

Richard E. Wright Research Reports
Dudin's Travels
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Turkmenistan in the Photography Collections of S.M. Dudin
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This paper seeks to introduce scholarly researchers to an important source: S.M. Dudin's documentary photography collections of Turkmenistan, which consists of images captured by the collector in situ, according to specific criteria that illuminated the life and customs of the Turkmen people at a specific historical moment.

Our task involved a study of the photography collections of S.M. Dudin – a scholarly record of his travels to Central Asia from 1900-1902 – which are located in the archive of the National Ethnographic Museum of the Peoples of the USSR (Leningrad); we set out to analyze the material, arrange it thematically, describe it and, to the best of our abilities, arrive at certain conclusions, which we derived from the photographs themselves.

Samuel Martynovich Dudin amassed well-known ethnographic collections about the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan; he was the first to systematize his collections according to the customs and cultures of peoples living in Central Asia. In addition, he pioneered the creation of documentary photographic collections about these very peoples.

Many museums in our country – including the National Museum of Ethnography of the Peoples of the USSR, the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography AN USSR in Leningrad, the Museums in Taskent, Samarkand, and other cities in Central Asia and Kazakhstan – have photographs by S.M. Dudin, which are featured prominently in both exhibits and scholarly publications. However, the most comprehensive collection of Dudin's photographs is located in the National Museum of Ethnography of the Peoples of the USSR.

S. M. Dudin was not trained as an historian, archeologist or ethnographer; rather, he was an artist with a deep affinity for folk art in all of its originality and beauty. Once he developed an interest in folklore, he started collecting masterpieces of the unique culture and customs of the peoples of Central Asia for the museum, and thereby preserving them for future generations. Even though he wasn't trained as an ethnographer, his photographs truthfully captured key aspects in the lives of the people of Central Asia at the beginning of the 20th century. Many of these peoples have now disappeared and Dudin's photographs capture ethnographic events and facts for posterity, whose importance he may not have recognized since he was not a specialist. He left behind important ethnographic material, which continues to be used to this day.

To collect material, S. M. Dudin took a series of research trips to Central Asia. The Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum sent him on three missions to Central Asia. The first trip took place in 1900; advised by the scholar V.V. Radlov, Dudin devised an itinerary and a travel budget for his trip to Central Asia "with the goal of amassing ethnographic collections of the Sarts of Russian Turkmenistan."¹ Over the course of the seven-month trip, he worked in Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Xodzhent, Kokand, Margelan and Urgut.

¹ S.M. Dudin. "Report on my trips to Central Asia (1900-1902)."

The second trip took place in 1901 according to the following itinerary: Samarkand—Tashkent—Aylie-Ata—Pishpek—Tokmak—Issyk-Kul—the Kashgar-Alay plain—cities in the mountains of Bukhara—Bukhara—Samarkand. The route enabled S. M. Dudin to finish his collection about the Sarts and Uzbeks and begin a collection of materials and photographs on Kazakhs, Kirgiz peoples, mountain Tadjiks and Turkmens. On his way to Samarkand, Dudin stopped in the Trans Caspian region and spent time among the Turkmens, where he hoped to collect material and photographic collections according to the same protocol, which he used on his first trip.

S.M. Dudin travelled to Central Asia for the third time in 1902 with the goal of “filling in any omissions from the collections amassed during the trips in 1900-1901... , and also the necessity of replenishing the photographic album, which I had started during my first trip and came close to completing during my second trip...”²

In his extensive plan that covered material culture as well as amassing collections, he placed particular emphasis on the collection of photo-documentation. Dudin emphasizes the role of photography in understanding the character of the country, its landscape, primary occupations of the citizens, dwellings and clothing. Special importance is placed on photographing daily life.³

The collector of photographs paid special attention to the photograph as a document that reflected the real life of the people. S.M. Dudin paid very close attention to negatives as originals.

