabbard of this less expensive saber is sheathed in purple-red velvet. Four parts made of gilded silver are decorated with a chased pattern, which uses elements of floral ornament, discussed above in the previous shamshir. Similarly, small cabochons of turquoise are used to decorate the metal parts of the scabbard. But if the turquoise highlighting the cut of the scabbard under the crossguard of the saber is fixed in teardrop-shaped castes, then the stones framing the steel suspension rings and the gilded chape of the scabbard are stacked in S-shaped castes, which form double «lines» of cabochons arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Fig. 17). Absolutely identical in the decor of the metal elements of the scabbard and the materials used, up to purple-red velvet, shamshir was presented to Henry Moser by the Emir of Bukhara in 1883 (Zeller 1955: 113-114), which additionally confirms the attribution of these sabers to Bukhara. Considering that at that time all the craftsmen had their own unique style and their own jewelry techniques (Geyer 1908: 122; Chvyr' 1977: 75), it can be assumed that a certain zorgar from the emir's court jewelers made such scabbards specifically for sabers, which should have become to be expensive gifts. This version is confirmed by the fact that another absolutely identical shamshir, down to the details of the suspension, is kept in the State Hermitage Museum, and another one, which is also the «twin brother» of the previous ones, is in the Armory of the Royal Palace in Stockholm (Fig. 18). It is a well-known fact that expensive sabers of this type were presented by the Emir of Bukhara as a gift in a variety of situations. For example, the battle painter, participant in the Central Asian campaigns Nikolai Nikolaevich Karazin wrote the following:

«The Bukhara saber is a luxurious and expensive arms. A beautifully curved hilt, carved from ivory, is decorated at the end with a silver openwork fitting



Fig. 18. Bukhara shamshir. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item 35634 from the Livrustkammaren (The Royal Armory) collection, Stockholm. Sweden.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Sabre_images_from_Livrustkammaren#/media/File:Sabel_-_Livrustkammaren_-_35634.tif

and a long white brush; the velvet scabbard is bound with gold and silver, trimmed with a chased pattern, turquoise and even expensive stones. The value of these sabers often reaches very large figures, and, of course, makes them the property of a very few chosen ones. A similar saber was sent by the Emir of Bukhara to General Abramov, after he took the city of Karshi, occupied by insurgents» (*Karazin* 1874: 234).

Judging by the samples from museum collections known to us, we can conclude that the scabbards of such shamshirs, intended as personal gifts from the emir, were covered with velvet, both in different shades of red, and green, crimson and purple (*Abdul- laev* 1986: 134-135).

Exclusively in Bukhara, and apparently in a nar-



Fig. 18a. Bukhara shamshir scabbard tip, decorated by enameling. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item IOKM 63358. D. G. Burylina Ivanovo State Museum of Local History. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

row time period of the late 19th – early 20th century, jewelers also decorated weapons using the enamel technique (Fig. 18 a). If the thing was decorated with enamel, then the background between the patterns and the places that were intended for enamel were selected using a special small cutter in the form of a spoon with a rounded end, which made the background with a ripple, giving shine to the metal, which was mandatory when applying transparent enamels. This technique was called «gursum», «gursum set». Enamels were brought from China in the form of round tiles, crushed into powder, moistened with water and smeared raw into the recesses of the pat-