Over the course of his three trips to Central Asia, S.M. Dudin took over 2000 photographs for the museum. Along with the 26 ethnographic and 9 archeological collections, he also put together 20 documentary high quality photographic collections about the following peoples and ethnographic groups: the people of Samarkand, Bukhara, Fergana, Syr Daryan and Kashgari Sarts (including the local urban population), the Uzbeks, mountain Tadjiks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Hindus, Persians, Jews and Gypsies, as well as architectural landmarks of Central Asia.

In photographs dealing with daily life and the working life of the people, the collector himself paid prized documentary evidence, ethnographic truth and authenticity.

In his report, S.M. Dudin wrote: “I don’t consider posed images worthwhile; such images saturate almost all the photos in these places, which represent them as our ‘colonies’ with minority populations, entirely devoid of what we call ‘beauty’ and ‘originality’ (such is our Turkmenistan, the Caucasus, etc). Such images create an anti-artistic impression, and intensify the falsity of the impression. Not to mention the fact that the photographs reek of the anecdote, which is a type of photographic caricature, and not a photographic way of capturing nature.”⁴

² S.M. Dudin, p. 453.

³ Page 2.

⁴ S.M.Dudin, p. 21-22.

“I lived among the Turkmens for 1.5 months, visited several auls in the surrounding areas of Ashgabat and Merv, and traveled to the Saryks. During this time, I collected about 350 objects of daily life of the Turkemns – primarily the Tekke and Saryks.”⁵

S.M. Dudin assumed he would begin his work among the Turkmens with the Yomuds of the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. However, since he left St. Petersburg late (in May), and arrived in Kasnovodsk later than expected, he didn't see any Yomuds nearby – they had migrated into the depths of the desert – and so he traveled to Akhal, in Ashkhabad Oasis to the Tekke. Time constraints prevented him from making stops along the way to visit the Goklens, Nokhurili and other tribes, as he had initially hoped.

S.M. Dudin's work among the Turkmen-Tekke was limited to collecting and photographing in the Akhal, Merv, Tedzen Oases and in Takhtabazar – among the Saryks. Time constraints prevented him from traveling to distant areas and to nomadic territories; he completed all of his collections and photographs in Ashkhabad and Merv – at markets and in auls located near these towns. Dudin was unsatisfied since he knew that in order to visit the Trans Caspian area he would need to travel deep into the steppe to see nomadic territories. However, such a trip was possible neither in 1901, nor in subsequent years.

In spite of the short amount time he spent among the Turkmens, S.M. Dudin amassed 4 collections of exhibit items (12, 13, 26, 37), amounting to 361 objects, including the world famous collection of rugs and textiles (collection #26), women's jewels (collection 37), clothing and daily objects. He also amassed two collections of photographs (219 photos in total). Compared to the photographs he amassed of the Sarts, Uzbeks and Tadjiks (over a thousand photos), the collection of Turkemns was small, but its scientific importance is difficult to overestimate.

The scientific value of S.M. Dudin's photograph collections lies in their documentary nature, their systematic arrangement in a considered thematic structure and in their artistic execution.

Before S.M. Dudin, photographic and ethnographic material about the peoples of Central Asia was sporadic, entirely haphazard and disjointed, not only the Ethnography department in the Russian Museum but in other museums. These materials included a few photos taken by non-specialists – people who had traveled to Central Asia on business – officers, civil servants, travelers who documented random facts that were neither typical nor characteristic of the local customs – since they took photographs without a considered plan. These photographs reflected the personal tastes and interests of the photographers entirely.

In his collection system, S.M. Dudin considered the following factors: characteristics of the land (photographs), populated places (photographs), housing (collections, drawings, photographs), furniture (collections), kitchen, utensils (collections), national dress

⁵ S.M. Dudin's archive GME, f.1, op.2, d. 245, l. 102.

(collections, photographs), head-dresses (collections, photographs), musical instruments (collections), jewelry (collections), means of transportation (collections, photographs), industry (primary occupations, trades, crafts – collections, photographs), daily life (photographs), trade (photographs), religion (photographs), types of people (photographs).

Thanks to this system, the photographic collections of S.M. Dudin present an ethnographic aggregate, in addition to material collections.

The precise location of the photographs, the painstaking precision with which the collector approached the choice of objects in the photographs, add scientific ethnographic documentary character; the photography method of the collector, which we have developed above, leaves out any intentionality or forgery.

The photographer's expertise, mastery and artistic taste account for the excellent artistic and technical quality of the photographs. In spite of the antiquated photographic equipment of the day, S.M. Dudin's photos have withstood the test of time and are today considered to be some of the best, if not the best, ethnographic photographs. Some of his photographs resemble paintings, steeped in a poetic haze – for example his photographs of nature – or humor in his market scenes or village street scenes.

Unfortunately S.M. Dudin's photography collections were greatly harmed during the war 1941-1945; bombs and artillery shells hit the museum and part of the negatives were destroyed. Thankfully, all the actual photos were saved – lost negatives have been reconstructed based on photographs, but much work remains to be done. Scholars often use Dudin's photographs in their research – including scholarly articles, monographs and edited volumes.⁶

S.M. Dudin's collections have never been published and have never been thoroughly described. We believe that the description and analysis of the ethnographic material in Dudin's photographs is of serious scholarly interest.

We will now proceed to a thorough examination of Dudin's photographic collections about Turkmens.

These collections are registered under #40 and 41 of the Turkmen-Tekke of the Ashkhabad and Merv Oases and the Saryks of the Takhtabazar region.

The photographs depict the following themes:

1. Primary occupations of the people – agriculture (irrigation), cattle-breeding, crafts and trade;
2. Cultivation of agriculture products and cattle-breeding – domestic occupations;
3. Settlements and housing – nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled
4. Types of Turkmens – men, women, children;

⁶ “The People of Central Asia and Kazakhstan” vol. 1-2. Moscow 1962-63; K.I. Antipina. “Particularities of material culture and applied arts of the Southern Kirgiz people.” Frunze. 1962.

5. Clothing –women’s, men’s and children’s;
6. Cooking, utensils;
7. Religion;
8. Games, music;
9. Landscape, cityscape, architectural landmarks.

1. The people’s primary occupations appear in a small number of photographs. The reason for this is that the collector worked in the Trans Caspian region in late spring, near the end of the primary cycle of spring agricultural work, and cattle-farmers had already migrated to summer pastures.

The photographs from the surrounding areas of Merv auls depict plowing by means of an azal (photos 40—80). A pair of oxen are harnessed into the azal with the help of a yoke-boyunduruk. The tool is made of a single piece of wood, bent at an angle and implanted with a metal ploughshare with grooves. During the plowing the azal plunges deep into the ground—to the place where it attaches to the beam.

Photographs 40—82, and 83, all taken in the vicinity of Merv, depict the harrowing –the leveling of the field with a flat, plank-shaped harrow. The **Daykhanin** stands on a plank with his legs spread wide, holding a rope from the beam with his right hand, pressing down on the harrow with his body weight (photographs 40—82). The harrowing takes place across the furrow of the plowed field. At the edge of the field (photos 40-83), there is a wooden harrow with two rows of sharp metallic teeth.

The photographs display the primary agricultural tools for plowing the land, the harness and ways of harnessing cattle, how the peasants worked the fields in two large agricultural areas of Turkmenistan.

S.M. Dudin depicts irrigation in four of his photographs – he captured canals running near auls, and in the streets there was a water mill with clay jars along the rim brought into motion by a horse moving in a circle.

Cattle-breeding. S.M. Dudin didn’t travel to nomad camps; he observed and photographed cattle-breeding from the partially-settled agricultural Turkmen auls – of the Tekke and Saryks.

The photographs depict the care and maintenance for cattle, primarily. He photographed the sheep enclosures – circular fences made of brushwood, located in the aul and in front of the yurts (drawing #1; photographs 40—9, 63). The construction of the enclosures in the shape of a tall clay earthen rampart, crowned with branches of shrubs, creating a dense fence.