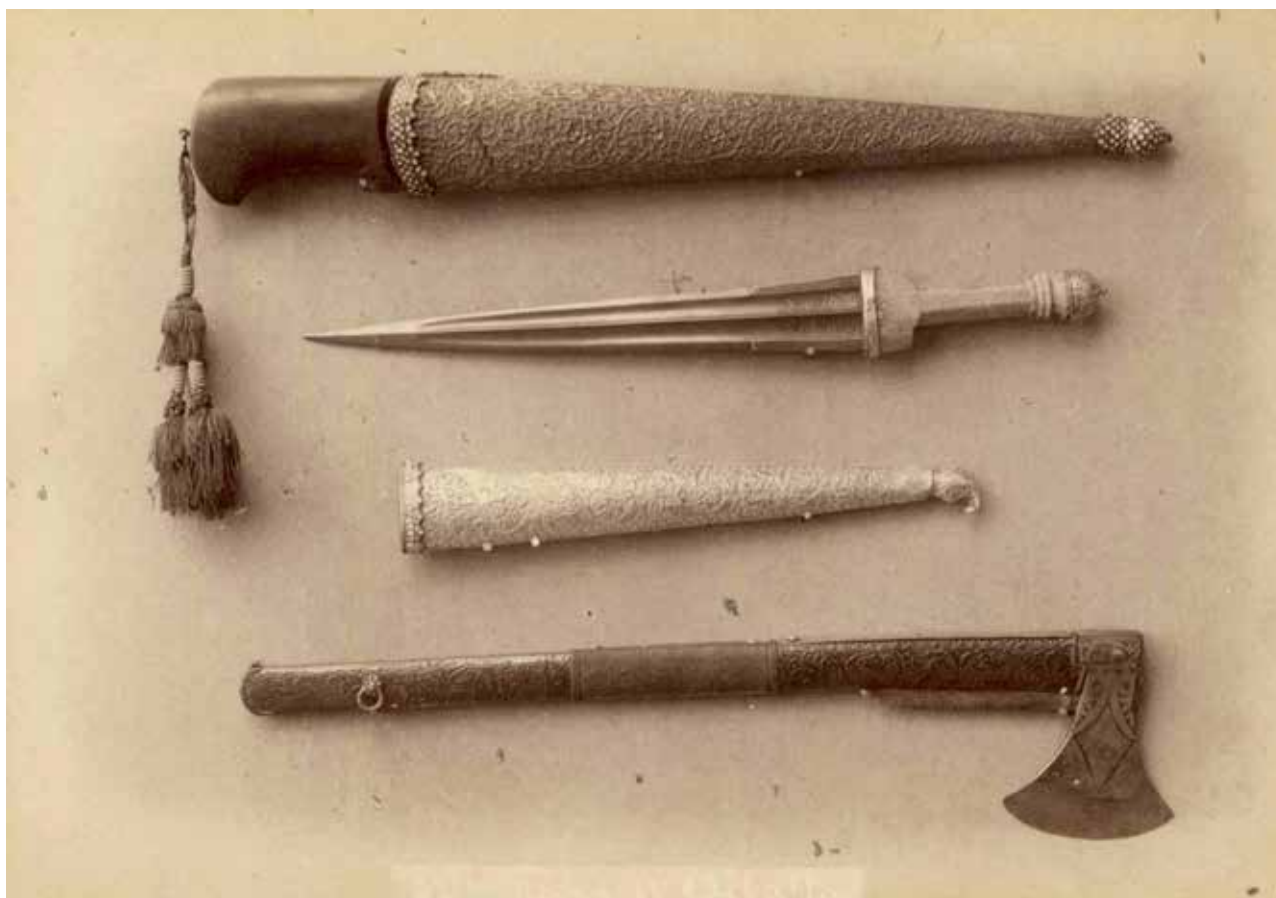


Fig. 19. Photograph of the karud dagger given by the Emir of Bukhara to Henry Moser from his book *Durch Central-Asien; die Kirgisensteppe, Russisch-Turkestan, Bochara, Chiwa, das Turkmenenland und Persien*, Leipzig, 1888. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)

tern. When the product was fired in a furnace, the enamel melted and filled the recess. After that, on the hardened enamel, with the help of a «suwon» file, all the bumps and smudges were leveled; the product was polished with sand (regshui mekardan) and again placed briefly in the furnace. The enamel melted again, and its surface became smooth, shiny and transparent (Sukhareva 1962: 45). Almost all samples of precious weapons decorated with enamel known to us are made in a single exclusive style (Korneev 1978: 21, 113), undoubtedly, by the emir's court jewelers (Novoselov 2017/2018: 89).

Speaking of knives and daggers, let's consider the options for finishing, which was used by Bukhara craftsmen when decorating knives and daggers. According to Sukhareva, it was the Bukhara craftsmen who developed the technique already familiar to us, used by Kokand jewelers, called «takhnison». However, judging by the samples known to us, it can be argued that the jewelers from Bukhara, who decorated these samples of weapons, although they used turquoise, did not completely cover the scabbard with it. Usually a narrow silver belt made of several strips of