In front of the yurts and near the sheep enclosures, ropes for the sheep are stretched between two pegs; sheep are tied to these ropes as they are milked (Photographs 40—9).

Photographs #40—17,18,19 depict stables for horses in rich Turkmen estates and cow houses built of clay with flat roofs.

The Saryks from Takhta-Bazar had enclosures for cows and horses (sygyrkhan and atakhan breeds) in the ground. The dug-outs were covered in brushwood, reeds and soil.

Many photographs are depicted of Akaltenskii breed of horses, which the Turkmen bred and which were famous even beyond the borders of Turkmenistan. (photographs 40—129, 138.)

Horses were mostly photographed saddled with horsemen-dzhigats and local administrative representatives – elders of the auls. In a few photographs, the horses are in the courtyards, without saddles and covered with felt horse-cloth to protect them from intense heat or cold.

2. Photographs dealing with domestic chores depict the work women did cultivating/treating farming and cattlebreeding and preparing essential objects for the family and to sell (rugs and woven woolen carpets). There are 14 photos in this thematic rubric.

The combing of wool took place with comb with long metallic teeth (photograph 40—57). The woman who combed the wool is seated on the ground in a traditional work-pose beside the yurt.

Photographs 40—58, 59, 60 depict the hand-spinning of wool with the help of a spindle. Spinning cotton thread was done with a wheel (photos 40—61).

Wool weaving is depicted in 6 photographs – all variants of the same subject (40—62—67). The loom is located on the ground next to the yurt. The base is pulled lengthwise low to the ground and fixed on two pegs – in the front and the back. In order to protect the threads of the base from getting dirty, there are pieces of old fabric and clothes spread under them. Near the yurt next the loom, there is a large pile of wool (photographs 40—63).

Rug weaving: Looms for weaving rugs and carpets, differ from looms for weaving fabric. The rug weaving loom takes up a large amount of space in the yurt. Special buildings for rug weaving stood near the yurts; they resembled enclosures made from yurt lattice walls, covered with with straw cloth, lying on four columns that were dug into the ground (photographs 40—68, 69, 70, 71; photograph 40—68).

This demonstrates that Turkmen households placed great importance in rug manufacturing. Comfortable working conditions were created for the rug weaver: an isolated work place, protection for the carpet from dirt, fading, damage by animals, etc. Every photo features moments at work, and most of the photos feature a woman at the loom. One photo has two carpet weavers seated face to face, working on opposite sides of the room. This type of weaving might have been used when making saddle bags.

It's possible that the appearance of the rug-weaving loom outside of the living quarters is connected to the growing number of rugs manufactured for the market.

“Carpet production constitutes the most significant trade among the natives in the region and enables them to subsist.”

As for silkworm breeding, photos depict the sorting, stewing of the cocoons and the unspooling of the first threads. (photos 40—20, 56). Cocoons were stewed in a cast iron pot placed on tall clay walls of the fireplace in the yurt.

Trade. This theme is expressed in a large number of photos from the town of Merv (photo 40—84—90 and 95—102).

Based on the photographs, the dominant form of trade was cattle trade: sheep, horses, donkeys. Cattle herders brought large numbers of sheep to the market, often numbering several tens or even hundreds of heads. Such quantities of cattle, apparently, were sold by the wealthy, who counted several hundreds of sheep in their flocks. Others managed to bring only five-ten heads to the market (photo 40—86).

Some photographs feature large markets where horses and donkeys were also sold. Markets also sold patterned koshmas, rugs (photo 40-101). One photo depicts the selling of grain.

The photographs featuring Turkmen-craftsmen – woodworkers, potters, hat makers etc, -- selling their wares are of great interest (photo 40—95, 98, 102).

They sold large and small wooden mugs, dishes for cooking and storing food, sieves in tents or outdoors (photos 40—95); medium- and small-sized pitchers for carrying water or making dairy products (photo 40—102); men's telpak hats made from sheepskin hang on rods dug into the ground (photo 40—98). The market also had covered stalls. Photographs feature an enormous square, filled with a crowd of thousands of people and horses. Hundreds of saddled and unsaddled horses, hundreds of moored donkeys, caravans of camels walking with sacks of wool or cotton, etc.