turquoise in the tachnison technique, located along the edge of the mouth of the scabbard, was stylistically balanced with a short chape topped with a reverse drop-shaped button, made in the same technique and from the same materials. Karud with a scabbard decorated in this technique was presented to Henry Moser by the Emir of Bukhara (Moser 1888: 149; Moser 1912: XII) (Fig. 19). The scabbard was covered with black or green leather (Zeller 1955: 359), less often with expensive fabric (Zeller 1955: 387-388), and in some cases it was completely covered with a silver sheet with a chased floral ornament (Moser 1888: 149). The mouth and chape of the sheath of knives could be made of chased or blackened silver, on which a floral ornament was reproduced in these techniques, sometimes in combination with turquoise belts (Moser 1912: XII). Judging by the studies of the Danish ethnographer Ole Olufsen and Torben Flindt, who worked with his collection, the traditional knives - pichaks, which were made in Bukhara, were distinguished by a curved blade with a «raised» point (Olufsen 1911: 475, 521; Flindt 1979: 24). The handle of such knives was more often formed by scales of horn or bone

(Pashino 1868: 137; Kirpichnikov 1897: 131). The butt end of the hilt on the side of the blade can be covered with overlays in the form of strips made of iron or sheet silver, sometimes decorated with primitive engraving (Olufsen 1911: 521). In those cases when expensive walrus or ivory, lapis lazuli, jade, agate or jasper served as the material for the handle, both in the form of an array and in the form of scales (Moser 1912: XII; Zeller 1955: 349; Flindt 1979: 25), the main part of the handle is separated from the blade by a bolster, lower than on Kokand knives, usually decorated using the niello technique (Zeller 1955: 361-362; Flindt 1979: 24). Between the bolster and the main part of the handle there can be a ring of turquoise pieces fixed in square castes (Fig. 20). To distinguish richly decorated knives made by Bukhara craftsmen from knives from Kokand, according to our assumption, it is possible first of all by the shape of the blade, and secondly by the length of the bolster. Otherwise, the decoration of the silver details of knives and scabbards was quite similar. Probably, based on the statements of some researchers, it can be considered typical for the craftsmen who worked in Bukhara to combine emeralds, rubies and pearls (Lyushkevich 1989: 73) tightly packed together on arms. An example of such decoration is a karud from the collection of the State Hermitage with a handle made of rhinoceros horn, inlaid with gold and precious stones, the golden chased case of the wooden scabbard of which is covered with a floral pattern in the form of an intertwined flowering shoot. Volumetric gold facings of the mouth and chape of the scabbard with a spherical ending, decorated with precious and semi-precious stones of irregular shape and faceted cabochons. Emeralds and rubies densely packed together predominate among these gems (Obraztsov, Malozymova 2019: 143). Also, the «Bukhara» origin of this knife confirms the use of gold, and not gilded silver in the scabbard lining and, most importantly, the source of its receipt (Sukhareva 1962: 43). Until 1885, it was kept in the collection of the Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal in a cabinet with items presented by the emirs of Bukhara personally or through embassies to Emperors Alexander II and Alexander III. Unlike many other Central Asian weapons, this knife is easily identified, since it was described in some detail by Eduard Eduardovich Lenz, considering among other daggers: «S.415. The rhinoceros horn handle is inlaid with intertwining gold patterns with multi-colored stones. Straight blade. Frame of Central Asian work» (Lenz 1908: 120). Among the items made in this technique, we also include a knife from the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, the massive wooden handle of which is decorated with silver inlay (Lyutov 2006: 197).

Such large knives, often with splendid wootz

blades, sometimes decorated using the technique of gold-plated inlays, with a sheath covered with silver and gold and decorated with turquoise and other precious stones, originally intended exclusively for use as battle arms, by the end of the 19th century became an attribute of those close to emir. They were a sign of status, a kind of ceremonial arms, just like the ai-balta hatchets, originally used during hostilities, which eventually acquired handles overlaid with gold and became a uniform attribute of the emir's adjutants (Moser 1888: 147-148) and a symbol solemnly carried by the mirshab, who led the procession of the emir. They also relied on prime ministers (Olufsen 1911: 477). Such axes, decorated in Bukhara, are well recognizable (Fig. 21). The battle part is made most often in Persia from wootz steel. And wooden handles are usually covered with silver (Olufsen 1911: 478) or gold leaf with chased floral ornaments and are additionally decorated with square bands, in which square pieces of turquoise are fixed (Olufsen 1911: 478; Lyutov 2006: 213). There are also battle axes, which are decorated with double «belts» of turquoise



Fig. 20. Photograph of pchaks taken by Henri Moser. 19th century. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)



Fig. 21. Bukhara battle ax (tabar) brought from the ethnographic expedition of Ole Olufsen, late 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item Q-292 from the Nationalmuseet collection, Denmark. (Photo courtesy of the museum)

cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes. Although they are considered to come from the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara (Lyutov 2006: 214-216), we believe that these samples were made in the Khiva Khanate.

If arms decorated in Bukhara can be distinguished from samples from other khanates, then the identification of arms decorated in the Khiva Khanate causes, with the exception of a single exception, significant difficulties. Lenz also noted that «Khivan sabers belong to the Persian type of shamshirs, and differ from the latter in the decoration of the scabbard», namely, «the lining with a silver sheet with an embossed pattern and, on some samples, with precious stones in nests» (Lenz 1908: 111). Unfortunately, in our opinion, such a description also applies to Bukhara sabers. For the first time, the head of the arms department of the State Historical Museum (Moscow, Russia), Maria Mikhailovna Denisova, tried to identify samples of Khiva work. She, following Lenz, noted that the Khiva long-bladed arms usually differ in the design of the scabbard. The scabbard, according to her, is decorated with thin silver with an asymmetric large floral ornament, made by chasing or embossing (Denisova 1953: 142, 153). At the same time, the wooden parts of the scabbard can sometimes be completely covered with a silver case with gilding.

Parts of the scabbard, imitating the chape and mouth, were decorated with large precious or semi-precious stones without cutting, which can be seen on a checker from the State Hermitage Museum – inv. IN. 102, received in 1873 from the treasury of the Khiva Khan (Aleksinsky 2010: 94, 97). The belonging of scabbards decorated in this technique to the Khiva people is confirmed by the design of other samples of arms from the Hermitage, such as shamshirs with Persian blades (Aleksinsky 2010: 92, 96) and locally made knives trimmed with gold, silver and precious stones in the Khiva style (Moser 1912: XII; Aleksinsky 2010: 97; Anisimova 2013: 265, 267). There are references to the same technique of decorating arms with gold and multi-colored precious stones in Khiva sources of the 18th-19th centuries (MITT: 504). It is curious that some modern researchers assert that the social position of the 19th century jewelers in the region under consideration was different.

If in Bukhara there were court jewelers who occupied a privileged position, then in Khiva the profession of a jeweler was one of the lowest (Dadamukhamedov 2019:141). It is also noted that in the second half of the 19th century Bukhara and Kokand became the main centers of highly developed jewelry production (Chvyr' 1977: 77), which allows us to

make an assumption about the insufficient level of development of such in the same time in Khiva. It is impossible not to mention the words of the researchers of the late 19th century, who noted that although among the representatives of the Turkmen tribes, nominally subjects of the Khiva Khanate, there are blacksmiths, locksmiths and craftsmen who worked with silver and finished arms, their work in the European sense looked rude and primitive: «...in the works of these crafts, one can see in all respects their completely infantile state, and, as it were, a deliberate unwillingness to do it beautifully and distinctly» (Voennyi sbornik 1872: 79). We see some dissonance. On the one hand, rather primitively decorated weapons of the Turkmen and information about, most likely, not a high level of jewelry craftsmanship in the Khiva Khanate, and on the other hand, richly decorated sabers, knives and daggers presented by the khans of Khiva as a gift to Russian emperors. Let's try to deal with this not a simple question.

The widely used short-bladed arms in this khanate is unambiguously attributed to Khiva. The wearing of well-recognized knives by the Khiva and Turkmen living in this region is reflected in many photographs and lithographs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Anisimova 2013: 253; Lyutov 2006: 209). In addition, such knives were frequent gifts presented by the Khiva khans to Europeans (Fig. 22). Moreover, both at the government level, for example, one of these knives was included in the diplomatic gifts brought to Russia by the heir of the Khiva Khan Asfandiyar (Obraztsov, Malozymova 2019, 141-142), and to ordinary travelers from Europe who found themselves at the court of the Khan of Khiva (Moser 1912: XII). The above-mentioned knives are traditional Persian wootz kards (Fig. 23), the handles and sheaths of which are decorated by local craftsmen in a common well-recognized style. Walrus ivory handles were complemented by cylindrical butt made of gold or gilded silver. Along the edge of this massive pommel in blind castes, framed by real or false granulation, six to ten polished transparent multi-colored precious or semi-precious stones, more or less close to a cabochon in shape, are usually fixed. Another such stone is most often fixed in the center of the butt end of the pommel. The borders of the back can be accentuated with false grain or small cabochons of turquoise, enclosed in round or semicircular blind castes. Such kards were immersed in the scabbard so that the lower edge of the pommel coincided with the upper edge of the metal sheath of the wooden scabbard, made in the shape of a cone. Chased case made of silver with or without gilding, almost always decorated with five double belts of turquoise cabochons or, in rare cases, small pearls. Gems are fixed in S-shaped deaf castes (Moser 1912: XII; Anisimova