These photographs confirm the geographic position of Merv as an important trade capital not only in Transcaspia, but also in Central Asia.

3. S.M. Dudin's photographic collections present a comprehensive portrait of settlements and dwellings of the Turkmen—Tekke from the Ashkhabad and Merv Oases. These photos reflect the essential types of Turkmen auls from this time – nomadic or settled, and depending on the latter characteristic, the photos reflect whether they are portable or stationary.

What were the characteristics of the nomadic aul? According to the photographs, auls are small settlements (18-20 yurts), located in desert and steppe country. According to research from S. M. Dudin's report, that there could be upwards of 100 yurts in such auls.

Photographs (40—5, 6, 7, 9 and 41-3, 4) reveal that yurts appear in neat rows of one or two lines; some of them are adjacent to one another, others in groups of two or three, but at a distance from one another.

The collector's report discusses this peculiarity in the arrangement of yurts in the aul.⁷

Unlike the nomadic aul with its ordered arrangement of dwellings – permanent settlements (Keshi, an aul near the city of Ashkhabad) are not set up according to a particular plan and resemble a group of haphazardly scattered clay houses, with yurts and household buildings interspersed. These settlements do not have streets or alleys, homes and yurts stand grouped together, separated from one another with clay walls (illustration 3, photo 40—10).

Such auls, located in oases with plenty of water, have rich vegetation: sprawling sycamores and mulberry trees, silver Russian olive trees, vineyards, fruit gardens.

Enormous estates, fenced off by high walls, stand out against the backdrop of randomly arranged dwellings of paupers, luxurious; these are the winter abodes of prosperous Turkmen (photographs 40—18).

In the oasis of Merv, permanent, non-nomadic auls were sometimes located beyond the walls, inside old fortresses (photograph 40-16).

The relationship between permanent and portable types of dwellings in settled auls is such that almost every clay house had a yurt or a *chatma* (a simplified, portable dwelling); sometimes, even in a settled aul, the yurt was the primary and only Turkmen dwelling.

Therefore at the turn of the 20th century, in the Tekke aul settlement, the yurt dominates significantly as a form of dwelling. The nomadic type of dwelling – the yurt – appears in photographic collections in many different forms (photo 40—5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 20, 21, 56, 62, 78). Photographs enable viewers to follow the process of assembling the yurt – from the laying down of wooden framework to the sequence of assembling individual parts, and the methods of attaching them – to finally covering the yurt with felted cloth; photos also include interior furnishings in the yurt.

Photograph 40—16 captures the process of assembling the wooden framework of the yurt, which was done by several women. The work is almost finished, the last *uki* are tied to the lattice walls (illustration 4). The full scope of the yurt now appears before us: we can clearly trace the proportions and the correlations between of the main aspects of Turkmen-Tekke nomadic dwellings: the height of the lattice walls, the length and the

⁷ S.M. Dudin, p. 26.

curvature of *uki*, which create the roof of the dwelling, the relationship between the diameter, height and area of the yurt's dome.

Judging from the photographs, not all yurts had wooden doors; some yurts used woven curtains to close door openings. The floor mats (surrounding the yurt) are made from soft, flattened reeds, unlike the Iomud floor mat, which were made of round, hard reed stems. Based on the exterior of the yurt, the quality of its felted cloth, and the way it is tied together with ropes and ribbons one can determine which social class the owners belong to. In the aul, one can immediately discern yurts belonging to well-to-do and wealthy Turkmens. These yurts are very neat and orderly, covered in new and even white felt cloths and floor mats, and tied together with ribbons (photograph 40—41). Patched and multicolored grey-black yurt covers, tied together with ropes are typical among the underprivileged citizens of the aul (photograph 40-10). The presence of tents, made from individual parts of the yurt, also speaks to class differences in the Turkmen aul.