2013: 265, 267; Buryakov 2013: 147, 171; Obraztsov, Malozymova 2019: 141-142) (Fig. 24).

Known examples of kards made in this style, with sheaths of silver not covered with gilding, on which there is only one double belt of turquoise cabochons, located along the edge of the mouth (Moser 1912: XII). Between the two upper belts of turquoise or pearl there is always a wide belt of voluminous deltoids squeezed from the inside - figures resembling a rhombus, in which the two upper sides are shorter than the two lower ones (Fig. 24). Turquoise cabochons can be fixed in the center of these protruding figures. This element is also typical of the silver scabbards used by the Turkmen, who lived on the territory of the Khiva Khanate and near its borders (Fig. 26). The scabbard sheaths of Khiva kards made of precious metals are always covered with chased floral ornaments, which we will discuss in detail below. It



Fig. 22. Photo of the kard presented by the Khan of Khiva to Henry Moser from his book *Durch Central-Asien; die Kirgisensteppe, Russisch-Turkestan, Bochara, Chiwa, das Turkmenenland und Persien*, Leipzig, 1888. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)



Fig. 23. Persian kârd. 19th century. Iran. Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

should be noted that samples of such kards are known without metal butt (Moser 1888: 254). There were also other samples of oriental weapons with a straight blade, for example, a sample of a Turkish dagger with a jade handle known to us, for which Khiva craftsmen made scabbards identical to those discussed above (Fig. 26). Considering the striking similarity in the decor details of these knives, we assume that they were all made in approximately the same time period, namely, in the last quarter of the 19th – early 20th centuries by the same master, or perhaps by a master and his apprentice, carefully copying the techniques of his teacher. It is likely, although it requires further study, that most of these richly decorated kards were made as expensive gifts for Europeans by order of the Khan of Khiva, since today we are not aware of literary or pictorial sources confirming their existence in the Khanate. But we know for sure that such kards were presented as a gift to a variety of personalities (Moser 1912: XII; Obratsov, Malozyomova 2019: 141-142).

In a similar stylistics, although with certain differences, double-edged curved khanjars were decorated, which existed in Khiva, judging by the descriptions of eyewitnesses, at least from the first half of the 18th century. Here is what lieutenant Dmitry Gladyshev, who visited Khiva in 1740, writes:

«Noble Aral people have a dagger behind their sash, which is made of wootz steel, the size with a handle is 6 inches (about 30 cm). Cheren (handle) is made of white «fish bone» (walrus tusk), and stones of different colors are cut into the cheren (handle): yakhonts (rubies) and diamonds. The scabbard is gold, many have gilded silver. And those who are not so rich have handle without stones, and a scabbard of green leather» (Gladyshev 1851: 71).

A dagger matching the description is stored in the Kremlin Armory (Moscow, Russia). On his blade, in the technique of notching with gold, there is an inscription in Arabic: «The abode of Islam Khorezm. Khan Bahadur Isfandiyar. Year (hijri) 1329». Thus, the inscription indicates that this dagger was made in 1909 and belonged to the Khiva Khan Bahadur (Novoselov 2017/2018, 84-85). A reel handle made of walrus bone and a curved double-edged damask blade with pronounced stiffening ribs are typical of Persian khanjars (Khorasani 2006: 582-595) (Fig. 28). The difference lies in the decor of the hilt and scabbard. The extended parts of the hilt (the pommel and the transition to the blade) are covered with a thick layer of gold. Precious stones are fixed in deaf castes, bordered by strips of false granulation. It is important to note that the stones are not fixed as tightly next to each other as on the weapons that we attribute to dec-



Fig. 24. Décor of voluminous triangular-shaped items on a Khiva dagger sheath. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)



Fig. 25. Mounted turquoise on a Khiva dagger scabbard sheath. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)



Fig. 26. Ottoman reel dagger with jade handle and scabbard made by Khivan craftsmen. 19th century Turkey. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)



Fig. 27. Kärđ inside a Turkmen scabbard. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

orated in Bukhara. At the top of the hilt on its front side are three large European-cut diamonds, which are surrounded by smaller cabochons of multi-colored gems. In the place where the hilt passes into the blade, a large faceted ruby is fixed in the center, on the sides of which there are diamonds similar to those in the pommel. In the same way as in the pommel, large European-cut gemstones are surrounded by a scattering of small cabochons of rubies and emeralds located at a short distance from each other. The mouth of the wooden scabbard, covered with a metal sheath with a chased floral ornament, is made of gold, decorated with cabochons of precious stones, and stylistically serves as a counter part of the gold decoration on the handle, at the point of its transition to the blade. Thus, when the dagger is scabbard, the above two parts form a single whole. Probably, in order to emphasize the border separating them, a double belt of small turquoise cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes, was put along the upper edge of the mouth of the scabbard. Exactly the same belts limit the chape of the scabbard. Part of the scabbard between them is devoid of a chased ornament and looks as if the master had wound a golden thread around a wooden base (Novoselov 2017/2018: 84). We know almost identical daggers kept in the collections of the State Hermitage Museum (St.Petersburg, Russia) (Obraztsov 2015: 94-96), the Russian Ethnographic Museum in St.Petersburg (Russia) (Lyutov 2006: 192), the Stockholm Armory «Livrustkammaren» (Sweden) (Fig. 29), as well as several examples in private collections. The differences between these daggers are minimal. Judging by the photographs known to us and the style of objects that have come down to us, we can conclude that it was in Khiva that the khans and their entourage wore similar curved daggers of the Persian type (Fig. 30), as well as Indian khanjars decorated in a similar technique with jade handles and karuds with horn and bone handles (Obraztsov, Malozyomova 2019: 143). Usually, for all the examples of short-bladed arms listed above, the metal sheaths of the wooden scabbards are made of silver with or without gilding, with a similar chased floral ornament, double belts of turquoise cabochons in S-shaped castes along the top of the mouth and limiting the chape, with a characteristic winding of a metal thread, as well as with a rather «loose» arrangement of rounded gems or glass with a colored foil backing at the mouth of the scabbard (Anisimova 2013: 271-273; Buryakov 2013: 146, 170, 190). In some cases, the tops of the hilts can be decorated with gold with precious stones or colored glass. Olufsen mentions this use of substitute gemstones: «...the mountings of arms, ferrules and mouth-pieces of knife and sword sheaths are very solid and often very well made. The articles are profusely adorned with turquoises, corals, garnets, opals, lapis lazuli,



Fig. 28. Persian Khanjar. 19th century.
Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

emeralds and rubies, but only the turquoises, corals, garnets and the lapis, are always real, as they are found in great quantities in the Bokharan mountains and the neighbouring Persia for which reason they are very cheap here; at least 90 percent of other precious stones, exposed for sale, are imitation stones.» (Olufsen 1911: 530).

We consider it important to note that, judging by the decor and style of the hilts and scabbards of some richly decorated daggers stored in the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum and attributed to the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara of the Russian Imperial family, we can conclude that they were made in Khiva (Lyutov 2006: 193-194).

In addition to short-bladed arms, in the Khiva Khanate, as in Bukhara, the ruler's dignitaries and officers wore decorated battle axes. This is evidenced by the surviving photographs (Fig. 31) and descriptions of travelers from Europe. One of them writes:

«We asked in Khiva to be taken to a silversmith's, and so we were in the strict sense of the word, for there was a workshop with two crucibles of stone to be heated by charcoal fires, two small anvils, and, if I remember rightly, silver in the bar as we had seen at Kuldja, whilst the work the man had in hand was the silvering the handle of a battle-axe, by order of the Khan, to be carried by some new place-man as an insignia of office...» (Lansdell 1885: 287).