There are few photographs of the interior and arrangement of the yurt (photo 40—20, 21, 56), and their quality is inferior to all the other photos. This explained by the fact that Dydin took photographs in broad daylight and did not use extra artificial lighting, and yurts and dwellings were usually dark inside.

However, the documents we do have provide material that sheds light on the interior of the Turkmen yurt. Of particular interest is the photograph of a yurt's interior with a raised wooden platform, curtained off for a woman in labor (photograph 40—21).

The permanent, stationary dwelling of the Turkmen and the household buildings of this time were made of clay with a flat roof. The walls had four layers of clay, but were neither plastered nor lime washed, ceiling beams jutting out from the longitudinal walls of the structure, the roof was made of mud, and windows were small.

Homes of wealthy Turkmens were fenced off; in the centre is a multi-room house built of sun-dried earth brick with an *iwan*, with numerous maintenance buildings located along the walls: stables, cowsheds, pantries, sheds, etc. In the courtyard, agricultural tools lean against the walls, there's an araba cart with average-sized wheels, saddled and unsaddled horses and donkeys, with extra hay and fuel arranged on the roofs (photo 40—18).

4. Photographs offer excellent material for characterizing physical appearances (types) of Turkmen-Teke and Saryks, as well as the clothing worn by these peoples. Men, women and children of all ages were photographed. Photos of men and boys' clothing form the greater part of this category of photos – 40 Teke and 12 Saryks pictures. Photos of women's clothing (including girls') include 24 Teke and 16 Saryks photos. People were photographed in two positions: from the front and the side. Men and girls often appeared without head-dresses (Tekke), which gives the viewer the chance to see the shape and features of the head and face.

These photographs were particularly important for the study of an anthropological type of Turkmens; the photographs were used in the shaping of mannequin heads for the

Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum, which produced large numbers of these heads in 1913 for exhibiting clothing. The photographs enable viewers to assess the material and design of Tekke and Saryk clothing, peculiarities of men's, women's and children's clothes, and social differences. Judging by the photographs, Tekke people wear casual, summer clothes, sewn primarily from homemade and purchased cotton cloth. The poor quality of clothes depicted in the photographs is immediately apparent: photographs reveal patches on women's and children's clothes (photographs 40—40), men's robes that are torn (illustration 5). The administration and agricultural elites had high quality clothes: photographs reveal elders of the auls, wealthy Djigits, women from well-to-do families with head-coverings and capes adorned with silver (photographs 40—43).

5. While Tekke clothing is mainly casual, the Saryks wore elegant outfits (illustration 6). Representatives of wealthy families are featured in the photographs, perhaps representatives of tribal or clan elites. The elders wear robes made of thin cloth or brocade, with round, black Astrakhan hats on their heads (illustration 7, photograph 41—8a). Similar robes, presumably red, trimmed with gold lace and embroidered with gold thread and tinsel are worn by boys and young men, belted with leather and velour belts with silver ornaments. Such outfits speak not only to these people's wealth, but also to the fact that Saryk clothing borrowed certain textile techniques, such as the design of the robe, the shape of the belts, methods of trimming from their neighboring Afghans (illustration 8, photo 41—12a).

The Saryk women's head-dresses are both much larger and differently shaped than those of the Tekke: tall, semi-spherical shaped structures, covered with multicolored shawls, with white material reaches down to older women's chests.

Saryk women's outfits are adorned with many silver ornaments: massive triangle-shaped *tumars* worn as pectoral pendants, hanging on wide straps made with silver plates with numerous pendants and carnelian stones (photograph 41-14a). Girls' head-dresses were also adorned with silver and pendants.

6. Food preparation and utensils are represented in many of the photographs (5 photographs): photographs feature women carrying water on their backs in clay jugs with handles made of rope, slung over their right shoulder; women heat the stove – tandoors and the prepare to bake flat bread; the kitchen is on a raised clay platform with large kitchen ranges for cauldrons and small kettles (photograph 40—73); not all photographs are high-quality.