We assume that some axes from the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, the handles of which are decorated with a large and rough chased floral ornament or smooth silver and gold, combined with double belts of small turquoise cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes, were made in Khiva (Lyutov 2006: 214-216). Our assumption is supported by an axe almost identical to them from the collection of the Artillery Museum in St. Petersburg, presented in 1911 to Nicholas II, among other gifts from the Khan of Khiva, on the butt of which, in the technique of an inscription in gold, is inscribed: «The World of Islam, Khorezm» and the date «1329» Hijri (1911 according to the Gregorian calendar) (Anisimova 2013: 274-275).

As mentioned above, the situation with the identification of Khiva long-bladed arms is much more complicated. Knowing that the wooden details of the scabbards of sabers were decorated with a thin silver or gold sheath with an engraved or embossed floral ornament, large and sometimes asymmetrical, not only in Khiva, but also in Bukhara, as on the scabbards of shamshir (Zeller 1955: 113-114) and karud, presented to Henry Moser by the emir of Bukhara or karud (Moser 1912: XII), acquired in Bukhara by Ole Olufsen (Olufsen 1911: 478), we believe that this feature cannot be considered decisive for the products of the Khiva masters. On the other hand, the decoration of the mouth, and sometimes the chape of the scabbard, long-bladed arms, as well as parts of the scabbard imitating the chape and the mouth, with freely arranged large precious or semi-precious stones without cutting, as on a shashka from the State Hermitage



Fig. 29. Khiva Khanjar. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva).
Museum item 69703 from the Livrustkammaren (The Royal Armory) collection, Stockholm, Sweden.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Dagger_images_from_Livrustkammaren#/media/File:Persisk_dolk_-_Livrustkammaren_-_69703.tif

– Inv. IN. 102, received in 1873 from the treasury of the Khiva Khan (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 97), in our opinion, can be considered a sign of the work of the Khiva masters. The belonging of scabbards decorated in this technique to the Khiva people is confirmed by the design of other examples of arms from the Hermitage, such as sabers of the shamshir type with Persian blades (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96) and knives trimmed with gold, silver and precious stones in the Khiva stylistics (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Aleksinsky* 2010: 97; *Anisimova* 2013: 265, 267; *Obraztsov* 2015: 160). There are references to the same technique of decorating arms with gold and multi-colored precious stones in Khiva sources of the 18th-19th centuries (MITT: 504). The «Bukhara cloisonné» technique, common in Ko-

kand and Bukhara, apparently did not find distribution in Khiva, perhaps due to the fact that jewelers from Bukhara and Kokand, as noted above, strictly kept their secrets (*Geyer* 1908: 122; *Chvyr'* 1977: 70), although turquoise, as can be seen from the examples above have been used. But, these were the small hemispheres of this stone already mentioned above, inserted into S-shaped «nests» of wire soldered onto the sheath at the mouth and sometimes the tip, so that a double strip of turquoise cabochons was obtained. With some degree of caution, this jewelry technique can be considered a marker for decorated Khiva arms, given that we find complete analogies in women's jewelry that jewelers made in the Khiva Khanate (*Sazonova* 1970: 139; *Sychova* 1984: 52-53; *Abdullaev* 1986: 183, 198). It should be borne in mind that this feature can be decisive for Khiva arms, being applicable only in combination with others. Because on some samples of arms decorated in Bukhara, this jewelry technique is also found (*Zeller* 1955: 113-114; *Lyutov* 2006: 206).

With some stretch, it can be considered that sometimes it was the chased works of the Khiva jewelers on the silver details of the scabbards that were made in a more rough manner than the works of the Bukhara masters (*Zeller* 1955: 119). But, apparently, a scabbard, completely covered with a silver leaf with a chased floral ornament, the mouth and chape of which are gilded (*Abdullaev* 1986: 133; *Buryakov* 2013: 148, 166, 169), probably using the technique of mercury gilding, can be considered a sign of Khiva work. Although it may be that gilding was achieved by another curious technique, known as *duostara* (two-lining), when a gold overlay was made on a silver object. At the same time, gold in such products was only one hundredth part: for 100 parts of silver, only one part of gold was taken. Having prepared a small cube from silver, the gold was broken into a leaf of the same size. Putting them together, smeared the edges with borax and put on fire. As soon as gold began to solder with silver, the fire was removed; after allowing the metal to cool, the cube was carefully broken on an anvil into a thin plate. To soften the blows, a piece of lead of the same shape was placed between the cube and the anvil. The resulting plate was so thin that it could be cut with scissors (*Sukhareva* 1962: 46). True, *Sukhareva* attributes this jewelry technique to Bukhara jewelers, but we believe that due to the simplicity of execution, it could well have been used in Khiva.

An even more difficult issue is the Khiva shashkas, which *Maria Mikhailovna Denisova* singled out in her work, focusing on the material of the handles of this arms (*Denisova* 1953: 153). She mentions that the Khiva shashka from the collection of the State Historical Museum (Moscow, Russia) has a handle



Fig. 30. Photo of a Khiva youth with khanjar in his belt. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)

made of jade (*Denisova* 1953: 153). But before that, she writes that the handles of Bukhara shashkas are also made from whole pieces of jade (*Denisova* 1953: 142). In view of this contradiction, we believe that in this case the handle material cannot be considered a defining feature that specifies the place of production of Khiva shashkas. Even more important is that today we have no documentary evidence of the use of checkers by the Khiva people. Judging by the sources available today, both literary and pictorial, the Khiva people preferred to use sabers of the shamshir type (*Muraviev* 1822: 115-116; *Moser* 1888: 285), just like

the Turkmens, who are nominally subjects of the Khiva Khanate, in whom eyewitnesses note the existence of sabers, mentioning «curved sabers made in Khorosan» (*Voennyi sbornik* 1872: 78) and that «the sabers were heavy with a wide blade and extremely sharply honed» (*Voennyi sbornik* 1888: 221). Shashkas, which *Denisova*, and after her, some modern authors attribute to Khiva work, focusing on the decor of the scabbard, in our opinion, are gifts presented to the khans of Khiva by the rulers of neighboring khanates. Such weapons, which were gifts and kept in the treasury of the Khiva khans, were described by the



Fig. 31. Photo of Khiva officers with battle axes. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)

war correspondent Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, who saw him after the capture of Khiva by the Russian troops: «There were swords of all sorts. Two or three sabres of English manufacture; a number of the broad, beautiful, slightly-curved blades of horassan, inlaid with gold; several slender Persian scimitars, with scabbards set in turquoises and emeralds; short, thick, curved poignards and knives from Afghanistan, all richly mounted and provided with sheaths set in precious stones» (*MacGahan* 1875: 182). It is likely that the scabbards of such donated shashkas were made in Khiva, in a style that corresponded to the tastes of the rulers of the Khiva Khanate.

It is important to note that shamshirs and kards, decorated by Khiva craftsmen and presented by the embassy from Khiva in 1900 as a gift to the Russian emperor, are distinguished by highly artistic chased work on gold and silver scabbard details with fine detailing and background elaboration (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96). Some of them are additionally decorated with small turquoise cabochons or large irregularly shaped stones. The ornament on the scabbard, the use of gold as a material, the level of artistic work and the applied jewelry techniques are very reminiscent of those that existed among the Bukhara masters. Considering the above statement that the profession of a jeweler was one of the lowest in Khorezm (Khiva) (*Dadmukhamedov* 2019: 141) and the data that

long-bladed arms were made in Khiva by Iranians and Afghans (*Sobolev* 1873: 160), who were captives enslaved, it can be assumed that jewelers from the Emirate of Bukhara could be among such captives and subsequently settle in the khanate. This would explain such a striking similarity in the decoration of precious arms made in the last quarter of the 19th - early 20th centuries in Khiva and Bukhara.

Summing up, the following can be noted:

1) Thanks to the information that in Central Asia the craftsmen who decorated arms worked in their own, quite specific and kept secret, jewelry techniques, we can, by comparing jewelry and decorated arms, localize samples of edged weapons, linking them with Bukhara emirate, as well as the Kokand and Khiva khanates.

2) According to a number of signs voiced in the article, we can quite accurately determine the decor of arms made in the Kokand Khanate and the Emirate of Bukhara or by craftsmen from it.

3) The most difficult to determine the place of production is decorated arms made in the Khiva Khanate, with the exception of some well-recognized samples of short-bladed weapons.

4) With a high degree of probability, we can talk about the presence of a «Bukhara» influence on the work of Khiva gunsmiths who made decorated arms for the rulers of the khanate.

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