7. Five photographs deal with religion: the Imamlar mosque near Bayramali, and the nearby cemetery (photograph 40—27); *chile agach* (illustration 10, photograph 40—24) – in the courtyard of this mosque there is a construction that looks like a small arch made of wood, whose end-pieces are stuck into clay columns on the ground. Walking under the arch was said to help women who suffered from infertility. The Anau mosque near Ashgabat appears on several photographs.

8. A few photographs feature children's games – a boy shooting a bow, a girl playing with homemade wooden toys, etc.

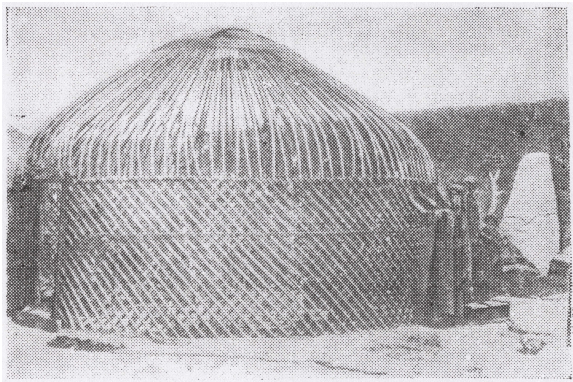
9. A few photographs depict landscapes of Turkmenistan.

The photographic collection of S.M. Dudin provide a more-or-less complete picture of daily life among the Turkmen-Tekke of the Ashkhabadsk and Merv Oases and Saryks of the Takhta-Bazarsk Oasis.

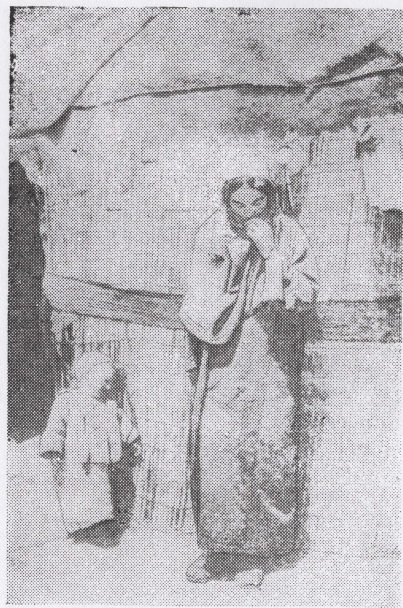
In these photographic collections, Turkmenistan stands before us exactly as it was at the turn of the 20th century – with backward, partly self-sufficient farming, primitive tools for cultivating agriculture and breeding cattle, and elements of material culture that are typical of a semi-nomadic lifestyle: dwellings, clothing and utensils.

The photographic collections of S.M. Dudin are used in scholarly research about the ethnography of Turkmen, in the development of a historical-ethnographic atlas of the peoples of Central Asia, and in museum exhibits as a wonderful documentary-illustrative material.

S.M. Dudin's work as an organizer and collector of ethnographic materials about the peoples of Central Asia is of enormous scholarly interest. We believe that a thorough analysis of Dudin's work should not be put off for much longer.



Women assembling a yurt framework, Merv oasis



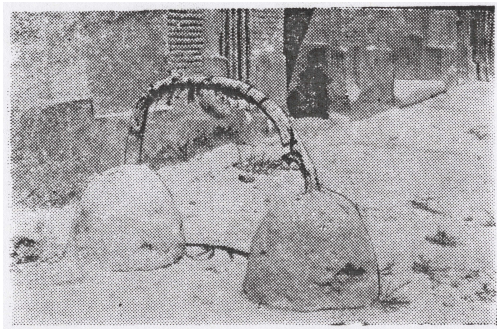
Married woman in holiday attire,
Askabad suburbs



Costume of an older Sarik woman



Young Sarik, in Afghan clothing



<http://richardewright.com> Dec. 2017



Рис. 6. Замужняя женщина в празд-

Older married Sarik in woolen khalat